



HISTORY

OF

BAPTIST INDIAN MISSIONS:

EMBRACING

REMARKS ON THE FORMER AND PRESENT CONDITION

OF THE

ABORIGINAL TRIBES;

THEIR SETTLEMENT WITHIN THE INDIAN TERRITORY,

AND THEIR

FUTURE PROSPECTS.

BY ISAAC McCOY.

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

Matthew and Isaiah.

WASHINGTON:

WILLIAM M. MORRISON;

NEW-YORK:

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

1840.

opinion that no effort for the christianizing of the Indians, was wholly unsuccessful, we must deeply regret, what we now distinctly perceive, that those well-meant labours were performed under all the disadvantages of blind European prejudices in relation to the Indians. Those pious hearts had too recently been transplanted from the sterile plains of religious bigotry, to expand with liberal views of the character, and of the just rights of man.

Missionaries in these days are enabled to profit by the days that are past. But now they find the prejudices of the natives exceedingly obstinate ; they have been matured by more than two hundred years, and cherished by a thousand considerations, each of which has annually grown heavier and heavier: after all, let it be borne in mind, that it is not inflexible attachment to the hunter state, or to other rude habits or ceremonies, of which missionaries complain. It is a want of confidence in the purity of our motives. The Indians feel themselves forsaken and friendless. The proffered hand of friendship has, a thousand times proved a snare, and the voice of kindness been deceptive. With what spirit remains to them from the ravages of dissipation and despair, they feel towards us, as we should feel towards invaders of our country and rights, who were fattened with plentitude, and basking in affluence, on the fields of our fathers, while we, with our ragged, half-starved offspring, stood soliciting the elm to lend us his coat to shelter us from the snow. But convince the Indians that you are true men, and not spies, that though they had thought the Great Spirit deaf to their groans, and all men had risen up against them, yet he does pity, they have some sincere friends, and they will leap for joy. Yes, I have seen them under such circumstances melted into tears. I have seen that their confidence swelled to extremes, and in their enthusiasm they were ready to deem the missionary more than an ordinary man.

Indians are not untameable. Give them a country as their own, under circumstances which will enable them to feel their importance, where they can hope to enjoy, unmolested, the fruits of their labours, and their national recovery need not be doubted. But, let the policy of our Government in relation to them, continue as it has been, and as it now is, and, with the exception of the Cherokees, and their immediate neighbours, I know of no tribe, nor part of a tribe, no, not one, within, or near to all the frontiers of Arkansaw, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, or Ohio, nor one of those bands on small reservations in New-York or New-England, of whom we can indulge any better hope than that of their total extermination. Even over those whom we have excepted above, a gloomy cloud is gathering, of which we shall speak hereafter.

I fear the public are not fully aware of this fact, especially the christian public, who would more especially shudder at the thought, and who have been hoping for better things. I fear, too, that missionaries are sometimes afraid to tell the worst of this part of the story, lest the benevolent societies and individuals at a distance, who patronize the missions, should become discouraged, and decline the prosecution of the undertaking. I know that there cannot exist with them, any sinister motive to such a forbearance, because their labours, the labours of their whole lives, are gratuitously devoted to this enterprise. But, they have been eye-witnesses of Indian wickedness and sufferings. They have heard fathers begging them to have mercy on them and their off-

spring, and entreating them not to forsake them; they have seen the mother digging roots for her children, and have beheld the emaciated frames of those who, in winter, had lived weeks upon acorns only, or who, in summer, had fed for days upon boiled weeds alone. They have heard the cries of children suffering with hunger, and seen the frozen limbs of the half-naked sufferer. Among these wretched people they have formed congregations, which delight to hear of "a better country," and with whom they unite in prayer and praise. They have collected scores of lovely children into their schools and families, who are taught to call them fathers and mothers, and to look to them as their best friends, without whose help they are undone. They have heard some of these children in secret prayer, covered with the mantle of night, upon their knees imploring the Lord God Almighty, to reward the kindness of their benefactors, to continue his mercies to themselves, and to pity their less favoured, their suffering kindred. Under these, and kindred considerations, missionaries dare not indulge a thought of forsaking the people of their charge. For them they will labour, in their sorrows they will sympathise, and among their tombs they will be buried. It is possible that, under the influence of such zeal for the temporal and eternal welfare of the Indians, missionaries may fear to tell what they think might be heard with discouragement by the patrons of missions. These are the reasons for the omission, if they have not fully advertized the public, that the tribes to which I have just referred, are perishing—are perishing. If there is any missionary among the tribes under consideration, who can say otherwise of the people of his charge, let him publish the fact, and I will rejoice that I have been mistaken, *and I will join him in hosannas to the Son of David.*

A brief recapitulation of the foregoing, furnishes us with the following summary:—Europeans brought with them to this country undue prejudices against the Aborigines; they viewed them as a contemptible race, undeserving the rights of nations or of men. The commencement of their career, in matters relating to the Indians, was radically wrong, and upon these wrong principles we have ever since acted. We cannot go back and undo the errors of two hundred years. We find a suffering people calling on us for sympathy and for justice, the peculiarities of whose condition give extraordinary weight to their claims upon both. These people, with few exceptions, are positively perishing, and perishing rapidly. They will inevitably be extirminated, unless we rescue them. The present course of kindness towards them, of our Government, of Societies, and of individuals, will not prevent their ruin, because they continue to sink deeper and deeper in wo.

To this summary we append the following inquiries. Do we possess ample means of placing this suffering people, in the enjoyment of the blessings of civilized life, as participated commonly by the citizens of the United States? Can these means be employed without injustice to ourselves, as a nation, in the present posture of affairs? To these questions I humbly, but very confidently, undertake to reply.

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who might

can be hoped for from existing measures, and also provides for the abridgement of an annual expenditure which at this time amounts to about \$66,531, I hope to redeem a few pages hence.

Should it be asked, Why it is desirable to create a larger fund for the benefit of the Indians, if what we have already bestowed upon them has been wasted, and worse than wasted? I answer, an increase of funds, to be applied in a similar way, is not desirable. That is, to put cash into their hands, or to put blankets on their backs. In the two cases the result is about the same. If you give them clothing, or the means necessary for hunting, there are persons ready to buy the same for whiskey and trifles, and to shop up the very same articles to sell to the Indians afterwards, for peltries and fur.

There are two items of annual expenditure of Government on the Indians which have not been wasted or lost. The first is, the annual appropriation of \$10,000, specially for purposes of Indian reform.—This sum has been placed by Congress at the disposal of the President of the United States. The latter has determined to apply it, not in *hiring* men to go among the Indians to civilize them, because in many instances he would unwittingly appoint unsuitable persons; but he has determined to apply it in conjunction with benevolent Associations, who have embarked with zeal and christian prudence in the work of civilizing and evangelizing the Indians. A more judicious regulation, both as it regards Congress and the President, could not be made. In this arrangement, we have the best security for the just and useful application of these funds, of which the imperfection of man admits. Take as an explanation of the whole, the details of the case as it exists within the superintendency of Indian agency, at Detroit, Michigan Territory.

Schools are established in the Indian country, actually among them. At these establishments youths are taught letters, and labour, both domestic, agricultural, and mechanical; and, in a word, whatever is necessary for the improvement of Indian condition. The men, (and the women too) who are employed to manage these establishments, are regular members of Christian churches, and are accountable to the same for their conduct. There are, also, special agents of religious benevolent Associations, formed in various parts of the United States, for the express object of promoting purposes of benevolence. These Associations are composed of men of the first standing in society. They are indeed the select men of the different religious denominations. To these Societies and Associations, the missionaries are accountable. The services of the missionaries are all gratuitous. This circumstance has a powerful tendency to exclude all temptation to abuse their trust. To the Societies under whose patronage they generally labour, they account annually, semi-annually, or quarterly, as the case requires. In addition to this, the Society orders as often as it deems it expedient, a special and competent Agent to visit the establishments, and to report the condition of the mission.

The missionaries are also required to report annually to the President of the United States. In addition to all this, an Agent is appointed by the President of the United States, to visit annually, the several establishments, and to report. All these reports to the Societies, and to the Government, are either published to the world, or are left open for examination at any time. Thus guarded, we may safely calculate that these funds will be applied to the very *best advantage*. And thus far

we are very bold in the assertion, in every instance of the application of any portion of them, blessings to the poor savages have sprung up, and have caused the wilderness to resound with songs of joy.

The second item of public expenditure on the natives, which is profitably employed for them, is the amount arising from special stipulations in treaties for education purposes; stipulations, in the spirit of the case, perfectly in accordance with the doctrine we have advanced. These funds, like the direct appropriations of Congress, are placed at the disposal of the President, who wisely directs their application through the same channel as the former.



CHAPTER IV.

The only feasible Plan for reforming the Indians, is that of colonizing them.

HAVING arrived at a certainty of the fact that we have at our disposal more than ample means for the accomplishment of all the purposes of Indian reform; means, too, which can be applied without disadvantage to us, and probably, to our own positive profit; it now becomes us to inquire, *What plan will most likely be successful in accomplishing the reformation of the Indians?*

Without ceremony, I offer for consideration the plan recommended to the wisdom of Congress by Mr. Monroe, late President of the United States, and highly commended in a Report of Mr. Calhoun, then Secretary of War, on which the first resolution was moved in that respectable body by Mr. Conway, of Arkansas, which was afterwards happily amended by Mr. Barbour, Secretary of War, and which has since been called up to the consideration of Congress by gentlemen whose remembrance will be grateful to the enlightened Indian, and to the friends of Indian reform, while history lives to tell of generous deeds.*

This plan proposes the concentration of all the tribes in some suitable portion of country, under such guardianship of our Government as shall be found conducive to their permanent improvement; together with the guaranty, on the faith of the United States, of said country to them and to their posterity for ever.

We have already discovered to a certainty, that some measures more efficient than those heretofore employed, *must* be adopted, or the Indians *must perish*. Increase the appropriations for their reform, and the operative means of improvement will take a wider range; but leave the Indians situated as they have been, and as they now are, and they will, nevertheless, pine away and die. We may theorize by our firesides, but facts will speak for themselves. The policy which has been pursued with the Aborigines for about 200 years, is to pen them up on small reservations, or to encourage them to retire farther back into the forests. Now if ever one tribe of Indians has flourished under the circumstance of either of these situations, we will hope that the like may happen again. But if such an event has never occurred, we may confidently assure ourselves that it never will.

* Since the publication of the first edition of this Report, we have been informed that Col. Thomas Benton, of Missouri, moved the consideration of this subject in Congress, prior to the resolution submitted by Mr. Conway.

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

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

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

"Detroit, July 16, 1822.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

“*Rev. Isaac McCoy.*”

“LEWIS CASS.”

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

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

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

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

It will be seen, a few pages hence, that the missionaries, by articles of agreement between themselves, and between themselves and the board of missions, which usually met in Philadelphia, had surrendered to the board their individual claims to all property which should come into their hands, from any source whatever. Hence the salaries which some of the missionaries received from Government were not claimed as the property of those several persons; but every dollar was accredited to the board, as scrupulously as though it had been received immediately from them. The application of it became a business under the direction of the board, and all expenditures, as before stated, were submitted to the inspection of that body.

The receipts of the mission consisted, as above stated, of Government salaries to some of the missionaries, a portion of the ten thousand dollar annual appropriation of Congress for Indian reform, also appropriations from the board from their own charity funds, and donations of money, books, clothing and bedding, chiefly for the Indian children in school, live stock, &c., made directly to the mission by benevolent societies and individuals. The accounts of receipts and disbursements were audited by the board of missions; and either the whole, or so much as was necessary, was published in their printed periodicals; so that the whole matter, embracing money or property received, and money or property expended, became open to the investigation of all persons in all parts of the United States. If

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

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

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

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

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

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

conversations and interpretations so tedious, that I was forced to turn off to such a place as I conjectured would be suitable, and direct the company to follow.

At camp we packed up our baggage snugly, to prevent them from purloining it; and, leaving the two white men to guard it, I took our Indians and went into the village to a council which I had requested. At camp, and at all other places, men, women, children, and dogs, swarmed about us. We were conducted into a large bark hut, in the more central part of which were two fireplaces. This, with the exception of a small space at each fire, was instantly crowded; such a scene ensued as I had never before witnessed, of crowding of men, women, and children, talking, scolding, crying of children, a few of the good mothers singing to quiet them, dogs fighting, and the conquered begging loudly for quarters. Boiled corn, in two large wooden bowls, supplied with a few buffalo horn spoons and ladles, were placed before us. We ate, and smoked, and talked, being obliged to elevate our voices in order to be heard amidst the din of noises by which we were surrounded. We breathed an atmosphere which was far from pleasant, to improve which I made a little aperture in the fragile bark wall.

Sixteen Pawnees were on a visit to the village at the time of my approach. On my requesting that they should be invited into council, I was informed that all excepting three had left on our arrival. These, I suppose, had been left behind, to ascertain the object of our visit. They were found and brought into council, to whom we extended the usual courtesies of councils. The Pawnees and Osages were hostile to each other, and probably the suspicion that some of our Indians were Osages induced the Pawnees to retire on our approach. Kauzaus and Osages are virtually one people, but the spirit of hostility between the former and the Pawnees is less virulent than between the latter and the Osages.

The condition of the Kuauzas was similar to that of the Osages. How affecting is the contrast between an assemblage of orderly, decent, comfortable people, in our favoured Christian country, and that of those barefooted, bareheaded, *naked*, miserable Kauzaus! Some infidels have endeavoured to persuade the world that the Indians, in their original condition, are comparatively happy and virtuous. Such men are either uncandid, or else they are almost as ignorant of the true condition of the Indians as they are of the inhabitants of the moon.

Soon after our arrival, an elderly man proposed to assist in the labour of encamping, cooking, &c. We accepted his services

the shorter in another, and hence originated the name of the Great Osages and the Little Osages. These settlements removed from Missouri long since, but naturally formed different settlements, elsewhere, a few miles apart. By us they still retain the appellatives of Great and Little; their name by themselves is pronounced Wōs-sōsh-e, which has been corrupted to Osage.

From time immemorial, the Osages, like the Kauzaus, have been at war with the Pawnees and other remote tribes. Several skirmishes had occurred the summer preceding our visit, and a party of Osages which had lately returned, said they had seen signs of a Pawnee war party on the upper branches of the Neosho—the waters on which I and our Putawatomie and Ottawa delegations had spent five days the September preceding. The Osages had lost a considerable number of horses, the enemy sometimes approaching near to their villages. In return, they had taken horses and scalps in considerable numbers. I saw a captive Pawnee woman and boy, lately taken, who were at this time in the capacity of slaves.

It had been reported that the Osages did not believe in the existence of *the Great Spirit*. I was astonished that any one who had ever been two days among them, or the Kauzaus, who are in all respects similar, should be so deceived. I had never before seen Indians who gave more undoubted evidence of their belief in God. In their speeches they make the references and appeals to the Great Spirit, common to all Indians on such occasions; and a devotional exercise is observed among them, which I have never heard existed among any others. At the opening of day, the devotee retires a little from his camp or company, and utters a prayer aloud. This may or may not have some allusion to a deceased relative or friend. The voice is usually elevated so as to be heard sometimes half a mile, and their words are uttered in a kind of plaintive, piteous tone, accompanied with weeping, either affected or real, I suppose commonly the former. To English ears, the sound is uncouth, and we would denominate it a kind of howling. Their word for God is, Wóh-kon'-da, (Father of Life.) Their prayer runs in some such words as the following: "Wóh-kon'-da, pity me; I am very poor; give me what I need; give me success against mine enemies, that I may avenge the death of my friends. May I be able to take scalps, and to take horses," &c. These services are performed by the women, also, with language appropriate. Some omit them; but a large portion

of the middle aged and older are punctual in their observance every morning, and with less punctuality in the evening also.

I discovered that they frequently deposited their dead on or near the surface of the earth, and raised over the corpse a heap of stones. In this heap, I saw in a few places a pole planted, to the top of which was suspended a scalp of an enemy. Their notion was, that by taking an enemy, and suspending his scalp over the grave of a deceased friend, the spirit of the former became subjected as a slave to the spirit of the latter, in the world of spirits. Hence, the last and best service that can be performed for a deceased relative is to take the life of an enemy, and apply his scalp as above. This sentiment, it is believed, is among their strongest inducements to take human life. What a happy change upon these people, in this respect, a knowledge of the gospel would effect!

At the time of which I am writing, the Rev. Mr. Pixley, a Presbyterian missionary, with his wife and several children, resided among the Osages. He was a worthy man, and desired much to impart spiritual benefits to that poor people. But he accomplished little, if any thing, of this nature during his labours there. His impatience amidst what he esteemed wrong in those about him sometimes induced him to administer reproof in a manner to subject him to unnecessary inconvenience. He and the United States' Indian agent, Major Hamtramck, at the same place, were widely at variance. Both appealed to the Department of Indian Affairs at Washington, with which Mr. Pixley's story evidently had greatly the advantage of the other. Nevertheless, the obstacles to Mr. Pixley's usefulness so accumulated, that the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions desired him to retire. The United States' agent continued in office but a short time.

From the first dawning of the scheme for colonizing the Indians in the West, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, (Pedobaptist,) than which no missionary society in the United States was more respectable or influential, had strenuously opposed it. I was sorry to find that Mr. Pixley, though labouring in the country in which it was proposed to give these poor "scattered and peeled people" a permanent home, was averse to the plan—his feelings beating in unison with those of the society which he served.

Among some of the uncultivated tribes to the north, there are instances, though rare, of men assuming the office of women. They put on women's apparel, and mingle with them, and affect

and Osages would not approach so near their towns on horse-back.

Remarkable skill in following the footmarks of man or beast has been ascribed to the Indian; and this circumstance has not unfrequently been urged as a reason for employing them as auxiliaries against their countrymen, in wars which existed between the latter and civilized nations. To say nothing of the cruelty of hiring these credulous and ignorant people to hunt and butcher their brethren who had done them no injury, and for no other reason than to gratify the white man's ambition, or to keep the white man out of danger, facts prove that their employment for trailing was not necessary. We admit that, by habit, an Indian is better qualified to trace the footmarks of a man or of a beast than a man who has been educated in the City of New-York. But his skill in this respect is not superior to that of thousands of white men in new countries, who are not only more or less accustomed to the chase, but who, for want of grazing enclosures, are compelled to turn their stock at large, and to search for more or less of it almost daily.

In the time of the last war between England and the United States, I resided on the frontiers of the State of Indiana, where the Indians frequently made inroads into our settlements, and murdered our citizens, and committed depredations on our property. I frequently made one of the party which followed the Indians, as they retreated from the settlements, after they had accomplished their errand of mischief. They would often scatter, and not all walk in the same place, in order that their signs might be so dim that their tracks could not be perceived by their pursuers. They would not only choose the pathless wilderness, but such ground in it as would receive the least impression from the foot of a man. Nevertheless, their pursuers were almost invariably able to follow their trail, and in some instances in which they had retired with all the caution alluded to above, we were able to travel after them in a brisk gait. I am confident that I have never known an Indian more skilful in trailing than many white men with whom I have been acquainted.

Uncommon skill has also been ascribed to the Indian in steering his course through a trackless wilderness. This, to a certain extent, is true. He is at home in every place, and hence he can pass through the wilderness to any place. If encamped, he can make an excursion around on a day's hunt, and return to his encampment at night with more certainty than most white men who have occasion to go into the woods. From the habits of the Indian we have a right to expect this and no more. As a

pilot in the exploration of a wilderness country, with such objects in view as induced the expedition of which I am speaking, I should not desire an Indian. I have never derived any benefit from an Indian, as a pilot, in any exploration that I have made, and, excepting the commencement of the one of which I am here speaking, I have been my own pilot.

On the night of the 17th of September we encamped on the waters of the Kauzau river. On the following morning we fell in with a Kauzau hunter, from whom we ascertained that we were near the most remote of the Kauzau villages. As we came in sight of two houses, which were situated about two miles from the main village, we discovered that the inhabitants were alarmed. We were a mile or more from them, and open prairie lay between us. I led the company along an elevation, so that they might have a fair view of us, supposing that they would discover, by our hats and other accoutrements, that we were from the land of civilized men, and were not hostile Indians, as they feared. But their fears were not so easily allayed. We saw them in great confusion, and the women and children fleeing to a grove to conceal themselves. We were passing near a grove of timber, towards which I saw a man running. Supposing it was one coming to inquire who we were, I directed Mograin to hasten to meet him. I followed, directing the company to keep at some distance in the rear, in order to diminish the fears of the runner. We came to him in a grove, just as he had reached a couple of horses which were grazing there, when we found that his violent effort had been to remove his horses, in order to prevent an enemy, as he supposed us to be, from taking them. He had his moccasins on his feet, and wore his small cloth; excepting these, he was entirely naked. He held his gun in his hand, with his pouch and powder horn across his shoulders. Mograin spoke to him as soon as he came near enough; still, it was some time before he could recover from his fright, and appear composed.

I hurried him off at full speed, to inform the inmates of the two houses that we were friends, and not foes. While our company moved slowly on, we were met by men and women a half a mile before we reached the houses, the latter bringing us a present of boiled corn in a kettle. By the runner I also sent a message, accompanied by a few twists of tobacco, to the village, informing them of our approach. Many of the town's people came to meet us, and as we neared the village the crowd thickened. I made inquiry for a suitable place to encamp, but their stories were so long, their inquiries so numerous, and Mograin's