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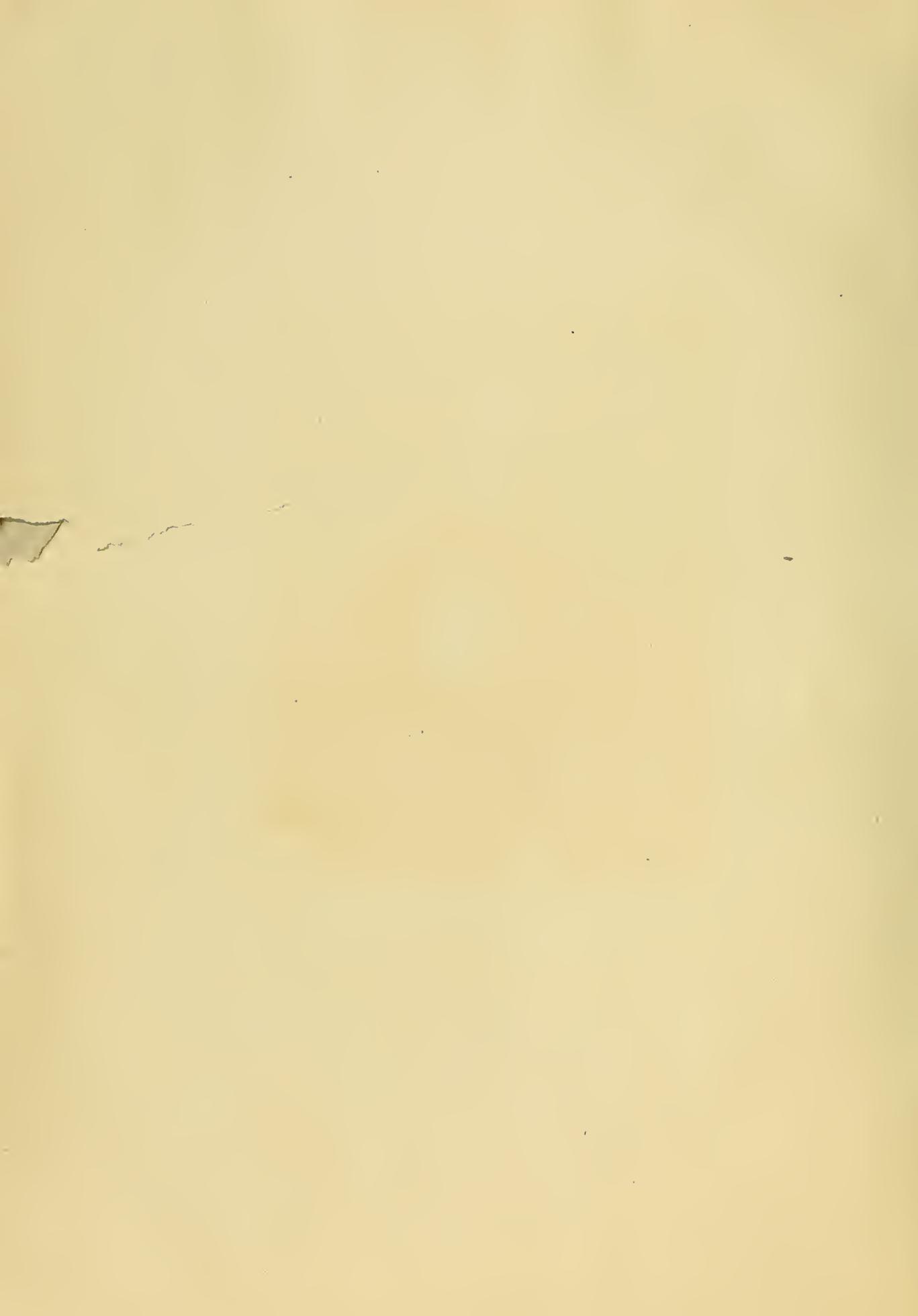
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*Henry R. Schoolcraft.*

THE  
INDIAN TRIBES

OF THE  
UNITED STATES:

THEIR  
HISTORY, ANTIQUITIES, CUSTOMS, RELIGION, ARTS, LANGUAGE,  
TRADITIONS, ORAL LEGENDS, AND MYTHS.

EDITED BY  
FRANCIS S. DRAKE.

ILLUSTRATED WITH ONE HUNDRED FINE ENGRAVINGS ON STEEL.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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## P R E F A C E.

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IN the following pages the attempt has been made to place before the public in a convenient and accessible form the results of the life-long labors in the field of aboriginal research of the late Henry R. Schoolcraft. The extensive and valuable materials collected by him with so much patience and assiduity were published some years ago by the United States government, and they form a body of reliable data concerning the Indian tribes within its borders such as does not elsewhere exist. By a careful process of elimination and condensation the six bulky quartos of the original work are now reduced to two portable volumes, without, it is believed, impairing the value of the work to the general reader. Some portions have been largely rewritten, in order that the fruits of recent investigations into the origin, language, and antiquities of the Indians might be incorporated in it, and the historical outlines, general and tribal, have been filled up by the introduction of prominent events which had been omitted. The Introduction, presenting at one view the past and present status of the Indian, the portions of the work that include an account of the present condition of the tribes, and the chapters containing the history of the last thirty years, are the work of the editor.

Few persons have enjoyed greater advantages for obtaining a thorough knowledge of Indian life and character, or have, during a long residence among the Indians, more zealously improved their opportunities for studying their habits, traditions, and history, than the author of the "Archives of Aboriginal Knowledge," which forms the basis of the present work.

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft was born in Watervliet, N.Y., March 28, 1793, and died in Washington, D.C., December 10, 1864. His first American ancestor settled in Albany County in the reign of George II., and taught school. The change of his name, which was originally Calcraft, is no doubt attributable to this latter fact. He spent his childhood and youth in the picturesque valley of Norman's Kill, and entered Union College in 1807. His poetical talent was early developed, and "Geehale" and "The Iroquois," anonymously published, became a part of the poetical literature of the country. A strong taste for the natural sciences also manifested itself, which, in 1817, led him to make his first visit to the Mississippi, the true source of which, in Itaska Lake, he discovered in a second expedition in 1832, an account of which he published in the following year. In 1819 he published "A View of the Lead-Mines of Missouri," and was appointed geologist and mineralogist to an expe-

dition under General Cass to the Lake Superior copper region, the narrative of which appeared in 1821. The incidents of an extended journey through Illinois and along the Wabash and Miami Rivers in that year are contained in his "Travels in the Central Portions of the Mississippi Valley," published in 1825. In 1822 he was appointed agent for Indian affairs on the Northwestern frontier, and in the following year was married to Miss Jane Johnston, a grand-daughter of Wabojeege, a famous war sachem. He resided in the vicinity of Michilimackinac until her decease, removing to New York in 1841. From 1828 to 1832 he was an efficient member of the territorial legislature of Michigan, which adopted the system of township and county names formed from the Indian language and introduced by him. He founded the Michigan Historical Society in 1828, and the Algie Society at Detroit in 1831. Two of his lectures before the Algie Society on the grammatical construction of the Indian languages were translated by Duponceau and presented to the French Institute, which awarded him a gold medal. Commissioned to treat with the tribes on the Upper Lakes, in 1836 he procured from them the cession of 16,000,000 acres to the United States. In 1839 he published "Algie Researches," a collection of oral Indian legends. In 1842 he visited Europe, and soon after his return published a volume entitled "Oneota, or the Indian in his Wigwam." "Notes on the Iroquois" appeared in 1845, "Personal Memoirs of a Residence of Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes," in 1853, and "The Myth of Hiawatha, and other Oral Legends," in 1856.

In 1847 Congress directed him to procure statistical and other information respecting the history, condition, and prospects of the Indian tribes of the United States. The first volume of this elaborate work appeared in 1850, the sixth and concluding volume in 1857. In furtherance of this object, he at once prepared and issued blank forms, containing a comprehensive series of interrogatories, the fruit of his thirty years' experience among the aborigines, which were widely distributed throughout the country, and which elicited much valuable information from persons interested in and familiar with the subject. This, together with his own portfolios and journals, supplied an abundance of material. The illustrations to the work were from the pencil of Captain Seth Eastman, of the United States Army. Mr. Schoolcraft was a member of numerous scientific and historical societies, and in 1846 received the degree of LL.D. from Geneva College.

Since Mr. Schoolcraft's day not much has been added to our stock of information respecting the American Indian, but investigators like Morgan, Foster, Gatschet, Gibbs, Trumbull, Powers, H. H. Bancroft, and others, have enlarged the boundaries of our knowledge of his language and archæological remains. Such labors, slowly but surely enabling us to arrange the scattered tribes into generic groups or stocks, are essential to the elucidation of the yet unsettled questions as to their ancient history and origin.

A complete history of our aborigines, besides being a laborious undertaking, would necessarily be one-sided and unsatisfactory, the Indian himself having no chronicler, and an approximation to historic truth being attainable only by a careful

comparison and a thorough sifting of the statements of both parties. Nearly every foot of our extensive territory has been fought over by the two races, and almost every stream and mountain has its history or tradition. The exploits and dangers of the pioneer settlers have been recorded in numerous local chronicles, and a great mass of important material still remains in manuscript. Some valuable contributions towards such a work have of late been made, notably those of Mr. Francis Parkman and Mr. H. H. Bancroft, but the nearest approach to a detailed account of the aborigines of this country, prior to that of Mr. Schoolcraft, was "The Book of the Indians," published as long ago as 1841, the work of the late Samuel G. Drake, the father of the present writer.

Meantime, the rapid spread of the white race over the continent, the building of railroads, the search for the precious metals, thus bringing the two races into still closer contact, and especially the efforts of our government to prepare the Indian for citizenship,—all these agencies have made him an object of general interest and curiosity to a much greater degree than ever before. The future of his race, the "Indian Question," as it is called, is one of the vital questions of the day, and is receiving a large share of attention and study. To the recognition of this fact the present volumes owe their inspiration; and that they may help our people to a more just appreciation of their red brethren, and assist in the noble and philanthropic efforts now being made to right their wrongs and to secure justice to them in the future, is the earnest hope of the editor.

BOSTON, October 10, 1881.



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## INTRODUCTION.

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No more picturesque and striking figure has in modern times been presented to the view of the poet, the painter, and the student of ethnology than that of the North American Indian. In him the last discovered of the great primitive stocks of mankind was, at the close of the fifteenth century, for the first time brought face to face with the most advanced type of European civilization. The contrast was sufficiently startling. Here was no effeminate Asiatic, no fetich-worshipping African, but instead of these a man, erect and self-reliant, and differing from all known types in color and other physical characteristics. Though cruel, vindictive, suspicious, envious, and jealous,—as are all barbarous races,—he was also sagacious, warlike, fearless of danger, and at the same time cautious and wary to the verge of cowardice. Treacherous and deceitful to his foes, he was especially cruel to captives, putting them to death with ingenious tortures, in which women took an active part. With him revenge was a point of honor, and was to be gratified by the secret stab rather than by an open manifestation of hostility.

To counterbalance these defects of character there was found in him an unbounded hospitality, a friendship vouched for with life itself, an unfailing remembrance of a kindness done him, a nobility of soul that held him firmly to his ideas of honor, filled him with reverence for the sages and heroes of his tribe, and inspired in him an ardent longing to emulate their renown. In his social and domestic life kindness and self-control were constantly manifested, wrangling and strife being unknown in an Indian dwelling. Add to this a passionate love of liberty and an ardent thirst for glory, which enabled him to endure famine, torture, and death, and we have a tolerably accurate conception of the Indian in his normal condition and as yet uncontaminated by contact with the debasing influences accompanying our border civilization.

With a poetic and imaginative temperament, he possessed also gravity, dignity, and patience, a stoicism that enabled him to control his emotions under the most trying ordeals, and a pride that was proof against the fiercest torture. Of necessity a close observer of natural phenomena, his perceptive faculties were remarkably acute. He was not progressive, nor even moderately inductive, and did not indulge in philosophic thought. He was a fatalist, questioning neither the dispensations of Providence nor the actions of his forefathers. Supposing himself to have been created for the sphere he occupied, it was not his habit to gainsay the conclusions of

those who had preceded him in the nomadic and predatory life. Rude and ignorant and believing in many gods, he yet worshipped the "Great Spirit" and looked forward to a future life. His nomadic out-door life and his habitual self-control kept him from all effeminate vices. He used tobacco for smoking only, and before the advent of the white man was happily ignorant even of the existence of intoxicating drinks. The Mobillian tribes, who had their "black drink," or cassive, were the sole exceptions to this blissful state of things.

Nearly all the natives seen by the early explorers were tribes or bands belonging to three great families, the Algonkin, the Appalachian, and the Iroquois. Each tribe regarded itself as a sovereign and independent nation, and each man was his own master. Some lived by hunting and fishing, others raised corn, beans, and pumpkins; but nearly all were nomads, changing their abode at different seasons of the year, in the pursuit of various kinds of game. Most of them lived in wigwams of skin or bark, while others built permanent villages, with streets and rows of houses. These were usually surrounded by palisades of logs and trenched. They were dressed chiefly in the skins of animals, but very soon exchanged these for blankets obtained of the colonists. On great occasions, as councils and war-dances, they decorated themselves gaudily with paint, beads, and feathers. The women wore their hair long, while the men shaved theirs off, except the "scalp-lock," which was left as a point of honor.

A singular institution called the *totem*, symbolized by the figure of a bear, wolf, deer, or beaver, tattooed on the breast, formed the distinguishing marks of the tribes and smaller clans. The spirit of the animal was supposed particularly to favor the clan thus represented. The tribes were ruled by one or more chiefs or sachems, by the unwritten but fixed laws of custom and tradition, their chiefs representing them in the great councils. The chief had no power; but he could advise, and might acquire great respect and influence if deserving. Any one of sufficient prowess and reputation, who possessed self-control and who could preserve harmony, might be a war-chief. The sachem was sometimes a woman, a custom peculiar to the North American Indian being the exclusion of the direct male line in favor of the collateral branch, the nephew succeeding, unless unfit, when another was chosen in his place.

Their priests and physicians were called "medicine-men," who, besides their simple curative remedies, made use of magic spells and incantations. The consecrated meda-sack contained their charmed articles, which the Indian supposed to be shields against disease, to render him invulnerable to the darts of his enemy, to draw the wild animals to his path, and to secure the great objects of prosperity in life. They used medicinal herbs as emetics and cathartics, but the vapor bath was their most general and effective remedy for disease.

A chronic state of warfare existed between many of the tribes. The art of war with the Indian consisted in patient watchfulness, stealthy approaches, surprises, and stratagems. There was no dishonor in killing a wounded enemy or in private deceit or treachery, though to their public engagements they were always faithful. It was

no disgrace to run away when there seemed no chance of success. The bow and arrow and the tomahawk, his original weapons, soon gave place to fire-arms, procured from the whites, in the use of which he acquired great skill. Most of the hard work was done by the women, in order that the bodies of the men might be kept supple and active for the purposes of war and the chase. Their amusements were the athletic exercises, running, leaping, paddling, games of ball and with small stones, and dances. Boys were trained from infancy in feats of dexterity and courage, acquiring a name and a position only on returning from a warlike expedition.

Their implements of husbandry were of the rudest kind. They made earthen vessels, rush mats, fish-hooks of bone, nets from the fibre of hemp, stone axes and arrow-heads, pipes of clay or stone, often artistically carved, and beads, called wampum, also used as coin, out of shells. Belts made of this wampum were their only record of important events, and treaties were thus for many years kept in memory. They had no written language, but communicated their ideas by means of pictures on rocks and trees. Their most ingenious inventions were the snow-shoe, the birch canoe, and the method of dressing the skins of animals with the brains. The Dakota tent, or tepee, is the original of the Sibley United States army tent. The Pacific tribes made baskets, some of which were so skilfully woven as to hold water. With snow-shoes they could travel forty miles a day over the surface of the snow, and easily overtake the deer and the moose, whose hoofs penetrated the crust. The canoe, sometimes thirty feet long and carrying twelve Indians, was very light and easily propelled. The bark of the tree was stripped off whole, and stretched over a light white-cedar frame. The edges were sewed with thongs and then covered with gum. Their canoes varied in pattern, drew little water, and were often gracefully shaped. They made the most of the materials at their command, but their stationary civilization is sufficiently accounted for by their lack of iron, by their sparse population, and by the unlimited food-supply furnished by the abundance of game and fish. They were opposed to the modes of living of the new-comers, believing their own to be superior and in accordance with the design of the "Great Spirit."

To such a race, the first visiting Europeans, with their ships, fire-arms, and other evidences of civilization, appeared nothing less than gods; and so for a time they were accounted, being entertained by the Indians in the most friendly and hospitable manner. Soon, however, the inhuman treatment received by them from the Spanish and other early explorers, whose cupidity led them to abuse the natives because they could not gratify their lust for gold, or who enticed them on board their ships and carried them off to die in a foreign land,—these and other atrocities forced them into a hostile attitude, and taught them that their persecutors were mortal like themselves, and to return injury for injury.

Briefly, the story of the course of our Indian history from the beginning to the present day is this: to the greed for gold, renewed with even greater intensity in our own day, succeeded the greed for land, which, as the Indian regarded it as his own property, he was naturally unwilling to give up. A fatality has seemed to

attend him in all his relations to the white man. He has been steadily and relentlessly pushed from his hunting-grounds and the graves of his fathers by the ever-advancing tide of emigration, in spite of all his efforts at resistance.

The earlier relations between the colonists and the Indians were such as would necessarily exist when an invading race sought to obtain a foothold upon territory already occupied by a barbarous native population. A war of races, the result of which would be either the extinction of the weaker race or its ultimate absorption by the stronger, would be inevitable. By alternate wars and treaties as the colonists grew in numbers the different coast tribes were either dispossessed or exterminated, in the former case taking refuge with the inland tribes. The Indians believed that the white man designed not only to destroy them as individuals, but to obliterate them as a people; and the white man regarded the Indian as an irreclaimable savage who in the most barbarous manner killed the innocent and unoffending settlers without regard to age or sex. This irrepressible conflict has continued to the present day, but is now, happily, drawing to a close. In a very few instances, and especially in Pennsylvania, the white and red races lived for a series of years in peaceful proximity. All the early efforts to Christianize and civilize the Indian ended in failure.

A new phase in the relations of the two races was introduced by the rivalry and contention between England and France for supremacy in North America. Each preferred exclusive claims to the whole territory, and each, while ignoring the rights of the Indian, sought to engage him in support of its own pretensions. In this effort to secure native support the French, by their greater tact and deference to the prejudices of the Indian, succeeded in attaching to themselves the numerous frontier tribes. This end was still further promoted by their intermarriages with the natives, thus producing a bond of union the results of which are still apparent. The half-breeds have in general followed the condition of the mother and adhered to the native race. Some, however, have adopted civilized life and become citizens of the United States. The one exception to the French connection, but a most important one, was that of the warlike Iroquois, who sided with the English, and who constituted a formidable barrier to the French. This remarkable race, commonly known as the "Six Nations," presents to our view the extraordinary spectacle of an Indian confederacy having a popular form of government not unlike that adopted long afterwards by the United States, and dating back a century before European discovery. France had also taken the initiative in establishing military and trading posts on the western frontier. With the beginning of the eighteenth century she opened a line of communication between the lakes and the Mississippi by way of the Maumee, Wabash, and Ohio Rivers. Trading-stations with the natives were established at the head of the Maumee, now the city of Fort Wayne, at Ouantenon, now Lafayette, and at Vincennes. Her overthrow and the conquest of Canada, in 1763, left the Indian and the Englishman face to face. Pontiac's war, which immediately followed, was a desperate but unavailing effort on the part of that great chief to drive back the tide of English invasion. Then came the struggle for colonial indepen-

dence, in which the Iroquois and nearly all the tribes sided with England. The treaty of Versailles, however, in 1783, failed in any way to recognize them, and their relations with the new masters of the continent were left undetermined. In 1778 the American Congress authorized the employment of Indians in their army, and in the year following the Iroquois were severely punished by General Sullivan's expedition, which laid waste their territory.

The establishment and settlement of the Northwestern Territory over a region which had by treaty been confirmed to the Indian nations "forever" aroused the jealousy of the lake tribes, who, under the direction of Brant, and with the additional incitement of British aid and sympathy, soon became openly hostile. These tribes Brant had confederated together to maintain the Ohio River as the perpetual boundary of white settlements; and they also claimed that only by a General Council of the tribes could cession of territory be made. The stand they took was statesmanlike and patriotic, as well as timely, but, after inflicting two severe defeats upon the armies of the young republic, they were compelled to succumb and to abandon the independent attitude they had assumed.

A far greater than Pontiac or Brant was destined to renew the hopeless struggle. For years Tecumseh labored with untiring energy, eloquence, and unsurpassed ability to arouse his countrymen to make one more effort for the expulsion of their white oppressors. In his negotiations with the chiefs of the warlike tribes from the Northern lakes to the Gulf he exhibited a sagacity and shrewdness, a knowledge of human nature, and a tireless perseverance which, though not crowned with success, won for him imperishable renown. His name stands high in the immortal roll of patriots and heroes. In the second war with England the elements of strife so successfully fomented by Tecumseh bore bitter fruit, but were attended with no permanent consequences other than to weaken the tribes and to strengthen in the Indian mind the conviction of the utter hopelessness of the attempt to overthrow the supremacy of the white man. Since that period he has warred against him only in a desultory manner, either in the vain endeavor to retain his home and his hunting-grounds, as in the case of the Seminoles of Florida, or because of the non-fulfilment of treaty stipulations by the United States, as in the more recent wars with the Cheyennes and Sioux. Since Tecumseh no great leader has appeared who could unite the red race against the white, and such an eventuality is, fortunately, no longer possible. Our civil war was ruinous to the tribes in the Indian Territory. It was taken possession of by the Confederate government, which was supported by many of the chiefs. Others sided with the North, and the contest was attended with serious losses of life and property. Large additions were made to our Indian population by the purchase from France, in 1803, of the immense territory known as Louisiana, by the acquisition of New Mexico and California in 1848, and by the purchase of Alaska from Russia in 1867. During the past half-century the Indian has been transferred beyond the Mississippi and placed upon reservations, and earnest efforts have been made to adapt him to civilized life. Progress in this direction has been necessarily slow; but the outlook is full of promise.

Our intercourse with the Indian tribes has continued for three centuries, beginning with the reign of Queen Elizabeth. For nearly two centuries the policy pursued respecting them was that of Great Britain; since then it has been that of the United States government. Of the tribes which have constituted the objects of our policy and laws, no one has become extinct, though some have greatly diminished. The European governments, founding their sovereignties on divine right, exercised power over the disposal of all territory occupied by the barbarous tribes of the countries discovered, taking the latter under guardianship as not being capable of sovereign acts or sound discretion in the management of their interests, and making pacifications and "contentments" from time to time for intrusions on their territories or hunting-grounds. The wild tribes possessed the balance of power. They could disturb or break up the new settlements, and, had they not been strikingly deficient in the power of combination, they would have swept away the colonists at these earlier periods. To conciliate and pacify, to explain and redress acts of incidental injustice, to prevent combinations for hostile purposes, and to direct the minds of the Indians to the leading truths of labor and civilization, became the general objects of European as they have been of American policy. Indian wars were occasional and of brief duration during the whole period, and they were waged with precisely the same ulterior views. The policy was pre-eminently that of peace, and not of war; and when war ensued the aim was to reform, not to destroy them. Such was the system of England, Holland, France, and Sweden, as it had previously been that of Spain and Portugal in South America. The colonial governors stood between the tribes and the throne, as representatives of the king. To prevent misapprehensions among an ignorant and suspicious people, they employed a class of executive agents to reside near or among the Indians. In the patriarchal language of the tribes the terms of a father and his children were employed. This pleased the Indians and established a political relation which they fully understood.

In its dealings with the tribes, each of the colonies before the union acted independently of the others, endeavoring to settle difficulties as they arose and to obtain cessions of land. Afterwards the general government took charge of Indian affairs, Congress, in 1775, creating three departments,—the Northern, Middle, and Southern,—and assigning to each a board of commissioners. Its policy was to preserve peace and to prevent the Indians from taking part against them in the struggle with the parent government. In 1785 it divided the Indian country into districts, with a superintendent for each, all business to be transacted at the outposts occupied by the troops of the United States.

In 1787 Congress authorized several of the States to appoint commissioners, who, in conjunction with the Indian superintendents, were authorized to make treaties, and the latter were required to correspond regularly, in relation to their official transactions, with the Secretary of War, "through whom all communications respecting the Indian Department shall be made to Congress;" and they were further required "to obey all instructions which they shall from time to time receive from the Secretary of War." The War Department, through its agents, the officers of the

army, has ever since disbursed all funds due the Indians, whether in the form of annuities or of gifts. All these official duties belonging to Indian affairs were for many years performed by one or two department clerks. With the expansion of our population and the greater frequency of treaties, the Indian business had so increased that, in 1824, Thomas L. McKenney was appointed by the Secretary of War chief clerk of this branch of the public business. In 1832 the office of Commissioner of Indian Affairs was created and the Indian Bureau organized. In 1849 the Department of the Interior was organized, and Indian Affairs were transferred to it. Strong efforts have since been made to restore it to the War Department. In 1854 an act of Congress gave to the Secretary of War a species of general superintendency of the agents and sub-agents appointed by the President, a large majority of whom were taken from civil life. The inauguration of the peace policy in 1868 by President Grant, by which Indian management was placed entirely in the hands of civilians, was expected to produce favorable results. The policy was attended with visible improvement, but it has not latterly been strictly followed.

The treaty system subsisting between the United States government and the Indians was abolished in 1871, after having endured for ninety-three years. Instead of treaties, nearly four hundred of which had been made only to be broken, executive orders have since been issued by the President. The treaties first made with the Indians contemplated their incorporation into the American nation. That with the Delawares, in 1778, with the Cherokees, in 1785, and those with the Choctaws and Chickasaws, in 1786, after guaranteeing them their territorial rights in the fullest and most ample manner, recited "that the Indians may have full confidence in the justice of the United States respecting their interests; they shall have a right to send a deputy of their choice, whenever they think fit, to Congress." The Indians, as is well known, have never availed themselves of this privilege.

In 1787 the ordinance for the government of the Northwestern Territory was passed, and afterwards extended to that of the Southwest. It was in the nature of an unalterable compact between the people of the territories and the old Confederate States. The third article reads, "The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent, and in their property rights and liberty they shall never be disturbed nor invaded, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress, but laws founded in justice and humanity shall from time to time be made for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them." Treaties since made with the tribes have related mainly to removals and the cession of their lands.

In January, 1776, Congress, "in order to preserve the confidence and friendship of the Indians, and to prevent their suffering for want of the necessaries of life," passed resolutions to import a suitable assortment of Indian goods to the amount of forty thousand pounds sterling, the same to be distributed by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, who was to fix the prices, no person being permitted to trade with

the Indians without license from them, and a reasonable price being allowed to the Indians for their skins and furs; trade to be carried on only at such places as the commissioners should appoint. The commissioners in the following month were directed to select proper places for the residence of ministers and school-masters, for the propagation of the gospel and the cultivation of the civil arts among the Indians. Congress subsequently passed many other resolutions looking to the preservation of friendly relations with them.

A change in our Indian policy occurred when the government was organized under the present constitution. Before that event the Indians had been treated as a free and independent race, whose rights and interests we were bound to respect and consider. The constitution conferred upon Congress the power to regulate commerce with the Indian tribes. This the United States Supreme Court construed as giving it power "to prohibit all intercourse with them except under license." For nearly a century, while striving to promote, to facilitate, and to extend our trade in every direction, our government has, under penalties of fine and imprisonment, prohibited all intercourse, foreign and domestic, with the Indians. No person could trade with them without a license. As the Indian country had free communication with the English on the north and the Spanish on the south, they carried on free trade in both directions while we were excluding it by fine and imprisonment in the interior.

Trading-houses were established in 1796 at convenient points, for which government furnished a capital of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, the business to be conducted by agents and confined to the purchase of skins and furs from the Indians. This policy was abandoned at the close of the war of 1812, when liberty of trade with the Indians was granted to licensed citizens of the United States only, and all goods bought by a foreigner of an Indian were declared forfeited. With the exception of the Cherokees, who would not submit to such a restriction, no Indian can himself legally sell anything he can raise or manufacture. The Intercourse Act was revived in 1834. Other acts hampering and restricting the Indian have since been passed, and trade with him has been so "regulated" as seriously to hinder his efforts towards self-support and prosperity. In the central region, from Texas to Montana, where cattle-raising is the only profitable occupation, the agents have for years vainly implored that the Indians, who are naturally and by long habit the best of herders, be permitted to abandon farming and become stock-raisers instead. They are excluded by law from all mining and lumbering industries. For the Neah Bay Indians, who are skilful sailors and fishermen, an appropriation was asked for providing appliances for catching, packing, canning, and marketing fish. None has ever been made, but each year the agricultural school, the blacksmith, carpenter, etc., are provided for.

After treating the Indians for nearly a century as "distinct independent political communities" and "independent possessors of the soil," Congress, on March 3, 1871, enacted "that no Indian nation or tribe shall be acknowledged or recognized as an independent nation, tribe, or power, with whom the United States may contract by

treaty." Since then reservations have been assigned and homes established for more than forty thousand Indians by executive orders alone, and to those homes the Indians have no title which a similar order may not at any moment modify or destroy. The shelter of the Indian's nation, such as it was, has been removed. He has no legal status, no legal redress for any wrong. While a Chinese or a Hottentot has a standing before the law, the native American has none, and is neither amenable to nor protected by it. According to a recent decision by Judge Dundy, in the case of the Poncas, a tribe, as such, may appear by attorney in the United States courts in any civil action affecting their property rights. For the purpose of relinquishing rights to us they were independent nations; but when one of these nations applies to the Supreme Court to enforce the guarantees made by us in consideration of such relinquishment, then it is decided that they are dependent, domestic, and subject nations, who can only bind themselves by treaty but cannot bring suits in the United States courts. Their ownership of the soil is only a right of occupancy, and this the United States has the absolute right to extinguish either by conquest or by purchase. The Guadalupe-Hidalgo treaty of 1848 made the Indians of the territory acquired by us from Mexico citizens of the United States. No distinction, however, between these and other Indians has ever been recognized by the executive or legislative departments of the United States. For eighty-five years the title to Indian lands has been extinguished by treaty only, with the consent of the tribes occupying, the sole exception being the Sioux title in Minnesota, extinguished by right of conquest in 1862.

While all that affects the Indian's dearest interests is arbitrarily determined at the seat of government, even to the food he eats and the clothes he wears, he is forbidden to go to Washington except by invitation. His agent is prohibited from going on pain of removal, and he is forbidden by statute to execute a power of attorney appointing any one else to represent him there or elsewhere in his business with the United States.

There is no law to punish crime or wrong of any kind committed by one Indian against another. The criminal laws of the United States extend over the Indian country in cases where crime is committed by an Indian against a white man, or by a white man against an Indian. As the trial must be in the nearest Federal court, with a jury of border white men, the practical effect of the law has been that an Indian is always convicted and a white man always acquitted. In the absence of law, Indian society is left without a base, and Indian civilization lacks its only sure foundation.

In 1825, President Monroe urged upon Congress the removal of the Indian tribes, from the lands then occupied by them within the several States and Territories, to the west of the Mississippi River, notwithstanding the United States had by its treaties distinctly guaranteed to each of them forever a portion of the territory in which it then resided. The immediate occasion for this measure was the demand of the State of Georgia that the title of the Cherokees to their lands in that State should be extinguished. Government had, in 1802, agreed with that State to extinguish the Indian title as soon as it could be done "peaceably and on reasonable

terms." The Indians were not a party to this compact, but by the treaty of Hopewell, in 1785, every intruder upon their lands should "forfeit the protection of the United States, and the Indians may punish him or not, as they please." A portion of the Cherokees, having made some progress in civilization, declined to emigrate, and organized a government of their own within the State. The subject of their removal was everywhere discussed, and was carried to the Supreme Court. The policy of removal was adopted in 1830, Congress authorizing the President to *solemnly* assure the tribes, with whom the exchange was made, that the United States would forever secure and guarantee to them and their successors the country so exchanged with them, and, if they preferred it, would cause a patent or a grant to be made and executed with them for the same, and also to cause them to be protected against all interruption or disturbance from any persons whatever. Several years were occupied in the removal of the Cherokees, which was the occasion of much sacrifice, suffering, and loss of life to the Indians.

It is needless to say that these solemn guarantees were disregarded, and that many of these removed tribes have been obliged to abandon their new home and its improvements by the constant pressure upon them from without. Of all the tribes removed to Kansas by the act of May, 1830, but a bare handful remains. Except in the case of the Cherokee lands in the Indian Territory, our government has never attempted to vindicate its honor by keeping its word with the Indian. He has no vote, no political influence.

The policy of removal has at all times resulted disastrously to the Indians. Its effect has been to perpetuate barbarism, and it has also been a fruitful source of corruption. The removal of the Santee Sioux and the Winnebagoes from Minnesota in 1863, as narrated by ex-Indian Commissioner Manypenny,<sup>1</sup> is a sickening recital, but it is only one of many similar instances of cruel wrong. The failure of the system was apparent from the outset. It failed to take into the account the inevitable and rapid pressure of advancing settlements and enterprise. The old story will be repeated wherever there is a large and valuable Indian territory surrounded by white settlements. Railroad extension will only accelerate the catastrophe. Even the Indian Territory, guaranteed to him by solemn treaty, has to be patrolled by United States troops to keep off persistent white invaders. It did not benefit the Indian, and brought but temporary relief to the country. The reservations proved to be such only in name. The Black Hills territory belonged to the Dakotas a few years ago. Adventurers crowded in in pursuit of mineral wealth, and sacred covenants of the nation were broken. The system has not secured to them permanent homes, has not preserved them from molestation, has not improved them physically or morally, and has not relieved the government of care and expense. The Indian is forbidden to wander from his reservation, and it is forbidden ground to the whites, thus isolating him from the rest of mankind; and, being fed and clothed by the government, all stimulus to self-support is necessarily wanting.

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<sup>1</sup> Our Indian Wars, pp. 135-141.

This slight examination of Indian history, and of the legal and political relations subsisting between the two races since the settlement began, sufficiently accounts for the existence of the so-called "Indian Problem," and explains why it has so long remained unsolved. The wonder is that, under all the circumstances, any advance in civilization should have been made by the tribes. In its dealings with them our government has been sadly derelict, and it has reaped only what it has sown. Government faith pledged to them in numerous treaties has been frequently broken, and government agents have systematically plundered and defrauded them. Their history has been a record of broken treaties, unjust wars, and cruel spoliation. We have taken from the Indian everything he prized; what have we given him in return? "Indian wars," say the committee of Congress of which Senator Doolittle was chairman in 1867, "in a large majority of cases are to be traced to the aggressions of lawless white men, always to be found upon the frontier or boundary-line between savage and civilized life." A year later a new commission, including the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the chairman of the Senate Committee of Indian Affairs, and three generals of the army, said, . . . "Civilization made its contract and guaranteed the rights of the weaker party. It did not stand by the guarantee. The treaty was broken, but not by the savage. . . . The Downing massacre, in May, 1864, and the Chivington massacre, in November, are scarcely paralleled in the records of Indian barbarities. A war ensued which cost the government thirty millions and carried conflagration and death to the border settlements. Fifteen or twenty Indians were killed, at a cost of more than a million apiece, while hundreds of our soldiers had lost their lives, many of our border settlers were butchered, and much property was destroyed. This was something more than useless and expensive, it was dishonorable to the nation and disgraceful to those who originated it. . . . The best possible way to avoid war is to do no act of injustice. . . . Our wars with them have been almost constant; have we been uniformly unjust? We answer, unhesitatingly, Yes!"

These statements are the results of careful and conscientious investigation, and cannot be controverted. General Crook says, "When the Indian's horses and cattle are big enough to be of service, they are driven off in herds by white renegades. When his wheat, corn, and vegetables are almost ready for market, his reservation is changed, as in the case of the Poncas, and he is obliged to abandon everything." Having no legal redress, the Indian, if wronged, has no alternative but cowardly acquiescence or forcible resistance. The Dominion government, which has kept faith with the Indians, has not expended in war with them a dollar or a life in the century that has cost us one hundred millions of dollars and thousands of lives. It sets apart a permanent reservation for them, seldom removing them; it selects agents of high character, who receive their appointments for life; it makes fewer promises, but it fulfils them; it gives the Indians Christian missions, which are heartily sustained by the people, and all its efforts are towards self-help and civilization.

All agree that some speedy remedy should be found for the great evils now existing in our Indian system. Prominent among these are the recognition of tribal

character and responsibility, instead of that of the individual; the institution of chieftainship, and the order of "medicine-men," the foes of civilization and enlightenment; the insecure tenure of their homes; neglect of treaty stipulations on the part of the United States; and the absence of any means for the orderly redress of grievances. The system of annuities and gifts retards his progress, by discouraging self-support and by fostering the idea that the white man owes him tribute.

Great diversity of opinion exists as to the proper remedies to apply. Those best qualified to judge pronounce unanimously in favor of the adoption of the following measures,—viz., to educate the youth of both sexes; to allot parcels of land to the Indians in severalty and to give them individual titles to their farms in fee, inalienable for a certain period; to set the Indians at work as agriculturists or herders, and thus to break up their habits of savage life and make them self-supporting; and to obtain their consent to a disposition of portions of their lands which they cannot use, for a fair compensation, in such a manner that they no longer stand in the way of the development of the country, but form part of it and are benefited by it, the proceeds to form a fund for their benefit, which will gradually relieve the government of the expense at present provided for by annual appropriations; and, when this is accomplished, to treat the Indians like other citizens of the United States, under the laws of the land, investing them with the rights and charging them with the responsibilities of citizenship.

General Gibbon, in discussing "Our Indian Question," advocates these views in general, but thinks that in the mean time the reservation Indian should be fed and clothed under the army system of supply and distribution, by which some commissioned officer is always held responsible. The Indian Department, he says, has no such system, and does not understand its practical working or value. In the judgment of ex-Indian Commissioner Edward P. Smith, "whatever of failure has attended the management of Indian affairs in the past has been largely attributable to the fundamental failure to recognize and treat the Indian as a man capable of civilization, and, therefore, a proper subject of the government and amenable to its laws."

At the outset of Secretary Schurz's administration of the Interior Department, Sitting Bull had fled to Canada and a serious Sioux war seemed imminent, and the Nez Percés, stirred up by bad white men, were on the war-path. A year later the Sioux were less hostile, an outbreak had occurred among the Bannocks, but it was because Congress had failed to make an appropriation sufficient to supply them with necessary food, and a few restless Cheyennes were committing murders and other atrocities. Another year saw the Ute outbreak and the depredations of Victoria's bands of Apaches. In the last year the guerilla warfare of the latter, the only disturbance, was ended, and the Utes, one of the hardest tribes to civilize, evinced an inclination "to grow more like the white man." The Sioux are already partially civilized. Instead of living by the chase, they are farmers, freighters, and stock-raisers.

This country has never had an abler or more successful administrator of Indian affairs than Secretary Schurz. Former incumbents left everything to subordinates;

the Indian Bureau was under no supervision, was entirely irresponsible; business methods at the agencies were of the poorest possible description; inspection of goods was conducted in a manner to give contractors every opportunity to swindle the government, and the Indians were systematically cheated. Under Mr. Schurz inefficient and weak men were weeded out and new and better men employed, and cheating the Indians became next to impossible. The rules of a reformed civil service for the guidance of agents were applied, a code of signals for agents was for the first time adopted, an Indian police was established, Indians were employed as freighters, and many other reforms were introduced. The evils experienced under his administration were due to our defective Indian system, traditions of the past, the neglect or mistakes of Congress, and the impossibility of one man in charge of five important bureaus watching every detail of our complicated Indian affairs.

Incidentally to a defence of his course respecting the Poncas, for which he had been severely censured, the Secretary himself says, "If those who participate in this agitation will take the trouble to raise their eyes for a moment from that one case which alone they see in the whole Indian question, they would perceive that under this administration many things have been done which deserve their hearty sympathy and co-operation; they would observe constant efforts to secure by statute to the Indians the equal protection of the laws and an impregnable title to their lands and homes; they would notice practicable measures, not merely to declare the Indian 'a person' in theory, but to make him a person capable of taking care of himself and of exercising and maintaining his rights; they would see the establishment of educational institutions, which, although new, have already produced most promising results; they would see thousands of Indians, but a short time ago vagrant and idle, now earning wages running into hundreds of thousands of dollars as freighters; they would see the organization of an Indian police, which has not only been most efficacious in the maintenance of law and order, but also in producing a moral discipline formerly unknown to them; they would see multitudes of Indians, but a few years since on the war-path, now building houses, cultivating their farms in their simple way, and raising cattle, and asking Congress for the white man's title to their lands; they would notice the conspicuous absence of those scandals in the Indian service which at another period called forth so much complaint; they would see a general treatment of the Indians humane and progressive; they would see the introduction of principles in our Indian policy which, at a future day, promise to work the solution of that difficult problem."

The proposed policy of the present administration, as outlined by President Garfield in June, 1881, to a delegation of Friends, is as follows: "Congress will be asked to pass a general bill providing allotments of reservations in severalty for the Indians, and giving them titles and education in mechanical and industrial arts, with the funds arising from sales of surplus lands. Bills will also be introduced to prohibit polygamy, providing for legal marriages, and for extending the criminal laws of neighboring States and Territories to Indian Reservations. Paid Indian training-schools are to be recommended, the present system of schools and police is to be

maintained and improved, and all the agencies for the civilization, education, and elevation of the Indian to the place of a citizen are to be continued and strengthened."

Notwithstanding a prevalent impression to the contrary, our Indian population, as a whole, has probably not decreased. Inter-tribal wars have ceased, and they are better clad, housed, and fed, and have better medical attendance, than ever before. By the census of 1880 the Indian population of the United States, exclusive of Alaska, numbers 255,938, more than half of whom now wear citizen's dress, distributed among sixty-eight agencies and one hundred reservations. Those not under the control of the agents of the government, numbering 15,802, are principally in the Territories of Arizona, Idaho, and Utah, and the States of California, Indiana, Kansas, North Carolina, Oregon, and Wisconsin. The Indian Territory, with a population of 76,585, of whom 17,398 are uncivilized, contains some thirty-five tribes or parts of tribes. It has no large towns. The principal settlements are Tablequah, the Cherokee capital, Caddo, in the Choctaw territory, Muscogee, in the Creek, Tishomingo, in the Chickasaw, and Vinita, a railroad town on the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas line.

From the Indian Commissioner's report for 1880 we learn that the five civilized tribes in the Indian Territory have 154 church buildings, 224 schools, with 6098 scholars, for the support of which \$186,359 is paid from tribal funds; 34,550 of the population—nearly one-half—can read. They have under cultivation 314,398 acres, raising 336,424 bushels of wheat, 2,346,042 of corn, 124,568 of barley and oats, and 595,000 of vegetables. The other Indian tribes have 169 schools, with 338 teachers and 9972 enrolled scholars, and 119 church buildings. Of the 150 million acres composing their reservations, 18 million are tillable. Of these, 27,078 were broken during the past year. The number of allotments in severalty to Indians in the same year was 3326; of Indian families engaged in farming, 22,048; of male Indians following civilized pursuits, 33,125. Amount expended for education during the year, \$319,901. The number of these Indians who can read is 11,780. The Commissioner reports favorably of their progress in the arts of industry, the demand for implements, tools, etc., being far beyond the means of the department to furnish.

It is evident, from a review of all the facts, that while in its dealings with the Indian our government has never been cruel or unjust in intention, it has often been so in reality. The responsibility for its shortcomings rests mainly upon the people, whose mouth-piece it is, and whose average sense of justice, and regard for national honor when opposed to material interests, it no doubt accurately reflects. The stream can rise no higher than its source. The popular conscience has, however, at length been awakened, and strenuous efforts are being made to rehabilitate the Indian, to whom civilization has thus far been a curse rather than a blessing; to accord him the rights and fit him for the duties and responsibilities of citizenship. Already has this been in some instances successfully accomplished, and the old theory of its impracticability completely disproved. With its full accomplishment one great source of national peril and humiliation will have forever disappeared.

THE INDIAN TRIBES  
OF THE  
UNITED STATES.



# THE INDIAN TRIBES

OF THE

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### CHAPTER I.

#### ORIGIN, TRADITIONS, PHYSICAL AND MENTAL TYPE.

ABORIGINAL history on this continent is more celebrated for preserving its fables than for recording its facts. This is emphatically true respecting the hunter and non-industrial tribes of the present area of the United States, who have left but little that is entitled to historical respect. Nations creeping out of the ground,—a world growing out of a tortoise's back,—the globe reconstructed from the earth clutched in a musk-rat's paw after a deluge,—such are the fables or allegories from which we are to frame their ancient history. Without any mode of denoting their chronology, without letters, without any arts depending upon the use of iron tools, without, in truth, any power of mind or hand to denote their early wars and dynasties, except what may be inferred from their monumental remains, there is nothing in their oral narrations of ancient epochs to bind together or give consistency to even this incongruous mass of wild hyperboles and crudities.

Manco Capac deriving his pedigree from the sun, or Tarenyawagon receiving his apotheosis from the White Bird of Heaven; Quetzalcoatl founding the Toltec empire with a few wanderers from the Seven Caves, or Atatarho veiling his god-like powers of terror with hissing rattlesnakes, fearful only to others,—such are the proofs by which they aim to stay the ill-proportioned fabric of their history, antiquities, and mythology.

The native cosmogonists, when they are recalled from building these castles in the air, and asked the meaning of a tumulus, or the age of some gigantic tooth or bone, which remains to attest geological changes in the surface of the continent, answer with a stare; and, if they speak at all, they make such heavy drafts upon the imagination that history never knows when she has made allowances enough on this head.

A mammoth bull jumping over the great lakes; a grape-vine carrying a whole

tribe across the Mississippi; an eagle's wings producing the phenomenon of thunder, or its flashing eyes that of lightning; men stepping in viewless tracks up the blue arch of heaven; the rainbow made a baldric; a little boy catching the sun's beams in a snare; hawks rescuing shipwrecked mariners from an angry ocean and carrying them up a steep ascent in leathern bags; these, and a plain event of last year's occurrence, are related by the chiefs with equal gravity, and expected to claim an equal share of belief and historic attention. Where so much is pure mythologic dross, or requires to be put in the crucible of allegory, there appears to be little room for any fact. Yet there are some facts against which we cannot shut our eyes.

We perceive in them a marked variety of the human race who have been lost to all history, ancient and modern. Of their precise origin, and the era and manner of their appearance on this continent, we know nothing with certainty. Philosophical inquiry is our only guide. This is still the judgment of the best inquirers who have investigated the subject through the medium of physiology, languages, antiquities, arts, traditions, or whatever other means may have been employed to solve the question. They are, evidently, ancient in their occupancy of the continent.<sup>1</sup> There are ruins here which probably date within five hundred years of the foundation of Babylon. We have known this continent less than four centuries. But it is now known that the Scandinavians had set foot upon it at a long prior date, and had visited the northern part of it from Greenland as early as the tenth century.

Where the native race can be supposed to have had its origin, history may vainly inquire. Herodotus is silent; there is nothing to be learned from Sanchoniathon and the fragmentary ancients. The cuneiform and the Nilotic inscriptions, the oldest in the world, are mute. Our Indian stocks seem to be still more ancient. Their languages, their peculiar idiosyncrasy, all that is peculiar about them, denote this. The remotest records of the traditions and discoveries of early nations in the Old World give no traces of their former position; and at the epoch of their discovery on this continent they were unrecognized among the existing varieties of man.<sup>2</sup>

The discovery of the American continent having thus introduced a new and per-

<sup>1</sup> The results of scientific investigation thus far, though incomplete, render it by no means improbable that man is as old here as anywhere else. Professor Agassiz was of the opinion that, so far as her physical history is concerned, America has been falsely denominated the New World. Says that eminent naturalist, "Hers was the first dry land lifted out of the waters, hers the first shore washed by the ocean that enveloped all the earth beside, and while Europe was represented only by islands rising here and there above the sea, America already stretched, an unbroken line of land, from Nova Scotia to the far west."—*Geological Sketches*, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> With Chinese and Japanese history we are as yet too imperfectly acquainted to speak with certainty of them. It is stated by a recent writer that the ancient Chinese recognized the American continent under the name of FOU-SANG. Vide M. de Guignes' "*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, etc.*," vol. xxviii. p. 503, Paris, 1671; also, M. de Paravey's "*L'Amérique sous le Nom de Pays de Fou-Sang, etc.*," Paris, 1844.

Humboldt observes that "where history, so far as it is founded on certain and distinctly expressed evidence, is silent, there remain only different degrees of probability; but an absolute denial of all facts in the world's history, of which the evidence is not distinct, appears to me no happy application of philological and historical criticism."—*Cosmos*, vol. ii. p. 409.

plexing problem to the learned world, opinions as to its origin and peopling were various and discordant in the extreme. Turning to the Scriptures, they found all mankind descended from a single pair. Then the question arose, Might not the original pair have been American as well as Asiatic? The theory of a Jewish origin, now generally abandoned, has been discussed at greater length than any other. Professor Nordenskjöld, of the Swedish Polar Expedition of 1878-79, supposed he had found the lost Tchuktchis of the northeast coast of Siberia, thought to be the connecting link between the races of the two worlds,—the Mongols of Asia and the Indians and Eskimos of America. Other ethnological inquirers have, however, satisfactorily shown that, so far from the latter being a connecting link at the most contiguous point between the hemispheres, their physical characteristics afford positive proof to the contrary. To the theory of Asiatic origin the most reasonable yet propounded valid objection is found in the absence of the horse and other domestic animals, and also of the useful plants and cereals necessary to a nomadic and pastoral people. Again, how could tropical animals have reached this continent *via* the polar regions? It is certain, however, that the American Indian manifests a decided affinity to the Mongolian type which prevails over the vast areas lying east of a line drawn from Lapland to Siam. Its definition includes a short squat build, a yellowish-brown complexion, with black eyes, black straight hair, a broad skull, usually without prominent brow-ridges, flat small nose, and oblique eyes. The differences raise difficult problems of gradual variation as well as mixture of races.

The theory of autochthonic origin, though opposed by Virchow and others, is worthy the gravest consideration. No theory of foreign origin has been proved, or even fairly sustained. Says H. H. Bancroft,<sup>1</sup> "The particulars in which the Americans are shown to resemble any given people of the Old World are insignificant in comparison with the particulars in which they do not resemble them." The existence here and there of Old World ideas and customs may easily be accounted for by the fact that Asiatics or Pacific islanders, in stray vessels thrown upon the American coast, may have settled here and imparted their knowledge to the inhabitants. Of twenty-eight Japanese junks that drifted upon the American coast between the years 1850 and 1875, only twelve were deserted. Traces of the Japanese language are found among the coast tribes of the Pacific. The people on both sides of Behring's Straits are known to have been in communication from time immemorial.

If this continent was peopled from the Old World, it must have been at a period far remote, and at a time when men were ignorant of the use of iron. All the indications point to a remote antiquity. It is evident that the question must be settled in accordance not with the old chronology, but with the discoveries of modern science. Bunsen claims for the Indian an antiquity of at least twenty thousand years, based on a common origin of language. On the whole, it seems probable that each continent has had its aboriginal stock, peculiar in color and in character, and

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<sup>1</sup> Native Races of the Pacific Coast.

that each has experienced repeated modifications by immigrating or shipwrecked colonists from abroad. All the present distinct types of races were equally well defined when human history begins. No variety has since originated. "The best of the argument" as to this unsettled question,—the unity of the human race,—says Mr. Wallace, the naturalist, "is with those who maintain the primitive diversity of man."

To add to the intricacy of this problem of race, there come in the indubitable evidences of a highly civilized pre-existent family of men, not nomads, but subsisting in large aggregations by agriculture, who disappeared many centuries ago, and who, from the numerous and peculiar traces of their labors in the central valleys of North America, have received the name of Mound-Builders. The object of these constructions is often doubtful, and one class of them has hitherto baffled conjecture. It is worthy of notice that the places where these remains are most abundant are the present natural centres of population and trade. The site of St. Louis was so thickly studded with them as to acquire the title of the Mound City.

The late Prof. J. W. Foster believed that their civilization was of an older and higher order than that of the Aztecs, and that they were of Southern origin. He was also of opinion that the ruins of Central America are more recent than the mounds of the Mississippi Valley, and the results of his observations of the crania of the Mound-Builders led him to infer that they were clearly separated from the existing races of men, and particularly from the Indians of North America.

"The distinctive character of these structures," says Foster, "and also the traditions which have been preserved, indicate that this people was expelled from the Mississippi Valley by a fierce and barbarous race, and that they found a refuge in the more genial climate of Central America, where they developed their germs of civilization originally planted there, attaining a perfection which has elicited the admiration of every modern explorer." In their domestic economy and civil relations while in the Mississippi Valley they differed materially from the Indians found at the period of discovery.

It was obvious to Columbus that, as these newly discovered tribes were not descendants of the fair-skinned stocks of Europe or Asia, or of the black-skinned race of Africa, neither had they any of the peculiar arts or customs of the one, or the characteristically barbarous traits of the other. India appeared to furnish the ethnological link to which they must be referred; and it was from that quarter that the strongest testimonies of resemblance came. Believing himself to have landed on a remote part of the Asiatic continent, he had the less hesitation in pronouncing them Indians. Regarded from other points of view besides their features, there were concurrent testimonies. They had not, indeed, the fixed industry of the prominent coast-tribes of Hindostan, or of other Asiatic races. Mere hunters and fishermen, without any but the rudest arts, without populous towns, and roving along the shores nearly nude, with almost the same alacrity as the multiplied species of the waters and forests, they had as little thought of fixity of location or curtailment of their nomadic liberty.

Surprise was at its height to find the Carib race, with whom the intercourse began, sunk so low in the scale of human beings, and so utterly unfit to encounter even the lowest tasks of civilization. The whole Caribbean region, extending northward to Cuba, and, it is thought, at an ancient period of the history of the Leeward Island group, even to the peninsula of Florida,<sup>1</sup> was found to be overspread with this divided and warring race, portions of whom were fierce and courageous.<sup>2</sup>

Viewed *in extenso*, the race appears to be composed of the fragments of various tribes of men, who bore, however, a general affinity to each other. With some small exceptions, the tribes appear to be parts of a whole. Most of their languages and dialects are manifestly derivative. While varying widely among themselves, their languages exhibit no affinity to any other, and form an absolutely distinct order of speech. While they are transpositive and polysyllabic, they are philosophically homogeneous in syntax, capable of the most exact analysis and resolution into their original and simple elements; and while some of them impose concords, in reference to a wild aboriginal principle of animate and inanimate classes of nature, they are entirely polysynthetic,—“much-putting-together.” All evidence points to their very great antiquity and independent evolution.<sup>3</sup>

#### TRADITIONS OF THE INDIANS RESPECTING THEIR ORIGIN.

What may be regarded, in their traditions of the world, their origin, and their opinions of man, as entitled to attention, is this. They believe in a supreme, transcendent power of goodness, or Great Merciful Spirit, by whom the earth, the animals, and man were created; also in a great antagonistic power, who can disturb the benevolent purposes of the other power. The latter they call the Great Evil Spirit. The belief in this duality of gods is universal.

They relate, generally, that there was a deluge at an ancient epoch, which covered the earth and drowned mankind, except a limited number. They speak most

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<sup>1</sup> Traces of affinities between the Carib and the Appalachian exist in their languages. The first personal pronoun *Ne*, or its equivalent *N*, which is common to the North American languages, and also the pronominal sign of the second person, *K*, are found in Davis's "Vocabulary of the Carib Language," London, 1666.

<sup>2</sup> The Caribs were the ancient inhabitants of the Windward Islands. Most of these are represented to be cannibals, who carried on fierce and relentless hostilities against the mild and inoffensive inhabitants of Hispaniola. The insular Caribs are conjectured to be descendants of the Galibio Indians of the coast of Paraná in South America. It is believed, by those who have examined the subject, that this hostility towards the Caribs of the larger Leeward Islands is founded on a tradition that the latter are descendants of a colony of Arrowanks, a nation of South America with whom the continental Caribs are at perpetual war. Columbus observed an abundance of cotton cloth used for garments in all the islands he visited. Legou, who visited Barbadoes in 1647, speaks of the pottery as being of an excellent kind. Alcedo, vol. i. p. 316.

<sup>3</sup> The language of the American Indian throws no light upon his origin. Gallatin, Duponceau, and others, who made it a profound study, found it primitive in character and differing radically from the languages of other peoples. "No theories of derivation from the Old World," says Hayden ("Archæology of the United States,"—Smithsonian Contributions, p. 54), "have stood the test of grammatical construction. All traces of the fugitive tribes of Israel supposed to be found here are again lost. Neither Phœnician, nor Hindoo, nor Chinese, nor Welsh, nor Scandinavian have left any impression of their national syntax behind them."

emphatically of a future state, and appear to have some confused idea of rewards and punishments, which are allegorically represented.

They regard the earth as their cosmogonic mother, and declare their origin to have been in caves, or in some other manner within its depths. The leading dogma of their theology is, however, that a future state is destined to reward them for evils endured in this; and that the fates of men are irrevocably fixed, and cannot be altered, except, it may be, by appeals to their seers, prophets, or jossakeeds, which finally, if we are to judge by the stolidity of an Indian's death, they entirely forget, or appear to have no faith in.

They declare themselves generally to be aborigines. Pure fables, or allegories, are all that support this. By one authority, they climbed up the roots of a large vine from the interior to the surface of the earth; by another, they casually saw light, while under ground, from the top of a cavern in the earth. In one way or another, most of the tribes plant themselves on the traditions of a local origin. Seeing many quadrupeds which burrow in the earth, they acknowledge a similar and mysterious relation. Tecumseh affirmed, in accordance with this notion, that the earth was his mother; and Michabou held that the birds and beasts were his brothers. A few of the tribes, North and South, have something of a traditional value to add to these notions, expressive of an opinion of a foreign origin. This, as gleaned from various authors, will be now particularly mentioned.

These ideas, which vary greatly in different tribes, are mingled with fables and beliefs of the grossest absurdity. The attempt to separate tradition from mythologic belief, in the chaos of Indian intellect, has some resemblance to the attempt of a finite hand to separate light from darkness. The overflow of waters on the earth having been narrated,—an event, by the way, which they attribute to the Great Evil Spirit,—their traditions skip over thousands of years, which they fill up as an epoch of mythology. In this, monsters, giants, spirits, genii, gods, and demons wield their powers against each other, and fill the world with cannibalism, murders, and complicated fears and horrors. The Algonkin Indians indeed say, in accordance with geological theory, that the animals at first had the rule on earth, and that man came in as a later creation.

One of the chief features of this epoch of monstrosities, in each leading family of American tribes, is the tradition of some great hero, giant-killer, or wise benefactor, whose name is exalted as a god, and to whose strength, wisdom, or sagacity they attribute deliverance. Such are Quetzalcoatl among the Toltecs and Aztecs, Atahentsic, Atatarho, and Tarenyawagon, among the Iroquois, and Micabo, or the Great Hare, popularly called Manabozho, among the Algonkins.

Next are heard, in their history of the world, accounts, variously related, of the arrival of Europeans on the coast, about the end of the sixteenth century. From that era to the present day is, with the exceptions below recited, the period of authentic tradition. Most of the tribes possess traditions of the first appearance of white men among them, and some of them name the place. The Lenni Lenapes and Mohicans preserve the memory of the appearance and voyage of Hudson up the

river bearing his name, in 1609. The Iroquois have the tradition of a wreck, apparently earlier, on the southern coast, and of the saving and, after a time, the extinction in blood of a colony then founded. This possibly may be the first colony of Virginia, in 1588. The Algonkins have a tradition of Cartier's visit to the St. Lawrence in 1534, and call the French, to this day, People of the Wooden Vessel, or Wa-mitig-oazh. The Chippewas affirmed (in 1824) that seven generations of men had passed since that nation first came into the lakes.<sup>1</sup>

The origin of man is variously related. By the Iroquois traditions, Atahentsic, the mother of mankind, was cast out of heaven, and received on the ocean of chaos, on the back of a turtle, where she was delivered of twin sons. Areasko is the Iroquois god of war. In Algonkin mythology, the mother of Manabozho fell through the moon into a lake. He became the killer of monsters, and survived a deluge. His brother, Chebiâbo, is the keeper of the land of the dead. Pauguk is a skeleton, who hunts men with a bow and arrows. Weeng is the spirit of somnolency. He has myriads of tiny invisible aids, resembling gnomes, who, armed with war-clubs, creep up to the foreheads of men and by their blows compel sleep. Iägoo, represents the class of Munchausen story-tellers. Each of the cardinal points is presided over by a mythological personage. Kabaun governs the west; Waban, the east; Shawano, the south, etc. Many of the planets are transformed adventurers. An animal of the weasel family in the north sprang from a high mountain into heaven and let out the genial summer atmosphere. The Thunderers are a reverend body of warriors, armed with long spears, arrows, and shields. Winter, spring, summer, and autumn are personified. Transformations are the poetic machinery of the wigwam stories. Ovid is hardly more prolific in his changes of men into animals, plants, and transformations of one class of objects into another. It is by these creations, spiritualities, personifications, symbols, and allegories that the language becomes capable of expressing conceptions of fictitious creations, which cover the whole panorama of hills, plains, and mountains, and fill the wide forests with imaginary beings.

Three or four of the chief stocks now between the equinox and the Arctic circle have preserved traditions which it is deemed proper to recite.

In the voyages of Sir Alexander Mackenzie among the Arctic tribes, he relates of the Chepewyans, that "they have a tradition that they originally came from another country, inhabited by very wicked people, and had traversed a great lake, which was narrow and shallow and full of islands, where they had suffered great misery, it being always winter, with ice and deep snow." In a subsequent passage, p. 387, he remarks, "Their progress [the great Athabascan family] is easterly, and, according to their own tradition, they came from Siberia, agreeing in dress and manners with the people now found upon the coasts of Asia."

The Shawanoes, an Algonkin tribe, have a tradition of a foreign origin, or a

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<sup>1</sup> If 1608, the period of the settlement of Canada, be taken as the era, and thirty years be allowed to a generation, this is a remarkable instance of accuracy of computation.

landing from a sea-voyage. John Johnston, Esq., who was for many years their agent, prior to 1820, observes, in a letter of July 7, 1819, published in the first volume of "Archæologia Americana," p. 273, that they migrated from West Florida, and parts adjacent, to Ohio and Indiana, where this tribe was then located.

"The people of this nation," he observes, "have a tradition that their ancestors crossed the sea. They are the only tribe with which I am acquainted who admit a foreign origin. Until lately, they kept yearly sacrifices for their safe arrival in this country. Where they came from, or at what period they arrived in America, they do not know. It is a prevailing opinion among them that Florida had been inhabited by white people, who had the use of iron tools. Blackhoof (a celebrated chief) affirms that he has often heard it spoken of by old people, that stumps of trees, covered with earth, were frequently found, which had been cut down by edged tools."

At a subsequent page he says, "It is somewhat doubtful whether the deliverance which they celebrate has any other reference than to the crossing of some great river, or an arm of the sea."

The Chippewas relate the following oral tradition of the creation of this continent and of the Indian tribes. They call the continent a little island,—namely, *Minnisq.*<sup>1</sup>

When the Good Spirit created this island, it was a perfect plain, void of any trees or shrubs: he first created the Indian man, and then the Indian woman. They multiplied, and when they numbered about ten persons living, death was known to come in the midst of them. The first man that was created lamented his fate: he went to and fro over the earth, and, addressing himself to the author of his being, said, "Why did the Good Spirit create me, that I should so soon know death, weakness, and frailty?" The Good Spirit from on high heard the man lamenting his condition. Touched by the appeal, he commanded his angels, or those beings whom he had created in heaven, to assemble to a great council. The Good Spirit, addressing himself to his conclave of counsellors, said, "What shall we do to better the condition of man? for I have created him frail and weak." The host of assembled angels answered and said, "O Good Spirit, thou hast formed and created us, and thou art self-existent, knowing all things, and thou alone knowest what is best for thy creatures."

The consultation lasted six days; and during this time not a breath of wind blew to disturb the surface of the waters: this calm is now called *Unwatig* by the Indians. On the seventh day, not a cloud was to be seen, the sky was blue and serene; this is now called *Nügeezhig* by them.

The Good Spirit, having consulted his angels during six days, on the seventh day sent down a messenger to the Indian, placing in his right bosom a piece of white hare-skin, and in his left part of the head of the white-headed eagle; the hare-skin, and the part of the head of the bald-headed eagle, were painted blue, representing a blue sky,—the symbol of peace, observed on the six days' consultation in heaven.

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<sup>1</sup> The cedilla to the terminal *a* in this word is intended to carry the inflection *ance*.

The messenger was directed to tell the man who lamented, that his words were heard, and that they had come before the Good Spirit; that he was the messenger of glad tidings to him, and that he must conform himself strictly to the Good Spirit's commandments; that he had brought a piece of white hare-skin and part of a white eagle's head, which they must use in their Medawi (or Grand Medicine Feast),—and whatsoever they should ask on those occasions would be granted to them, and a prolongation of life would be given to the sick. The messenger also presented the Indian a white otter-skin, painted on the back of the head with a blue stripe, the paint used being, in fact, a piece of the blue sky which appeared so beautiful in their eyes. (The blue earth nowadays used as a paint on pipes, pouches, and other cherished articles is typical of peace and kindness.) The messenger held in his hands a bunch of white flowers and plants, and said, "This will be a medicine for the healing of your sicknesses; I have been directed to scatter it over all the earth, so that it may be readily found when the Indian needs it," scattering it over the earth as he spoke.

At this time, a very large tree was sent down from heaven, and planted in the midst of the island; its roots, which were very large, extended to the extremity of the earth, east and west, so that the winds could not root it up; on the east side of it a blue mark was set, representing the blue stripe of the sky. The messenger instructed the Indians how to make use of its bark as a mixture with other medicinal herbs and roots, cautioning them always to take it from the east side.

The next testimony is from Mexico. Montezuma told Cortez of a foreign connection between the Aztec race and the nations of the Old World.

This tradition, as preserved by Don Antonio Solis, led that monarch to assure the conqueror of a relationship to the Spanish crown, in the line of sovereigns.

His speech is this: "I would have you to understand, before you begin your discourse, that we are not ignorant, or stand in need of your persuasions to believe, that the great prince you obey is descended from our ancient Quetzalcoatl, Lord of the Seven Caves of the *Navatlaques*, and lawful king of those seven nations which gave beginning to our Mexican empire. By one of his prophecies, which we receive as an infallible truth, and by a tradition of many ages, preserved in our annals, we know that he departed from these countries to conquer new regions in the East, leaving a promise that, in process of time, his descendants should return to model our laws and mend our government."

The tradition of the origin of the Mexican empire in bands of adventurers from the Seven Caves rests upon the best authority we have of the Toltec race, supported by the oral opinion of the Aztecs in 1519. An examination of it by the lights of modern geography, in connection with the nautical theory of oceanic currents and the fixed courses of the winds in the Pacific, gives strong testimony in favor of an early expressed opinion in support of a migration in high latitudes. It is now considered probable that those caves were seated in the Aleutian chain. This chain of islands connects the continents of Asia and America at the most practicable points; and it begins precisely opposite to that part of the Asiatic coast northeast of the

Chinese empire, and quite above the Japanese group, where we should expect the Mongolic and Tartar hordes to have been precipitated upon those shores. On the American side of the trajet, extending south of the peninsula of Onalasca, there is evidence, in the existing dialects of the tribes, of their being of the same generic group with the Toltec stock. By the data brought to light by Mr. Hale, the ethnographer to the United States Exploring Expedition under Captain Wilkes, and from other reliable sources, the philological proof is made quite apparent. The peculiar Aztec termination of substantives in *tl*, which was noticed at Nootka Sound, is too indicative, in connection with other resemblances in sound and in the principles of construction, noticed by Mr. Hale, to be disregarded.

In seeking the facts of modern geography and nautical science on the probability of such an origin for the Indian population of Central and Mexican North America,—not the tribes of the Andes,—the observations accumulated on the meteorology and currents of the Pacific and Indian seas, at the National Observatory, have furnished a new point of light. Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Hamilton Smith, of Edinburgh, author of a treatise on the Natural History of the Human Species, appears to have been the first observer to throw out the idea of the Chichimecs, a rude Mexican people of the Toltecan lineage, having migrated from this quarter, taking, however, the word “caves” to be a figure denoting a vessel, catamaran, or canoe, and not employing it in a literal sense.

Lieutenant M. F. Manry, U.S.N., says, referring to the Chichimec legend of the “Seven Caves,” that the Chichimecs might originally have been Aleutians, and that “caves,” if not denoting islands, might have referred to canoes. He also says that “the Aleutians of the present day actually live in caves or subterranean apartments, which they enter through a hole in the top.” In his opinion, the Pacific and Polynesian waters could have been navigated in early times, supposing the winds had then been as they now are, in balsas, floats, and other rude vessels of early ages, and, furthermore, that when we take into consideration the position of North America with regard to Asia, of New Holland with regard to Africa, with the winds and currents of the ocean, it would have been more remarkable that America should not have been peopled from Asia, or New Holland from Africa, than that they should have been.

#### PHYSICAL TRAITS.

In whatever else the tribes differ, or however they have been developed in tribal or national distinctions, it is in their physiology and the general structure of mind and thought that they most closely coincide. Indians seen on the Orinoco, the Rio Grande, and the Mississippi present a set of features and characteristics remarkably alike. From Patagonia to Athabasca, and even to the shores of the Arctic Ocean, there is a coincidence which has been the subject of general remark. Such is this coincidence, observes a recent physiologist, whose attention has been particularly directed to this subject, that whoever has seen one of the tribes has seen all. It is not the traits of the man of the Indus or the Gambia,—not Hindostanee, Chinese,

Tartar, or Japanese,—not even the segregated yet resembling races of the Pacific and the isles of the Indian Ocean, however approximating in some of their physical traits,—that we behold. There is something more fixed, more homogeneous, more indigenous, more ethnic, than these recited varieties of the human race present.

On the discovery of the race, as represented by the Caribs of the West Indies, in 1492, Columbus was so struck with the general resemblance of their physiological traits to those of the East Indians, or Hindoos, that he at once called them *Indians*. All subsequent observers in that area have concurred generally with him in this respect. Such has also been the observation in North America. Ninety-two years after the discovery, that is, in 1584, when the first ships sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh, under his commission from Queen Elizabeth, reached the Virginia coasts, they landed among a generic family of the red men, differing in language wholly from the Caribs, but whose physical type was nevertheless essentially the same. The stock family found in Virginia has since become very well known to us under the generic cognomen of Algonkins. Wherever examined, between the original landings at Occoquan and Roanoke and the south capes of the St. Lawrence, they have revealed the same general physiology. The most important and uniform physical traits of the Indian are,—

The hair coarse, black, glossy, and long, but always straight, never wavy; beard scanty;

Eyes small and black, somewhat deep-set, always horizontal;

Eyebrows narrow, arched, and black; skin thinner, softer, and smoother than in the white races;

Cheek-bones and nose prominent, the latter often long and aquiline;

Color copper or cinnamon-brown, except the Seminoles, who are olive-brown, and the Mandans of Missouri, who are fair or whitish.

Two qualities are common to all these manifold varieties,—viz., black hair and polysynthetic speech. Fulness or lankness of muscle, height or shortness of stature, and weakness or vigor of vitality may be considered as the effects of peculiarities of food and climate. But the traits that preside over and give character to the muscular mass show themselves as clearly in the well-fed Osage and Dakota and the stately Algonkin as in the fish- and rabbit-fed *Gens de Terre* (Muskigo) on the confines of Canada, or in the root-eating Shoshone of the Rocky Mountains.<sup>1</sup>

As a race, there never was one more impracticable; more bent on a nameless principle of *tribality*; more averse to combinations for their general good; more deaf to the voice of instruction. They appear on this continent to have trampled

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<sup>1</sup>In a series of experiments devoted to the hair, made with the microscope, Mr. Peter A. Browne, of Philadelphia, has demonstrated three primary species of the hair and hairy tissue, or wool, of the human head, as shown by the researches respecting the Anglo-Saxon, Indian, and Negro races. These experiments, which appear to have been conducted with scientific and philosophical care, denote the structure and organization of each of these species to be peculiar. They are denominated, in the order above stated, cylindrical or round, oval, and eccentrically elliptical or flat. The Indian hair employed in these experiments was the Choctaw.

on monumental ruins, some of which had their origin before their arrival, or without their participation as builders. They have in the North no temples for worship, and live in a wild belief of the ancient theory of a demiurgus, or Soul of the Universe, which inhabits and animates everything.

But, whatever their origin, when first observed the Indians presented all the leading traits and characteristics of the present day. Of all races on the face of the earth, in features, manners, and customs they have apparently changed the least, preserving their physical and mental type with the fewest alterations. They continue to reproduce themselves, as a race, even where their manners are comparatively polished and their intellects enlightened, as if they were bound by the iron fetters of an unchanging type. In this unvarying and indomitable individuality, and in their fixity of opinion and general idiosyncrasy, they certainly remind the reader of Oriental races,—of the Semitic family of man.

#### MENTAL TRAITS.

The physical type is thus seen to be permanent. Nor is there much to favor the idea of the organization of a new mental germ. The same indestructibility of type, the same non-progressiveness of the Indian Oriental mind, is perceived in the race in every part of this continent. The Indian mind appears to have no intellectual propulsion, no analytic tendencies. It reproduces the same ideas in 1880 as in 1492.

The scope of thought of the Indian tribes, when they stand forth to utter their sentiments and opinions in public, is more elevated and high-minded and evinces more readiness of expression than is generally found among the lower uneducated classes of civilized nations. The talent for speaking is earnestly cherished. One is often surprised by the noble style of their thoughts, and their capacity to rise above selfishness and assume a high, heroic attitude. It is difficult sometimes for the interpreters to follow or understand these veins of lofty thought and do justice to the aboriginal oratory. If these flights are not always sustained, it may be said that they are sometimes so; and we must judge the Indian, as we do civilized nations, by their best examples. That a people who are often depressed, so as to be put to their wits' end for means of subsistence, should rise to elevation of thought at all, is surprising.

The hunter mind is so deeply fascinated with its ideal of freedom that it seeks occasion to burst through the fetters imposed by the irksome pressure of civilization; and, as a relief, it gives vent to these bold and free flashes of thought. Their forms of language would appear to be too narrow to permit this, were it not that the purposes of generalization are effected by bold and striking metaphors, which are often violent indeed, but sometimes surpassingly simple and appropriate. "I stand in the path," the exclamation of Pontiac to the commander of a British force marched into his country in 1763, is a metaphor, denoting imperial sway in the West, worthy of Napoleon in the palmiest days of his wonderful career, while putting his feet on the necks of the kings and emperors of Europe. It is worthy of note that the best

instances of their intellectual vigor were not found in the elevated table-lands and heights of Anahuac, Caxamarca, and Cuzco, on the slope of the Andes, but among the free forest tribes who wielded the bow and arrow in North America.

Struck by the bold and manly bearing of the Indian sachems, and their ready powers of oratory, the French missionaries to New France sent back the most glowing accounts of the natural capacity of this people.

Lafitau says, "They are possessed of sound judgment, lively imagination, ready conception, and wonderful memory;" and that "they are high-minded and proud; possess a courage equal to every trial; an intrepid valor, and the most heroic constancy under torments; and an equanimity which neither misfortune nor reverses can shake."

Charlevoix remarks, "The beauty of their imagination equals its vivacity, which appears in all their discourse: they are very quick at repartee, and their harangues are full of shining passages, which would have been applauded at Rome or Athens. Their eloquence has a strength, nature, and pathos which no art can give, and which the Greeks admired in the barbarians."

Similar testimony is expressed by numerous other foreign writers of early periods, all of whom, with the exception of Buffon and De Pauw, concur in the position that the Indian mind possesses great vigor and strong powers of perception, eloquence, and imagination. American writers have approached the subject with more soberness of apprehension, and with a perpetual recollection, it would seem, of the Indian's general defects of induction, forecast, and stability of character. The aborigines are perceived to possess an imagination of a peculiar, apparently a very ancient and Oriental, cast; but their powers of oratory cannot be taken as a measure of their capacity for meeting the practical questions of life. To think closely and consecutively, to plan well, and to execute with firmness and perseverance, are the characteristics of the human mind in a high state of civilization. Their natural eloquence has commanded general admiration, as possessing some of the very highest elements. Thought has seldom been brought home to human actions more forcibly than it is seen in some of their more celebrated harangues and oratorical efforts. Mr. Jefferson has given us a most remarkable instance of their oratorical powers in his "Notes on Virginia."<sup>1</sup>

The power of enumeration in the United States tribes has been deemed, from the earliest voyages, to be very low. By recent inquiry it is seen, however, that they are

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<sup>1</sup> The facts connected with the speech of Logan are so fully and elaborately considered in a discourse delivered before the Maryland Historical Society, 9th May, 1851, by Brantz Mayer, Esq., as to leave nothing more to be said on the subject. It is clearly shown, by the testimony of General G. R. Clarke, that Logan was mistaken in asserting that the murder of his family was perpetrated by Captain Michael Cresap. It was the act of one Daniel Greathouse, at a time when Captain Cresap was at another point on the Ohio; the latter, on hearing of this cruel and perfidious act, expressed his utter abhorrence of it. Cresap was truly a man whose name and fame had rendered him an object of fear and respect on the part of the Western Indians; but he was as humane as he was politic and brave, and his patriotism and military services were conspicuous in the cause of American independence.

by no means deficient. They generally reveal a decimal system having original names for the digits to 10. They then repeat these names, with a conjunction thrown between them, till 20, for which there is a separate inflection to the decimal, and this inflection is added to the primary particle for numbers till 100, for which there is a separate denomination. By awaking the latent powers of computation, most of the tribes, and all the instanced ones, it is believed, are found capable of denoting high numbers. Inquiries made of the Choctaws prove that they can compute, by doubling their denominators, or by new inflections, to 1,000,000,000; the Dakotas, to the same; the Cherokees, to 300,000,000; the Chippewas, to 1,000,000,000; the Winnebagoes, the same; the Wyandots, to 3,000,000; the Hitchites, to but 1000; the Pillagers, to 100,000; the Camanches, to but 30, etc.; and even the wild and predatory Yumas have the decimal system.

To ascertain whether the Indian mind and character exhibit a type of race which may be deemed peculiar, it will be necessary to examine their religious and psychological notions and dogmas, their mythology, and their conceptions of a Deity, and, if their traits, opinions, and idiosyncrasies be indigenous or American, to inquire in what their original conceptions of art or science, religion or opinion, consist. In the Toltecan group, a calendar and system of astronomy and a style of architecture are found which are eminently calculated to arrest attention. More than all, the tribes over the whole continent possess a class of languages which by their principles of grammatical construction, though running through great changes, vindicate claims to philosophical study.

Nothing is more notorious than the former prevalence of sun-worship among the Peruvian and Mexican tribes; where, however, it was mixed with the practice of human sacrifices and the grossest rites. The Aztecs made offerings to the sun upon the highest teocalli, and sung hymns to it. Sacred fire was supplied alone by the priesthood, and it was the foundation of their power.

North of the Gulf of Mexico the doctrine prevailed with more of its original Oriental simplicity, and free from the horrid rites which had marked it in the valley of Anahuac and among the spurs of the Andes.

The tribes of the present area of the United States would admit of no temples, but made their sacred fires in the recesses of the forest. They sung hymns to the sun as the symbol of the Great Spirit. Such is their present practice in the forests. They were guilty, it is true, at all periods of their history, of shocking cruelties to prisoners taken in war, but they never offered them as sacrifices to the Deity.

They never use common fire for uncommon purposes. Sacred fire is obtained on ceremonial occasions by percussion; most commonly with the flint.<sup>1</sup> Opwáguns, or pipes, with the incense of tobacco, are thus lighted whenever the business in hand is national in character, or relates to their secret societies. This object, so lighted, is first offered by genuflections to the four cardinal points and the zenith.

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<sup>1</sup> The Iroquois used an apparatus for giving velocity to a turning upright stick on a basis of wood, called Dä-ya-yä-dä-ga-ne-at-hä.

It is then handed by the master of ceremonies to the chiefs and public functionaries present, who are each expected to draw a few whiffs ceremonially. Sir Alexander Mackenzie has well described this ceremony at page 97 of his "Voyages."

In this primitive practice of having no temples for their worship, obtaining their sacred fire for ceremonial occasions by percussion, and keeping their worship up to its simple standard of a sort of transcendentalism, as taught by the Oriental nations to whom we have referred, the Indian tribes of the United States indicate their claims to a greater antiquity than those of the southern part of the continent. They appear to have been pushed from their first positions by tribes of grosser rites and manners.

"The disciples of Zoroaster," says Herodotus, "reject the use of temples, of altars, and of statues, and smile at the folly of those nations who imagine that the gods are sprung from, or bear any affinity with, the human nature. The tops of the highest mountains are the places chosen for their sacrifices. Hymns and prayers are the principal worship. The Supreme God, who fills the wide arch of heaven, is the object to which they are addressed."

Let us take another of their dogmas, and try whether it has the character of an original or derivative belief. We allude to the two principles of good and evil, for which the Iroquois have the names of Inigorio, the good mind, and Inigohahetgea, or the evil mind. (See Cusic's "Ancient History of the Six Nations;" also the Wyandot tradition of Oriwahento.) This is one of the earliest Oriental beliefs. It was one of the leading dogmas of Zoroaster. Goodness, according to this philosopher, is absorbed in light; evil is buried in darkness. Ormuzd is the principle of benevolence, true wisdom, and happiness to men. Ahriman is the author of malevolence and discord. By his malice he has long pierced the *egg of Ormuzd*,—in other words, has violated the harmony of the works of creation.

The North American tribes of our latitudes appear to have felt that the existence of evil in the world was incompatible with that universal benevolence and goodness which they ascribe to the Merciful Great Spirit. Iroquois theology meets this question: it accounts for it by supposing at the creation the birth of two antagonistic powers of miraculous energy, but subordinate to the Great Spirit, one of whom is perpetually employed to restore the discords and maladaptations in the visible creation of the other.

The idea of the allegory of the *egg of Ormuzd* has been suggested, in the progress of Western settlements, by the discovery of an earth-work situated on the summit of a hill in Adams County, Ohio. This hill is one hundred and fifty feet above the surface of Brush Creek. It represents the coil of a serpent seven hundred feet long, but it is thought would reach, if deprived of its curves, one thousand feet. The jaws of the serpent are represented as widely distended, as if in the act of swallowing. In the interstice is an oval or egg-shaped mound.

Thus far, the beliefs of the more northerly of our tribes appear to be of a Chaldee-Persic character. It is no proof that nations have been necessarily connected in their history because they coincide in the rites of sun-worship. Other

traits must also coincide. But to those who object to the idea of the worship of the sun and moon as a natural species of idolatry for barbarous nations to select, between whom, however, no previous connection or intercourse necessarily existed, it is replied that this idea did not propagate itself west with the idolatrous Scythians, at least beyond Rome, where Sylla established the rite of an eternal Fire; nor did it reappear among the Celts, Cimbri, Teutons, Iberians, Slavonians, and other tribes who filled all Europe, to its farthest confines in Scandinavia and the British isles. Nor do we find that the doctrine of the two principles of Good and Evil, so extensively believed by the nations of Central Asia, was spread at all in that direction. The Celtic priests had no such notions, nor do we hear of them among the worshippers of Odin: they both had an entirely different mythology. It is remarkable that there was no sun-worship in the area of Western Europe. The propagation of the doctrines of the Magi appears to have been among the tribes east and south of the original seats of their power and influence. Egypt had them as early as the Exodus; and it has been seen that the idolatrous tribes of Chaldea were addicted to the worship of the sun and moon.

It has been found that the Indians of the United States believe in the duality of the soul. This ancient doctrine is plainly announced as existing among the Algonkins, in connection *with*, and as a reason *for*, the universal custom of the deposit of food with the dead, and that of leaving an opening in the grave-covering, which is very general.

They also believe in the general doctrine of the metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls. Pythagoras is supposed to have got his first ideas on the subject from the Egyptian priests and the recluse Brahmins. But, wherever he imbibed the doctrine, he transmitted it as far as his name had influence. The views of the Northern tribes on this subject are shown incidentally in the oral tales which Mr. Schoolcraft first began to collect among the Algonkins and Dakotas in 1822, and which are embodied in his "Algie Researches." The soul of man is seen, in these curious legends, to be thought immortal, the vital spark passing from one object to another. This object of the new life in general is *not* man, but some species of the animated creation; or even, it may be, for a time, an inanimate object. The circumstances which determine this change do not appear. Nor can it be affirmed that the doctrine is parallel, in all respects, with the theory of the Samian philosopher. It would seem that the superior will of the individual, as a spiritually possessed person, himself determined the form of his future life.

Great attention is paid by the North American Indians to the flight of birds, whose motions in the upper regions of the atmosphere are considered ominous. Those of the carnivorous species are deemed indicative of events in war, and they are the symbols employed in their war-songs and extemporaneous chants. The gathering of these species to fatten upon dead bodies left upon the field of battle is the image strongly thrown forward in their chants, and these warlike *Pe-na-si-wug* are deemed to be ever prescient of the times and places of conflict, which are denoted by their flight. As the carnivora are familiar with the upper currents of the atmosphere,

where their gods of the air dwell, their association in the Indian mind with these deities of battle as messengers to carry intelligence is a well-known fact. But no trace of the custom, so prevalent among the ancients, of seeking a knowledge of the future by the examination, after death, of entrails of any kind has ever been found among the aborigines of America.

Minute observation is also bestowed by them upon the meteorology of the clouds. Their size, their color, their motions, their relative position to the sun and to the horizon, form the subject of a branch of knowledge which is in the hands of their medas and prophets. Important events are often decided by predictions founded on such observations. The imagery of this exalted view of the celestial atmosphere, with its starry background, and its warfare of thunder, lightning, electricity, aurora borealis, and storms, is very much employed in their personal names. This imagery is capable of being graphically seized on by their transpositive languages, and is highly poetic. The habit of such observation has evidently been nurtured by living for ages, as the race has done, in the open air, and without houses to obscure every possible variety of atmospheric juxtaposition and display.

We might continue this discussion of opinions and beliefs which appear to lie hidden in the mythology of the Indian mind, or are only brought out in an incidental manner, and which appear not to have had an indigenous origin; but we should do great injustice to the Indian character not to mention by far the most prominent of their beliefs, so far as they govern his daily practices. We allude to the doctrine of *Manitoes*, or what may be denominated Manitology. And here appears to be the strongest ground for the claim of originality of conception. All the tribes have some equivalent to this. We use the Algonkin word, because that is best known. The word Manito, when not used with a prefix or accent, does not mean the Deity or Great Spirit. It is confined to a spiritual or mysterious power. The doctrine that a man may possess such a power is well established in the belief of all the tribes. All their priests and prophets assert the possession of it, but the possession is not believed by even the blindest zealot or impostor to be supreme or equal to that of the Great Merciful Spirit, or demiurgic deity. A man may fast to obtain this power. The initial fast at the age of puberty, which every Indian undergoes, is for light to be individually advertised and become aware of this personal Manito. When revealed in dreams, his purpose is accomplished, and he adopts that revelation, which is generally some bird or animal, as his personal or guardian Manito. He trusts in it in war and in peace; and there is no exigency in life, in or from which he believes it cannot help or extricate him. The misfortune is, for his peace and welfare of mind, that these Manitoes are not of equal and harmonious power. One is constantly supposed to be "stronger," or to have greater spiritual powers, than another. Hence the Indian is never sure that his neighbor is not under the guardianship of a Manito stronger than his own.

This is not the worst of the doctrine. There are malignant as well as benevolent Manitoes. Here the two principles of good and evil, which we have discussed as of Oriental origin, develop themselves. The evil Manito is constantly

exercising his power to counteract or overreach the good. And thus the Indian, who believes in a passive Great Spirit, or *Gezha Manito*, with no other attributes than goodness and ubiquity, is left in a perpetual and horrible state of fear. His Great Spirit is believed to rule the earth and the sky, and to be the WA-ZHA-WAUD, or maker of the world; but he leaves these two antagonistic classes of Manitoes to war with each other, and to counteract each other's designs, to fill the world with turmoils, and, in fact, to govern the *moral* destinies of mankind.

There is no attempt by the hunter priesthood, jugglers, or pow-wows, which can be gathered from their oral traditions, to impute to the Great Merciful Spirit the attribute of *justice*, or to make man accountable to him, here or hereafter, for aberrations from *virtue, good will, truth*, or any form of moral right. With benevolence and pity as prime attributes, the Great Transcendental Spirit of the Indian does not take upon himself a righteous administration of the world's affairs, but, on the contrary, leaves it to be filled, and its affairs, *in reality*, governed, by demons and fiends in human form. Here is the Indian theology. Every one will see how subtile it is; how well calculated to lead the uninformed hunter mind captive and make it ever fearful; and how striking a coincidence its leading dogma of the two opposing principles of Good and Evil affords with the Oriental doctrines to which we have referred.

It is difficult to introduce comparisons between the barbarous tribes of America and the existing civilized races of Asia. The latter, east of the Indus at least, and bordering on the Indian Ocean, are called non-progressive races; but they possess a type of civilization, founded on agriculture, arts, and letters, which is very ancient. They have practised the science of numbers and astronomy from the earliest times. Most or all of them have alphabets. The cuneiform character was in use in the days of Darius Hystaspes. Many of the arts are supposed to have had their origin there. The use of iron among them is without date. Their systems of religious philosophy were committed to writing, if not put in print, before America was discovered. The Chinese knew the art of printing before it was discovered in Europe. They were acquainted with the powers of the magnet and the mariner's compass. Naval architecture has belonged to the Chinese and Japanese time out of mind. The Hindoos built temples in India of enormous magnitude and exact proportions, long, it is believed, before the use of Egyptian or Grecian architecture. The sword, the spear, the bow and arrow, and the shield and banner, came into their hands from the earliest days of the Assyrian, Chaldean, and Persian monarchies.

Many have supposed that the Oriental arts and knowledge were transferred to this continent at early epochs, and have beheld evidence of this in the ruins of temples, teocallis, and other structures and vestiges of ancient art scattered over the country. We shall know more of this when we come to find and decipher inscriptions. As yet very little is known scientifically of American ruins and monuments of antiquity. We have done very little beyond the popular description of certain remains of ancient architecture.

We have said that it is difficult to compare the notions of our Indians with those

of the existing Orientals: the one is a barbarous race—mere hunters, without knowledge, arts, or letters; the other civilized, and possessing them. Something may, however, be inferred from the theory announced of the antiquity of thought and ideas.

It has been seen in the course of our discussion that the Indians of America worship, with more truth and purity than has been found this side of the Indus, the Tigris, and the Euphrates, the being of a universal God, or Manito, who is called in the North the Great, Good, or Merciful Spirit. To his power they oppose an antagonistic Great, Evil-Minded Spirit, who is constantly seeking to destroy and overturn all good and benevolent measures. This evil power, or *Matchi Manito*, is represented or symbolized often by the Serpent; hence gifts and addresses are made to him by their medas and jossakeeds. They also offer oblations to him directly, as inhabiting the solid earth. They pour out drinks to him. Thus the ancient Oriental notion of a dualistic deity is revealed.

It has also been seen that they are worshippers of the elements, of fire, and of the sun; and that hymns and offerings are made to the latter. It has been shown that their oral traditions contain abundant evidence of the idea of metempsychosis, or the transmigration of the soul through a wandering series of existences, human and brute.

The Hindoo idea of *caste* is unknown to the North American Indian. To him all races are “born equal.” The burning of widows at the funeral pile, the casting of bodies into any stream, like the Ganges, whose waters are believed to be sacred, are ideas and practices equally unknown. The incineration of the bodies of the dead was not practised on this continent, even in the tropics, and is a rite unknown to the tribes of the United States; there is no infanticide, no car of Juggernaut.

The periodical offering of cakes, libations, flesh, or viands at the grave, to ancestors, or the Patras of the human race, which is stated to be a custom of the Hindoos, is, however, seen to be an idea incorporated in the practice of the American, or at least the Algonic, Indians. These Indians, believing in the duality of the soul, and that the soul sensorial abides for a time with the body in the grave, requiring food for its ghostly existence and journeyings, deposit meats and other aliment with it, at and after the time of interment. This custom is universal, and was one of their earliest observed traits. De Bry mentions a feast to fire in 1588.

Another custom, near akin to it, prevails. They offer pieces of flesh and viands, at meals and feasts, to their *O-git-te-zeem-e-wug*, or ancestors. This duty seems to be obligatory on every Indian in good standing with his tribe, who has been, so to say, piously instructed by the medas or his parents; and the consequence is, he fears to neglect it. Every feast, in fact, every meal at which there is some particularly savory or extra dish, brings prominently up this duty of a gift to the spirit of forefathers, or of those relatives in old times, or newly deceased, who have preceded them to the grave. The first idea that a grave, or burial-ground, or *ad-je-da-tig*,<sup>1</sup> suggests

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<sup>1</sup> Grave-post.

to him, is the duty he owes as an honest man, expecting good luck in life, to his relatives.

When an Indian falls into the fire, or is partly burned, it is a belief that the spirits of his ancestors have pushed him into the flames, owing to the neglect of these pious offerings. Sometimes it is a wife or a child that is believed to be thus pushed. In passing a grave-yard or burial-place where the remains of his ancestors repose, the Indian is strongly reminded of this pious duty, and if he has anything from which a meat- or drink-offering can be made, his feelings make a strong appeal to him to perform it.

It is a species of idolatry laid to the charge of the Israelites, that while they were in the wilderness they "ate the sacrifices of the dead." There is hardly a form of Eastern idolatry herein alluded to into which the Israelites had not, at one time or another, fallen; but the most common, wide-spread, and oft-recurring rite was that of burning incense on high places to imaginary beings, or devils, under the delusive idea of their being gods, the very trait which is so striking in all our Indian tribes.

If Hindostan can be regarded in truth as having contributed to our Indian stocks at all, it must have been at a very ancient period, before the Vedas were written, for it is asserted that the present customs of the Hindoos are corruptions of an older system and are in many things new or traceable to those books.

It will thus be seen that some of the beliefs common to all barbarous nations, as that of a flood, the destruction of the world by fire, water, or earthquake, were found among the North American Indians. Such correspondences, however, may have arisen spontaneously, and do not necessarily imply inherited characteristics or affinities, but should be regarded as growing out of the similar contact with external nature and its exigencies, of similarly-constituted beings governed by the same natural laws and instincts and controlled and fettered by the same natural limitations. Like causes have always produced, and will to the end of time continue to produce, like effects all the world over.

## CHAPTER II.

### LANGUAGE, LITERATURE, AND PICTOGRAPHY.

LANGUAGE is one of the most reliable aids to the student of the mental organization of the Indians. The tribes had not, until the advent of the very modern Cherokee Cadmus, in 1824, made the least progress towards the invention of signs by which to express sounds, but made use of the lowest form of the hieroglyphic art. In their attempts at mnemonic pictography, their invention was tasked to its fullest extent to produce ideographic representative figures. No effort was made to produce a system of vocal notation. The pictographic artist made use of a series of figures having the character of nouns in grammatical definition,—action being inferrible from the proximity of the devices. Still, their languages had fixed vocabularies, and there were mental laws, older than letters, prescribing the practical bearing of one idea upon another. These vocabularies were made up from primary sounds or particles, indicating objects and acts, which denoted affiliation. There was a mental rule which prescribed how the nominative should be distinguished from the objective. Inflections were employed to distinguish numbers and personal plurals. Even in the least advanced tribes, the necessity of expressing an adjective sense was experienced. Black and white, red and green, were required to be denoted; the light of the sun must needs be contradistinguished from the gloom of night; and the location of an object, whether high or low, above or beneath, within or without, called for the use of such an adjunct. Others followed. In most of the languages, the quick repetition of the same syllable implies a superlative signification; a peculiar inflection of the verb transforms it into a substantive; there are also tensal and multiplied forms of syllabification. These peculiarities of language are common among circles of tribes, and afford a clue to their history, although philologists have as yet “found no sufficient data for determining either the fact or the degree of relationship between one family or group and another.”<sup>1</sup>

Their languages simulate an historical chart, upon which we can trace back the tribes to the period of their original dispersion over this continent, and mark their linguistic relations. By developing those frequently obscure connections, we are enabled to perceive that a single genus or family of tribes, speaking one common language, occupied the shores of the Atlantic, from North Carolina to the mouth of the St. Lawrence, thence extended westward through the great lake basins to the sources of the Mississippi, and down the left bank of that stream to the mouth of the

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<sup>1</sup> J. Hammond Trumbull, in Johnson's Cyclopædia, art. “Indian Languages.”

Ohio; that another genus were residents of the country surrounding the southern prolongation of the Alleghanies, or Appalachians proper; and that a third genus had burst, with its sonorous language, and as if with Vandalic impetuosity, into the central and western area of New York. These three stocks were the Algonkins, the Iroquois, and the Appalachians.

In California, and north of it, one stock of language is generally represented by several dialects and sub-dialects, sometimes by a large number of these; but there are instances, as in Shasta and Klamath, where a stock is represented by one idiom only. Although certain resemblances between them may be traced, they are totally distinct in their radicals, and by this criterion their classification by stocks or families becomes possible.<sup>1</sup>

The Algonkin language has been more cultivated than any of the other North American tongues. Containing no sounds of difficult utterance, capable of an easy and clear expression, and with a copious vocabulary, it has been the favorite medium of communication on the frontiers from the earliest times. The French at an early period made themselves masters of it; and, from its general use, it has been sometimes called the court language of the Indian. In its various ethnological forms, as spoken by the Delaware, Mohican, Shawnee, Miami, Illinois, Chippewa, Ottawa, Pottawatomic, Kickapoo, and many other tribes, it has been familiar to the English colonists from the respective eras of the settlement of Virginia, New York, and New England. It was the most widely diffused and the most fertile in dialects of all the Indian tongues. "It was spoken, though not exclusively," says Bancroft, "in a territory that extended through sixty degrees of longitude and more than twenty degrees of latitude."

In 1848, Mr. Gallatin enumerated thirty-two distinct families in and north of the United States, not including California and New Mexico. His classification has stood the test of subsequent critical investigation, and has been generally accepted.<sup>2</sup> Dialects of the Athabaskan, Algonkin, and Dakota, or Sioux, are spoken in at least four-fifths of the territory of the United States east of the Rocky Mountains. Within the bounds of the Algonkin territory were included two groups of Iroquois speaking a radically different language. Next to the Algonkin the Dakota has been the most thoroughly investigated, a grammar and a dictionary by the Rev. S. R. Riggs having been published.

The Iroquois and the Chahta-Muskoki (including the Cherokee) are next in importance. The Choctaws and Chickasaws speak closely-related dialects of the same language, to which probably the Hitchita also belongs. The Creeks, Seminoles, and the small tribes of Cossattas and Alabamas speak dialects of another language of the same stock. Extensive vocabularies of these are in course of preparation by the

<sup>1</sup> For a description of the Indian languages of the Pacific slope, see Albert S. Gatschet's paper in the "Indian Miscellany," pp. 416-447.

<sup>2</sup> Gallatin's "Synopsis of the Indian Tribes" (Trans. Amer. Antiq. Soc., vol. ii.) is still the best guide for the structure and comparative grammar of the North American Indians.

Smithsonian Institution. In the Cherokee language every syllable ends with a vowel or a nasal, which suggested to Barton an affinity with the Iroquois.

Between the Rocky Mountains and the Sierra Nevada the most important group is the Shoshone, north of whom are two considerable families,—the Sahaptin and the Selish. For some years little progress has been made in classifying the languages of the numerous small tribes of the Pacific slope.

The languages of the village Indians, or Pueblos, of New Mexico and Arizona possess much interest for the ethnologist and philologist, dialects of four or five distinct languages, no two of which appear to be related, being spoken in their scattered villages.

Our Indian languages form a medium of communication admirably adapted to all the purposes of Indian life, and capable of almost unlimited application and extension. To a vocabulary not multiform in its roots, the Indians apply a system of selection which enables the speaker, by the formation of derivatives and compounds, to multiply words and expressions in a manner of which the English language gives not the slightest conception. Not only the subject noun, but its qualities and its position, the persons, nominative and objective, and the action of which it is the active, passive, or reflective object, are all indicated in a single expression. This concrete character of the language gives to some of its words a copiousness of expression which a rigid monosyllabic language does not possess; and the meaning conveyed by some single Indian words would, in the English language, require an entire sentence for its explanation. The great art requisite is to seize upon the principle of combination. The objection to this process of word-making is that the expressions are inconveniently long, which defect is not, however, apparent in an oral language, but is very strikingly developed when it comes to be written,—and written, as it usually is, without the aid of accents to guide the pronunciation. Many of its concords, too, appear superfluous; such as its double indications of tense and number, double possessives, etc., creating a rhythmical flow of language, which, however, has a tendency to the verbose rather than to the poetic. One of its most objectionable features appears to us to be the extension of the principle of gender so far as to neutralize the distinction between masculine and feminine, in its verbal forms, requiring only a concordance in animate and inanimate objects. This does not abolish the use of masculine, feminine, and even sexual nouns, *i.e.*, words restricted in their use to males and females; but it leaves all the pronouns in the condition of mere animates. There is no distinction between *he* and *she*. The chief excellence of Indian speech was justly considered by Mr. Gallatin to be “the happy manner by which, through the insertion of a single particle, not only tenses and our common moods, but almost every modification of the action, is specially expressed.” The languages seem to be replete with resources when applied to the phenomena of nature. The heavens and the earth appear to constitute, in the imagination of the Indian, a symbolic volume which even a child may read. All that relates to light and shade, to color and quality, to purity or impurity, to spirit or matter, to air or earth, is blended with the subject noun, and is indicated at one

exhalation or prolongation of the breath. *In* the sky, *on* the sky, or *under* the sky; *in* or *on* the water; *by* or *on* the shore; *in* or *on* the tree; *black* or *blue* clouds; *clear* or *muddy* water; *deep* or *shallow* streams; *up* the river or *down* the river; *in* heaven or *on* earth, are each but single words of a simple derivative character. Says Mr. Albert Gatschet,<sup>1</sup> "The Indian neglects to express with accuracy some relations which seem of paramount importance to us, as tense and sex, but his language is superior to ours in the variety of its personal pronouns, in many forms expressing the mode of action or the idea of property and possession, and the relations of the person or persons addressed to the subject of the sentence." Unlike the modern cultivated languages, the Indian dialects are all homogeneous in their material, and strictly philosophic, or systematic, in their principles. Their common likeness, however, exists rather in their plan of thought than in their vocabularies. The general tone of conversation is more elevated in point of thought than among any analogous class of people in civilized life. The diction is simple and pure; and hence the most common sentences of their speakers, when literally translated, are remarkably attractive. Exalted and disinterested sentiments are frequently expressed by their sententious polysyllables with a happy effect. In attempts to unravel the intricacies of its syntax the mind is often led to wonder whence a people so literally "peeled and scattered" should have derived, not the language itself, but the principles which govern its enunciation. Their language embraces over one hundred and forty dialects.<sup>2</sup>

#### CHEROKEE ALPHABET.

The aged and venerable missionary Mr. Butrick, who died in 1851, is believed to have been the earliest teacher in the Cherokee country, being employed under the society of United Moravian Brethren. The first school was established by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1817. These efforts appear, in their development, to have stimulated the vital spark of inventive thought which led a native Cherokee to give his people an original alphabet. George Guess, or Sequoia, appears to have been some time engaged in perfecting his invention. About 1824 it was definitely announced, and examined by the missionaries, who found it to be a syllabic system and pronounced it well adapted to teach the Cherokee population. It seemed particularly suited to the adults, who immediately embraced it, and it has since been taught to all classes conjointly with the English.<sup>3</sup> Two of the characters, being found homophonous, have been abolished in practice. The Indian mind being

<sup>1</sup> Indian Miscellany, p. 419.

<sup>2</sup> Up to the year 1875 the Smithsonian Institution in Washington had collected texts, phraseology, and seven hundred and seventy-one vocabularies of about two hundred words each. Only a small portion of this mass of material has as yet been published.

<sup>3</sup> Guess was a half-breed Cherokee, born in Georgia about the year 1770. He steadfastly declined to embrace Christianity, and is said to have bitterly regretted the success of his alphabet when by its means the New Testament was printed in the Cherokee tongue.

accustomed to view and express objects in the gross or combined form, it has naturally fallen on this plan for an alphabet. Nearly all the words of the vocabulary end in a vowel. Each vowel is preceded by thirteen combinations of the consonant, making sixty-four syllables. To this scheme there are added twelve characters to represent double consonants. No other American language, however, could be written by such a simple scheme. It cannot be applied to any dialect of either the Algonkin, the Iroquois, the Dakota, the Appalachian, or the Shoshone. Consequently its application is limited. It provides for the expression only of such sounds as occur in the Cherokee language. Still, its utility in that language has been highly appreciated, and it remains a striking phenomenon in the history of American philology.

It is a mistake to suppose that because the Indian has no alphabet, and no written productions of his mind, he has no literature of his own. That he has one worthy of attention and eminently characteristic is sufficiently attested by those who have listened to his prophets, his orators, and his story-tellers, or who have heard his war-shouts and songs, or the mournful dirges of the women. A large number of Ojibway songs were collected and published by Mr. Schoolcraft, and a much larger number from various tribes, some of them highly poetical productions, have been obtained by Mr. Gatschet.

It is known that the seasons of leisure and recreation of all the American tribes are devoted, in no small part, to the songs and dances commemorative of their warlike deeds; and in this way they have directed public attention specially to military worth as the chief attainment. Through the influence of these gatherings and festivities, a new body of warriors is raised every decade from the listening children who are to take the places of their fathers and progenitors on the war-path. To do as their forefathers did is commendable and praiseworthy. The songs are generally some wild boast of prowess or achievement, or violent symbolic expression of power, and allusions to their tutelary divinities, having for their theme triumph in battle. The chorus of these chants consists, for the most part, of traditionary monosyllables, which appear to admit often of transposition, and the utterance of which, at least, is so managed as to permit the words to be sung in strains to suit the music and dance. This music is accurately kept, and the bars marked with full expression by the Indian *tä-wä-ë-gun* and rattle, accompanying the voices of the choristers.

No collections and translations of their forest or war choruses and songs have been made which do justice to the sentiments and ideas expressed. It is perhaps too early in our literary history to expect such. The expressions of warriors who join the dance with sharp yells, which are responded to by the actors already in the ring of the listeners to the recital of heroic exploits, are to a large extent mnemonic, and are intended to bring to mind known ideas and conceptions of war and bravery. Many of them appeal to the names of carnivorous birds or quadrupeds, which are employed purely as symbols of speed, prowess, or carnage. All the concomitants of the Indian war-path are presented to the mind. The hearers are expected to know the mythological and necromantic theories and dogmas of the tribe on which these

expressions are founded, and but for which knowledge the expressions would lack all their force and pertinency.

There is another department in which the feelings and sentiments of the Indian tribes have been poetically expressed: it is the memory of the dead. A fallen warrior is honored and lamented by the whole tribe; the gathered village attends his funeral. An address is uniformly made, which often partakes of the character of eulogy. A speaker or a counsellor is buried and lamented with equal respect, and the names of their brave and wise men are remembered with tenacity. There is no subject, perhaps, which calls forth more sympathy than the death of children.

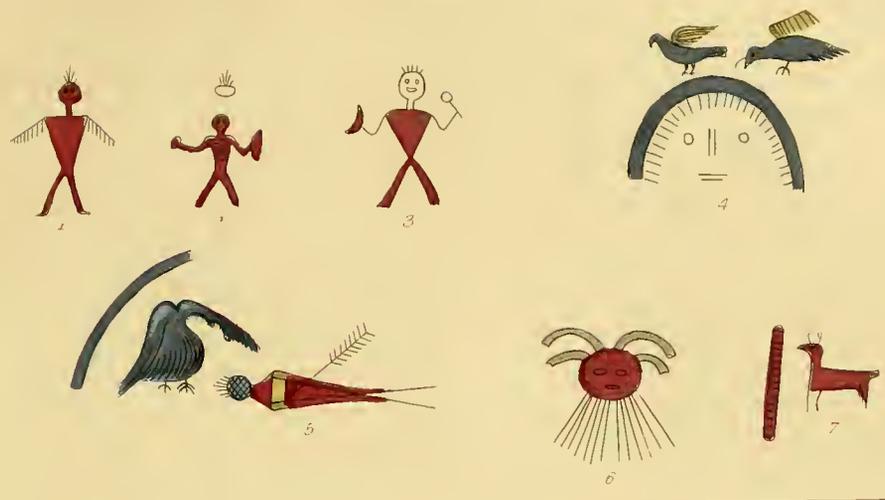
In a subtle system of cosmogony and creative effort, in which concurring divinities are recognized as having either performed a part, or as having, by antagonistic powers, disturbed the work after it was completed, the whole universe is regarded indeed as animated, either in part or symbolically. Each class of creation is believed to have its representative deities, who have eyes and ears open to everything that exists, occurs, or is uttered. Viewed in this light, winds have voices, the leaves of the trees utter a language, and even the earth is animated by a crowd of spirits who have an influence on the affairs of men. Hence many of their chants and songs, accompanied with music, have allusion to this wide and boundless theory of created matter. In short, it may be affirmed that the Indians believe that every element is a part of the great creative God.

Wherever Indian sentiment is expressed, there is a tendency to the pensive,—the reminiscent. It may be questioned whether hope is an ingredient of the Indian mind; all the tendency of reflection is directed towards the past. The Indian is a man of reminiscences rather than anticipations. The consequence is that whenever he relaxes his sternness and insensibility to external objects, and softens into feeling and sentiment, his mind is surrounded by fears of evil and despondency. To lament, and not to hope, is its characteristic feature.

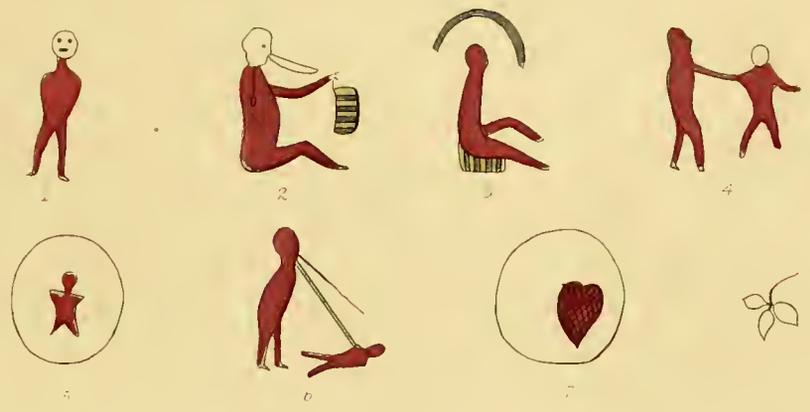
If poetry is ever destined to be developed in such minds, it must be of the complaining or plaintive or the desponding cast. Discarding the single topic of war, such are, indeed, the specimens we possess,—words addressed to a dying man, to a lost child, death, the fear of evil genii, or a sympathy with nature. Most of the attempts to record poetic sentiments in the race have encountered difficulties, from the employment of some forms of the Grecian metres, or, still less adapted to them, English laws of rhyme. They have neither. Their language is far better suited, as the expression of strong poetic feeling, to the freedom of the Hebrew measure, the repetitious style of which reminds one of both the Indian sepulchral or burial chant and eulogy. There is, indeed, in the flow of their oratory, as well as in their songs, a strong tendency to the figure of parallelism.

Ne-gau nis-sau—ne-gau nis-sau—  
 Kitchi-mau-li sau—ne-gau nis-sau.  
 I will kill—I will kill—  
 The Americans—I will kill.

A



B



C



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Drawn by F. Eschman

WAR AND LOVE SIGNS



There is poetry in their very names of places: Ticonderoga, the place of the separation of waters; Dionderoga, the place of the inflowing of waters; Saratoga, the place of the bursting out of waters; Ontario, a beautiful prospect of rocks, hills, and waters; Ohio, the beautiful river,—these and a thousand other names which are familiar to the ear denote a capacity for and love of harmony in the collocation of syllables expressive of poetic thought. But the great source of a future poetic fabric, to be erected on the framework of Indian words, when the Indian himself shall have passed away, exists in his mythology, which provides, by a skilful system of personification, not only for every passion and affection of the human heart, but for every phenomenon of the skies, the air, and the earth. The Indian has placed these imaginary gods wherever, in the geography of the land, reverence or awe is to be inspired. Every mountain, lake, and waterfall is under such guardianship. All nature, every class of the animal and vegetable creation, the very sounds of life, the murmuring of the breeze, the dashing of water, every phenomenon of light or of electricity, are made intelligent of human events, and speak the language of a god. A specimen of their mythologic personification is here given.

## SONG OF THE OKOGIS, OR FROG IN SPRING.

BY BA-BAHM-WA-WA-GEZHIG-EQUA.

See how the white spirit presses us,—  
 Presses us,—presses us, heavy and long;  
 Presses us down to the frost-bitten earth.<sup>1</sup>  
 Alas! you are heavy, ye spirits so white,  
 Alas! you are cold—you are cold—you are cold.  
 Ah! cease, shining spirits that fell from the skies,  
 Ah! cease so to crush us and keep us in dread;  
 Ah! when will ye vanish, and Seegwun<sup>2</sup> return?

Our earliest notices of the Indian denote a man of excellent powers in oratory. Nothing that actually exists in his life and training would seem, indeed, to justify the expectation of so much vigor of thought and propriety of expression. But it is not recollected, in this view, that he has been brought up in the school of nature, where his mind, from childhood, has been impressed by images which are bold, vivid, and fresh. His books, truly, have been the heavens, with all their bright phenomena, and when he takes the oratorical attitude, and employs figures to enable him to express his meanings, within the compass of a limited vocabulary, it is from this storehouse of his thoughts that the selection is made. These illustrations are striking and pertinent, because they are simple and true. He is shrewd and cautious in dealing with the whites, because his suspicions have been schooled and awakened, all his life, by his position of danger, and distrust, and perfidy from his own race.

Nor is he deficient when he comes to discourse of things of the heart and of its

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<sup>1</sup> Allusion to the heavy beds of snow which in the North often lie late in the spring.

<sup>2</sup> Spring.

affections. Stoical and imperturbable, indeed, he is in his manner ; but it is sufficient to allude to the names of Garangula, Logan, Sagoyawatha or Red Jacket, Canasatego, Pontiac, Skenandoa, Tecumseh, the once-powerful Passaconaway, and a line of renowned aboriginal speakers, to sustain the conclusion that the race has produced men of intellectual, energetic, and eloquent minds.

So long as the North American Indian is in civilized society, he is much under the influence of its precepts. But when he retires from the council-house to his native woods, and hears the wild murmur of nature around him, he subsides into that state of domestic repose, nonchalance, and indolence which is so characteristic of the Indian life. It is then that the aboriginal state assumes its most poetic garb. With the open heavens continually before him, his thoughts and dreams are of the spirit-world, and, as a social being in his wigwam, he aims to illustrate life in every aspect by appeals to the wonderful and the mysterious.

WABASHAW'S SPEECH TO THE BRITISH COMMANDING OFFICER AT DRUMMOND ISLAND,  
AT THE CLOSE OF THE WAR OF 1812.

Wabashaw was a Dakota. To understand the force of this speech, it is necessary to observe that efforts were made by Tecumseh and his brother, the prophet Elkswatawa, as early as 1806, to assemble the Indians on the Wabash and to draw them into a confederacy to act against the United States. For this purpose the Prophet was the great agent. He had the reputation of great sanctity and religious power among the tribes. It was believed that he could both foretell and produce events. He addressed himself to the credulous Indians by arguments suited to their knowledge and beliefs. To some of the tribes who occupied northern latitudes he threatened deep snows and starvation if they did not go ; to the Southern tribes he predicted droughts ; to all he promised the favor of the Great Spirit, and the rewards due to a brave and united people who were willing to engage in a great enterprise. Some of his Indian opponents he took up by charges of sorcery and witchcraft. The great Shawnee chief Tarhe, who stood in his way, was condemned to the stake as a wizard. A large number of Indians collecting in a short period on the Wabash, General Harrison, the Governor of Indiana, marched to disperse them, in 1811. He was treacherously attacked, about three o'clock in the morning, at Tippecanoe, and a sanguinary battle ensued.

Affairs were rapidly reaching a crisis. War was openly declared in 1812, and the Western Indians, who had assembled in large numbers, were instigated to the commission of acts of cruelty and bloodshed. For two years the American armies on the frontiers suffered defeat. At the end of this period the tide rolled back, and they were victorious along the whole frontier, from New Orleans to the river Thames, in Canada. Every hope for which the tribes had combined was blasted ; their leader fell ; the treaty of Ghent made not even a provision for them. It was under these circumstances that Wabashaw, a celebrated Sioux chief, uttered the following speech, at the post of Drummond Island, a new post occupied by the British govern-

ment on surrendering Michilimackinac, after the treaty of Ghent. Colonel Robert McDuell was the commanding officer.

My father : What is this I see before me ? a few knives and blankets ? Is this all you promised us at the beginning of the war ?

Where is the fulfilment of those high speeches of promise you made us at Michilimackinac and sent to our villages on the Mississippi ?

You told us you would never let fall the hatchet till the Americans were driven beyond the Alleghanies !

You said we should again be put in possession of our ancient hunting-grounds ! You said that our British fathers would never make peace without consulting his Red Children ! Has this come to pass ?

We never knew of the peace ! We are told it was made by our Great Father beyond the big waters, without the knowledge of his officers and generals here.

We are told it is your duty to obey his orders. What is this to us ?

Will these paltry presents pay for the men we have lost in battle and on the road ? Will they soothe the feelings of our friends ? Will they make good your promises ?

For myself, I am an old man ! I have lived long and always found the means of support ! And I can do so still !

Perhaps my young men may pick up the presents you have laid before us !

I do not want them !

#### MYTHS AND LEGENDS.

Indian allegory presents an attractive field of inquiry. Their oral traditions of gods and monsters, spirits and genii, make a prominent display in the winter arcanum of the wigwam. Some of their allegories are beautifully sustained. And although in their miscellaneous legends and traditions there is much that is incongruous and ridiculous, there is still evidence of no little variety of intellectual invention.

*Iroquois Cosmogony.*—The tribes who compose this group of the aborigines concur in locating the beginning of creative power in the upper regions of space. Neo, or the Great Spirit of Life, is placed there. Atahocan is the master of heaven. Tarenyawagon, who is thought to be the same as Michabou, Chiabo, Manabozho, and the Great Hare, is called the keeper of the heavens. Agreskoe is the god of war. Atahentsic is the woman of heaven. The beginning of the creation, or of man, is connected with her history. One of the six of the original number of created men of heaven was enamored of her immediately after seeing her. Atahocan, having discovered this amour, cast her out headlong to the earth. She was received below on the back of a great turtle lying on the waters, and was there delivered of twins. One of them was Inigorio, or the Good Mind ; the other, Anti-inigorio, or the Bad Mind. The good and the evil principle were thus introduced into the world. Both

were equally active, but the latter perpetually employed himself in counteracting the acts of the former.

The tortoise expanded more and more, and finally became the earth. Atahentsic afterwards had a daughter, who bore two sons, Yos-ke-ka and Tho-it-sa-ron. Yos-ke-ka in the end killed his brother, and afterwards Atahentsic, his grandmother, resigned the government of the world to him.

The Iroquois affirm that Atahentsic is the same as the moon, and Yos-ke-ka the same as the sun.

These things are elements of the earliest and best authenticated relations. They appear to denote a mixture of some of the dogmas of Zoroaster, or the ancient sun-worship, with the idolatry, perhaps, of the "Queen of Heaven."

*Allegorical Traditions of the Origin of Men—of Manabozho, and of the Introduction of the Religious Mysteries of the Medical Magic.*—At a certain time a great Manito came on earth and took a wife of men. She had four sons at a birth, and died in ushering them into the world. The first was Manabozho, who is the friend of the human race. The second was Chibiabos, who has the care of the dead, and presides over the country of souls. The third was Wabasso, who, as soon as he saw light, fled to the North, where he was changed into a white rabbit, and, under that form, is considered as a great spirit. The fourth was Chokanipok, or the man of flint, or the fire-stone.

Wherever the Algonkins gathered around the winter fire they never wearied of repeating the story of Manabozho or Michabo, the Great Hare, of whom they spoke as their common ancestor, and the clan that bore his totem was looked up to with peculiar respect. He was the patron and founder of the meda worship, the inventor of picture-writing, the father and guardian of their nation, the ruler of the winds, even the maker and preserver of the world, and the creator of the sun and moon. From a grain of sand brought from the bottom of the primeval ocean he fashioned the habitable land and set it floating on the waters. Manabozho appears in reality to have been the personification of the purest conception the Indian possessed concerning the Deity.

The first thing Manabozho did when he grew up was to go to war against Chokanipok, whom he accused of his mother's death. The contests between them were frightful and long-continued, and wherever they had a combat the face of nature still shows signs of it. Fragments were cut from Chokanipok's flesh, which were transformed into stones, and Manabozho finally destroyed his antagonist by tearing out his entrails, which were changed into vines. All the flint-stones which are scattered over the earth were produced in this way, and they supplied men with the principle of fire.

Manabozho was the author of arts and improvements. He taught men how to make agákwuts,<sup>1</sup> lances, and arrow-points, and all implements of bone and stone, and also how to make snares, and traps, and nets, to take animals, and birds, and fishes. He and his brother Chibiabos lived retired, and were very intimate, planning things

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<sup>1</sup> Axes.

for the good of men, and were of superior and surpassing powers of mind and body.

The Manitos who live in the air, the earth, and the water became jealous of their great power, and conspired against them. Manabozho had warned his brother against their machinations, and cautioned him not to separate himself from his side; but one day Chibiabos ventured alone on one of the Great Lakes. It was winter, and the whole surface was covered with ice. As soon as he had reached the centre the malicious Manitos broke the ice and plunged him to the bottom, where they hid his body.

Manabozho wailed along the shores. He waged a war against all the Manitos, and precipitated numbers of them to the deepest abyss. He called on the dead body of his brother. He put the whole country in dread by his lamentations. He then besmeared his face with black, and sat down six years to lament, uttering the name of Chibiabos. The Manitos consulted what to do to appease his melancholy and his wrath. The oldest and wisest of them, who had had no hand in the death of Chibiabos, offered to undertake the task of reconciliation. They built a sacred lodge close to that of Manabozho, and prepared a sumptuous feast. They procured the most delicious tobacco and filled a pipe. They then assembled in order, one behind the other, each carrying under his arm a sack formed of the skin of some favorite animal, as a beaver, an otter, or a lynx, and filled with precious and curious medicines culled from all plants. These they exhibited, and invited him to the feast with pleasing words and ceremonies. He immediately raised his head, uncovered it, and washed off his mourning colors and besmearments, and then followed them. When they had reached the lodge they offered him a cup of liquor prepared from the choicest medicines, as at once a propitiation and an initiative rite. He drank it at a single draught. He found his melancholy departed, and felt the most inspiring effects. They then commenced their dances and songs, united with various ceremonies. Some shook their bags at him as a token of skill. Some exhibited the skins of birds filled with smaller birds, which, by some art, would hop out of the throat of the bag. Others showed curious tricks with their drums. All danced, all sang, all acted with the utmost gravity and earnestness of gestures, but with exactness of time, motion, and voice. Manabozho was cured; he ate, danced, sang, and smoked the sacred pipe. In this manner the mysteries of the Grand Medicine-Dance were introduced.

The hitherto recreant Manitos now all united their powers to bring Chibiabos to life. Their efforts were crowned with success, but it was forbidden him to enter the lodge. They gave him, through a chink, a burning coal, and told him to go and preside over the country of souls and reign over the land of the dead. They bade him kindle with the coal a fire for his aunts and uncles, a term intended to signify all men who should die thereafter, and make them happy, and let it be an everlasting fire.

Manabozho went to the Great Spirit after these things. He then descended to the earth, and confirmed the mysteries of the medicine-dance, and supplied all whom

he initiated with medicines for the cure of all diseases. It is to him that we owe the growth of all the medicinal roots, and antidotes to every disease and poison. He commits the growth of these to Misukumigakwa, or the mother of the earth, to whom he makes offerings.

Manabozho traverses the whole earth. He is the friend of man. He killed the ancient monsters whose bones we now see under the earth, and cleared the streams and forests of many obstructions which the Bad Spirit had put there, to fit them for our residence. He has placed four good spirits at the four cardinal points, to which we point in our ceremonies. The spirit of the North gives snow and ice to enable men to pursue game and fish. The spirit of the South gives melons, maize, and tobacco. The spirit of the West gives rain. The spirit of the East gives light, and commands the sun to make his daily walks around the earth. Thunder is the voice of these spirits, to whom we offer the smoke of sa-mau (tobacco).

Manabozho, it is believed, yet lives on an immense flake of ice in the Arctic Ocean. We fear the white race will some day discover his retreat and drive him off. Then the end of the world will be at hand, for as soon as he puts his foot on the earth again it will take fire, and every living creature perish in the flames.

*Allegory of the Origin and History of the Osages.*—The Osages believe that the first man of their nation came out of a shell, and that this man when walking on earth met with the Great Spirit, who asked him where he resided and what he ate. The Osage answered that he had no place of residence, and that he ate nothing. The Great Spirit gave him a bow and arrows, and told him to go a-hunting. As soon as the Great Spirit left him he killed a deer. The Great Spirit gave him fire, and told him to cook his meat and to eat. He also told him to take the skin and cover himself with it, and also the skins of other animals that he should kill.

One day, as the Osage was hunting, he came to a small river to drink. He saw in the river a beaver-hut, on which was sitting the chief of the family. He asked the Osage what he was looking for so near his lodge. The Osage answered that, being thirsty, he was forced to come and drink at that place. The beaver then asked him who he was, and whence he came. The Osage answered that he had come from hunting, and that he had no place of residence. "Well, then," said the beaver, "as you appear to be a reasonable man, I wish you to come and live with me. I have a large family, consisting of many daughters, and if any of them should be agreeable to you, you may marry." The Osage accepted the offer, and some time after married one of the beaver's daughters, by whom he had many children. Those children have formed the Osage people. This marriage of the Osage with the beaver has been the cause that the Osages do not kill the beaver. They always supposed that in killing the beaver they were killing the Osages.

*Pottawatomie Theology.*—It is believed by the Pottawatomies that there are two Great Spirits who govern the world. One is called Kitchemonedo, or the Great Spirit, the other Matchemonedo, or the Evil Spirit. The first is good and beneficent, the other wicked. Some believe that they are equally powerful, and they offer them homage and adoration through fear. Others doubt which of the two is the more

powerful, and endeavor to propitiate both. The greater part, however, believe that Kitchemonedo is the true Great Spirit who made the world and called all things into being, and that Matchêmonedo ought to be despised.

When Kitchemonedo first made the world he filled it with a class of beings who only *looked* like men, but they were perverse, ungrateful, wicked dogs, who never raised their eyes from the ground to thank him for anything. Seeing this, the Great Spirit plunged them, with the world itself, into a great lake, and drowned them. He then withdrew it from the water, and made a single man, a very handsome young man, who, as he was lonesome, appeared sad. Kitchemonedo took pity on him, and sent him a sister to cheer him in his loneliness.

After many years the young man had a dream, which he told to his sister. "Five young men," said he, "will come to your lodge-door this night to visit you. The Great Spirit forbids you to answer or even look up and smile at the first four; but when the fifth comes you may speak and laugh and show that you are pleased." She acted accordingly. The first of the five strangers that called was Usama, or tobacco, and, having been repulsed, he fell down and died; the second, Wapako, or the pumpkin, the third, Eshkossimin, or the melon, and the fourth, Kokees, or the bean, met the same fate. But when Tamin, or Montamin, which is *maize*, presented himself, she opened the skin tapestry door of her lodge, and laughed very heartily, and gave him a friendly reception. They were immediately married, and from this union the Indians sprang. Tamin forthwith buried the four unsuccessful suitors, and from their graves there grew tobacco, pumpkins, melons of all sorts, and beans; and in this manner the Great Spirit provided that the race which he had made should have something to offer him as a gift in their feasts and ceremonies, and also something to put into their *akeeks*, or kettles, along with their meat.

*The Island of the Blessed; or the Hunter's Dream.*—There was once a beautiful girl, who died suddenly on the day she was to have been married to a handsome young hunter. He had also proved his bravery in war, so that he enjoyed the praises of his tribe; but his heart was not proof against this loss. From the hour she was buried there was no more joy or peace for him. He went often to visit the spot where the women had buried her, and sat musing there, when it was thought by some of his friends he would have done better to try and amuse himself in the chase or by diverting his thoughts in the war-path. But war and hunting had lost their charms for him. His heart was already dead within him. He wholly neglected both his war-club and his bows and arrows.

He had heard the old people say that there was a path that led to the land of souls, and he determined to follow it. He accordingly set out one morning, after having completed his preparations for the journey. At first he hardly knew which way to go. He was only guided by the tradition that he must go south. For a while he could see no change in the face of the country. Forests, and hills, and valleys, and streams, had the same looks which they bore in his native place. There was snow on the ground when he set out, and it was sometimes seen to be piled and matted on the thick trees and bushes. At length it began to diminish, and, as he

walked on, finally disappeared. The forest assumed a more cheerful appearance, the leaves put forth their buds, and before he was aware of the completeness of the change, he found he had left behind him the land of snow and ice. The air became pure and mild, the dark clouds had rolled away from the sky, a pure field of blue was above him, and as he went forward in his journey he saw flowers beside his path and heard the song of birds. By these signs he knew that he was going the right way, for they agreed with the traditions of his tribe. At length he spied a path. It took him through a grove, then up a long and elevated ridge, on the very top of which he came to a lodge. At the door stood an old man with white hair, whose eyes, though deeply sunk, had a fiery brilliancy. He had a long robe of skins thrown loosely around his shoulders, and a staff in his hands.

The young man began to tell his story, but the venerable chief arrested him before he had proceeded to speak ten words. "I have expected you," he replied, "and had just risen to bid you welcome to my abode. She whom you seek passed here but a short time since, and, being fatigued with her journey, rested herself here. Enter my lodge and be seated, and I will then satisfy your inquiries, and give you directions for your journey from this point." Having done this, and refreshed himself by rest, they both issued forth from the lodge door. "You see yonder gulf," said the old man, "and the wide-stretching plain beyond: it is the land of souls. You stand upon its borders, and my lodge is the gate of entrance. But you cannot take your body along. Leave it here with your bow and arrows, your bundle, and your dog. You will find them safe upon your return." So saying, he re-entered the lodge, and the freed traveler bounded forward as if his feet had suddenly been endowed with the power of wings. But all things retained their natural colors and shapes. The woods and leaves, and streams and lakes, were only more bright and comely than he had ever witnessed. Animals bounded across his path with a freedom and confidence which seemed to tell him there was no bloodshed there. Birds of beautiful plumage inhabited the groves and sported in the waters. There was but one thing in which he saw a very unusual effect. He noticed that his passage was not stopped by trees or other objects. He appeared to walk directly through them: they were, in fact, but the images or shadows of material forms. He became sensible that he was in the land of souls.

When he had travelled half a day's journey, through a country which was continually becoming more attractive, he came to the banks of a broad lake, in the centre of which was a large and beautiful island. He found a canoe of white shining stone, tied to the shore. He was now sure that he had come the right path, for the aged man had told him of this. There were also shining paddles. He immediately entered the canoe, and took the paddles in his hands, when, to his joy and surprise, on turning round he beheld the object of his search in another canoe, exactly its counterpart in everything. It seemed to be the shadow of his own. She had exactly imitated his motions, and they were side by side. They at once pushed out from the shore, and began to cross the lake. Its waves seemed to be rising, and, at a distance, looked ready to swallow them up; but just as they entered the whitened edge of





them, they seemed to melt away, as if they were but the images of waves. But no sooner was one wreath of foam passed, than another, more threatening still, rose up. Thus they were in perpetual fear; but what added to it was the clearness of the water, through which they could see heaps of the bones of beings who had perished before.

The Master of Life had, however, decreed to let them pass, for the thoughts and acts of neither of them had been bad. But they saw many others struggling and sinking in the waves. Old men and young men, males and females, of all ages and ranks, were there: some passed and some sank. It was only the little children whose canoes seemed to meet no waves. At length every difficulty was gone, as in a moment, and they both leaped out on the happy island. They felt that the very air was food. It strengthened and nourished them. They wandered together over the blissful fields, where everything was formed to please the eye and the ear. There were no tempests; there was no ice, nor chilly winds; no one shivered for the want of warm clothes; no one suffered for hunger; no one mourned for the dead. They saw no graves. They heard of no wars. Animals ran freely about, but there was no blood spilled in hunting them; for the air itself nourished them. Gladly would the young warrior have remained there forever, but he was obliged to go back for his body. He did not see the Master of Life, but he heard his voice, as if it were a soft breeze. "Go back," said this voice, "to the land whence you came. Your time has not yet come. The duties for which I made you, and which you are to perform, are not yet finished. Return to your people, and accomplish the acts of a good man. You will be the ruler of your tribe for many days. The rules you will observe will be told you by my messenger, who keeps the gate. When he surrenders back your body, he will tell you what to do. Listen to him, and you shall afterwards rejoin the spirit whom you have followed, but whom you must now leave behind. She is accepted, and will be ever here, as young and as happy as she was when I first called her from the land of snows."

When this voice ceased, the narrator awoke. It was the fancy work of a dream, and he was still in the bitter land of snows and hunger, death and tears.

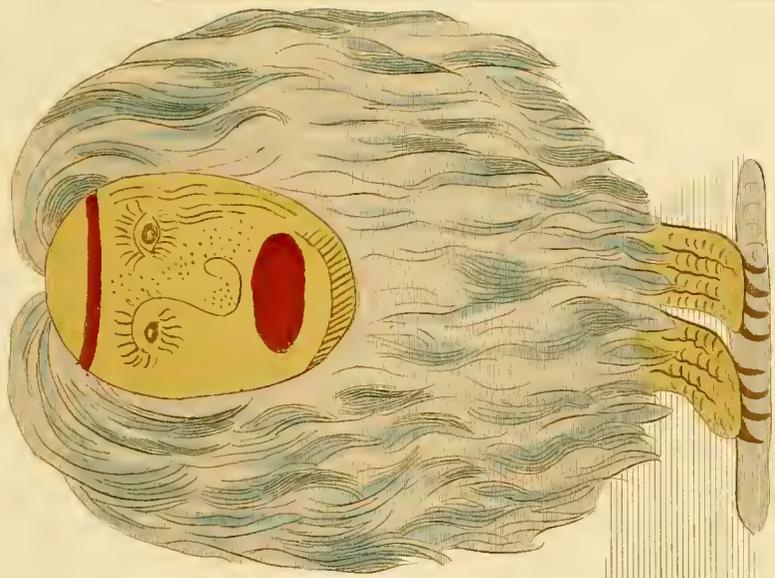
#### PICTOGRAPHY.

One of the peculiar objects of art of the Indians, which have attracted notice at various periods, is their system of ideographic devices, or pictographic drawings, by means of which they aim to preserve the memory of names, events, and ideas. This was one of the earliest inscriptive arts of man in the Eastern hemisphere, and is inseparable from the ancient rise of idolatry. The figures of the sun and moon were originally symbols of Deity. Baal was drawn with the head of a man and the horns and ears of an ox. It was one of the earliest ideas of the Oriental nations that the spirit of divinity concealed itself in the form of some object of animated nature, or even in vegetable life. Hence the Nilotic nations placed the incarnation in an ibis, a crocodile, a cat, or a calf, and even in a leek, and the form was not long, with these

tribes, in taking the place in their estimates of the substance, as figures of the turtle, bear, and wolf do here. That the Indian tribes should have covered the land from Massachusetts Bay to Oregon with similar gods, under similar ideas and similar deceptions, is not strange, and the fact becomes less an object of surprise when it is perceived from their languages and cosmogony that in these traits they possess the characteristics of very old nations. The exploits of warriors are often depicted in their representative symbols, on dressed buffalo-skins, which are worn as state dresses. The Micmacs of New England had the most distinct system of hieroglyphics, and the only one that the Europeans were able to adapt and employ.

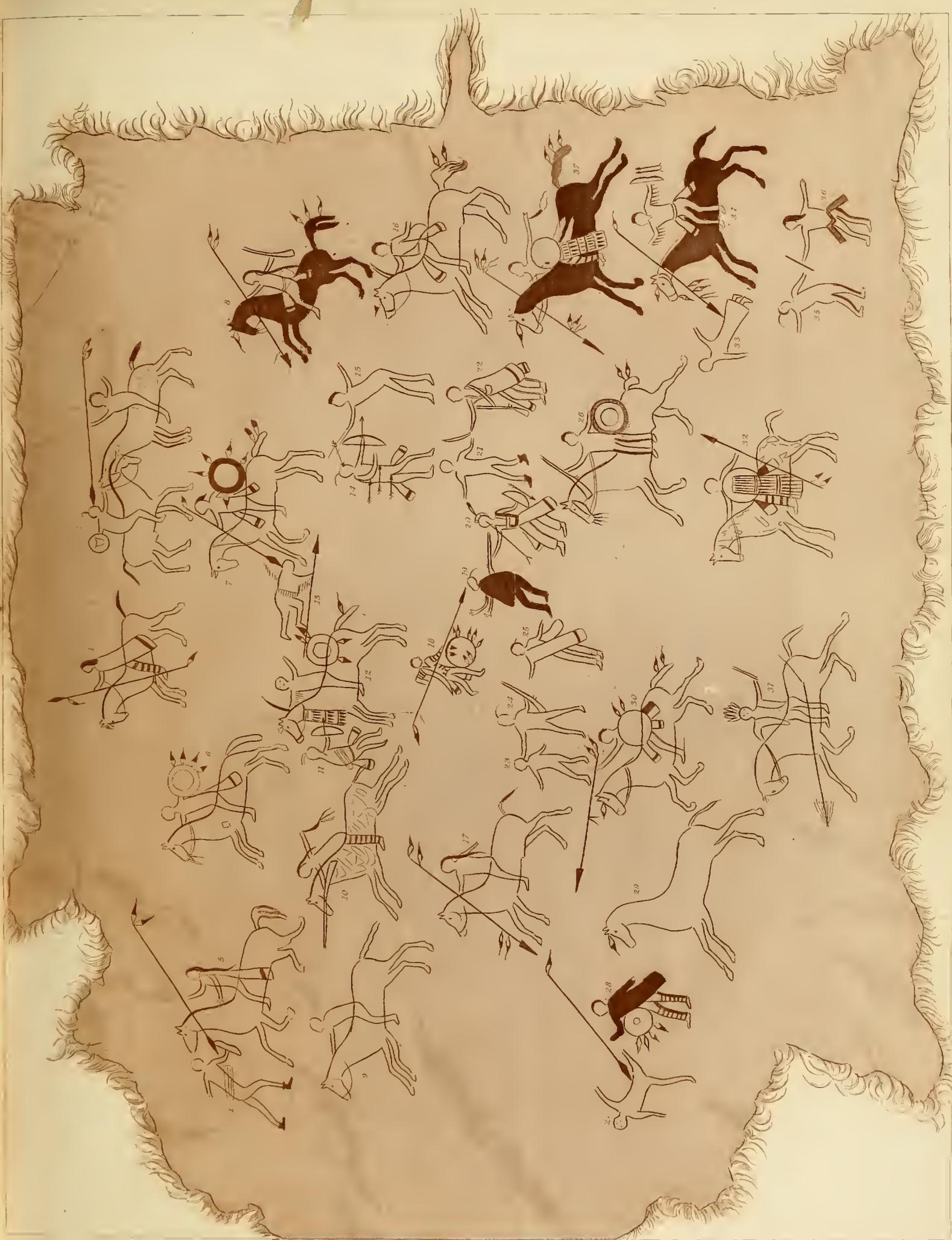
The tribes applied the system of symbols as marks of notation to convey to each other several kinds of forest information. By this species of note-craft the hunter who had killed a deer, a bear, or a moose denoted that fact by drawing the figure of the animal on a tree, a tabular piece of wood, or a scroll of the bark of the *Betula papyracea*. He placed beside this device the figure of his forest arms, and crowned the inscription by drawing over it his totem, or the device of his clan, or family name. His meda, or magician, informed him that he could disclose an art by means of which the hunter might always rely on killing deer, bears, or moose. It was no other secret than to apply the art of magic to these figures, whereby he would possess the power of controlling the motions of these animals and of bringing them into his path. Thus hunting was pursued by the art of necromancy; and the meda, or magician, increased his power and importance by the revelation of secret knowledge. The teacher of this art taught his pupils a song, which he was cautioned to sing with due tone, chorus, and genuflections, while the arts of the incantation were being communicated or practised.

The Indian jossakeed, or prophet, taught him a higher step in pictography, by means of which, under his influence, the mystery of the spiritual world could be opened, future events foretold, and even the great arcanum of the book of fate opened. Other classes of knowledge, or facts, in Indian life, were recorded by the system of ideographic pictographs. It is true that there was no art whatever of preserving *sounds* by these symbols. It merely recalled, by the juxtaposition of figures, a succession of concrete ideas. These symbols became appeals, through the eye, to the memory. In this manner the Indian proficient in the art of the *kekeewin* reads off his figures, and chants them in due sequence, with tone and emphasis. This system, for the different forms of which the Indian has different names, is often acquired by the devotion of much time, many payments, and great perseverance. It was observed that the figures of a deer, a bear, a turtle, and a crane, according to this system, stand respectively for the names of men, and preserve the language very well, by yielding to the person conversant with it the corresponding words, of *addick*, *muckwa*, *mickenack*, and *adjeejauk*. Marks, circles, dots, and drawings of various kinds were employed to symbolize the number of warlike deeds. Adjunct devices appeared to typify or explain adjunct acts. The character itself they called *kekeewin*. Often these devices are cut, or drawn in colors, on the trunks of trees, more rarely on rocks or boulders, when they are called *muzzinábiks*. According to Colden



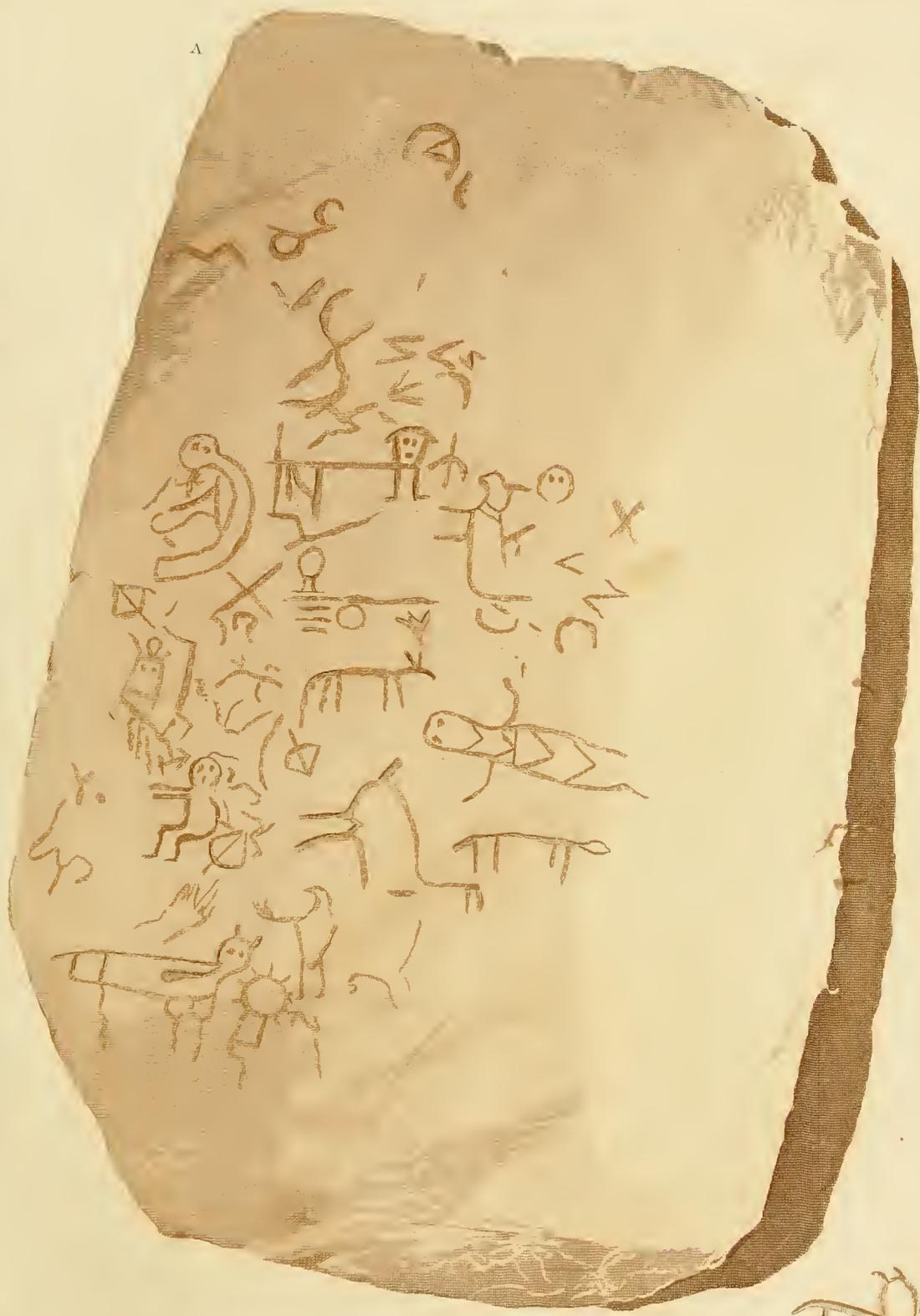
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A



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B  


THE COLLECTION ON ROCK SIX MILES BELOW FRANKLIN IS  
 ON THE ALLEGANY RIVER.





DOUGLASS PUBLIC LIBRARY.  
VIEW OF INSCRIPTION ROCK



and Lafitau, records of this rude character were formerly to be seen, on the blazed surface of trees, along the ancient paths and portages leading from the sources of the rivers of New York and Pennsylvania which flow into the Atlantic, and in the valley of the St. Lawrence. Pictorial drawings and symbols of this kind are now to be found only on the unreclaimed borders of the great area west of the Alleghanies and the Lakes, in the wide prairies of the West, or along the Missouri and the Upper Mississippi. It is known that such devices were in use, to some extent, at the era of the discovery, among most of the tribes situated between the latitudes of the capes of Florida and Hudson Bay, although they have been considered as more particularly characteristic of the tribes of the Algonkin type. In a few instances these simple pictorial inscriptions have been found to partake of a monumental cast, by being painted or stained on the faces of rocks, or on large loose stones on the banks of streams; and, still more rarely, devices were scratched or pecked into the surface, as is found on Cunningham's Island, in Lake Erie, and in the valley of the Alleghany, at Venango. Those who are intent on observations of this kind will find figures and rude inscriptions, at the present time, on the grave-posts which mark the places of Indian sepulture at the West and North. The tribes who rove over the Western prairies inscribe them on the skins of the buffalo. North of latitude 42°, the southern limit of the birch, which furnishes the material of canoes, wigwams, boxes, and other articles, and constitutes, in fact, the Indian paper, tablets of hard wood are confined to devices which are hieratic and are employed alone by their priests, prophets, and medicine-men; and these characters uniformly assume a mystical or sacred import. The recent discovery on one of the tributaries of the Susquehanna of an Indian map drawn on stone, with intermixed devices, a copy of which appears in the first volume of the collections of the Historical Committee of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, proves, although it is thus far isolated, that stone was also employed in that branch of inscription. This discovery was in the area occupied by the Lenapes, who are known to have practised the art, which they called *Ola Walum*.

Picture-writing, their only graphic mode of communicating ideas, is indeed the literature of the Indians. It cannot be interpreted, however rudely, without letting one know what the Red Man thinks and believes. It shadows forth the Indian intellect, standing in the place of letters for the *unishinaba*. It shows the Red Man, in all periods of our history, both as he *was* and as he *is*; for there is nothing more true than that, except in the comparatively few instances where they have truly embraced experimental Christianity, there has not been, beyond a few customs, such as dress and other externals, any appreciable and permanent change in the Indian character since Columbus first dropped anchor at the island of Guanahani.

## CHAPTER III.

### INDIAN ART, INDUSTRY, AND MEDICAL KNOWLEDGE.

Canoes—Musical Instruments—Fire by Percussion—Trituration of Maize—Preparation of Spear- and Arrow-Heads—Handicraft of Oregon Tribes—Curing of Skins—War-Club—Gorget, or Medal—Corn-Pestle—Coin—Ballista—Amulets—Antique Javelin—Antique Earthenware of the Pueblos—Domestic Handicraft of the Pueblos—Navajo Blankets—Spinning and Weaving of the Navajos—Medical Knowledge.

ART had evinced itself at an early period, in the semi-civilized tribes of the Southern division of this continent, in peculiar and remarkable forms. These forms, as they existed in the aboriginal stocks of Peru and Mexico, have been the topic of frequent description. There has been, perhaps, a tendency from the beginning to over-estimate what was certainly surprising in the attainments made by these tribes. The chief question with respect to them has been, whether these conditions of art are to be regarded as natural developments of the aboriginal mind here, or as having had their impulsive elements of mechanical skill or knowledge from antique foreign sources. These forms of Indian art have also been made standards of comparison, as they appear to be prototypes for the archæological remains and vestiges of art found among the Northern tribes.

So far as relates to the Indian tribes of the United States, the types of the Southern forms of structural art are recognized. They are perceived in the large religious mounds, or *teocallis*, and in the earthworks, fortifications of village sites, the escarpment of hills, and the eccentric circumvallations on river-banks and alluvial tracts in the Mississippi Valley. The great respect and veneration shown by the Southern tribes for their dead, by the erection of graves, barrows, and tumuli, is equally a trait characteristic of the North American tribes. Throughout the Floridian regions, and the Mississippi Valley, extending to the Great Lakes, and even to the area of New England, the public labors of the Indians were concentrated on this object, the principal difference being that both the personal and village tumuli were smaller in the area of the United States east of the Alleghany Mountains, as if the decrease in size were in proportion to the distance from the primitive seats of the parent mound-building tribes. Nor were there wanting in these Northern structures occasional instances of the partial employment of unhewn stone, derived both from the horizontal and boulder drift strata, limited, however, to cases where the material was contiguous. But, as a general fact, the architectural skill of the Northern tribes was so greatly inferior and rude, or undeveloped, as to have misled opinion on the general character and homogeneousness of the type of art. Without searching for this inferior state of art in remote causes, it is believed to be sufficiently accounted



CHIPPEWA LODGE.



*Drawn by S. S. Ball, 1821.*

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CREEK HOUSE IN 1791.



for in the Northern tribes, though possessing greater personal activity and love of freedom, in the fact that they were nomadic in their habits. They roved periodically over vast tracts in quest of game, and were fascinated at once by the charm of the wild independence of the chase and the pursuit of the distinction and savage glory of war.

By adopting agriculture, the Peruvian and Mexican tribes became stationary. The time before devoted to the wasting but alluring pursuits of hunting was given to the care of fields and the peaceful labors of raising grain. Large bodies of Indians could thus support themselves in small areas of fertile territory. It became practicable to form populous towns, which being under the government of hereditary chiefs, or caciques, who exercised absolute control, public works could be made, roads and aqueducts could be constructed at the will of the rulers, temples and teocallis could be erected, and thus, in the passage of centuries, the state of these semi-civilized governments rose to that pitch of rude magnificence and barbaric attainment in which Europe found them at the close of the fifteenth century. At any rate, these were supposable causes for the differences in the state of art of a generic race who were clearly ONE in everything else.

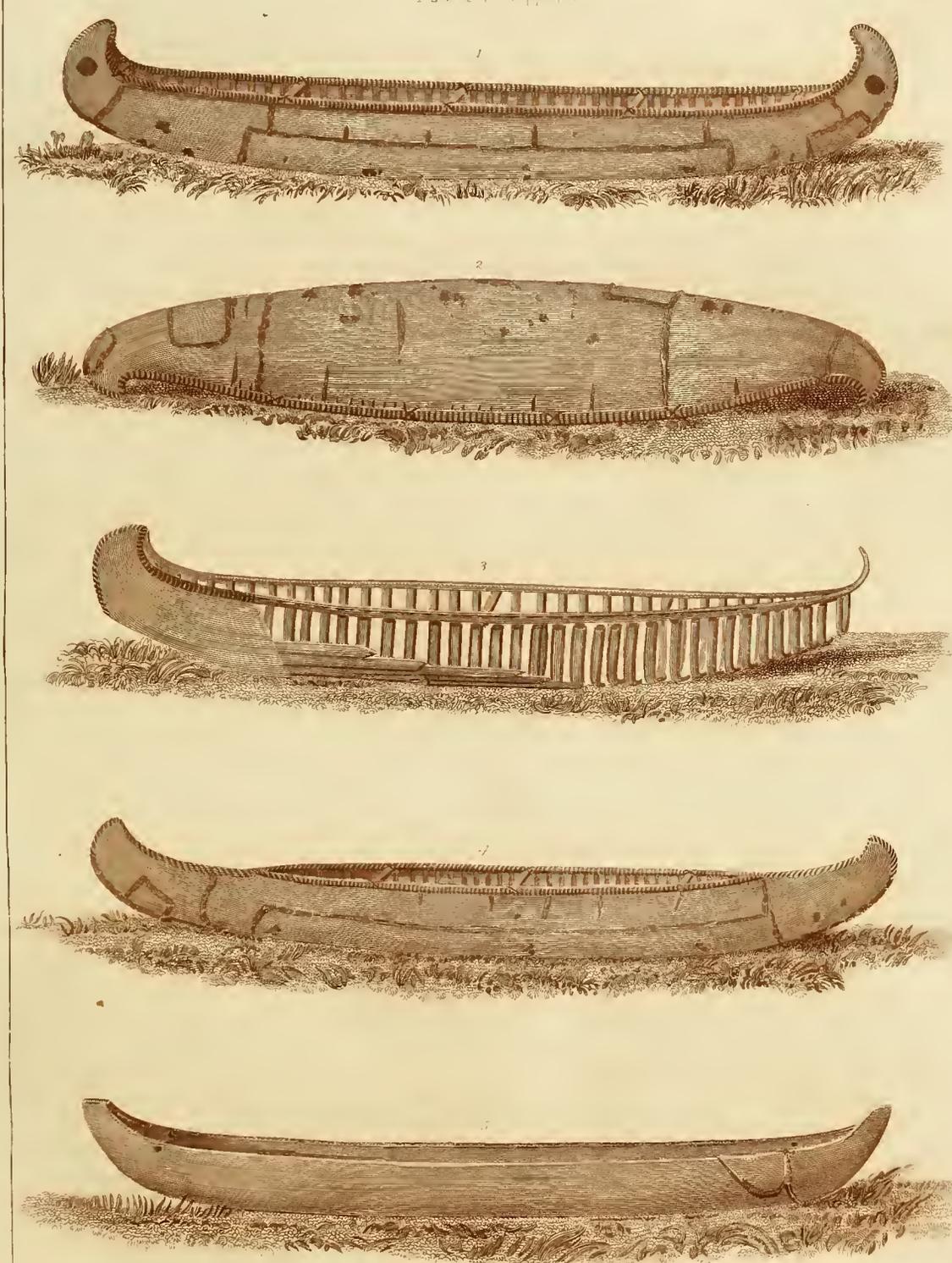
In comparing the two grades of art of the tropical and torrid and the temperate latitudes of the American continent, it is demonstrated that their constructive and mechanical powers were much unlike. It was so with respect to the idea of the pyramid,—the incipient arts of sculpture and painting and picture-writing; this generic similarity has evinced itself with all the tribes who have, more or less, adopted agriculture and adhered to forms of aristocratic government. Yet the mind of the Indian, in the simple Amphictyonic or deliberative forms of the North, shows itself as entertaining the same ideas of architectural art clustering itself around a public square. There is a characteristic phasis of mind in both groups of tribes in the erection of tumuli and repositories for the dead, and of terraced structures for the residences of the chiefs, who here also united the political and religious power. In both hemispheres the sun appears to have been originally the great object of worship. Sacrifices were alike offered, either on the tops of artificial cones of earth, or on the elevated parts of hills, overlooking extensive plains or valleys. So far as regarded art in the resistance of military force, the effort was chiefly directed in both regions to segregate commanding natural peninsulas, forming often a military talus, and to encircle the brows of eminences or abrupt defiles with pickets. The opinion has indeed been advanced, from their rude and general coincidence of structure, that the Northern vestiges of Indian art are the true prototypes of its Southern forms in Mexico. Specimens of the various forms of the Tlascalan gateway are numerous among the Indian earth-works in Ohio.

Indian art in the United States, in addition to the general purposes of worship and defence adverted to, has busied itself on objects essential to the forest wants. No objects of art have more exercised the ingenuity of the Indians than their canoes, wigwams, and dwelling-places of various kinds. In the annexed engraving the two extremes of this art are exhibited; namely, the Chippewa lodge as it exists in the Lake

region, and the Creek house in its best state of native improvement in 1790. The canoe of the Southern latitudes differs little from the monoxyla of the ancients. It is merely the trunk of a tree excavated. But the light and shapely vessel constructed from the rind of the *Betula papyracea* exhibits a degree of art and ingenuity which has been universally admired. Both the Chippewa and Ottawa tribes are noted for their skill in making and their boldness in navigating the lakes in these frail vessels of bark. It is rather in the latter respect that the Ottawas claim pre-eminence. In one of these frail barks, with a short mast and blanket sail, they sweep, as on the "wings of the wind," out of the Straits of Michilimackinac, and have no hesitancy in crossing the wide expanse of Lake Huron. That this vessel may be contrasted with the ancient balza of the South Pacific tribes, the figure of that ingenious structure is at the same time presented. Two species of their handicraft contrivances have chiefly occupied the Indian mind,—namely, instruments for killing their enemies and for capturing beasts and fishes. In the first department the arrows of different forms, the stone lunette or skull-piercer, the spear of jasper or hornstone, and the stone club or ballista (large or small), have claims to antiquity before the iron tomahawk, or any kind of axe of that metal, knife, or metallic jacula or dart. Implements of bone and of the solid part of sea-shells have the same claims to priority of antiquity. It is the same with pipes and other sculptures of serpentine steatite, silicious pestles of grauwakke, the primary forest cooking-pot, and other rude forms of pottery. The tips of the horns of the deer, elk, and moose, tied to a wooden handle, were employed at the earliest periods for piercing orifices through the ice in the lakes and rivers of Northern latitudes, and this instrument is the prototype of the modern ice-cutter of iron, which in the Algonkin retains its old name of *aishkun*. Ornaments were fabricated from folia of mica, from small and shining univalves, and from fossil red aluminous and mixed minerals. Knives were formed from pieces of obsidian, chert, hornstone, or even the hard joints of the common cane of the Mississippi Valley. Chisels and axes of native copper were in common use throughout America, and are believed to have constituted one of the commonest articles of native exchanges of the era. Some of these chisels or blades of copper were tied to firm handles, constituting an agricultural implement answering the purpose of a garden-spade, with which the land was cultivated. Such articles have been recently found in the Miami Valley, Ohio.

*Canoes of Bark.*—A special object which has stimulated the ingenuity of the Northern Indians is bark canoes. These are made from the rind of the *Betula papyracea*, from which it is peeled in large rolls. These rolls are brought to the place where the canoe is to be constructed. A frame, which is called *gabarie* by the Canadian French, is then suspended by four stout posts. This indicates the inner form and length of the vessel. Gunwales are then constructed of cedar wood, which sustain ribs of the same material, that are arranged closely from its bows to its stern. The next process is to sheathe the ribs with thin, flat, and flexible pieces of cedar, placed longitudinally. The sheathing of bark is then adjusted, and sewed together by means of a square-bladed awl, and thread composed of the fibrous roots of the cedar, called *watab*, which are soaked in hot water. The seams are then pitched

1884



Edwards

CANOE 3.  
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OTTOWA CANOE

Fig 1



BALZA

Drawn by J. G. ...

Engraved by ...







with boiled and prepared gum, from the pitch pine, which is paid on with a small swab. The bow and stern, which are recurved, are usually decorated with figures of animals, or other pictographic devices. This art of canoe-building of bark is peculiar to the Algonkins, who evince skill and taste in the construction. There are canoes of all lengths, from a hunting canoe of two fathoms (twelve feet), managed by two persons, to the *canot de maître*, the largest known to the fur-trade, which is thirty-six feet long and requires fourteen paddles. The lightness of this vessel is one of its peculiar properties, a canoe of the former kind being readily carried by one person.

Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, Plate 9, exhibit this fabric in various positions and conditions. Fig. 5 exhibits the ordinary wooden canoe, made from an entire trunk, such as is employed by the more southerly and westerly tribes.

*Musical Instruments.*—Plate 11 exhibits the various musical instruments of our Western Indians. Nos. 1, 2, 3, depict the heavy and light drums used in war, religious ceremonies, and amusements. The gourd-rattle, the *she-she-gwun* of the Algonkins, is shown in Figs. 5, 6, 7, 8, the latter of which is distinguished as the turtle-shell rattle.<sup>1</sup> In No. 7 the war-dance rattle is shown, which is made by angular pieces of deers' hoofs, suspended to a stick.

The *pib-be-gwun*, or pipe (8 and 9), consists of semi-cylindrical pieces of cedar, glued together. Often they are further bound together by rings of pewter. The Chippewas frequently draw a snake's skin over the cedar tube. It is blown as a flageolet, and has five, six, or seven key-holes.<sup>2</sup>

In keeping time in their songs and dances, a point in which the Indians are very precise, a notched stick is sometimes drawn on a resisting medium, being supported by a reversed pan (Fig. 11, Plate 11) or the shell of a gourd.

Indian music is very simple. It consists of about four notes. The choruses are many and very regular, and are sung in the highest strains of the voice. The Indian flute is made of two pieces of cedar, half round, then hollowed out quite thin, with four holes in it, and glued together. They blow it at the end. The upper hole has a regulator, a small roll of buckskin, a little below the hole. It is raised or lowered, and the power of the note is affected by so doing. They have two kinds of drums. One is made like a tambourine, with a skin drawn over a keg. The rattle is a gourd-shell with beads in it. Sometimes they make them of birch bark. They make rattles of the claws of the deer. Of these, they take two or three hundred, and bore small holes in the narrow end, and tie them to a short stick, jerking them up and down to make them rattle.

*Making Fire by Friction.*—It is impossible to conceive of the existence of the human race, at least in certain latitudes, without the knowledge or use of fire. It is certain that the Indian tribes of this continent, from Patagonia to Newfoundland, on its first discovery, had the art of procuring it by friction.

<sup>1</sup> This rattle is fastened to the leg just below the knee. The motion of the dancer causes it to rattle.

<sup>2</sup> The Dakotas make this instrument from a single piece.

It is by the violent and continued rubbing together of two pieces of dry wood that they procure fire. For this purpose, a dry rounded stick of wood is placed in a small orifice in a stout block, or in pieces of the same dry and hard material. A whirling motion is given to this upright stick by doubling a cord around it and fastening each end of it to the extremities of a bow held in the hand. The velocity of the revolutions given to the turning stick by means of this bow soon produces a flame at the point of contact.

Two modes of conducting the operation are given. By the method in use by the Dakotas, a tabular piece of wood is held over a corresponding orifice at the end of the stick opposite to the incinerating point. By the Iroquois method, the top of the upright stick is held by the hand, and steadiness of motion secured by a perforated block a little above the point of contact at the heating orifice. The gravity and centrifugal force of this block contribute to its efficacy. The Iroquois apply to it the descriptive name of *Da-ya-ya-da-ga-ne-at-ha*. A piece of punk is held, by an assistant, at the point of incineration, to catch the flame. The operation is clumsily and painfully performed by the Oregon tribes, by turning a shaft, based on an orifice in dry wood, between the hands, bearing downward, till reaching its extremity, or point of ignition, when the same operation is quickly and dexterously continued, by another operator, until the result is attained.

*Trituration of Maize.*—The mode of pounding dry maize, by the grain-raising tribes, varied considerably. It was a species of work left wholly to the women, who generally exercised their ingenuity in its reduction. Where circumstances favored it, mortars and pestles of stone were employed. The mortar was sometimes a depression in the face of a rock or in a detached block of stone. It was sometimes elaborately made. Frequently an orifice was formed in wood by burning in the surface in a circle and scraping off the coal. By renewing the fire on the cleaned surface a deep excavation was soon obtained. In this manner wooden bowls and entire canoes were formed out of suitably prepared trees.

But the most perfect form of the hominy-block consisted of a movable wooden mortar, hollowed by fire out of the end of a solid block or section of a hard-wood tree, some two feet or thirty inches high. The pestle employed for this consisted of a smoothly-wrought piece of hard wood, four feet in length, rounded off at each end, with a depression in the centre for the operator to take hold of.

After the introduction of the iron axe, consequent on the discovery, the stumps of trees were excavated to serve this purpose, a practice which commended itself to the early back settlers, who improved on the idea by attaching the wooden pestle to a spring-pole loaded in such a manner as to lift the pestle from the block with but little effort.

The preparation of green maize for the Indian table constitutes a different branch of forest art, which will be described hereafter.

*Preparation of Flints for Arrow- and Spear-Heads.*—The skill displayed in this art, as it is exhibited by the tribes of the entire continent, has excited admiration. The material employed is generally some form of hornstone, sometimes passing into



Cap' S Eastman U S Army. Del

C E Wagstaff & J Andrews. Eng<sup>s</sup>

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Indian Woman dressing a Buffalo skin.



flint. This mineral is often called chert by the English mineralogists. No specimens have, however, been observed where the substance is gun-flint. The hornstone is less hard than common quartz, and can readily be broken by contact with the latter. Experience has taught the Indian that some varieties of hornstone are less easily and regularly fractured than others, and that the tendency to a conchoidal fracture is to be relied on in the softer varieties. It has also shown him that the weathered or surface fragments are harder and less manageable than those quarried from the rocks or mountains.

To break them, he seats himself on the ground, and holds the lump on one of his thighs, interposing some hard substance below it. When the blow is given there is sufficient yielding in the piece to be fractured not to endanger its being shivered into fragments. Many are, however, lost. After the lump has been broken transversely, it requires great skill and patience to chip the edges. Such is the art required in this business, both in selecting and in fracturing the stones, that it is found to be the employment of particular men, generally old men, who are laid aside from hunting to make arrow- and spear-heads.

The Aztecs and Peruvians generally employed obsidian for this purpose, which they quarried from the volcanic mountains. It is found that the tribes of Oregon and California also employ this delicate glassy substance, in the preparation of which they evince the greatest skill. Nothing can exceed the art of some of the California arrows which have been recently examined. And the wonder increases when it is seen that these tribes are in other respects quite inferior in their intellectual character, and their habits of subsistence and life, to the Mississippi Valley and prairie Indians, who inhabit the plains east of the Rocky Mountains.

*Handicraft of the Oregon Tribes.*—Nothing evinces more skill in the Oregon Indians than the manufacture of their bows, arrows, and spears. The bow is usually made from elastic wood, horn, or bone, very dexterously carved. Bows of horn are made of two pieces united in the centre by means of fish-glue and the strong fibres of the deer's sinew. Cedar is sometimes employed. The length of these bows varies from thirty to forty-four inches. The string is of elk's or deer's sinews. The arrow-points are wrought with much art from obsidian, sometimes from nicely-worked bone.

The hook for capturing the salmon and other of the larger species of fish which ascend the Columbia has exercised the ingenuity of the native tribes. The ordinary hook is of bone, with a barb two and a half inches long, which is attached to a line of native hempen grass. After the introduction of iron, a combination of bone and iron was adopted, in which a barb of iron four inches long is used. The opposite end is bone. But the perfection of the art is represented by a hook of curiously-wrought cedar, seven inches' curve, met by a safety-prong of bone four and a half inches in length, which is designed to secure the prey from the possibility of escape.

*Curing Skins.*—The drying or curing of skins is done by the women mostly, unless the men should be on a hunt alone; then, of course, they have to cure the skins

themselves. After the hide is taken from the animal it is brought home, and the women take the flesh off with a bone, carried with them for that purpose, sharp at one end. This meat when taken off is about as thick as the skin itself, and is generally roasted by the women and eaten after the hair is shaven off with a very sharp knife. Then small holes are cut all round the skin, and strings run through, which are lashed to the poles of the lodge inside; the fire dries the skin in one night; in the morning it is taken down and folded to the size of the pack, convenient for traveling, say one foot by eighteen inches. When they dress the skin they take the grease off as tanners do, then dip it into water wherein are brains of deer, boil it, and stretch it on four square poles tied and pushed into the ground. They then commence scraping with an implement made either of bone, horn, or iron. A fire is kept up to dry slowly. The women scrape until dry, repeating the dipping and scraping a second and a third time, wringing out the water each time before the skin is stretched. If it still remains hairy or stiff, it is drawn over a cord as large as the finger for some time as hard as they can pull. Sometimes this is the last process except smoking. This is done by sewing it into a bag and hanging it over the smoke of a small fire of rotten sticks for ten minutes, when it is ready for use. An Indian may bring in a deer in the morning, and before bedtime his wife will have some moccasins made of the skin.

*Mace, or War-Club.*—There is no instance, it is believed, among the North American Indians, in which the war-club is made of a straight piece or has not a recurved head. Generally this implement consists of a shaft of heavy wood, such as the rock-maple, with a ball carved at one side of the head, much in the manner of the Polynesian war-clubs.

Such is the *Pug-ga-ma-gun* of the Algonkins. It differs from the Polynesian club chiefly in possessing a tabular shaft, and in its less elaborate style of carving. Clubs exhibited at the war-dance or other ceremonial exhibitions are always larger than those intended for practical use, and partake decidedly of a symbolical character.

A practice has prevailed since the introduction of iron of combining a lance with the same implement. It is then shaped somewhat in the form of the butt-end of a gun or rifle, but with more angular lines. A lance of iron of formidable dimensions is inserted at the intersection of the most prominent angle. This fearful weapon, which appears to be the most prominent symbol of war, is very common among the prairie tribes. No warrior is properly equipped without one. It is often elaborately ornamented with war-eagles' feathers, and with paints and devices. Brass tacks are sometimes used in the lance-clubs as ornaments, and not infrequently a small hand looking-glass is sunk or inserted in the tabular part of the handle. It is then intended to be stuck in the ground and to serve the warrior to make his war toilet.

*Antique Gorget, or Medal.*—Whether this was in ancient times merely an ornament which any one might wear, or a badge of authority, it might be fruitless now to inquire. It is probable that the modern practice of conferring metallic medals on

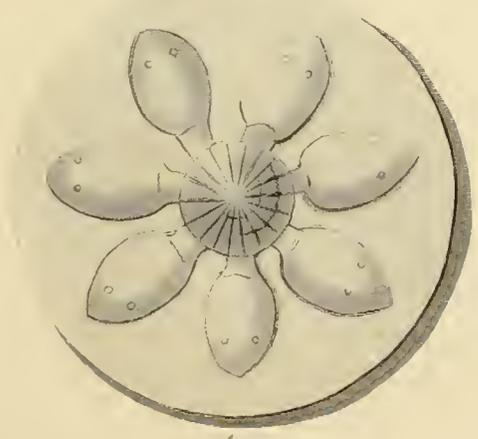
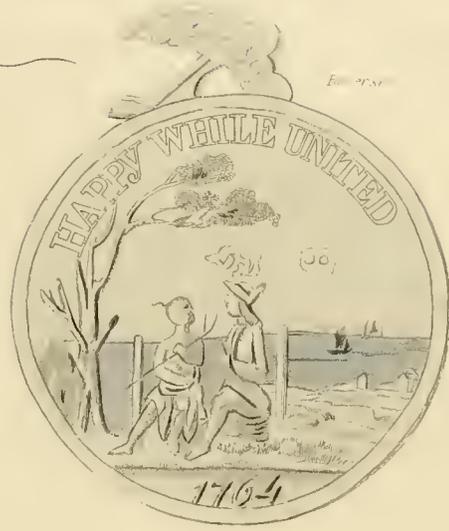


Fig. 13



chiefs only, and of marking thereby their authority, was founded on an ancient practice of this kind existing among the original tribes.

The ancient gorget or medal of the North American tribes was formed of the inner and shining parts of large sea-shells. A species of ancient medal or gorget of small size, found in their ancient places of sepulture, consisted of a circular piece of flat shell, from one and a half to two inches in diameter, quartered with double lines, having the devices of dots between them. This kind was doubly perforated in the plane of the circle. Three examples of this form of medal or badge of chieftainship are figured in Plate 15, Figs. 7, 29, and 30. The specimen, Fig. 29, was obtained from an old grave at Upper Sandusky, Ohio, and Fig. 30 from a similar position in Onondaga County, New York. These localities serve to show its use among diverse tribes, and prove an extensive community of the prevalent manners and customs,—a point which it is important at all times to keep in view.

In connection with this subject there is given, in Plate 13, Fig. 1, the representation of an ancient British medal, obtained from the descendants of the chief to whom it was given, about sixty years after its date (1764). It will be observed that this medal, which is rudely stamped, was struck the year of the crowning of George III. It presents the boy king's head, crowned with the olive-leaf, and the inscription—Georgius III. D. G. M. Bri. Fra. et Hib. Rex. F. D.—shows that the ancient title of the British kings was then retained in full.

The obverse exhibits a British officer and an Indian, sitting under a tree on rolls of tobacco, shaking hands, with the motto, "Happy while united." The Indian has a pipe resting in his left hand. The officer has his left hand at his breast. The landscape in the background is manifestly the city and harbor of New York, as the stamp, "N. York," "D. C. F.," "1764," plainly denotes.

A wing, crossed with a pipe, forms an appropriate figure at the top for hanging it by a ribbon.

Figs. 3 and 4, Plate 13, are medals of the French period of colonization in Western New York, about 1666, in the area of Onondaga County, and are irrefragable proofs of that ill-fated scheme. Fig. 2 shows small medals of an octagonal form, inscribed with the names of St. Agatha and St. Lucia of the Romish calendar. Both are made from an alloy resembling silver. No. 4 is an ovate medal of the same period, from a leaden plate, and rudely representing, on one side, the figure of a man hanging by his arms, and a snake before it. The other side represents a man sitting. Fig. 3, Plate 13, is a crucifix of silver, of the same period. No. 5, Plate 13, represents an ancient form of gorget, figured with the heads of snakes or tortoises.

*Corn-Pestle, or Hand Bray-Stone.*—Maize was cultivated by the Indian tribes of America throughout its whole extent. Cotton was raised by the Mexican and Peruvian tribes; but there is no instance on record of the cultivation of the plant by tribes living north of the Rio Grande del Norte. The Florida and Louisiana tribes raised a kind of melon, and perhaps some minor vegetables; but the whole of the tribes situated in the Mississippi Valley, in Ohio, and on the Great Lakes,

reaching on both sides of the Alleghanies quite to Massachusetts and other parts of New England, cultivated Indian corn. It was their staple product. The valleys of the Delaware, Hudson, Connecticut, and minor rivers north of it, yielded this grain, and it was a gift which their sagamores and priests attributed to the god of the Southwest. The dry grain was prepared for boiling by crushing it in a rude wooden or stone mortar. This was a severe labor, which fell to the women's share; but it was mitigated by preparing, daily, only as much as was required by the family. It was not crushed fine, but broken into coarse grains, in which state it was eaten by the Eastern tribes under the name of samp,—a kind of hominy. The dish called "succotash" consisted of green corn cut from the cob and mixed with green beans.

The ancient pestles, found in the fields formerly occupied by Indian tribes throughout the Atlantic States, were generally made from a semi-hard rock, often grauwacke, or a kind of silicious slate. They were about ten inches in length, tapering to the top, and would weigh five or six pounds. The mortar was sometimes a depression in the face of a rock or a detached block of stone.

There was an important mode of preparing the maize for the use of warriors who were expected to be out many days. The grain was reduced to a finer condition than samp or hominy. It was then mixed with a portion of sugar made from the sugar maple, and the whole was put into a small leathern bag. This constituted the warrior's entire commissariat. Meats he was expected to kill by the way. The burden was so light that it did not at all impede walking or running. When it was designed to use it, a small portion was mixed with water. It could not be eaten dry. The quantity of water might be enlarged, agreeably to the needs of the warrior. It was then, in fact, a species of soup; and the strength given by a single gill of the meal was sufficient for the day.

The *piola* of the Mexicans is a substance similar to that described above. It is parched corn well ground, and seasoned with sugar and spices. A gill of it per day is sufficient to keep a man alive.

*Coin, or its Equivalent.*—The discovery of America caused a total revolution in the standard of value among the Indian tribes. Exchanges among them had been adjusted to a great extent by articles in kind. Among the Northern tribes skins appear to have been a standard. A beaver-skin long continued to be the multiple of value. But, however general this standard might have been, it is certain that among the tribes seated along the North Atlantic, some varieties or parts of species of sea-shells, under the names of *peag*, *sewan*, and *wampum*, became a sort of currency, and had the definite arithmetical value of coin. In New England a string of wampum consisted of a definite number of grains, the whole of which was worth five shillings. At Manhattan and Fort Orange, about 1640, three beads of purple or blue wampum, and six of white wampum, were equivalent to a styver, or to one penny English. It required four hundred and fifty beads to make a strand, which was consequently valued at one dollar and fifty cents. At a subsequent period, four grains of sewan made a penny. Purple wampum was made from the *Venus mercenaria*, or quahog, while the white was taken from the pillar of the periwinkle.





In opening ancient graves in Western New York this ancient coin has been found in the shape of shell beads, some of which are half an inch in diameter. The same article has been discovered in the tumuli and graves of the West. It has also been taken from the plains of Sandusky, and from the locations of Indian graves near Buffalo, and north of the Niagara River in Canada. It is at these localities precisely the same article. Not less than seventeen hundred of this shell coin were taken from a single vault in a tumulus in Western Virginia. It has sometimes been improperly called "ivory" and "bone." It is of a limy whiteness and feel, from the decomposition of the surface, and requires care to determine its character. But in every instance it is found to yield a nucleus of shell.

*Ballista, or Demon's Head.*—Algonkin tradition affirms that in ancient times, during the fierce wars which the Indians carried on, they constructed a very formidable instrument of attack, by sewing up a large round boulder in a new skin. To this a long handle was tied. When the skin dried, it became very tight around the stone, and, after being painted with devices, assumed the appearance and character of a solid globe upon a pole. This formidable instrument was borne by several warriors, who acted as ballisters. Plunged upon a boat or canoe, it was capable of sinking it. Brought down among a group of men on a sudden, it produced consternation and death.

*Medäëka, or Amulets.*—Charms for preventing or curing disease, or for protection against necromancy, were the common resort of the Indians, and they are still worn among the remote and less enlightened tribes. These charms were of various kinds; they were generally from the animal or the mineral kingdom, such as bone, horn, claws, shells, steatites, or other stone of the magnesian family.

The Indian philosophy of medicine greatly favored this system of charms. A large part of their materia medica was subject to be applied through the instrumentality of amulets. They believed that the possession of certain articles about the person would render the body invulnerable, or that their power to prevail over an enemy was thus secured. A charmed weapon could not be turned aside. The possession of certain articles in the secret arcanum of the *gush-ke-pi-tá-gun*, or medicine sac, armed the individual with a new power, and this power was ever the greatest when the possession of the articles was secret. Hence secrecy in the use of their necromantic medicines was strictly enjoined. There was a class of charms that might be thrown at a person, and the very gesticulation, in these cases, was believed to be enough to secure efficacy. The mere thrusting of a meda's sac towards an individual was deemed to be efficacious. A beam of light was often sufficient, in the Indian's eyes, to be charged with the fatal influence. Where the doctrine of necromancy is believed, it is impossible to limit it, and the medas, who had learned their arts from regular profession in the secret chamber of the mystical lodge, formed a class of persons of whom the common people stood in perpetual fear. The term *medäëka*, applied to this class of things, relates to any article, either worn openly or concealed about the person, to which the doctrine of medical magic might be applied.

The variety of articles actually worn to ward off evil influences was very great. Some form of sea-shell, manufactured or unmanufactured, was regarded as a common protective, or amulet, by most of the tribes. This passion for shells from the sea was peculiar. The sea appears to have been invested with mystical powers. It was regarded as one of the most magnificent displays of the power of the Great Spirit or Deity, and a product rolled up from its depths, colored and glittering, as the nacre of oceanic shells, was regarded as bearing some of this mysterious power. The Venus mercenaria was thus prized, and various articles of ornament, which the Indians deemed sacred, were made from them. Such were the ancient and the modern *wampum*, strings of which were worn about the neck, and delivered as mementos at the ratification of their most solemn covenants.

Ear-drops and nose-drops were anciently made from shells, and they were worn not merely as ornaments, but as a protection. A necklace of the claws of the grizzly or black bear was supposed to impart some of the powers of the animal. The red pipe-stone of the Coteau des Prairies was carved into various ornaments, and worn about the neck, or suspended from the ears. It is impossible to tell what form this desire might not take among a people whose superstitions were so varied and subtle.

Articles which had served the purpose of amulets in life were deposited in the tomb, for the Indian futurity is not a place of rest, and the hunter's soul, in its uneasy wanderings, still had occasion for the protecting power of the charm. Hence, on opening ancient graves and tumuli, it is found that the amulets to which the deceased was attached in life were deposited with the body.

The subjoined specimens are given from the two periods of post- and ante-Columbian antiquities. (Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 11, Plate 15.)

The antiques of this character formed from the much-prized sedimentary red pipe-stone deposit of Minnesota are pictured in Figs. 7, 23, 25, 26, 27, and 28 (Plate 15), together with amulets made from various kinds of stone or bone. In Figs. 8, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, and 23, Plate 15, we observe the change which this passion underwent among the tribes on the introduction of variously-shaped beads of glass and coarse enamel by Europeans, at and after the opening of the sixteenth century.

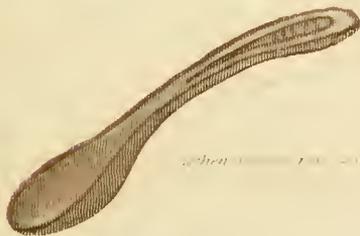
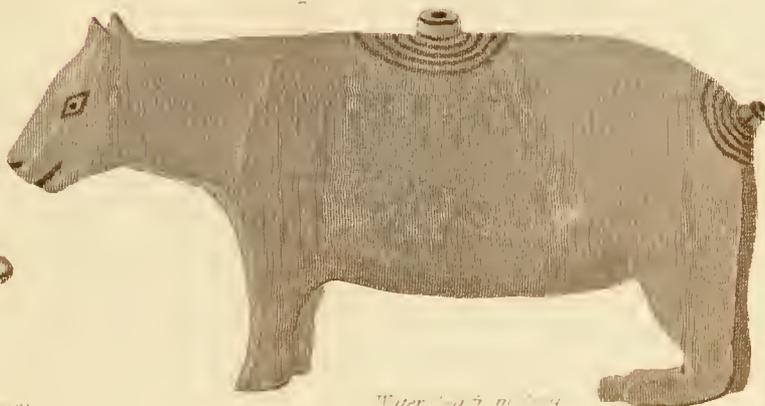
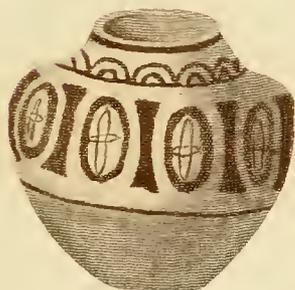
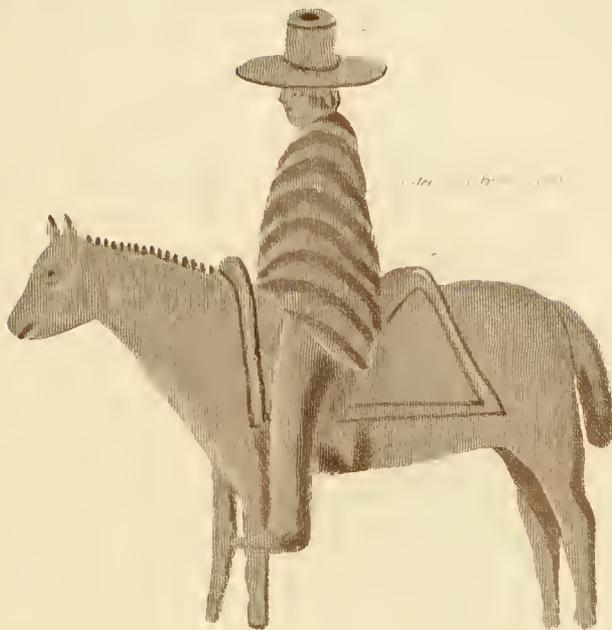
*Antique Javelin, or Indian Shemagon or Spear.*—This antique implement was one of the most efficacious in close encounters before the introduction of iron weapons.

A fine specimen of it was brought to Michilimackinack in August, 1837, by a noted chief, called Mukons E-wyon, or the Little Bear Skin, of the Manistee River of the northern peninsula. The material is a yellowish chert. It is seven inches long, and one and a half inches wide at the lower end, which is chipped thin to admit the splints by which it was fastened to the staff.

The length of the pole or staff could only be conjectured, and was probably five feet. The chief said, on presenting it, that it was one of the old implements of his ancestors.







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MOQHI DANGI, MOQHI PIPE, MAYAJE GRADU AND HEAD DRESS



The condition of the Moqui and Navajo Indians, without laying much claim to art of ancient origin, exhibits an ingenious adaptation of skill in their actual manners and customs.

*Earthenware of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico.*—The existing state of the potter's art among the Pueblos shows improvement as a result of contact and traffic with the Spanish, seen in the forms of the vases and bowl, Plate 16. The lingering taste for the gross imitative forms of the true Indian period are very strongly characterized in the water-jugs and the ladle. This existence of two eras of taste, without mingling or fusing, is evidence of the long periods of time required to eradicate the old and fix new national tastes, and is a striking evidence of that undigested state of arts in which the Pueblo Indians exist.

*Domestic Handicrafts.*—The cradle of the Navajoes resembles that of the Western Indians. It consists of a flat board to support the vertebral column of the infant, with a layer of blankets and soft wadding to give ease to the position, and having the edges of the framework ornamented with leather fringe. Around and over the head of the child, who is strapped to this plane, is an ornamental hoop to protect it from accident. A leather strap is attached to the vertebral shell-work, to enable the mother to sling it on her back.

A peculiar kind of net-work, or rather a close-banded cap, is worn by the men, which is gracefully ornamented with feathers, and held under the chin by a small throat-catch.

Tradition gives much value to an antique pipe of serpentine possessed by this tribe, which is used for state ceremonies. This pipe is a straight tube, which admits a wooden handle, and has a rest at the point of attachment, so that it is necessary to stoop in smoking it.

*Making Blankets.*—The manufacture of blankets by the Navajo Indians is by far the most striking exhibition of skill in art possessed by them. The patterns of these blankets are invariably composed of simple geometrical figures, in which the diamond and parallels constitute the prominent forms. The colors, which are given in the yarn, are red, black, and blue. The juice of certain plants is employed in dyeing; but it is asserted by recent authorities that the brightest red and blue are obtained by macerating strips of Spanish cochineal- and altamine-dyed goods which have been purchased at the towns.

This art is entirely in the hands of the Navajo females. There is no evidence that it owes any part of the manipulations to the opposite sex. Nor is there any well-founded presumption that it is of ancient standing. The sheep was not known in the country till the expedition of Coronado in 1542. It is raised as an article of food to be used in seasons when hunting fails. The native has thus become a shepherd, an employment in which he is said to be an adept, driving his flocks wherever grass and water are to be found. The wool is cut from the skin of the animal after it has been slain. Death is thus the price of it. The art of shearing the living animal is wholly unknown.

*Spinning and Weaving.*—The following observations on the mode of spinning

and weaving in the Pueblo of Navajo were made by Major E. Backus, U.S.A., whose opportunities, as the commanding officer of Fort Defiance, gave him peculiar facilities for inquiring into the facts :

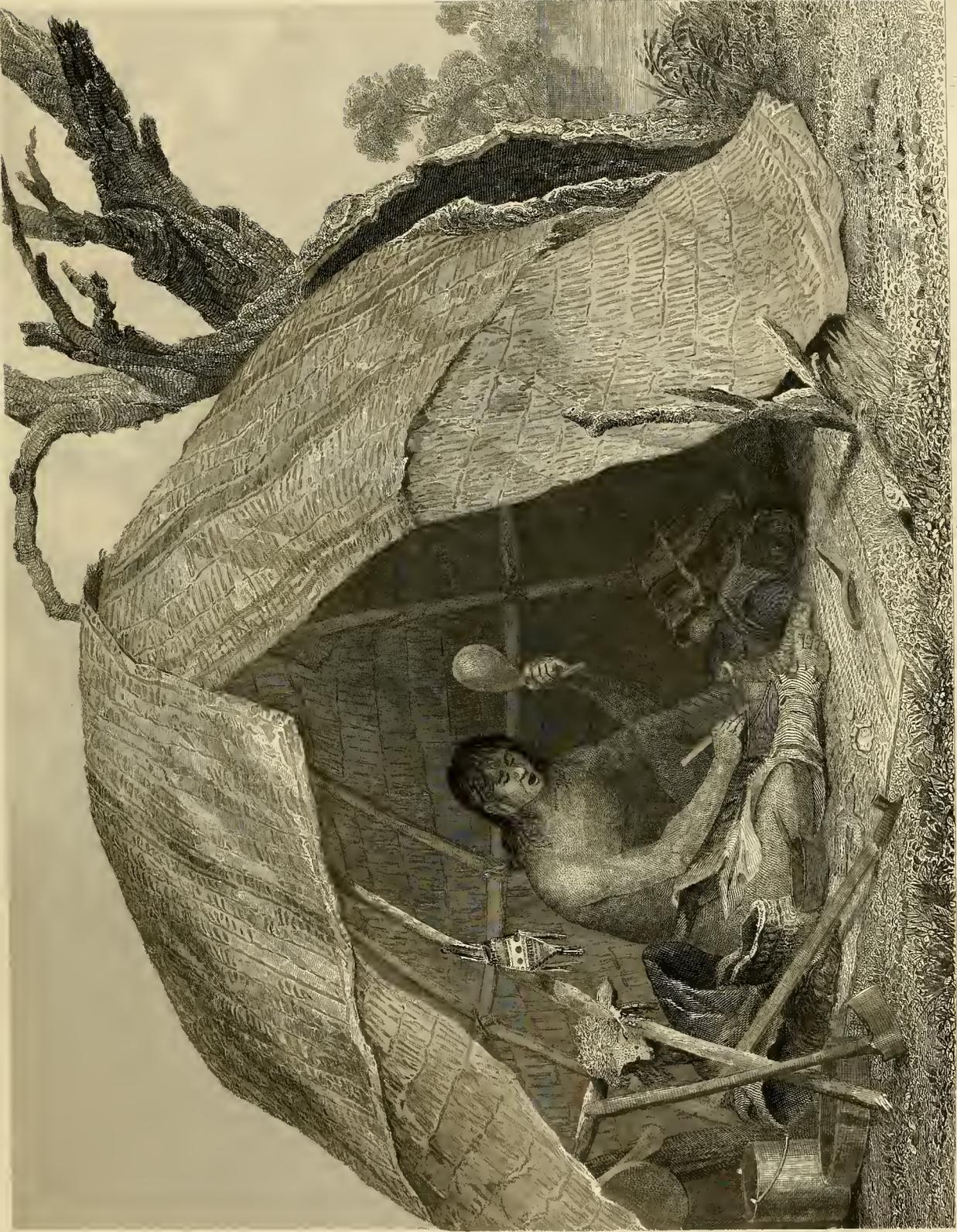
“The spindle is in the form of a boy’s top, with the addition of a stem fifteen or eighteen inches in length. It is entirely of wood, and the vessel in which it stands is an earthen bowl, which affords a smooth surface for the lower point of the spindle to turn upon. Its operation may be thus described. The wool or cotton is first prepared by carding. It is then fastened to the spindle near its top, and is held in the left hand. The spindle is held between the thumb and first finger of the right hand, and stands vertically in the earthen bowl. The operator now gives the spindle a twirl, as a boy turns his top, and while it is revolving she proceeds to draw out her thread, precisely as is done by our own operatives in using the common spinning-wheel. As soon as the thread is spun, the spindle is turned in an opposite direction, for the purpose of winding up the thread on the portion of it next to the wooden block.”

#### MEDICAL KNOWLEDGE OF THE INDIANS.

It is to the acquisition of medical knowledge, more than any other professing to be useful to their fellow-men, that the Indians bend their efforts. The cure and knowledge of diseases are subjects too interesting, in every wigwam, not to excite an absorbing care. The Indian, seeing cures performed which often strike him as wonderful, and of the *rationale* of which he is ignorant, soon comes to believe that there is an amount of occult knowledge on this head which nothing but mysterious spiritual influences could communicate, and the men who profess this art have ever been regarded with the greatest respect.

But it is necessary to distinguish between the simple and honest Indian doctor, or muskikiwininee, and the meda, or magical professor. The latter is a member of the medawin, or grand medicine society. He aims to give efficacy to his skill by necromancy. He shakes the charmed skin of a stuffed weasel or bird, or a magic bone, at his patient. He uses violent genuflections; he is an adept in incantations. The power of the prophet, or jossakeed, goes one step higher. He invokes the spirits, not of his ancestry indeed, who have preceded him to the land of spirits, but of the gods or monedos, who are represented on earth by the various classes of birds, quadrupeds, and reptiles who have glided in, or flown across, his pathway through life. It is by the superior knowledge of these that he sees into futurity, foretells events, and predicts health, disease, and all the vicissitudes of life. The mishineway, who is of the third order of these ceremonialists, belongs to a mere initiate class to these mysteries, and begins his functions in the path to promotion by lighting the pipe that is to give a sacred character to these institutions.<sup>1</sup> The Indian physician must not be confounded

<sup>1</sup> There is a class of practitioners who are neither truly medas nor medicine-men, but something between, having leanings to the higher ceremonial exhibitions of the art. Their mode of administering medicine is after this sort. Having prepared to give the remedy to the patient, the practitioner addresses it as if it were



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PLATE 18. A NATIVE AMERICAN MAN SITTING IN HIS SHED.



with these orders. He heals bruises or sores by emollient cataplasms, and dresses wounds and cuts with very great care, paying great attention to the cleanliness of the injured parts. He sews them together with strings from the inner bark of bass-wood, or fibres from the tendons of deer. Diseases of the skin he treats with yellow dock; abscesses, by poultices of onions. He administers simples culled from the botanical catalogue, whose laxative, aperient, or other properties are known to him. He has a general knowledge of the most common disorders of the stomach and bowels. He knows the value of the most unremitting care and attention to the patient who is committed to his hands; and on this, so far as relates to topical cases, his success doubtless often depends. If he concocts his liquid vegetable remedies on compound theories of the effects on different parts of the system, it is with a simple reliance on the natural powers of the mixture, and not from any faith in the magical doctrines. It is not known that the Indian physician has ever directed his mental vision so far to causes as to feel the pulse; but it is certain that he becomes satisfied of its fulness by his use of the common remedy of bleeding for inflammations, or fulness or rapidity of its beat.

It is this class of practitioners who, by their care and devoted personal attention, are so generally useful. There is known to them a forest materia medica, and a pathology which regulates the practice; and we cannot doubt that they much mitigate the diseases and accidents of Indian life and deserve to be regarded as benefactors to their race.

The Choctaw Indians have two kinds of doctors,—medicine-men, charmers and burners. When charming fails, they resort to the application of fire,—that is, cauterize.

The charmers, conjurers, or those who cure diseases by a sort of animal magnetism, have various ways of operating, namely, by titillation or the imposition of hands, by suction with the mouth, and by songs, accompanied with the jingling of shells and bells and the beating of sticks. The sounds produced are similar to those of ventriloquism in one respect,—that is, the sound appears anywhere but in the place from which it actually proceeds.

The practice of medicine has from the earliest date been held in the highest respect by the Indian tribes. *Muskikiwin* is the term applied to their materia medica, or to the curative properties of botanical and other remedies, and by means of a personal inflection added to this word, the class of doctors, properly so called, is designated. The curative art must be distinguished from the practices of the *Medawin*. When the office of the latter is sought, a course of ablutions, asceticisms, fasts, and ceremonies is practised, known only to the initiated. The order consists of three degrees of progress, from the initiate, or Ogima, through the Sagima, to the

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a sentient person, in this manner, saying, "You have been created for the use of man; you will perform the office for which you have been designed; you will cleanse this man's body; you will act like one who sweeps clean, and cleanse all that is hurtful to him; and, if you are too powerful, you must return from the patient's body, without injuring him."

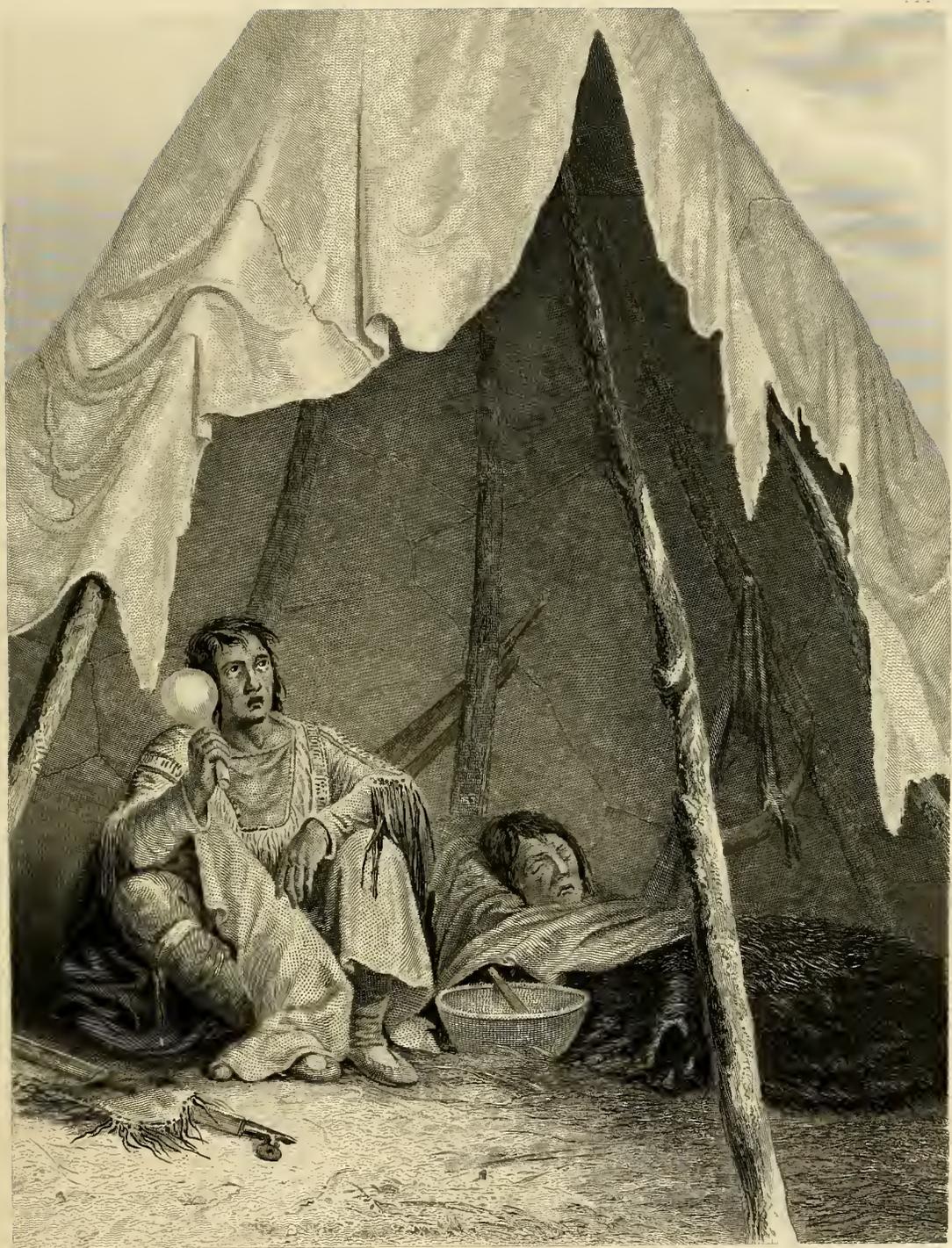
Master Meda. Presiding persons, who form essentially a faculty, superintend the admissions and grant the awards of the society.

The number of botanical remedies employed by the Indian doctors of the Muskiwiwin, in complaints similar to those for which they are recommended by our physicians, is enumerated by Dr. Zina Pitcher in his valuable observations, heretofore published. The pathological knowledge possessed by the Dakotas has been described by Dr. Williamson, and that of the Winnebagoes by Dr. Andros. In some instances the herb-doctors, conforming to the superstitions of the people, employ incantations and rattles. The yokullah, or black drink, used by the Appalachian tribes, is a strong decoction of the cassina plant, imbibed periodically and regarded as a panacea or catholicon. The root of the zhighowau, a kind of turmeric, is chewed by the Chipewas with the view of rousing their courage preparatory to war excursions, or to deaden the effects of pain. Charlevoix states that the Natchez had a "medicine of war," which was drunk by them previous to their war excursions.

It may be observed of all the tribes that medical services, if successful, are well rewarded; but, if the patient dies, it frequently costs the unfortunate physicians their lives. The responsibility of practising this profession is known to have been great in all ages of their history, and the penalty of failure is, in a great measure, in proportion to the remote position and barbarism of the tribes. A recent observer, in the military service of the government in Oregon, remarks that the massacre of Indian doctors who were unfortunate in their prescriptions had taken place in the central parts of the Columbia Valley within a short period. It is not to be inferred, however, that equal barbarity is manifested by bereaved Indians along the entire range of the Northwest coast; while the respect accorded to doctors in California, Oregon, and Washington is equally high. In those regions, where the civil power of the chiefs is very circumscribed, and no fixed form of government exists, the practitioner of medicine and the Indian priest exert the principal authority.

"In all the Indian tribes," says a writer who has spent several years in that quarter, "the doctor, or medicine-man, holds a rank second only, and at times superior, to the chiefs. The arts they employ, the magic they use, and the varied information they must necessarily acquire, can be obtained only by persons possessing natural gifts, and after severe trials by fasting and privation. I am of opinion, from what I have observed, that the principal powers by which these doctors obtain such influence among the tribes are those of mesmerism, and the stronger the physical energies to exert the magnetic development, the greater is the person possessing them considered.

"When young men or women are approaching maturity, it is customary for them to prepare themselves for the duties of life by an ordeal of fasting, by which means they are enabled to determine their future career and ascertain whether or not they are qualified to act as doctors (for, with these tribes, female operators are quite common). A young man, who had passed through the ceremony of the fast, thus related it to me: 'When my father thought I was old enough to seek my *To-mah-na-was* (or guardian spirit), he told me his views, and wished me to prepare myself. I



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A MEDICINE MAN ADMINISTERING TO A PATIENT



thought over the matter for three days (*klone sun nika wawa kopah nika tumtum*; or, three days I talked with my heart). At last, when I had concluded, I took with me my axe and my wooden bowl, and, getting into my canoe, I paddled up the Whilapah River to the foot of that black-looking hill which you see (pointing to a bluff hill about six miles up the river), and, having hauled up my canoe, I filled my bowl with water, and went up to the top of the hill, where I built a fire. For three days and three nights I kept my fire blazing brightly, and did not sleep at all, nor did I eat. At sunrise I washed myself all over with water from my bowl, and dried myself by the fire. I kept awake by singing and calling to my *To-mah-na-was*, and by dancing and jumping over and through the fire. The third day I saw everything appear as if it was surrounded by the sea, and in that sea were the different kinds of *To-mah-na-was*. Those that we first see are not the medicine *To-mah-na-was*: it takes many more days before they appear. But I was faint, and I only saw an inferior spirit; but he has made me a canoe-builder and a hunter. If I could have remained longer, I should have been a doctor.' By this it appears that it is only those that possess the requisite natural gifts who can become doctors.

"These fasts are the most sacred act of the Indian's life. Like the tribes east of the Rocky Mountains, the impressions received during these ceremonies remain fixed on the mind, and are never obliterated in after-life. The name of the *To-mah-na-was*, or guardian spirit, is never mentioned to the dearest friend. And it is only by hieroglyphic drawings of whales, lizards, porpoises, or birds that an idea can be formed of what the image of the spirit is like, or the shape in which it was presented to the mind of the seeker. The same feeling of dread is felt at the idea of pronouncing the name of a dead friend. Years must elapse before any one is allowed to speak the name of the departed; and this feeling of respect for the dead is even carried so far that the survivors change their own names, for fear the spirits of the dead may be attracted at hearing the familiar sounds spoken which they loved to hear while dwellers on the earth.

"As soon as a young person ascertains the fact of possessing the power of exerting the magnetic influence, instruction in various forms of the so-called magic, or power of working spells, is imparted by some old doctor, as a professor of mesmerism might instruct a pupil. As I have stated in an article on burials, this gift is of various grades. Hence we find that some are simple magnetizers, possessing the power to put their patients to sleep; others are clairvoyants, and profess not only to read the nature of internal disease by ocular inspection, but to know the forms of simples to be used to work a cure.

"The Indians draw their tropes and figures from surrounding objects. Thus, the doctors on the coast, surrounded by marine productions, find in figures of whales, sharks, porpoises, seals, sea-slugs, snails, and reptiles, suitable objects with which to personify and clothe their ideas of skookums, or devils, who are supposed to be the bad spirits who prey on the vitals of the sick, causing death. The canoe among these tribes is the coffin.

"But with the interior tribes, travelling on horseback, and chasing the buffalo,

deer, elk, and other animals, different ideas are associated; and with them, as with the coast tribes, familiar objects are made use of. A diseased liver, supposed by the coast Indians to be caused by a crab gnawing the afflicted part, is charged by the dweller of the interior to the malignant spirit in the shape of a frog or a turtle. These people bury their dead either in the ground, or in boxes perched on poles or in forks of trees, while among the Digger tribes of California the funeral rites are performed by burning the corpse to ashes. A knowledge of simples seems to be pretty general, and they are always resorted to in cases of sickness before calling in the medicine-man. A species of cress, which is found in the dark recesses of the forest, and is of a very acrid nature, is used for blistering purposes, and prepared by bruising up the leaves and mixing them with grease, forming a blistering-plaster equal in its effects to Spanish flies. Another method of blistering, particularly for any affection of the head or eyes, is to apply a coal of fire either to the forehead, the temples, or, more frequently, to the back of the neck and shoulders. This severe cauterization is borne by the patients with the utmost fortitude, and the sore kept open till relief is obtained. Running sores and ulcers are healed by a salve composed of grease and the ashes made from burning the hairs of the tiger-cat (which are supposed to possess great healing powers). Nettle roots and leaves are boiled in water, and the tea drunk as a tonic; so is also a tea made from the bark of young hemlock. The *Polypodium falcatum*, or sickle-leaf polypod, or liquorice fern, is a very valuable alterative, in much repute among the natives for scrofulous complaints and as an anti-syphilitic. This fern grows upon old trees and decayed logs; it has a root resembling the sweet flag, a decoction of which is used. It is a sweetish bitter, and is thought to be nearly equal to sarsaparilla. The polypody of the ancients, found upon the oak, was formerly held in high repute as a cure for madness.

“The *Bryonia alba*, or white bryony, having a root of the most intense bitterness, is occasionally, but rarely, used in fever cases. The root of the wild celery, possessing an agreeable aromatic odor, is used as a medicine, and is in great repute as a charm to attract the salmon during the fishing-season. The heads of spears and barbs of fish-hooks are rubbed with this fragrant root, which is supposed to be particularly grateful to the olfactories of the dainty salmon. The roots and leaves of the cow-parsnip, and the young leaves of the yellow dock, are used both as food and for medicinal purposes. There are undoubtedly many other useful and valuable remedies which have not come under my observation.

“The doctors have different forms of working their spells or performing their magnetic operations, but, as all that I have seen tend to the same end, the description I have given in the form of burial used by the Chinooks will be sufficient to illustrate their general method.”

## CHAPTER IV.

### ANTIQUITIES.

Existing Monuments—Northern and Central America connected—Indian Migrations—Scandinavian Explorations—Dighton Rock—Ancient Shipwreck—Supposed Celtic Inscriptions—Skeleton in Armor—Onocida Stone—Western Antiquities—Mounds—Mound-Builders—Their Arts and Implements—Ancient Agriculture—Copper-Mining—Antiquities of Lake Erie—Rock-Writing—Architecture—Fortification—Ancient Indian Art—Spinning and Weaving—Metallurgy—Pottery—Pipe-Sculpture—Axe—Vase—Awl—Shuttle—Flushing-Tool—Knife—Stone Bill—Copper Bands, etc.—Manitos—Rope-Making—Geological Changes.

ANTIQUITIES are destined to throw some of the strongest lights on Indian history. Philology furnishes, indeed, the true key to unlock the ancient affinities of nations, as revealed by their languages, but we perceive in monuments and vestiges of art and labor a species of evidence that, so far as it goes, is indisputable. It speaks a rude symbolic language, whose alphabet consists of ruins and fragments of broken architecture, statuary, tumuli, earthworks, and other evidences of the by-gone energies of men, which can hardly be mistaken. These vestiges restore the true type of arts, and tell the story of ancient manners, customs, and employments.

There is little in the history of the hunter state of man that can be dignified with the name of monuments. Tribes who rely on the bow and arrow for their means of subsistence, who cultivate the earth by loosening the soil with the scapula of a stag or bison, who are completely erratic in their habits and customs, and who put up, as a shelter from the elements, buildings of the slightest and most perishable materials, cannot be expected to have left very extensive or striking monumental traces of their past history. This will be found to be the case in a peculiar manner, it is apprehended, with the antiquarian remains of the branch of the human race who formerly inhabited the area of the United States. The most antique things in it appear to be the people themselves. They are the greatest wonder that the continent has produced. We are only surprised that they should have left anything, in the line of antiquities, but the small and naked fields which they tilled. Moreover, such objects only should be so regarded as were viewed in that light by the Indians themselves, and of whose origin they were either ignorant or were possessed of merely traditionary knowledge. An exception should, however, be made of those industries—lost arts they may be termed—which were superseded by improvements introduced by the Europeans.

Yet it is found that some combined efforts for defence, and the deep-seated principles of a native religion, have scattered throughout the land evidences of such combinations and idolatrous worship, in a species of tumuli and military ditches and encampments, as attest the possession of considerable power. It is true that these

archæological data appear to have been accurately suited to the apparent condition of the tribes, and not to have transcended it. Where an anomalous ruin or work of art occurs which implies a greater degree of civilization, it is safer to consider it as intrusive, or as belonging to a different era, than to attempt to disturb or unsettle the general theory of the hunter period. Time, and the hand of decay and obscurity, are powerful aids to the mystery of antiquity in all lands; but they are especially to be guarded against in examining the ruins of a barbarian people. Such a people do some things exquisitely well; they manufacture arms and implements with exact and beautiful adaptation to the arts of war and the chase; but the proficiency wholly fails when we come to examine buildings, sculptures, and like works. A savage may do his part well in the building of a mound of earth which is the joint work of a whole village and is to serve as its place of worship or sacrifice. He may labor as one of a hundred hands in excavating a ditch or erecting a parapet for sustaining rude picket-work to shield a community of women from the attacks of clubs or arrows. But it is vain to look for the traces of an equal degree of labor in the erection of his own dwelling. The hunter state required mounds and temples, but no permanent private residences.

They could, where the fertility of the soil enabled them to dwell together in accumulated numbers, erect a tumulus to serve as the apex of a sacrifice, to lift the residence of a ruler above the plane of the village, or, it may be, to constitute his rude mausoleum. They were very apt in occupying acute and isolated geological eminences for the same purposes. They sometimes placed their dead in natural caves in the limestone and sandstone rock. But they were themselves satisfied to live in huts built of temporary materials. They also cultivated limited fields of maize, but their main reliance was the flesh of the wild animals which they chased through magnificent and almost boundless forests. They adopted their totems or armorial badges for their triumphs in these scenes, and they turned with the ferocity of the tiger on other tribes of hunters of the same generic stocks who presumed to trench on their hunting-grounds. If they fortified a village in their warfare, it was some sharp defile or commanding point, or a gorge, or an eminence where nature had done nearly all the work. They were natural engineers of this forest-castrametation. Their art and skill were adequate to resist an attack of barbarian tribes who knew no more in this line than themselves. But to dignify these remains by the name of monuments of military science or geometrical art, evinces an entire misconception of the people of this era.

When the lofty models of ancient art come to be compared with the rude scarifications of the surface of the soil, the heaps of earth, and the inartificial ditches, mounds, and earthworks found within the limits of the United States of North America, it is not difficult to perceive that we have wandered very far from the ancient seats of arts and civilization of the Old World and are surrounded by the merest vestiges of barbarism.

There are some evidences which remotely connect the tribes of the Mississippi Valley, at ancient and unknown periods, with the tribes of ancient Central America.

Traces of a similar mode of the general expression of ideas in the language of pictographs, traces of the worship of the sun and moon, of a national trait in erecting the residences of their priests and leaders on terraces or teocallis, general agreements in arts and in the physical and moral types, together with a general unity in manners and customs, all bespeak similarity of origin. These evidences relate primarily to periods either after the culminating of the Toltec and Aztec dynasties, or before they had fully consolidated their power. They are clearly posterior to the era of the semi-civilization of Mexico, Peru, and Yucatan.

A very striking evidence of the commercial element of a more intimate connection of the original masses of tribes and their progression northward is furnished by the *zea* maize, a tropical plant, which propagated itself northwardly and eastwardly with the spread of the tribes. The cotton-plant does not appear from De Vaca to have reached much north of the Gila or east of the Rio Grande. The vast and naked plain of Texas—the coterminous link between ancient Florida (the present United States) and Mexico—is entirely without aboriginal monuments of any kind, and the ancient line of Mexican semi-civilization cannot be extended beyond the latitude of Cienyú, on the sources of the river Pecos of New Mexico, lat. 36° N. and long. 104° W., a point visited by Coronado in 1542.

The tobacco-plant supplies a similar species of historical proof. This plant at the earliest dates was confined to the latitudes of the area of the Southern States, whence it was an article of traffic with the more northern tribes. It had not reached and become an article of cultivation as far as the southern borders of the Great Lakes at the breaking out of the war of 1812, at which time the supplies of it required by Tecumseh for his negotiations were obtained through the traders from Virginia and Kentucky.

*Track of Indian Migrations.*—The Toltecs settled in Mexico, according to De Ulloa, in 387, founded Tula in 498, and terminated their monarchy, according to Clavigero, in 1051. Agreeably to the most authentic writers, the Chichimecs and Acolhuans, or Tezcucans, settled in the Valley of Mexico in 963. They were displaced by the Tecpanecs of Acapulco in 1012. These tribes, agreeably to all authorities, came from points west and north of the Valley of Mexico. It is thought that the most northern hordes had been seated on the eastern shores of the Gulf of California. Differ as they may have done in languages and dialects, the experiment of migrating to more southerly and tropical latitudes, which yielded abundance of the banana and other tropical fruits, of which they were excessively fond, appears to have produced a strong sensation among this genus of tribes. As time elapsed, horde followed horde, and it happened, indeed, as in European prior history, that the most barbarous tribes conquered those that possessed the elements of civilization, and soon partook of their higher modes of life and subsistence. Civilization, even in its rudest forms, appears to have been a prize to barbarians. The delightful climate of Mexico itself was a prize. New impulses of the same general wave of migration succeeded. The Nahuatlacs had peculiar traditions of having issued from caves. The last horde that came to dispute for sovereignty in the Mexican Valley was the Aztecs. They

left Azatlan, their reputed starting-point, in 1160. They advanced by distinct stages, dwelling a time in each place. At length, having reached the valley, and passed Tula, the old Toltec capital, they came in 1325 to Lake Tezcuco; and, their priests having here verified a prediction of the discovery of an eagle sitting on a cactus with a snake in its claws, in this lake they founded their capital, which has risen like another Venice. Here Cortez found their descendants under Montezuma in 1519, in a city built on islets connected by causeways, after they had sustained themselves through many wars with the other tribes, agreeably to Mendoza, for a period of one hundred and forty-four years.

Three Indian dynasties have preceded the Aztecs, producing migrations towards the south, east, and north. Guatemala and Yucatan are believed to have been thus peopled. They escaped from the invaders on all sides. When the flying tribes had reached Tampico, the access to the north was ready. The Mississippi Valley was thus within reach, the Alleghanies crossed, the Atlantic shores peopled. The tribes who had been infringed on in the south infringed on others in the north. They drove the Skroellings, who in 1000 lived in New England, across the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Labrador. The early traditions of all the New England and Atlantic coast tribes point to a migration from the southwest. Such were the traditions of the Massachusetts group of small tribes, and of the Narragansetts or Wampanoags, of the Mohicans, and the maritime coast tribes. The Lenni Lenapes of Pennsylvania told this tradition to the Moravian missionaries, detailing the crossing of the Mississippi long after the passage of the Iroquois and the Alleghans.<sup>1</sup> The Southern Indians represent themselves as having come originally from the west, and, after crossing the Mississippi at higher or lower points and at eras more or less remote, as having conquered the original Florida tribes and taken their places. They told this tradition to Adair, to Bartram, and to Hawkins, three of our most reliable authorities. Such were the accounts of the Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, and Cherokees. The Creeks proceeded eastward across Florida to the Ocmulgee branch of the Altamaha, their oldest town and permanent resting-place, vestiges of which still exist. The old tribes against whom they fought were the Yamacraws, Ogeechees, Wapooos, Santees, Uchees, Yemassees, Utinas, Paticas, and Icosans,—terms some of which only linger in their verbal traditions.

When the tribes west of the Mississippi are asked the direction they came from, they point south. They came up over the fertile, level plains and hilly uplands east of the forbidding and impassable peaks of the Rocky Mountains. Such is the account of the Quappas, Cadrons, Kansas, and the generality of the great prairie or Dakota group west of the Mississippi, and of the Iowas, Sioux, and Winnebagoes,

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<sup>1</sup> This ancient tribe, who have left their name in the principal mountain-chain of the old area of the United States, have disappeared as a recognized tribe. Tradition states them to have been overpowered by the Delawares and Iroquois and driven down the Ohio and Mississippi. They are called, in this ancient relation, Talligewi,—a name not very diverse from Chalakee, a people against whom a bitter feud was still waged at and after the colonization of the country. In this war ditches and circumvallations were used, the vestiges of which still exist. Iroquois tradition, as related by Cusic (*Hist. Six Nations*), confirms this.

who had crossed the stream at and below the Falls of St. Anthony, and above the junction of the Missouri.

The Sioux proper, who are the type and were the precursors or pioneers of this group of tribes, ultimately reached the head-waters of Lake Superior and the sources of the Mississippi River at Leech and Cass Lakes. From this position they had begun to be driven about the period of the discovery of Canada by the French, under the severe attacks of the Chippewas of Chegoimegon, of Lake Superior, under Bainswa and Noka, two prominent chiefs, and of the military band of the Mukundwa of Leech Lake. In 1825 the Sioux had retraced their steps south nearly five hundred miles, having entirely abandoned the upper coasts of Lake Superior, and retained lands but a day's march (an Indian term of measure) on the St. Croix and Rum Rivers. Their southern boundary was fixed at the river Watab; and but for this guarantee of position by the United States the Sioux tribes would ere this have been driven by the fierce spirit of the Chippewas and Pillagers to the line of the St. Peter's—now called Minnesota—River.

In leaving the sources of the Mississippi the Sioux tribes abandoned to their fate the Assiniboines of Red River of Lake Winnipeg,—a Sioux tribe with a Chippewa name, who had, in fact, revolted from their rule,—and this tribe, who speak the Dakota language, have made their political alliances with the Chippewa and other Algonkin tribes of that quarter.

Of the ancient Indian tribes of Florida, who existed there before the coming of the whole Appalachian group, we have no traditions. If we are to believe Bristock, who wrote one hundred and forty-five years after the conquest of Mexico, these Floridians, or "Apalachites," had a system of sun-worship, with a class of priesthood and rulers and jurisdictions which appear to be almost wholly imaginative. That some of the descendants of these primordial Floridians still exist, as elements in the great Muscogulgee confederacy, as the Uchees, etc., is beyond doubt; but their nationality has departed with the fall of the primitive falcon flag under which they fought.

By the term Vesperic tribes we mean the entire aboriginal stocks of the United States, comprehending the Appalachians, the Cherokees, the Powhatans of Mr. Jefferson, the Algonkins, quite to and throughout New England, the tribes of the upper lakes and the sources of the Mississippi, the Iroquois, or Six Nations, the Monacans of Virginia, the Wyandots of the West, and the Dakota group of tribes of the western shores of the Mississippi and Missouri. The point of migration of all these tribes was generally from the west; prior to their crossing the Mississippi it had been generally from the south. It is the geographical area occupied by these tribes after they came to the east of this river that constitutes the principal theatre of American antiquities. It was also the location of some antiquities of the prior tribes, of a more antique and rustic class. These vestiges of both epochs denote a state of art which is in no respect superior to that of the semi-civilized stock of the South; the grade of it is, in fact, quite inferior to it, if we except the vestiges of labors in mining, of which the evidences have been recently discovered, and the features of intrusive archæology existing. These latter are attributed to Celtic, Scan-

dinavian, Iberian, or some other European sources, and can by no means be assimilated with any of the Indian remains, whether of the ancient, the mediæval or middle period, or the existing state of aboriginal art.

The Lenni Lenapes tell us that they had been preceded by the Iroquois and the Talligewi, or Allegans. The Muscogulgees, or Creeks, landed above the Natchez, or Chigantualgia of De Soto, who were then the great power. The Cherokees, Choc-taws, and Chickasaws speak of tribes having two different languages, of which we hear of the dialects of the Natchez, Taënsa, Savanuca, and others above mentioned. All the Southern tribes of the secondary period of the Appalachian group appear, from their traditions, to have crossed the Mississippi River at comparatively high points, extending as far as the influx of the Arkansas. They had, according to their traditions, fought their way, during all their migratory track, west of the Mississippi, and found the same difficulties to be encountered on its eastern borders. The Creeks told Mr. Bartram that their ancestors had reached the Ocmulgee after contests with valiant tribes over the entire country from the Mississippi to that place. Here they made a stand, and fortified themselves. It is the site of their oldest antiquities, which are pronounced by this reliable traveller to be of a striking character: "a stupendous conical pyramid, or artificial mount of earth, vast tetragon terraces, and a large sunken area, of a cubical [square?] form, encompassed with banks of earth." The latter is what is now popularly called a *chunk yard*; and though Bartram regarded these as of the ancient period at first, he was convinced, on entering the Creek country, that they were due to that people.

The tribes who had reached the Mississippi in their migrations are traced on their back track by their peculiar kind of earthworks and vestiges, which are the chief monuments of their history. They did not come down to the forest and fertile prairie-lands on the west banks of this river from the elevated, bleak, and barren deserts stretching at the east foot of the Rocky Mountains. There are no indications that they crossed that broad and forbidding barrier, where travelling in modern days has required the utmost capacities of European and American skill, energy, and endurance. Fremont takes no notice of antiquities of any kind. Lewis and Clarke found the Indians of the Missouri to possess the capacity of fortifying involutions and strong points on the Missouri River, extending to the tribes in their ethnologic dispersion northward, as high as the country of the Tetons,—a Sioux people. This species of fortification is remarkable, as embracing the principle of the Tlascalcan gateway, of which the principal forms, existing in the earthworks of the Mississippi Valley, have already been mentioned. A prominent object in these forms, as in the instance before us, seems to have been, not so much absolutely to bar approach, as to put the enemy in doubt which way to go. This is the most northerly locality of an earthwork of this kind which has been noticed on the Missouri, if we except perhaps the remains of a simple ditch across the prominent doubling of the river at the old Mandan site.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to trace the art of fortification of the Mississippi tribes down to a comparatively recent period. The same natural principles of defence prevailed,—namely, lines, trenches, an involved

If it be conceived that the Toltecs, Tezucans, or Aztecs of Mexico passed the Pacific coast prior to their arrival at the Bay of California,—a prime point in the archæology of the semi-civilized tribes,—it must have been before the tumuli, the pyramid, or the teocalli forms of art were developed. For if people with their strong traits had made points of occupancy in the course of their exodus, as the Boturini picture-writings attest, there could not fail to be some vestiges of this kind. And this may serve to create the belief that the Aztalan of their story was south of these latitudes. It may also serve to denote that the Toltec race originally struck the coast probably as low down as the Bay of California, or else proceeded in their canoes, or balzas, to that latitude.

Mr. Lewis H. Morgan<sup>1</sup> argues that the starting-point of Indian migrations was the valley of the Columbia River. He bases this argument on the idea that the principal reliance of the American aborigines for subsistence was upon fish, the abundance of which “created certain centres of population which first supplied and afterwards replenished the continent with inhabitants.” Such a region, having no parallel in any part of the earth in the amount and variety of the means of subsistence spontaneously furnished, he finds within a radius of five hundred miles from the head of Puget Sound, from the Umpqua River on the south to Queen Charlotte’s Sound on the north, and from the sea-coast to the western slope of the Rocky Mountains. Here was found the concurrence of a good climate with the possession of the most bountiful and widely distributed fisheries to be found in any part of the earth. His inference is that this area would necessarily, from this cause, develop a surplus population from age to age, and that it would become permanently the point of departure of migrations to different parts of the continent. An examination of the areas of Indian population and their means of subsistence, of the natural highways of migration suggested by the topographical features of North America, and of the known facts of such migrations in Indian history, brings him to these conclusions: first, that the distribution began on the Pacific side of the continent; second, that the several stock languages east of the Rocky Mountains and north of New Mexico had become distinct before these stocks migrated eastward; third, that the nations of Mexico and Central America were emigrants from the north; and, last, that the initial point of all these migrations was in the valley of the Columbia. This seems at least a highly probable conjecture.

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gate, and a mount, or redoubt, to defend it. In the contentions of the various leading bands of Indians for the possession of the profitable game-lands and hunting-ranges of the Missouri, no antiquities have been noticed by the modern traveller more striking than the remains of intrenched or palisadoed villages, embankments which were designed as curtains to bowmen, and small mounds, or pyrola, intended, generally, as redoubts for hand-to-hand combatants. In these cases the artificial mound, or cone of earth, occupies the position of a redoubt to gates, or an open space in the intrenchment. Sometimes, in this plan, this elevation constituted a conical tower or pinnacle in a rectangular wall, or line of embankment. There is also unmistakable evidence in these locations of ancient strife for tribal mastery at the zigzag gate, an entrance peculiar to the Indian tribes, which is so contrived that the assailants are left in doubt as to the right way, and led into a *cul-de-sac*, from which retreat is either impossible or very perilous.

<sup>1</sup> North American Review, October, 1868, and January, 1870.

## ARCHÆOLOGICAL EVIDENCES THAT THE CONTINENT HAD BEEN VISITED BY PEOPLE HAVING LETTERS PRIOR TO THE ERA OF COLUMBUS.

*Scandinavian Explorations.*—That America was visited in the tenth century by the adventurous Northmen from Greenland, and that its geography and people continued to be known to them so late as the twelfth century, is now generally admitted. The hardy and bold mariners of Scandinavia of that period crossed freely in vessels of small tonnage the various channels, gulfs, and seas of the Northern Atlantic, and were familiar with the general islands and coasts stretching from Iceland to the northern parts of the continent. They visited from Greenland not only the adjacent coasts of what are now called Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, but held their way to more southerly latitudes, which they denominated Vinland,—a term which, by an interpretation of the sea-journals and nautical and astronomical observations of those times, is shown with much probability to have comprised the present area of Massachusetts and Rhode Island. They appear to have made attempts to plant a colony in this area.

Finding the trending of this land to favor the spirit of adventure, they ran down to more southerly latitudes, reaching, it is thought, to near the present site of St. Augustine, in Florida: the bays of New York, Delaware, and Chesapeake do not appear, however, to have attracted notice. It is certain that their primitive maps of this part of the coast, as published at Copenhagen, bear a name that is translated Great Ireland. The fame of these discoveries reached other parts of Europe, for it is known that Columbus himself visited Iceland for the purpose of verifying what he had heard and increasing the sum of facts on which his great theory was based.

*Ancient Inscription on the Assonet or Dighton Rock.*—More importance has been attached to the Dighton Rock inscription, perhaps, than its value in our local antiquities merits. This may, it is believed, be ascribed in part to the historical appeal made to it, a few years ago, by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquarians, at Copenhagen, on the occasion of their publishing the collection of old Icelandic sagas relating to early discoveries in America. It is certain that it was not regarded in any other light than as the work of Indian hands before that era. It was noticed by the first English settlers in 1620. This Dighton block and boulder drift extends to the Massachusetts shore, and beyond the inscription rock, which latter is a large angular block of greenstone trap, presenting a smooth inclined line of structure or natural face towards the channel. It lies on a large flat in a bend of the river, which is quite exposed and bare at ebb tide, but covered with several feet of water at the flow, submerging the rock, with its inscriptions. This diurnal action of the tide must, in the course of years, have tended to obliterate the traces of all pigments and stains, such as the natives are generally accustomed to employ to eke out their rock-writings or drawings. The effects of disintegration from atmospheric causes have probably been less, under this tidal action, than is usual in dry situations, but the tide deposits upon its surface a light marine scum, which must render any scientific exam-



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EXINGTON 1857



ination of the inscription unsatisfactory without a thorough removal of all recreational or deposited matter.

Mr. Schoolcraft, in 1839, employed Chingwauk, an Algonkin chief well versed in Indian pictography, to decipher the inscription from the engravings of it in the "Antiquitates Americana," one of which was made in 1790, the other in 1830. Selecting the former, he said it was Indian, that it related to two nations, and consisted of two parts. All the figures to the left of a line drawn through it which would not touch any part of the figures related to the acts and exploits of the chief represented by the key-figure No. 1, and all the devices to the right of it had reference to his enemies and their acts. There was nothing depicted in either of the figures to denote a foreigner. There was no figure of, or sign for, a gun, sword, axe, or other implement, such as were brought by white men from beyond the sea. Mr. Schoolcraft originally considered a part of this inscription Icelandic, but subsequently decided it to be of purely Indian origin and executed in the peculiar symbolical character of the Kekeewin.

On applying a daguerrean instrument to the surface, the impression herewith presented (Plate 20) was given. It presents a unity of original drawing, corresponding to the Indian system, which cannot fail to strike the observer. It is entirely Indian, and is executed in the symbolic character which the Algonkins call Kekeewin,—*i.e.*, teachings. The fancied resemblances to old forms of the Roman letters or figures, which appear on the Copenhagen copies, wholly disappear. The only apparent exception to this remark is the upright rhomboidal figure, resembling some forms of the ancient  $\diamond$ , but which appears to be an accidental resemblance. No trace appears, or could be found by the several searches, of the assumed Runic letter Thor, which holds a place on former copies. Rock-inscriptions of a similar character have within a few years been found in other parts of the country, which denotes the prevalence of this system among the aboriginal tribes from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. It is more peculiarly an Algonkin trait, and the inscriptions are called by them Muzzinábiks, or rock-teachings, while the elements of the system itself are called, as above stated, Kekeewin and Kekeenowin. Nor does this discovery militate against the general body of Scandinavian testimony respecting the ante-Columbian discoveries in America. That testimony remains undisputed, even in more southerly latitudes of the United States.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The evidences of the Scandinavian element of occupancy are contained in the body of Icelandic sagas and eddas of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, published in Copenhagen in 1837, in the "Antiquitates Americana." These evidences embrace the maritime, historical, and literary record of the ages quoted; and it has been exhibited with such references to the state of ancient geographical and astronomical science during the mediæval ages as secure respect. Most stress is laid by the Danish historians on the narrations of Eric the Red, Thorfinn Harlselfue, and Snorre Thorbrandsson, which are ascribed to the twelfth century. These data are considered with the exactitude of the ancient system of Icelandic genealogical tables. A Runic inscription was discovered, in the autumn of 1824, on the summit of the island of Kingiktorsoak, in Baffin's Bay, in latitude 72° 55' N., which yielded the date of A.D. 1135. Other monuments of a similar character, bearing inscriptions, have been found at Igalikko and Egregrit, in latitude 60° 51' N. Ruins of buildings

*Tradition of a Wrecked Vessel.*—Iroquois tradition preserves the account of the wreck of a vessel, in the ante-Columbian era, on a part of the South Atlantic coasts occupied by one of the tribes of that ancient and leading stock of men, namely, the Tuscaroras. This division of that confederacy then lived in the present area of North Carolina. The story is stated by David Cusic, in his curious pamphlet of the "Historical Traditions of the Six Nations," published at Lewiston, in Western New York, about 1825. Cusic had reflected much on the position of the Iroquois in our aboriginal history, and waited, it seems, for some one more competent than he deemed himself to be to undertake the task of writing it. But at length he determined to do it himself, and accomplished the work, with his mind replete with traditions, but with a very slender knowledge of the structure of the English language. His ignorance of general chronology, and of the very slow manner in which the dialects and languages of the human race must have been formed, was profound; and his attempts to assimilate the periods of the several Atotarhoes, or leading magistrates, of that famous league of aboriginal tribes, are utterly childish and worthless. Not so with his traditions of events. When he comes to speak of the Indian mythology, and beliefs in spiritual agencies, the monster period, and the wars and wanderings of his people, he is at home, and history may be said to be indebted to him for telling his own story of these things in his own way.

The account of the shipwreck runs somewhat after this manner. While the bulk of the Iroquois were yet in the St. Lawrence Valley, a ship appeared on the coast and was driven southward and wrecked. The natives aided in saving them. The adventurers were in leathern bags, and were carried by hawks to an elevation. They afterwards went to another situation, where they increased so much as to excite the jealousy of the natives. They were finally overrun and eaten up by great monster quadrupeds, which overspread the country. Stripped of its hyperbole, this story may be supposed to tell that the mariners were falcons, that they flourished by following the principles of civilization, so as, in the end, to excite the enmity of those who had saved them, and that the infant colony was exterminated in blood.

This tradition probably affords a gleam of the lost colony of Virginia, and veils in metaphor the treachery and turpitude of the natives. Nothing would comport better with the Indian character of concealment than to have shrouded this act of cruel extermination under the figure of the ravages of monsters. The Tuscaroras, who relate the event, are known to have been from the beginning unfriendly to the whites. The terrible massacre which they had planned, and in part executed, against the North Carolinians in 1711, was probably a recurrence in their minds of a prior tragedy of this kind, which had proved successful.

*Supposed Celtic Inscriptions.*—Assertions of a Celtic element in the Indian languages of the ancient Huitramannaland (Virginia) have frequently been made.

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at Upernavik, in latitude 72° 52' N., further indicate that these Northern seas and gulfs were well known to, and freely visited by, the Greenland fishermen and adventurers during the era of these American discoveries.

These first originated in America, in 1782, in certain accounts given by Isaac Stuart, of South Carolina, an early Western trader. They have been repeated in various forms, at successive periods, by Davey, Sutton, Hicks, Lewis, Beatty, Rogers, Filson, Catlin, and others. The discovery of a Welsh element in the Indian languages is wholly without proof of a philological character; nor can it ever be determined without full and accurate vocabularies of the several Indian languages involved. An inscription in apparently some form of the Celtic character came to light in the Ohio Valley in 1838. This relic was found in one of the principal tumuli near Wheeling, in West Virginia. It purports to be of an apparently early period,—namely, 1328. It is in the Celtiberic character, but has not been deciphered.<sup>1</sup> Its archæology appears corroborative of the Cimbrian and Tuscarora traditions respecting a white race in ante-Columbian periods in this part of America. This fact was announced to the Royal Geographical Society of London in 1842. A fuller account of it is given in the Transactions of the American Ethnological Society, vol. i. p. 269. M. Jomard regarded it as of Libyan origin.

With regard to the inscription, it may be said, if genuine, to be intrusive and of foreign origin. It has belonged to some adventurer or captive carried by the tribes to this spot. Many contend, on what are considered slight grounds, for a comparatively high state of civilization in the ancient inhabitants of the West, and adduce their architectural ruins and attainments in fortification as a proof of it. But, granting whatever can be advanced on this head, it would contradict all our actual knowledge on this branch of American archæology to admit the possession by them at any period known to us of an alphabet of any kind. The characters employed in picture-writing by the Toltecs and Aztecs were symbolie and representative, and they have left irrefragable evidences of their high proficiency in them, but nothing more. There can be no pretence that any Indian race who ever inhabited this valley possessed an alphabetic art. The inscription of this tumulus, if it be true, is foreign. The question of its genuineness must rest on the veracity of Mr. Tomlinson, its proprietor, and his neighbors who have united in his statements. A strong objection is found in the inability of the Copenhagen antiquaries to read it, while acknowledging a large portion of its character to be in the Spanish type of the Celtic. The following characters are common, it will be seen, to the inscription at Dighton Rock and Grave Creek Mound, namely:  $\diamond \times l$ . A still greater amount of resemblance to it appears in the "stick-book" character of the ancient British Celtic. This is perceived in the characters  $\diamond \langle l \rangle \wedge \times \times l$ , which are common to both inscriptions, namely, the Celtic and the Virginic. There would appear to be some grounds here for the Welsh tradition of Madoc.

These records hint at a still earlier period of discovery and settlement by the Erse or Celts of Ireland, on the coasts lying between Virginia and Florida, a region known under the Icelandic name of "Húitramannaland,"—*i.e.*, the land of white men. The testimony of the Icelandic sagas rests on admitted proofs, but there is a species

<sup>1</sup> C. C. Rafn. See Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord, Copenhagen, 1840–1843.

of evidence of a wholly different character brought forward. We allude to the use which has been made of the Dighton Rock inscription and of the very modern structure known as the "Newport Ruin." The former is a well-characterized pictographic inscription due to the Indians; the latter is an economical structure built in the latter part of the seventeenth century by Governor Benedict Arnold of Rhode Island. There is a round stone mill at Chesterton, Warwickshire, England, the counterpart of that at Newport. The Arnold family is supposed to have come from Leamington, which is but three miles from Chesterton. Governor Arnold had a farm which he called "Leamington Farm."

*The Skeleton in Armor.*<sup>1</sup>—Some years since, accounts were published, and extensively circulated in Rhode Island and elsewhere, stating that a skeleton in armor had been discovered near Fall River, which, from the character of the armor, was conjectured to be of Carthaginian origin, the remains of some shipwrecked adventurer, or perhaps of one of the fellow-voyagers of Thorfinn. These speculations, however, seem to have been made without any critical examination of the bones themselves, or of the metallic implements found with them. A piece of copper plate, rather thicker than sheathing copper, was found with this skeleton, and had been hung round the neck. This, however, does not seem to have been its original position, as there were no marks on the breast of the green carbonate with which parts of the copper were covered. This plate was in shape like a carpenter's saw, but without serrated edges; it was ten inches in length, six or seven inches wide at the top, and four at the bottom; the lower part was broken, so that it had probably been longer than at present. The edges were smooth, and a hole was pierced in the top, by which it appears to have been suspended to the body with a thong. Several arrow-heads of copper were also found, about an inch and a half long by an inch broad at the base, and having a round hole in the centre to fasten them to the shaft. They were flat, of the same thickness with the plate above mentioned, and quite sharp, the sides concave, the base square and not barbed. Pieces of the shaft were also found.

The most remarkable thing about this skeleton, however, was a belt, composed of parallel copper tubes, about a hundred in number, four inches in length, and of the thickness of a common drawing-pencil.

These tubes were thin, and exterior to others of wood, through each of which a leather thong was passed, and tied at each end to a long thong passing round the body.

These thongs were preserved, as well as the wooden tubes; the copper was much decayed, and in some places was gone. This belt was fastened under the left arm, by tying the ends of the long string together, and passed round the breast and back a little below the shoulder-blades. Nothing else was found but a piece of coarse cloth or matting, of the thickness of sail-cloth, a few inches square. It is to be observed that the flesh appeared to have been preserved wherever any of the copper touched it.

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<sup>1</sup> This is the subject of one of Longfellow's ballads.



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Illustration

THE GREAT BRITAIN  
MOUNTAIN RANGE

Illustration of the Mountains of the Great Britain



The bones of the feet were wanting. The skull was of ordinary size, the forehead low, beginning to retreat at not more than an inch from the nose; the head conical, and larger behind the ears than in front. The hands and arms were small, and the body was apparently that of a person below the middle size.

Very little argument is necessary to show that the famous Fall River skeleton must have been a North American Indian. The state of preservation of the flesh and bones proves that it could not have been of very ancient date, the piece of the skull now exhibited being perfectly sound and having the serrated edge of the suture. The conical formation of the skull peculiar to the Indian seems also conclusive. The character of the metallic implements found is not such as to warrant any other supposition.

*An Aboriginal Palladium—The Oneida Stone.*—Characteristic traits in the history of races often develop themselves in connection with the general or local features of a country, or even with some minor object in its natural history. There is a remarkable instance of this development of the aboriginal mind in the history of the Oneidas.

This tribe derives its name from a celebrated stone (a view of which is annexed) which lies partly embedded in the soil on one of the highest eminences in the territory formerly occupied by that tribe in Western New York. This ancient and long-remembered object in the surface geology of the country belongs to the erratic-block group, and has never been touched by the sculptor or engraver. It is indissolubly associated with the early history and origin of the Oneidas, and is spoken of in their traditions as if it were the palladium of their liberties and the symbolical record of their very nationality. It was the silent witness of their first association as a tribe. Around it their sachems sat in solemn council. Around it their warriors marched in martial file before setting out on the war-path, and it was here that they recited their warlike deeds and uttered their shouts of defiance. From this eminence they watched the first approaches of an enemy; and to this spot they rushed in alarm and lit up their beacon-fires to arouse their warriors whenever they received news of hostile footsteps in their land. They were called Oneidas from *Oneöta*, the name of this stone,—the original word, as still preserved by the tribe,—which signifies the People of the Stone, or, by a metaphor, the People who sprang from the Stone. A stone was the symbol of their collective nationality, although the tribe was composed, like the other Iroquois cantons, of individuals of the clans of the Turtle, the Bear, the Wolf, and other totemic bearings. They were early renowned among the tribes for their wisdom in council, bravery in war, and skill in hunting; and it is yet remembered that when the Adirondack and other enemies found their trail and foot-marks in the forest they fled in fear, exclaiming, "It is the track of the Oneida!" To note this discovery, it was customary with the enemy to cut down a sapling to within two or three feet of the ground, and peel its bark cleanly off, so as to present a white surface to attract notice. They then laid a stone on the top. This was the well-known symbol of the Oneida, and was used as a warning to the absent members of the scouting-party who might fall on the same trail.

*Antiquities West of the Alleghanies.*—There were two great ethnological families of red men in North America,—the tribes once resident in Mexico, and those in the Valley of the Mississippi. Occupying different latitudes, separated by climatic barriers, and holding diverse positions in the scale of civilization, they inhabited coterminous countries and were in character *sui generis*. They coincided in general features, character, habits, and modes of thought and action. The vocabularies of their languages differed, but the grammatical structure of them, and the philosophical principles upon which they were based, were remarkably coincident. Their arts and occupations were also dissimilar, the one being an agricultural people and the other still retaining their normal type of hunters and foresters. The picture-writing of the Aztecs was an improvement on pictography. Their cosmogonies and mythologies were rendered incongruous, and their religion converted into pure demonology; the latter was founded on a few leading Indian principles, which, though similar to those of the North, had acquired a grosser intensity of error and idolatry. In mental strength they were likewise inferior to the Indians of the North. The climates, fauna, and flora of their countries were different. The position of one people being in the tropical and that of the other in the temperate latitudes, they resorted to different means for obtaining subsistence. There was nothing, however, in which the broad line of separation was more clearly defined than in their modes of government. The American class adhered to a primitive patriarchal or representative form, under the control of chiefs and councils; the other groaned under a fearfully despotic rule. Both cultivated maize and tobacco; both raised species of the potato, of beans, and of melons. In the northern latitudes, in lieu of the tropical fruits indigenous to the more southerly regions, the papaw, the plum, and the orange offered their tempting products for the use of man. But while the one class of tribes had not emerged from the simple hunter state, and still roamed in pursuit of game through the vast forests of America, the other class had made important progress in arts, agriculture, and architecture, which, though tending to their advance in civilization, exercised a depressing influence on their moral character and plunged them tenfold deeper into error and mysticism.

The investigation of the antique remains of labor and art scattered over the Indian country west of the Alleghanies develops a general correspondence between them and those common among the Mexican tribes at the era of the occupation of the Mexican Valley by the Chichimecs and Acolhuans, or Tezcucans, which event Clavigero places in 1170. These barbarous tribes were not conquered, nor was Tenochtitlan, or Mexico, founded, until 1324. Could the veil of oblivion be lifted from the events which occurred in the Mississippi Valley at that date, *i.e.*, one hundred and ninety-five years before the advent of the Spaniards in Mexico, that region would in all probability be found to have been thickly inhabited by fierce, athletic, and barbarous tribes, possessing all the elements of progress known to the Chichimecs and their associates. These tribes were worshippers of the sun, whom they propitiated by fires kindled on the summits of high hills; they erected sepulchral mounds, in which they interred the remains of their kings or rulers; and they incen-

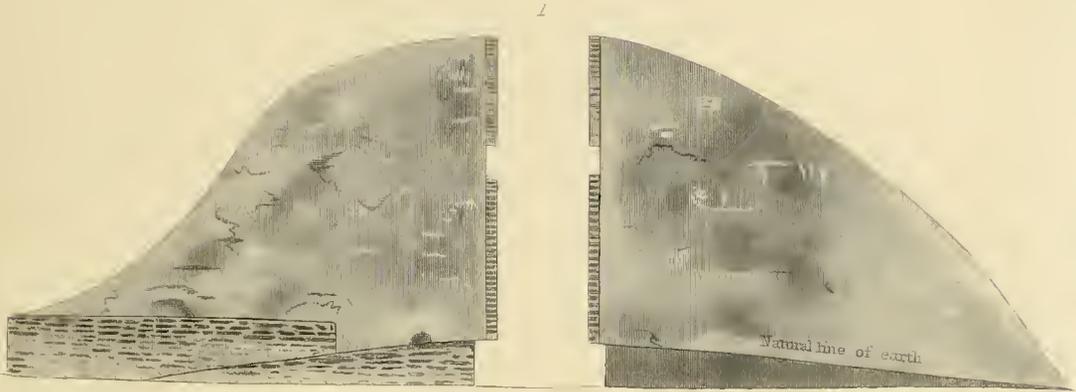
santly maintained the same fierce strife with all their neighbors which has characterized the entire Indian race during three and a half centuries. If the Mississippi tribes defended a town, as the existing remains indicate, by ditches and pickets in which there was a zigzag gate, conforming to the Tlascalan fashion, precisely the same mode was prevalent among the barbarous tribes of Mexico at the period when our Southern stocks segregated from them.

So few traces of art were observable among the tribes along the shores of the Atlantic, from the Capes of Florida to the St. Lawrence, that when the population of the colonies began to cross the Alleghanies and descend into the rich agricultural valleys of the Ohio and the Mississippi, surprise was expressed at finding concealed beneath a forest growth the ruins of labor and the vestiges of arts which appeared greatly superior to any that were known to have been practised by the ancestors of the existing tribes.

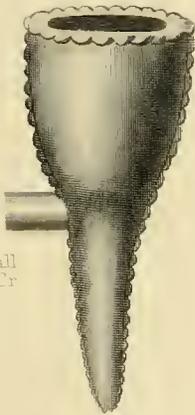
The accounts of the fertile soil, genial climate, and natural beauty of the Ohio Valley, given about the year 1770 by hunters and adventurers, appeared, when recounted east of the mountains, like tales of some newly-found elysium or land of promise. The desire for the acquisition of landed property became universal, America rang with the tale, and a collision of races was the result. The earliest explorations of a reliable character were those which date from the era of Washington's youthful visit in 1754. The first grant of land from the Indians was that made to William Trent and his associates in 1768, and conveyed the tract situate between the Monongahela and Ohio Rivers. Detached tracts were located and settlements began to be made in 1770, which is the date of the founding of Red Stone, or Brownsville, west of the mountain-slope at the foot of Laurel Hill. Some other locations were made in these valleys between the years 1770 and 1772. At the latter period explorers reached the noted flats covered with Indian tumuli, the stream through which hence received the name of Grave Creek. Fort Harmar was erected in 1785, at the junction of the Muskingum River with the Ohio. Within a couple of years thereafter Congress extended its jurisdiction northwest of the Ohio, appointed a governor, and provided a judiciary, thus establishing a reliable protection for the settlements. On the 7th of May, 1788, General Rufus Putnam and his New England associates landed at and laid the foundation of Marietta. This may be assumed as the earliest period at which attention was attracted to a species of Indian antiquarian remains bearing evidence of art superior to anything known among the existing Indian tribes.

Marietta was, in fact, one of the locations where the antiquarian remains of prior occupancy existed, and still exist, in one of their most striking and enigmatical forms. They embraced the acute form of the ordinary Indian sepulchral mound, but were composed of a raised platform of earth, in the general form of a parallelopipedon, pierced with gates or spaces, clearly used as public entrances; and, if the outer lines of the raised work be supposed to have been surmounted with wooden pickets and turrets for marksmen, the whole must have presented a palatial display. The height of the level floor of this fortified establishment could not possibly have exceeded

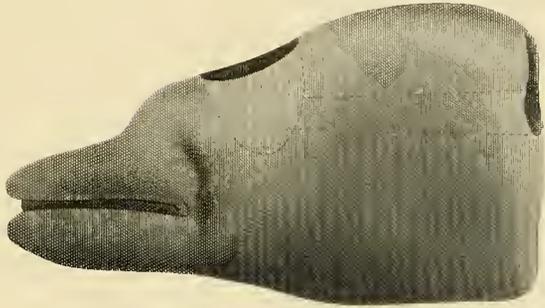
seven or eight feet, and, though its solid cubical contents were considerable, it was not probably beyond the ability of the inhabitants of a populous Indian town to construct. Such a structure, raised by the Toltecs or Aztecs, or by their predecessors, would not have excited remark, either on account of the amount of labor expended on it, or because of the skill evinced in its construction; but, being a deserted ruin, in the territories of tribes who possessed neither art nor industry beyond the merest requirements of pure hunter tribes, it became a theme of conjecture, and excited wonder, the more so as the discoverers had never seen the evidences of semi-civilization evinced by the Indian tribes of Mexico. As the country became more densely peopled, other remains of an analogous kind were brought to light, most of which were in the form of small sepulchral mounds, or barrows, ditches, or intrenchments once surmounted by pickets; but they excited little remark, except as bearing evidence of the ordinary appearance of an Indian town. The great tumulus at Grave Creek had early attracted notice on account of its size. There was scarcely a tributary stream, from Pittsburg to the mouth of the Ohio, which did not yield some vestige of this kind; but there was no locality in which the earthworks were so abundant and complicated as in the Scioto Valley. Those at Chillicothe, Circleville, and Paint Creek evinced the existence of a once numerous ancient population. The entire area of the States of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, as well as the surrounding western borders of Virginia and Kentucky, appears to have been the theatre of dense Indian occupancy, partial cultivation, and a peculiar character of internal commerce. There the antiquary found specimens of hammered native copper, steatites for amulets and pipes, the delicate marginella shell, mica, obsidian, and hornstone, suitable for arrow-heads. The art of making cooking-pots and vases from tempered clay was understood and practised by all the tribes from the mouth of the Mississippi to the farthest extent north and east. The conch and other heavy sea-shells were ingeniously carved into medals, beads, and wampum. An extensive trade was carried on in native copper mined from the basin of Lake Superior. The fine red pipe-stone from the dividing grounds between the Missouri and the Mississippi has been found in the antique Indian graves around Oswego and Onondaga. Wristbands and chisels of hammered native copper have been of frequent occurrence. The tips of the horns of quadrupeds were used as awls; and a thin, tubular piece of silicious clay-slate, worked into the shape of a parallelogram and pierced with two orifices, was employed to separate the strands in making cords or ropes. Thin pieces of bone, with an eye delicately drilled in them, served the purpose of bodkins. Mortars for crushing corn were scooped out of solid pieces of rock. Fire was produced by the rapid rotation of a stick, with a string and bow. Discoidal stones, fabricated with great labor from pieces of hard granite and porphyry, were used in games. Chisels made of hard stone were employed for removing the incinerated part of trunks of trees in the process of felling them, and also in converting them into canoes. Tomahawks, in the shape of lunettes, having sharp points and an orifice in which to insert a handle, supplied the place of iron blades. Smoking-pipes were formed of clay; but these cherished articles were generally carved out of stone with



Section through Little Neck Mound.



Found in Small Mound, Grave Cr.



Found in Wheeler's Mound.





much skill and ingenuity. Long spear-points were made from chert and hornstone. Fleshing instruments, used in the primary process of preparing skins, were made from porphyry and other hard stones. The manual arts of the Indians were well adapted to their condition and necessities. They ingeniously made a species of fish-hook, sinkers, and spears from compact bone; their war-clubs, bows, arrows, and canoes were constructed with as much skill as those of the semi-civilized tribes of Polynesia. Their musical instruments consisted of a pipe or flute, tambourine, drum, and rattles. The attempts they made to sculpture objects in natural history on their pipes and vases exhibited much spirit; and their braided work on pouches, as well as on the stems of their pipes of state, displayed the exercise of much patient ingenuity. Had not warfare so completely engrossed their minds, they must have made rapid advances in the arts. Stones, on which were carved figures for embossing skins, or fabrics of bark, intended to be used as clothing, were manufactured with considerable skill.

The mounds erected by the Indians varied greatly in size. The largest spherical circumference of any of these mounds is six hundred and sixty-six feet, and the smallest twenty feet. The greatest height attained is ninety feet; and the two principal mounds, those of Cahokia and Grave Creek, could not contain much less than three million square feet of earth. The most copious evidences of the density of the former population, and of their cultivation, were found in the Mississippi Valley, on the extensive and fertile alluvial plains in Illinois, opposite to the present city of St. Louis, thence extending to Kaskaskia and the junction of the Ohio, and up the valley of the latter into the territory of the ancient Andastes, Eries, and Iroquois. The Scioto Valley must have contained a dense hunter and semi-agricultural population previous to its occupancy by the Shawnees, and the Grave Creek flats appear to have been the central location of populous tribes. The most striking evidences of agricultural industry were disclosed in the forests and prairies of Indiana and Southern Michigan, during the settlement of the country, between the years 1827 and 1837. These points of the rich domains of the West may be conjectured to have supplied the means of subsistence for the aboriginal miners of Lake Superior. The skill evinced in that work does not appear to be beyond the capacity of a semi-barbarous people. Mauls of stone, and the elements of fire and water, were the principal agents employed. The natural lodes and veins of native copper for which that region is so remarkable were followed horizontally. Ladders, formed from trees by cutting off the branches at a short distance from the trunk, sufficed for descending into the pits; and levers of timber were employed for lifting the smaller pieces of ore, the larger masses being frequently left in the veins. The great mass of copper found on the Ontonagon, in early times, was one of these which they were evidently compelled to abandon.

The Aztecs did not drive out or conquer the barbarous tribes of Anahuac and obtain the mastery of that valley until 1325. There are no reasons for believing that the useful metals were known to, or mining practised at all by, the Chichemec or Acolhuan stock, and until this branch of their arts was developed the Northern

tribes were in a position to furnish them with supplies of copper and the crude material for the manufacture of bronze. There is likewise ample reason for believing that the process of mining in the latitudes of the region of Lake Superior was carried on periodically by persons who derived their sustenance from, or who permanently resided in, the genial plains south of the great lake. The exploration appears to have been suddenly abandoned for some cause, as if the miners had been driven off by an inroad of barbarous hordes.

The fortifications constructed by the Mississippi Valley tribes were well adapted to the particular kind of enemy to be encountered. Lines of pickets were placed around a village situated on an eminence, or in the valley, or on the plain. Ditches formed no part of the defensive plan, at least in their technical military sense. They were sometimes located without the walls, and occasionally within. In the former case they denote a contingent state of labor in the construction, in the latter they appear to have been intended as pits of refuge, or for heroic resistance,—an Indian feature in fighting. The principal artistic feature in the construction appears to have been the gate, which was in all cases formed according to the Tlascalan plan, though varied in sundry ways. The principal object appears to have been to lead the enemy into a labyrinth of passages, in which he would become perplexed how to proceed. Sections of curved walls produced the same effect, and a small mound-shaped redoubt was sometimes used.

The tumuli, or mounds, constituted no part of the military defence, though frequently located at or near the intrenched towns, but, being devoted exclusively to ecclesiastical or sepulchral purposes, they were under the care and control of the Indian priesthood. Some of the smaller mounds had been originally merely circular altars of earth a few feet in height, but after serving this purpose a long time they were heaped up with loose earth into the shape of cones and left as memorials of the Indian.

The first formal attempt made to investigate the remains of Western antiquities was instituted under the auspices of the American Antiquarian Society. The primary volume of the collections of this Society was published in 1820, under the title of *Archæologia Americana*. In this work the descriptions, accompanied with plates, which were furnished by Mr. Atwater, comprise the earthworks and mounds at Newark, Marietta, Circleville, Paint Creek, Portsmouth, in the Little Miami Valley, at Grave Creek, and at other places in the Ohio Valley and in the Western States. The antiquities of the country had not then been studied, and Mr. Atwater is entitled to high praise for his zeal and assiduity in introducing a subject of interesting historical research and philosophical speculation to the public consideration. The attention of scientific men in the United States had not previously been directed to the study of antiquarian remains. But few were of the opinion that anything left by a savage people who possessed neither arts, letters, nor monuments would repay elaborate inquiry, if indeed worthy even of remembrance. Students of history and scholars were not then a numerous class, and even they were unacquainted with the evidences of superior Indian art and skill which had been developed in Mexico and

Peru. The prevalent impression in Mr. Atwater's time was that these antiquarian vestiges, though they evinced but little art, were the work of some other and more advanced race, and not attributable to the ancestral line of the existing tribes. Yet there are some works of art and labor in the Mississippi Valley constructed during the antiquarian period greatly resembling those of the Mexican tribes. They had, it is true, less stimulus to artistic effort and art in the natural history and climatology of the country. The flora of the North did not comprise the cotton-plant, the luscious fruits, the legumes, the rich dyes and drugs, and other productions peculiar to the tropics, which had been elements of industry to the native Indians of Mexico. Its mineralogy included none of the native precious metals. The zea maize was conveyed north to about latitude 46°, and disseminated to the farther shores of New England, and even to the sources of the Mississippi. The tobacco-plant was also cultivated in some of the temperate latitudes; but it is inferred that these Northern Indians were seduced into the line of barbarism by the ready means of subsistence afforded by the deer and the buffalo, which ranged freely through the forests and plains.

In 1848, some twenty-eight years subsequent to Mr. Atwater's examinations, the Smithsonian Institution published in the first volume of its Transactions a full and comprehensive memoir on the subject, under the caption of "Monuments of the Mississippi Valley," the information contained therein having been derived from personal surveys principally made by Mr. E. G. Squier and Dr. Davis. In this work descriptions are presented of the principal earthworks of the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys from minute instrumental examinations. Whatever had been previously described is reproduced, with much new matter respecting mounds, fortifications, altars, articles of art, and other remains of human labor and ingenuity found scattered over those vast plains and valleys. The prominent impression produced in the minds of these writers by a survey of this field is that the country must have been inhabited by a population vastly more dense than any which has existed there since its discovery, or else that these accumulated labors are the results of much longer and more indefinite periods of occupation than is generally supposed. One great merit of this work is that extravagant theories are avoided. There is, however, a gloss thrown over rude and enigmatical monuments which presupposes the occupation of the valley in former ages by a people more advanced in arts and polity than the remote ancestors of the present race of Indians. This conclusion, which is produced by the actual declension of Indian art in the North since its first occupancy, had been the theory of Mr. Atwater in 1820; it had been entertained by General Putnam and the Ohio colonists in 1787, and by Dr. Stiles, president of Yale College, to whom the facts were reported.

A prominent feature in the Smithsonian memoir is a description of the fortified lines erected around the escarpment of abrupt hills, which commanded a view of the valleys and plains, and gave great capacity of defence to a comparatively small body of men. This appears to have been the Indian mode of fortification, requiring but little labor and less art, yet evincing a strong natural judgment as to the best means

of defence against missiles and hand-to-hand warfare. Possessing no metallic instruments, trees were felled by kindling fires around their trunks and then beating off the incinerated parts. This process of girdling and ringing supplied them with pickets to erect around the brows of eminences.

Among the peculiar earthworks of the Ohio Valley are the raised earthen platforms at Marietta, Ohio, with their geometrical lines and counter-lines and interior redoubts, which have, on account of their anomalous character, been frequently referred to. It was thought by the early discoverers that there must have been a subterranean passage to these works from the Muskingum River. A mound of acute conical form near the smaller platform indicates that it was only one of the numerous specimens of the Indian architecture.

The whole field of antiquarian research, as represented in the Mississippi Valley monuments, may be regarded as the local nucleus and highest point of development of arts and industry attained by the red race after their segregation from the nomadic Toltec stocks. These monuments were widely scattered, but they assume the same mixed sepulchral and civic character which is apparent in those found along the Alleghany branch of the Ohio, in Western New York, and in other parts of the Union. The largest mounds in the Union, and those which are truncated or terraced, bear the closest resemblance to the Mexican *teocallis*. They occupy the most southern portions of the Mississippi Valley and Florida. They become less in size as we advance northward, and cease entirely after reaching the latitude of Lake Pepin, on the Upper Mississippi, the head-waters of the Wisconsin, and the mining excavations of Lake Superior.

#### MOUNDS.

When the Anglo-Saxon race began, late in the eighteenth century, to cross the Alleghanies, and to explore the Valley of the Mississippi, the forest was observed to have encroached upon and buried a class of ruins in the shape of tumuli, barrows, abandoned fields, and military earthworks. These relics, of the origin of which the tribes knew nothing, have continued to be the theme of philosophical speculation to the present day. They have been variously ascribed to Celtic, Hebrew, and Aztec sources.

This new period of geographical and antiquarian discovery followed almost immediately the conclusion of the definitive treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States. That event gave scope for the spirit of geographical and commercial enterprise which had been constantly pushing from the Atlantic shores westward. The initial point of settlement, consequent on this treaty, was Marietta, at the mouth of the Muskingum. Accounts of these antiquities were first published by Dr. Manasseh Cutler and the Rev. Thaddeus M. Harris, with diagrams of the antique works drawn by General Rufus Putnam, made immediately after the settlement of the town. These accounts and reports of the country having been peopled at an anterior period, and of the ruins of ancient occupancy being now overrun by the forest,

created a strong sensation at a time when antiquities had not at all been studied in the United States.

*Marietta Mound.*—It was found, as the country became more thickly settled, that not only at Marietta, but in the valleys of the Miami, Scioto, Grave Creek, and at various other places, there existed the most unmistakable evidence of such ancient and abandoned occupancy; and this immediately became the fruitful theme of speculation. From 1788, the date of the settlement of Marietta, to 1820, a period of great enterprise in extending the settlements of the West, this theme was under continual popular discussion, and found its way into many of the evanescent publications of the day. One of the most remarkable of these discoveries of the mound-period in Ohio was made by the opening of a small tumulus at Marietta, in the month of June, 1819, by Dr. S. P. Hildreth, of that town. This mound was estimated to have been originally about ten feet high and thirty feet in circumference. Standing in one of the streets of the town, it was completely removed. It turned out to be the tumulus of a single person, whose skeleton denoted a height of about six feet. With the remains were found the exterior silver ornaments of a sword-belt, its silver bosses, and a plummet of copper and silver, which are described and figured in the Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society, vol. i. p. 168. This discovery, while it is not conclusive of the era of the Marietta works, appears to throw some light on their history. Its discovery has all the necessary character of authenticity which is imparted by the scientific experience and the moral standing of the person who announces it. These indications of an intrusive civilization in the Ohio Valley were further sustained by observing what purport to be the ruins of a covered way leading from the elevated platform to the Muskingum River, a unique discovery, conclusively denoting more purpose and foresight than are to be observed of the pure Indian epoch in other places.

*Fort Hill, Elmira.*—Another object which has excited antiquarian interest is a fortified eminence called Fort Hill, at Elmira. This work consists of a prominent point of land on the south side of the Chemung River, one of the sources of the Susquehanna. It is situated about two miles above Elmira, Chemung County, New York. The plateau, or eminence defended by works, is the crest of a hill, the river-side of which is nearly perpendicular, consisting of slate-rock. On the opposite side this crest is equally precipitous. A narrow ravine, through which a small stream passes, separates two equally steep mountainous hills. The ascent of the fortified point of the hill, which commences at the junction, is very difficult. For some one or two hundred feet the path is barely wide enough for one person to ascend aided by the scattering shrubbery. It then widens, so that two persons might ascend abreast with some difficulty for the next hundred feet. At this distance it widens to about ten or twelve feet, after which it gradually increases in width for a distance of seventy or eighty rods, where the embankment is formed.

This crest overlooks and commands the surrounding country. It is an admirable military position viewed in any light. It is defended on the only assailable side by an earthen embankment two hundred and fifty feet in length, extending completely

across the high ground. A body of men placed on this crest with missiles could command the passage of the river and prevent the ascent, as it is so high and steep as to render it quite impracticable in the face of a foe.

The embankment is from six to nine feet broad at its apex, and rises from three to four feet above the natural surface. The line of circumvallation is nearly four miles in extent, and covers an area of several hundred acres. Tradition speaks of it as having been higher at a former period, and it is supposed to have been palisaded its whole length. In the centre there is a vacancy of about twelve feet, at either end of which there is a break in the earth-wall, as if it had supported the fixtures of a gate. The entire hill is now covered with a forest of oaks. The growth is smaller on the enclosed area than in the forest west of it, denoting that this area had once been cleared. There is room enough in this area for several hundred men to rally. It is approachable only from the west.

In the year 1790 a very large oak-tree was cut down on the southern part of the line of this embankment. There is still standing on it a pine stump four feet in diameter. Not less than six hundred years can probably be assigned for the period of its abandonment, which would indicate a period corresponding to that denoted by the forest growth in the area of the stone fort discovered by Dr. Locke in Adams County, Ohio, and on the summit of the gigantic tumuli at Grave Creek, in Western Virginia.

*Great Mound of the River Rouge.*—One of the richest mounds in relics and human remains is known as the "Great Mound of the River Rouge," in the stream from which it takes its name, about four and a half miles from the centre of Detroit. It now measures twenty feet in height, and must originally have measured three hundred feet in length by two hundred in breadth.

*Cahokia.*—In a group of sixty or more mounds between Alton and St. Louis, stands the most magnificent of all the Mound-Builders' works, the great mound of Cahokia, opposite St. Louis, which rose to a height of ninety feet, and extended its huge mass in the form of a parallelogram with sides measuring respectively seven hundred by five hundred feet. On the southwest there was a terrace one hundred and sixty by three hundred feet, reached by means of a graded way. The summit of the pyramid is truncated, affording a platform two hundred by four hundred and fifty feet. Upon this platform stands a conical mound ten feet high.

*Fort Ancient.*—Perhaps the most remarkable fortification left by the Mound-Builders is that known as Fort Ancient, Ohio, on the Little Miami River, forty-two miles northeast of Cincinnati. It occupies a terrace on the left bank of the river, two hundred and thirty feet above the water-level. The place is naturally strong, being a peninsula defended by two ravines. Its entire circuit is four or five miles; cubic yards of excavation, 628,800. The embankment in many places is twenty feet in perpendicular height.

It is estimated that there are ten thousand tumuli in Ohio, one thousand or fifteen hundred of which have enclosures. In Ross County alone there are five hundred mounds and one hundred enclosures. A conspicuous feature in these works, impress-

ing the beholder most forcibly, is the unity of design and mathematical precision of construction evinced in the enclosures, in which are represented the square, the circle, the octagon, and the rhomb. Gateways, parallel lines, outlooks, and other forms indicate an intricate and yet harmonious system. The most complex, if not the most extensive, of these works are in the Licking Valley, near Newark. It is evident that they are the result of the labor of a vast number of men, directed by a single governing mind having a definite object in view. Such is their extent that even at this day their construction would occupy many thousands of men for many months. Clearly, these people had fixed habitations and derived their support from the soil.

Works of a sacred or religious character are generally square, terraced, and ascended by graded ways. Sometimes they are of other regular forms, and are ascended by spiral paths, coinciding with the *teocallis* of Mexico and the *topes* of India. One of these ancient sepulchral mounds, on the banks of Brush Creek, Adams County, Ohio, is in the form of a serpent one thousand feet long, gracefully curved, and terminating in a triple coil at the tail. Its mouth is wide open, as if in the act of swallowing or ejecting an oval figure, suggesting the cosmological idea of the serpent and the egg.

*Area Embraced.*—The area which is embraced by works of this kind is very large. West of the Alleghanies it takes in the greater portion of the entire Mississippi Valley, extending to Minnesota and the banks of many of its confluent streams. The Valley of the Ohio appears to have been a favorite field of ancient occupancy. Its fertile soil, its mild climate, its varied resources, and its picturesque character and beauties appear to have been as well appreciated and understood by its ancient as they are by its present inhabitants. That its possession was coveted, was long cherished, and perhaps was often fought for, is indicated by the large number of mounds and field-works of various character which have been disclosed by its modern settlement. The Valley of the Scioto appears, in particular, to have sustained a numerous ancient population, who left their altars, tumuli, and places of strong defence to attest a power and strength which, we say unhesitatingly, made Chillicothe its central capital. Other parts of this stream, as at Marietta, Gallipolis, the Great Miami, and numerous minor sites, attest by their monumental remains the residence and dominion of tribes having considerable power.

The long and fertile area of the American bottom opposite St. Louis appears to have been another central seat of this occupancy, and the relative positions of the Monk mound and its satellite mounds furnish in some respects a strong coincidence with the astronomical and astrological structures of the Toltec race.

In Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and along the borders of the lower Mississippi, the number of works of defence and the deeply idolatrous character of the ancient inhabitants are denoted by other remains, which are seen to have covered large areas of the most valuable and fertile portions of those States. These archæological vestiges extend eastwardly and then northeastwardly from Mississippi and Louisiana, through Alabama, Florida, and Georgia, to South Carolina, where a work of this

kind exists on the estate of the late Hon. John C. Calhoun, which is called Fort Hill. They were observed in the region traversed by De Soto simply truncated so as to receive a superstructure of wood. Though generally small, they were imposing, reaching an elevation of from nine to ninety feet, and having a diameter of from twenty to six hundred and sixty-six feet. He encountered two stockaded works built of timber, namely, at Mauvila (Mobile), where he fought his great battle, and at the mouth of the Yazoo River, where stood the fortress called Alibamo. The striking remains of earthworks in the Ohio Valley lie several hundred miles north of the utmost point reached by the Spanish adventurer.

Works of this character again appear in Western New York in the ancient territories of the Iroquois, extending as far south as Auburn; they are seen on the highest and oldest ridge of land, extending through Erie and Chautauqua Counties to the portages of the Alleghany River. It is not apparent that all these works are of the same strong military character and required so many hands to defend them as the prime fortifications of the West, but they embrace the same principles, so far as they are carried out, and the sepulchral and general remains indicate the same era.

There is one feature in which the works found in the West all agree. They evince a strong natural capacity for defence. They cover the highest points of land, and are so placed as to command the approaches. The form and size of the work to be adopted were immaterial. Whenever a hill-top or a plateau was occupied, it was walled or ditched in according to its geological outlines. The principle of the *bastion* was secured by any heights of land which commanded a length of wall or picketing. *Traverses*, generally resembling a segment of a circle, were drawn in front of the gates, sally-ports, or openings. Small hay-cock mounds were, in other situations, erected to rake with missiles these entrances. The entrances themselves were sometimes of an oval or zigzag form. Difficulties of ingress and facilities of issue of a hand-to-hand force were created by curved or parallel lines, or by gaps suitably defended.

*Their Object.*—The kind and state of art which were necessary to erect the mounds and mound-platforms, and which characterize the Mound-Builders, could best be determined by fixing beforehand the object of these structures. A great deal of speculation has been indulged in on this subject. That they were intended to be primarily tumuli was the opinion of Jefferson (see his “Notes on Virginia”). They are of all sizes, from artificial mounds a few feet in height and eighteen or twenty feet in circumference to hillocks ninety feet in altitude and sometimes reaching at the base a girth of seven hundred feet. Their magnitude appears to have been dependent upon the size of the town or village and the amount of its population. It rested, also, on the fact whether the structure was designed to be a public or a private tumulus, or mausoleum.

No thought existed at the period of their discovery that Indian art could not accomplish these works. “These works,” says Governor Cass, an acute observer, “are not confined to any particular situation. We find them on hills and in valleys,

in positions favorable to military defence, and in others where they are completely commanded by elevated ground, and where defence would be impracticable.

“A supply of water has not been deemed an indispensable requisite. Between Detroit and Chicago, in the midst of an immense plain, and remote from any stream, one of these works yet remains. There are others similarly situated with regard to water, and upon the Muskingum there are some on the most barren and elevated hills.

“They are found in every state of preservation and decay. In some the walls are at least fifteen feet high, particularly near Newark and Lebanon, Ohio, and the whole work is as distinct as it was on the day of its completion. Others are almost mouldered away, and it is difficult to distinguish them from the natural inequalities of the ground. Some of them have ditches and some of them are without, and these ditches are as often found on the *inside* as the *outside* of the walls. There is an elevated mound in Marietta enclosed with a wall, and having a ditch between the wall and the mound. It is impossible that this wall and ditch could have been made for any purpose of defence, because the elevation of the mound, which occupies the whole interior space, would have exposed those within to the attack of the assailants. Their form is as various as their situation. They are square, round, elliptical, hexagonal, and in almost every shape which fancy can imagine.”

That the tumulus proper was not intended as a work of defence could not be more conclusively shown than it is by these remarks of a person who was very familiar with the topic of Western antiquities. The mound was, however, frequently, when erected on low grounds, connected with walls and ditches, which in these cases were clearly designed to defend the mounds themselves, which were the sepulchres of their forefathers, and may, under the mythologic belief of the Indians, have been designed to incite the defenders to greater acts of heroism.

It is stated by Colonel Hawkins that there are five conical mounds of earth on an isolated bluff on the river Coosa, which he regards as having been places of refuge in seasons of high water. The largest of these artificial mounds of refuge is thirty yards in diameter and seventeen feet high, and the base of each of the mounds on the bluff is forty-five feet above the river. The maximum rise in late years (1793 to 1799) of this river he states to be forty-seven feet: hence the fugitives from the flood would have been lifted fifteen feet above the point of inundation. He also mentions, as a tradition then current, that the Creeks, from the era in which they had dwelt in the valleys west of the Mississippi, and prior to their migration, had been in the habit of constructing such mounds of refuge as shelters from the sudden inundations of those rapidly-rising waters in the great slopes east of the Rocky Mountains. These artificial mounds, it is stated by that observer, were also designed to entomb the remains of their distinguished men.

But we are to inquire, Does the mound, or the defensive work, or any of the surrounding objects, of antiquarian character, imply a degree of skill, or art, or of mere manual labor, superior to that which may be assigned to the ancestors of the present race of Indians? Mounds may be considered as tumuli proper, propyla or

redoubt mounds (at the outer or inner side of gates), and barrows, or small structures of earth, generally under nine or ten feet in height. To these may be added the small Sciotic mounds of sacrifice, the eccentric totemic or imitative mounds, and the massive truncated square or oval platform-mounds.

General George Rogers Clarke, a man extensively acquainted with Western geography, as well as with the Indian manners and customs, believed, from the inspection of these remains of embankments, redoubts, and mounds of earth, that they were due to the predecessors of the present race of Indians, or of men of similar language, manners, customs, and arts.

"Some of them," says General Clarke, "have been fortified towns, others encampments intrenched, but the greater part have been common garrisoned forts, many of them with towers of earth of considerable height, to defend the walls with arrows and other missile weapons.

"That the people had commerce is evident, because the mouth of every river has been fortified; where the land was subject to floods, it has been raised out of the way of water. That they were a numerous people is also evident, not only from their many works, but also from their habitations being raised in low lands. I had frequently observed scattered, in what we call the low country on the Ohio, little mounds, that I took to be graves, such as Mr. Jefferson describes ('Notes on Virginia'), which are frequent all over this country, but could not comprehend them. What could induce the people to bring their dead several miles from the high into the low lands for burial?

"That they had great armies in the field is evident: the fortified lines in different parts would have required immense armies to man them. One in the Choctaw country is several miles in length, the one Mr. Carver mentions ('Carver's Travels'), and many others in different directions, but at considerable distances from each other.

"That important passes were attended to by them is evident, because they are fortified. Thousands of men have passed the Cumberland Gap, and perhaps but few observers have taken notice of the curiosity there. The gap is very narrow, and what is generally viewed as a little hill, that nearly fills up the gap, is an ancient fortress for the defence of the place, a fine spring breaking out within a few yards of it. That they made use of wells is evident, because they yet appear, in many places, as little basins by the earth washing in. The one in the ancient fortress at Louisville was filled up by Captain Patten, who made use of part of the old wall for that purpose.

"Covered ways to water are common; causeways across marshes frequent. The highroad across Little Grave Creek did, and I suppose still does, pass over an ancient causeway, made of sand and gravel, across a marsh.

"The Indian traditions give an account of these works. They say they were the works of their forefathers; that they were as numerous as the trees in the wood; that they affronted the Great Spirit and he made them kill one another. The works on the Mississippi near the Caw River (Kaskaskia) are among the largest we

know of. The Kaskaskia chief, Baptiste Ducoign, gave me a history of this. He said that was the palace of his forefathers, when they covered the whole country and had large towns; that all those works we saw there were the fortifications round the town, which must have been very considerable; that the smaller works we saw so far within the larger comprehended the real palace; that the little mountain we there saw flung up with a basin on top was a tower that contained part of the guard belonging to the prince, as from the top of that height they could defend the king's house with their arrows, etc."

Baptiste Ducoign, who is particularly referred to for this tradition, was a Kaskaskia chief of intelligence and note, living on the Kaskaskia River, in Illinois, during the latter part of the eighteenth century. This is not the only Indian tradition giving an account of these antiquarian monuments of a by-gone era which have elicited so much remark. The traditions of the ancient tribe of the Lenni Lenape, recorded by Mr. Heckewelder in 1819, distinctly refer to a general war with more southerly and westerly nations, against whom this once warlike and powerful tribe was engaged, in close alliance with the Iroquois. They are called by him Alligewi. Heckewelder says that they were a remarkably tall and athletic people, and that they embraced persons of gigantic growth compared to the Lenape. They had built regular "fortifications and intrenchments," many of which he had seen, and two of which he describes. One of these was located near the mouth of the river Huron (now called Clinton River), Michigan, which empties itself into the north side of Lake St. Clair, about twenty miles from Detroit. In the year 1786, when this discovery was made, the ground was owned and occupied by a Mr. Tucker. The other work referred to was seated on the south banks of Lake Erie, east of Sandusky Bay, and on the river Huron, of Ohio, about six or eight miles from the open shores of Lake Erie. It consisted of two proper intrenchments, or walls and banks of earth regularly formed, with an outer ditch. These intrenchments were a mile apart. Outside of the gateways or sally-ports of each wall were a number of large flat mounds, which his Indian guide affirmed contained the bones of hundreds of the slain Alligewi.

*Who were the Mound-Builders?*—But it may be inquired, Had the ancestors of the present race of Indians skill to erect the fortifications and earthworks which are scattered through the Mississippi Valley? Mr. Caleb Atwater, an antiquarian writer, who lived in Ohio, where these works have always commanded great interest, writing in 1820, discredits the particular fact of the *military* character of most of these works, as well as their actual *number*. "First, then," observes he, "as to the immense number of military works: they are not here. The lines of forts, if forts they were, commencing near Cattaraugus Creek, New York; those at Newark, at Circleville, on Paint Creek; one on the Miami, and one opposite Portsmouth, have been described; and I by no means believe that even all these were real forts. Between the Rocky Mountains and the Alleghanies, the Northern lakes and the Mexican Gulf, it may be possible that there were originally about twenty forts to defend a country nearly as large as Europe, and these were probably two thousand years in building,

situated, too, in a thickly-settled country." Mr. Atwater believed that these earthworks were archæological evidences of a dense occupancy of the Mississippi Valley by a people of superior civilization and of another race, anterior to and different from the ancestors of the Indians.

General Clarke, whose opinions are entitled to great weight, deems these encampments, ditches, and lines of defence to be due entirely to the ancestors of the present race of Indians. In favor of this conclusion he adduces the additional testimony of Indian tradition. Since his examinations were made, the Mississippi Valley, which was at that era a vast and sublime wilderness, has been filled with a civilized population of the Anglo-Saxon and the various Celtic races of Europe. The labors of agriculture have obliterated many of the earthworks and made it more difficult to form a judgment of their extent and character. Mr. Schoolcraft's impressions also are that they cannot be ascribed to a people of high civilization. No people possessing any high degree of art and knowledge would, in his opinion, have constructed such inartificial and eccentric works, which are incapable of enduring a siege. Entire towns were often embraced in lines of defence, together with the tumuli.

That many of these mounds are the results of human labor is unquestionable, but it is also true that some are of geological origin. One of the most regular and perfect of these in form and shape, that of Mount Joliet, on the Desplaines, in Northern Illinois, proved of diluvial origin when excavated in 1839 for the Illinois Canal. The great double mound of St. Louis is purely geological. To add to the popular idea of its being artificial, Indian graves had been dug in its sides and on its summit. Credulous people have indulged in many ingenious speculations occasioned by the numerous impositions and forgeries which have been essayed in connection with these mounds.

The Mound-Builders appear to have cultivated public fields, situated in the plains or valleys, near some fortified hill, where the whole mass of the population could nightly, or as danger threatened, resort. The very great area of ground covered by defences in many places is a strong reason for supposing that the military work itself was a town or village where the women and children were under permanent protection. In the wide area of these fortified towns they could erect their dwellings, which were probably of wood, and therefore perishable, and have left no trace. The military force of such a "fenced city" or town was more effective, as many of the females could be employed in carrying arrows and other light work. There were no bombs, as nowadays, to fall over an enclosure: the great struggle was always at the gates, which were maintained in a desperate hand-to-hand contest with darts and clubs. Such mounds as those at Grave Creek and Cahokia indicate not only a dense agricultural population, but also a state of society essentially different from that of the existing race north of the tropics.

The larger mounds, which were the places of offerings and sacrifices and of the singing of hymns, were outside of the works. These, it is most probable, were only approached by the priests before or after the conflict, and were the sites of public

supplications and public thanksgivings. It was no desecration of the object to which the large tumuli were dedicated to employ them as sepulchres for their celebrated men, but rather served to invest them with additional respect and sanctity.

The minor mounds, such as we have denominated hay-cock mounds, appear to have been seated inside or outside of a defended town or fort, of a military character, and were a sort of redoubt. When seated at places distant from such works, they were generally mere barrows.

A third species of the class of minor mounds were evidently of an *altarie* character. This appears to have been first shown by Dr. Davis in his elaborate examination of the antiquities of the Scioto Valley. That offerings were made by fire by the Mound-Builders, as well as by the existing race of Indians, is clearly shown. An altar of earth, not very imposing in its height or circumference, was made by them from loose earth, in which two simple principles were observed, namely, those of the altar and the pyramid. In shape it was like a small inverted blunt cone or tin cup. None exceeded eighteen feet in height, with a base-diameter of twenty-five feet. It was circular, so that all could approach and stand around it, and concave enough at the top to prevent the fire from tumbling off. Here the people could freely make their offerings to the officiating jossakeeds. These appear to have consisted most commonly of the pipe in which incense had been offered, and which was probably, from its ordinary and extraordinary uses, one of the most cherished objects in the household.

By long use the bed of the loam or earth composing the altar would become hard, and partake in some measure of the character of brick. What circumstances determined its disuse we cannot say. It is certain that in the end the fire was covered up, with all its more or less burned and cracked contents, and the earth heaped up so as to bury it most effectually and constitute a mound. This peculiar formation was first exposed by the action of the river, which undermined one or more of these structures, exposing the baked red line of earth of a convex form which had made the former bed of the altar, and upon which vast numbers of sculptured pipes were found.

*Wisconsin Mounds.*—One class of mounds, the simplest of all, differ wholly in their object and mode of construction, as well, probably, as in their era of erection, from all the preceding species. These are called the *imitative* and Wisconsin mounds.

These symbolic mounds, or monuments of earth, consist of the figures of animals raised on the surface of the open country and covered with grass. None of them exceed ten feet in height, although many of them include considerable areas. Their connection with the existing totemic system of the Indians who are yet on the field of action is too strong to escape attention. By the system of names imposed upon the men composing the Algonkin, Iroquois, Cherokee, and other nations, a fox, a bear, a turtle, etc., is fixed on as a badge or stem from which the descendants may trace their parentage. To do this, the figure of the animal is employed as an heraldic sign or surname. This sign, which by no means gives the individual name of the

person, is called, in the Algonkin, *Totem*, or "town-mark." These people must have been familiar with the mastodon or elephant, judging from the "Big Elephant" mound found recently a few miles below the mouth of the Wisconsin River. It is one hundred and thirty-five feet long, its other proportions being in accordance therewith. Its shape is indicated by its name.

A tribe could leave no more permanent trace of an esteemed sachem or honored individual than by the erection of one of these monuments. They are clearly sepulchral, and have no other object than to preserve the names of distinguished actors in their history. The FOX, the BEAR, the WOLF, and the EAGLE, are clearly recognizable in the devices published. The mounds most common in the Mississippi Valley are sepulchral, those at Grave Creek and Miamisburg, Ohio, indicating by their great height the importance of their inmates when living.

*Age of the Mounds.*—Could we determine the age of these works, one great object in their consideration would be attained. The opening of the great tumulus of Grave Creek, in Western Virginia, in 1838, revealed the mode which brought structures of earth of this capacity within the means of the semi-industrial tribes. It was evident that the lowermost of the two ancient vaults discovered was of vastly the more ancient era. It appeared conclusively that the structure was the result of comparatively trivial sepulchral labors during an immense period, one age and tribe having added to another the results of its easily accomplished and slowly accumulating toils. It also appeared that a mound-like natural hillock had been selected as the place of the first interment. By the original surface-line of the sod, disclosed by the lower gallery, it was further shown that the first interment was in a vault some six feet below the sod-line, over which earth was heaped,—probably by carrying it up in leather bags from the surrounding plain. The personage interred—judging from his ornaments, and from the attention bestowed in excavating a square vault, lining it with timber and covering it with stones—was a patriarch or ruler of rank. Accumulations of irregular artificial strata of yellow and black sand, with a carbonaceous appearance and alkaline and acidulous properties, denoted the rise of the structure through the slow process of the incineration or natural decay of human bodies. So great was the epoch devoted to these sepulchral labors that the bones had undergone entire decay, and every osseous vestige had submitted to decomposition and become blended with the earth.

The oldest inscription in America, exclusive of the muzzinábiks or rock-pictographs of the Indians, is one discovered in Onondaga County, New York, bearing the date of 1520,—an inscription, manifestly sepulchral, which appears to have been due to gold and silver hunters who accompanied the ill-fated and chivalrous De Leon. But there are no indicia of this kind respecting the mound period.

With regard to the platform mounds, it is a recorded tradition of the Muscogees and Appalachian tribes that these were public works, laid out on the selection of a new site for a town, and engaged in immediately by the whole tribe, to serve as the official seat for their chief ruler. But little absolute art was required to build a tumulus,—a raised teocalli platform or earth wall, such as that of Circleville, Ohio.

The actual place in the heavens of the rising and the setting of the sun, without marking its solstitial changes, would be sufficient to guide the native builder in determining with general exactitude the cardinal points.

By whom the mounds were built, or what became of the builders, will in all probability never be known. From the decayed condition of the human remains found in their wonderfully compact and dry soil, and from the fact that none of these works occur on the lower of the four terraces formed by the subsidence of the Western streams at as many different eras, while they were erected promiscuously on all the others, their age has been estimated to be not less than two thousand years. Mr. Lewis H. Morgan, judging from their artificial embankments, their implements and utensils, and their selection of areas poorly provided with fish and game, pronounces them agricultural or Village Indians from New Mexico, whose disappearance was gradual and voluntary, the attempt to transfer the type of village life of New Mexico to the Ohio Valley having proved a failure.

*Arts and Implements of the Mound-Builders.*—Among the articles attesting a mechanical or artistic power, found side by side with the remains in the sepulchral and other mounds, are well-wrought needles of bone, shuttles of the same material, disks of porphyry, axes and knives of chert, block-prints for clothing, rope-makers' reeds, suction-tubes of steatite, elaborate carvings on stone, pottery, often of elegant design, articles of use or ornament in silver and native copper, mica, shells from the Gulf of Mexico, obsidian, and various other objects of utility or ornament. It is from a consideration of these antiquities, which have been disclosed by tumuli and the plough, that the true state of arts and fabrics of the Mound- and Fort-Builders' epoch must be inferred. It appears to have embraced a *transition period* between the pure hunter and the agricultural state, and to have felt the moving impulses of an abundant and reliable means of subsistence for its numerous population, some fixed power of government, and the expansive influences of interior commerce so far as the exchange of articles in kind went.

This incipient state of a commercial element, and the first steps of a kind of centralism in government acknowledged by this ancient people, are shown by the remains of antique mining ruins, such as those on Lake Superior, where the supplies of native copper were got; also in the area of Indiana, where there appear to have been some attempts at metallurgy, perhaps post-Columbian; and by the antique traces of the same species of labor existing in the valley of the Unica or White River, and that of the Arkansas River, and perhaps by the recent discoveries of antique gold-mining in California. These attempts, which evince industry and skill beyond the wants of the mere hunter era, are probably of one epoch and admit of being grouped together. The whole of the Western and Northern antiquities of the highest class, embracing every monument of the kind north of Utah and the country north of the Gila, to which the Toltec and Aztec civilization probably reached, may be looked upon by the antiquary as forming the second type of American antique civilization. That this type was distinct from the Toltecan system, which led to imperialism and idolatry, is probable. It clearly included various and conflicting tribes, whose

independent spirit and loosely-knit bonds of union without the true principle of confederacy drove it to an opposite system, and led to final disunion, tumult, and downfall.

This ancient group of tribes, who have left their remains in the Mississippi Valley and appear to have culminated and fallen there before fresh hordes of adventurous hunters and warriors, had no coin, no science beyond the first elements of geometry, numbers, and *natural* astronomy, and necessarily (from this want of coin) no fiscal system. Yet there were evidently contributions in kind to enable them to work together on the public defences and tumuli which remain.

There was another element besides their tendency to monarchy which separated the Toltecan from the Utah or Northern type of tribes. It was the strong bias to idolatry which led them to found their monarchy on it, while the Northern tribes preferred the simpler worship of their gods of air, without temples or an edifice of a local character, except elevated places for offering incense and supplications. When these could not be secured by the selection of natural eminences, they raised artificial heaps of earth. The West has hundreds of such geological or drift mounds. This was the origin of the tumuli. The minor and more remote tribes, who had fled across the Alleghanies probably at an earlier date, in the attractive pursuit of the deer and bear, and in quest of that wild freedom which they loved, do not, when their habits and traditions and character are closely scrutinized, appear to have been of a radically different stock from the Mound-Builders, for these Algonkin tribes worshipped the same gods of the winds and mountains. Even in Massachusetts, where there is not an artificial mound, nor anything which can be dignified with the name of an antique fosse, they had, according to John Eliot, the apostolic missionary of 1646, their "*Qunuhqui aye nongash*," or high places, where the sagamores and powwows lit their fires and offered incense.

#### ANCIENT AGRICULTURE.

Being destitute of metallic implements, the thought of subduing the forest never entered the Indian mind, and field-agriculture was equally impossible without the horse or ox and the plough, none of which were known to the American aborigines. They cultivated, therefore, only small patches of alluvial land upon the margins of rivers and lakes, such shreds of prairie as they were able to dig over, and such bottom-lands in the dry regions as they could irrigate by means of canals. A stick or a bone was the usual implement for breaking the soil. Irrigation was extensively practised by the Village Indians (Pueblos) of New Mexico. Besides Indian corn, beans, squashes, and tobacco were the chief products of their agricultural labors.

Some curious antique garden-beds, or traces of ancient field-husbandry, appear to denote an ancient period of fixed agriculture in the prairie regions of the West. These vestiges of a state of industry which is far beyond any that is known to have existed among the ancestors of the present Indian tribes exist chiefly, so far as is

known, in the southwestern parts of Michigan and the adjoining districts of Indiana. They extend, so far as observed, over the level and fertile prairie lands for about one hundred and fifty miles, ranging from the source of the Wabash and of the west branch of the Miami of the Lakes to the valleys of the St. Joseph's, the Kalamazoo, and the Grand River of Michigan. The Indians represent them as extending from the latter point up the peninsula north to the vicinity of Michilimackinac. They are of various sizes, covering generally from twenty to one hundred acres. Some of them are reported to embrace even three hundred acres. As a general fact, they exist in the richest soil, as it is found in the prairies and burr-oak plains. In the latter case trees of the largest kind are scattered over them, but in the greater number of instances the preservation of their outlines is due to the prairie grass, which forms a compact sod over them as firm and lasting as if they were impressed in rock: indeed, it is believed, by those who have examined the grass which has preserved the Western mounds and earth-works, that the compact prairie sod which covers them is more permanent in its qualities than even the firmest sandstones and limestones of the West, the latter of which are known to crumble and waste with marked rapidity under the combined influence of rain, frost, and other atmospheric phenomena of the climate. As evidence of this, it is asserted that the numerous mounds, embankments, and other forms of Western antiquities are as perfect at this day, where they have not been disturbed by the plough or by excavations, as they were on the earliest discovery of the country.

These antique beds offer new and unique traits in our antiquities, denoting a species of cultivation in primitive times of an unusual kind, but which has been abandoned for centuries. They are called "garden-beds," in common parlance, from the difficulty of assimilating them to anything else, though it would be more proper perhaps to consider them as the vestiges of ancient field-labor. The areas are too large to admit the assumption of their being required for the purposes of ordinary horticulture. Plats of land so extensive as some of these were, laid out for mere gardens or pleasure-grounds, would presuppose the existence, at the unknown period of their cultivation, of buildings and satrapies or chieftaindoms of arbitrary authority over the masses, of which there is no other evidence. The other antiquarian proofs of the region are, indeed, of the simplest and least imposing kind, not embracing large mounds or the remains of field fortifications, unless we are to consider these horticultural labors of the table-prairie lands as having existed contemporaneously with, and as appendant settlements of, the principal ancient defenced towns and strongholds of the Ohio Valley.

The main point of inquiry is, by whom and at what period were these beds constructed and tilled,—whether by the ancestors of the existing race of Indians, by their predecessors, or by a people possessing a higher degree of fixed civilization? In most of the other antiquarian earth-works or remains of human labors of the West, we observe no greater degree of art or skill than may be attributed to hunter races, who, when infringed upon by neighboring tribes, combine, for the purpose of defence against hand-to-hand missiles, upon hill-tops surrounded with earthen walls

and palisades. But there is in these enigmatical plats of variously shaped beds, generally consisting of rows, evidence of an amount of fixed industry applied to agriculture which is entirely opposed to the theory that the laborers were nomads or hunters.

The area of country marked by these evidences of a horticultural population covers the tract from the head-waters of the Wabash and the Miami of the Lakes, to the eastern shores of Lake Michigan. Similar beds are said to extend elsewhere. The beds are of various sizes. Nearly all the lines of each area or sub-area of beds are rectangular and parallel. Others admit of half-circles, and of variously curved beds with avenues, and are differently grouped and disposed. The mode of formation indicates two species of culture. The first consists of convex rows, whose arches spring from the same bases in opposite directions. In the other the bases of the convex rows are separated by a path or plain.

Both the plain and the convex beds are uniformly of the same width. If the space between the beds is to be viewed as a path from which to weed or cultivate the convex bed, the idea is opposed by the comparative waste of land denoted by a perfect equality of width in the beds and paths. Besides, there are no such paths in the larger masses of rows, which are wholly convex, but are bounded by avenues or paths at considerable distances. The principal species of culture resembling this arrangement of beds, in modern horticulture, is that of beans, potatoes, and rice; that of celery requires, not a path separating the ridges, but a ditch. Indian corn may have been cultivated in rows; but the former mode, like the present, so far as we know, was in hills. These antique corn-hills were usually large, generally attaining, as the Iroquois informed Mr. Schoolcraft in 1845, three or four times the diameter of the modern hills, a size which resulted from the want of a plough. In consequence of this want, the same hill would be mellowed by the scapula or substitute for a hoe, or the instrument used for planting, during a succession of years. Thus the corn-hill would become large and distinct,—in fact, a hillock. This is the explanation given him while viewing the ancient corn-fields near the Oneida Stone, which are now overgrown with forest trees.

These ancient garden-beds of the West may have derived their permanency from this same want of agricultural implements and of horses and cattle to plough the land, and from the practice of reforming and replanting them by hand, in the Indian manner, year after year. In this way we may account for one of their most surprising traits, namely, their capacity to resist both the action of the elements and the disturbing force of the power of vegetation.

We are compelled to look to an earlier period than that of European discovery for the origin of these agricultural vestiges. It is probable that they are the results of early cultivation in some of the leading and more advanced indigenous races who possessed the midland regions between the Mississippi and the Lakes. It was a region which formerly abounded in game of various sorts, and, while a part of the season was employed in hunting, a dense population, such as the vestiges denote, provided breadstuffs by the culture of corn, beans, pulse, and the various esculent roots which are known to flourish in these latitudes.

That this people were not advanced beyond the state of semi-agriculturists appears probable from the absence of any remains of architecture or temple-worship such as marked the Mexican and Peruvian races, for beyond the occurrence of mounds of the minor class, or small tumuli, there are no evidences of their attainments as constructors or builders. The garden-beds form, indeed, the most prominent and by far the most striking and characteristic antiquarian monuments of this district of country. There would seem to have been some connection between these beds and the peculiar class of low imitative mounds in the form of animals which mark a very considerable area of the opposite side of Lake Michigan.

Lake Michigan, is indeed, remarkable for its protrusion from north to south for its entire length into the prairie regions of Indiana and Illinois. It occupies, in fact, a summit, and while its outlet is into Lake Huron north, and thus by the Lake chain and the St. Lawrence into the North Atlantic, the Illinois runs south from its immediate head and finds the ocean in the Gulf of Mexico. The ancient garden-beds and the animal-shaped mounds, the latter of which may be supposed to have been erected to perpetuate the memory of great hunters who bore the names of the animals imitated, occupy the same latitudes. They constitute some of the best corn latitudes of Michigan and Wisconsin. It is to be borne in mind that the waters of Lake Michigan alone separate these two classes of remains, and that the Northern tribes, who are bold and expert canoe-men, find no difficulty in crossing from shore to shore in the calm summer months.

The French found the eastern and southern shores of Lake Michigan in the possession of the Illinese, some of whose descendants still survive in the Peorias and the Kaskaskias, southwest of the Mississippi. These "Illinese" tribes were of the generic stock of the Algonkins, and did not exceed the others in agricultural skill. None of the early writers speak of or allude to the species of cultivation of which the horticultural beds under consideration are the vestiges. The Ottawas, who still inhabit parts of the country, as at Gun Lake, Ottawa Colony, and other places dependent on Grand River, attribute these beds to a people whom they and the united Chippewas call the Mushcodainsug, or Little Prairie Indians. But there is no evidence that this people possessed a higher degree of industry than themselves. The Ottawas did not enter Lake Michigan till after their defeat in the St. Lawrence Valley, along with the other Algonkins, about the middle of the sixteenth century. The trees growing on the beds throughout Southern Michigan and Indiana denote clearly that at that period the cultivation had been long abandoned. It was evidently of a prior period. It has been seen that it could not have been of European origin, if we confine our view to known or admitted periods of history. It seems reasonable to attribute these labors to races of Indians of an early period, and of a more advanced grade of industry and manners, who were yet, however, to a certain extent hunters. Are not these beds contemporary vestiges of the epoch of the Mound-Builders, if not interior positions of the people themselves, who have so placed their fortified camps or hill-seated outposts as generally to defend their agricultural settlements from the approaches of enemies from the south?

The charm of mystery is so great that men are apt to be carried away by it, and to seek in the development of unknown or improbable causes an explanation of phenomena which is often to be found in plainer and more obvious considerations. That this charm has thrown its spell to some extent around the topic of our Western antiquities cannot be denied.

*Zea Maize.*—The influence of the cultivation of the *zea* maize on the semi-civilization and history of the Indian race of this continent has been very striking. It is impossible to resist this conclusion in searching into the causes of their dispersion over the continent. We are everywhere met with the fact that those tribes who cultivated corn and lived in mild and temperate latitudes reached a state of society which was denied to the mere hunters. The Indian race who roamed the Mississippi Valley at the era of the first planting of the American colonies were corn-growers to but a limited extent. It was only the labor of females, while the men were completely hunters and periodical nomads. They were, it is true, cultivators of the *zea* maize, so far as has been shown, and also of the tobacco-plant, of certain vines, and of a species of bean, arts which existed *pari passu* with the hunter state, and which they professed to have known from the remotest times. The tribes of the Carolinas and Virginia, extending along the Atlantic into New England, raised large quantities of the *zea* maize, and they all relied upon it as one of their fixed means of subsistence. Most of the tribes have invented myths to denote it as the gift of the Deity to them, and as designed for their subsistence when game should fail. The traditions of even the most northerly tribes traced this grain to the south. That it was of tropical or of southwestern origin, that it extended gradually and by an ethnographical impulse into the temperate and northern latitudes, is affirmed by early observation, and is a result which the phenomena of climate *a priori* determine. Indian corn will not mature north of latitude  $46^{\circ} 30' N.$ , it is not a profitable crop north of  $44^{\circ} 30' N.$ , and the tribes who have from the earliest times cultivated it have no traditions that either themselves or their grain had a northern origin. The first tribes, indeed, met with in passing north from the continental summit of the Mississippi, are the non-corn-raising tribes, the great Athabasca group. These look to the Arctic latitudes, or the northeast coasts of America, by the Unjiga Pass of the Rocky Mountains, as their place of origin. Some of them still preserve the tradition of their ancestors' having landed, amid snow and ice, on the bleak and frigid shores of the Arctic Ocean.

#### COPPER-MINING.

The use of native copper by the ancient tribes appears to have been extensive in the making of various ornaments and implements. It was found by the natives in the metallic state in lumps and masses of various forms through extensive districts of the West and Northwest, where it was collected and subjected to mechanical labor by the tribes, who wrought it out exclusively with the hammer. This metal sometimes exhibits itself on the surface in the form of regular veins in formations of

the trap rock. Recent discoveries in the basin of Lake Superior denote that these veins were worked by miners in ancient times in their natural courses with more skill and energy than have ever been exhibited by the present Indian race. Vestiges of ancient mines have been discovered in this basin of so important a character that modern miners have paused in astonishment upon beholding them. They indicate the application of a peculiar system of labor which was never in known periods a characteristic of savage tribes, and in which at the best they could have been employed only as auxiliaries.

True it is that this ancient mode of mining was altogether simple, and evinced a bestowal of incipient art in the department such as is conformable to the earliest suggestions of ingenuity in regard to the subject. After the external masses had been removed, the metallic leads appear to have been worked by building fires upon or against the walls of the trap rock. After this calcining process had been continued to the desired point, water was poured on the heated rock to render it friable. Mauls of hard stone were then applied to beat off the calcined rock. These mauls are abundantly found in the reopened works. They are generally of quartz rock, or the silicious parts of granitic or Azoic rocks. Stone and copper wedges are also found. When a deep trench or gallery had been opened, which required a ladder to ascend and descend it, a small tree or sapling was denuded of the outer part of its limbs to answer the purpose of steps.

The opinion is general that these labors of mining are of a very ancient date, if not, indeed, the result of the occupation of the continent by an ancient people prior to the aborigines. If so, the works must have been prosecuted under the direction of European or Asiatic skill. Labors of so extensive a character could not have been carried on without considerable gangs of hands, to support whom it would be essential that there should be a contemporaneous agriculture. No evidences of this appear to exist in the immediate neighborhood of these mining vestiges. But there have been found some enigmatical ancient garden- or field-beds in the fertile prairie regions of Michigan and Illinois which have excited much interest, and which are evidently not due to the existing Indian tribes. A strong proof of this hypothesis may be drawn from the fact respecting these antique labors that the Indian does not acknowledge them and has no traditions respecting them. The entire class of facts disclosed is, on the contrary, in the state of remote antiquities. The ancient trenches and galleries have been filled up with clay and soils upon which there is a new forest growth. The tree-ladders, levers, and stone tools employed are found buried beneath this formation. The very masses of rock used as mauls are found in these antique galleries. The work throughout this portion of the country, so productive at present in metallic copper, appears to have been suddenly dropped, as if occasioned by some political change or revolution in Indian history by which more barbarous tribes of men had prevailed.

## ANTIQUITIES OF LAKE ERIE.

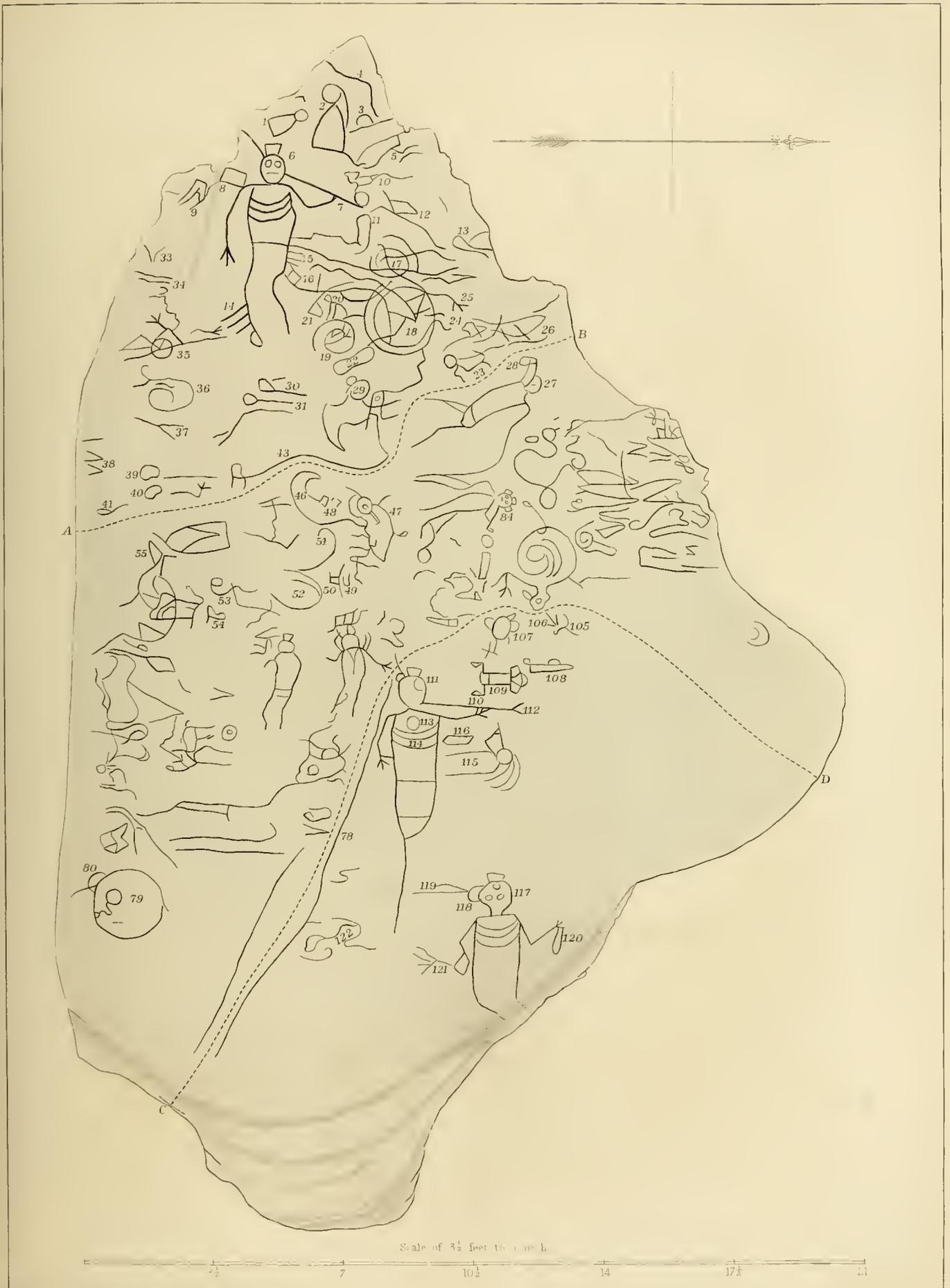
The occupation of the shores and islands of this lake by the ancient and extinct tribe of the Eries, who were once the acknowledged pacificators of the neighboring Indians, and who preceded the Iroquois in warlike and civic power within that basin, gives a melancholy interest to whatever, in the existing archæological remains of the country, serves to restore the memory of their power.

The recent discovery of ancient earthworks and two inscriptions in the pictographic character on Cunningham's Island, in the archipelago of islands in the western part of this lake, gives birth to the idea that these islands were one of the strongholds of that tribe when attacked by the Iroquois. They appear to have been in all the plenitude of their power and barbaric boast of strength and influence at the period of the first discoveries of the French, in the beginning of the seventeenth century. The Wyandots, who afterwards were known to have exercised a controlling influence on the contiguous waters of Sandusky Bay and the Straits of Detroit, had not yet been disturbed from their ancient seats in the Valley of the St. Lawrence. Le Jeune, who published the first account of the Iroquois, in Paris, in 1658, mentions the angry negotiations carried on at Hochelaga, the site of Montreal, by which the Iroquois attempted to control that tribe, and during which they commanded them, on pain of their direst vengeance, to break their league with the French; and when this threat was put into execution a few years after, the Wyandots, having been defeated in the St. Lawrence Valley, fled west through the country of the friendly Algonkins to the basin of Lake Huron, and at a later period to the basin of Lake Erie, where the canoes of the vengeful Iroquois were already prowling in their adventurous thirst for military renown.

The Eries present one claim to remembrance which cannot be urged by any other American tribe, namely, as the ancient kindlers of the council-fire of peace for all the tribes prior to the rise and destruction of this institution, and before the origin of the Iroquois confederacy.

There can be no question, from the early accounts of the French missionaries, that they were at the head of that singular confederation of tribes called the Neutral Nation, which extended from the extreme West to the eastern shores of Lake Erie, including the Niagara Valley, and of whom the Kaukwas, of Seneca tradition, were manifestly only one of the powers.

The history of this people, their rise, their spread, and their final fall, is involved in a degree of obscurity which is the more stimulating to curiosity from the few gleams of light that tradition gives. There is no doubt that an institution which must always have been subject to a very delicate exercise of authority, and which was often fluctuating in its power, was finally overthrown for some indiscreet act. The power to light this pacific fire is represented as having been held by female hands before its final extinction in the area of Western New York. It is equally clear that after it began to flicker it was finally put out in blood by the increasing Iroquois,



Sculptured inscription on a rock, South side of Cunningham's Is Lake Erie

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.





C. E. Wagstaff & J. Andrews Eng.

Engraved by Capt. S. Eastman, U. S. Army.

Engraving of rock showing the figures of the Indians.

PLATE I.





Engraved by J. A. Smith, from a drawing by J. A. Smith.

View of Inscription rock on South side of Cunningham's Island, Lake Erie  
BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.



who appear to have conquered some of the bands in battle, and to have driven others, or the remnants of others, away.

The present state of our traditions on this subject is interesting, and adds new motives to research. It is affirmed, by traditions recently received from the Catawbas, that this tribe originated in the extreme North, in the area of the Lakes, whence they were violently expelled. This supplies a hint for research which, it must be confessed, is thus far without fruits. The Catawba language has no resemblance to the vocabulary of either dialect of the Iroquois, or to the Algonkin; while it differs as much from those of all the Appalachian tribes, and must be regarded in the present state of our knowledge as being peculiar.

While, therefore, the search for the history of this tribe in the Lake basins appears to be blocked up, the fact of the expulsion or extirpation of the Eries by the Iroquois remains well attested, and the prolonged war kept up against the Catawbas and their confederates, the Cherokees, by that confederacy, favors the idea of an ancient and, as it is confessed to have been, a very extraordinary and bloody feud. At least the announcement of the fact of the Catawba tradition throws a renewed interest around the history of that struggle of the Eries with the predominating Iroquois power, and it gives a new impulse to inquiry to find archæological traces like those disclosed on Cunningham's Island, which appear to attest the former Eriean power.

*Sculptured Rock—Erie Inscription.*—In addition to this evidence of former occupancy in the aboriginal period is that of a sculptured rock lying on the south shore of Cunningham's Island, about two hundred feet from the west angle of the enclosure. This rock is thirty-two feet in its greatest length, by twenty-one feet in its greatest breadth. It is a part of the same stratification as the island, from which it has been separated by lake action. The top presents a smooth and polished surface, like all the limestone of this quarter when the soil is removed, suggesting the idea that the polish is due to glacial attrition. Upon this the inscription is cut. This cutting is peculiar. The figures and devices are deeply sunk in the rock, and yet present all its smoothness of surface, as if they had been exposed to the polishing or wearing influence of water. Yet this influence, if from water, could not have been rapid, as the surface of the rock is elevated eleven feet above the water-level. Its base has but a few inches of water around it.

Plates 25 and 26 exhibit perspective views of the relative position of this natural monument, also of the lake itself, and of the picturesque beauty of the adjacent shores. This is by far the most extensive and the best sculptured and best preserved inscription of the antiquarian period ever found in America. Being on an islet some distance from the shore, with precipitous sides, it remained undiscovered till within late years. It is in the pictographic character of the natives. Its leading symbols are readily interpreted. The human figures, the pipes, the smoking groups, the presents, and other figures denote tribes, negotiations, crimes, turmoils, which tell a story of thrilling interest, in which the white man, or European, plays a part. There are many subordinate figures which require study. There are some in which the effects of atmospheric and lake action have destroyed the connection, and others of an

anomalous character. The whole inscription is manifestly one connected with the occupation of the basin of this lake by the Eries, of the coming of the Wyandots, of the final triumph of the Iroquois, and of the flight of the people who have left their name on the lake.

A crescent-shaped and irregular earthwork on the south side of the island has the general appearance of an embankment or circumvallation intended to enclose and defend a village. The gates or sally-ports, which were probably constructed of wood, occupy the east side and the extreme northwestern angle. The embankment is twelve hundred and forty-six feet around the crescent-shaped part, and about four hundred feet on the rock brink of the island.

A second enclosure, marked by a circumvallation, is situated a short distance west of the former, fronting like it on the rocky and precipitous margin of the lake. This front line is six hundred and fourteen feet. The embankment, which is without gate or sally-port, is twelve hundred and forty-three feet around.

Within these enclosures were found stone axes, pipes, perforators, bone fish-hooks, fragments of pottery, arrow-heads, net-sinkers, and fragments of human bones. The arrow-heads were found in a fissure of the rock in large quantity, and were apparently new. With them was found the largest species of axe, figured, which had also apparently been unused. These vestiges of art correspond entirely with the general state of knowledge and wants of the surrounding aborigines.

Five small mounds on the southern and western part of the island are of the kind denominated barrows. On a bay on the north shore of the island there is a brief pictographic inscription on a limestone boulder which has been reversed by the action of tempests on that shore.

#### MUZZINABIKON ROCK-WRITING OR HISTORY.

We have seen the application of picture-writing among the tribes from its first or simple drawings in the inscription of totems and memorials on grave-posts, through the various methods adopted to convey information on sheets of bark, scarified trees, and other substances, and through the institutions and songs of the Meda and the Wabeno societies, the mysteries of the Jeesukáwin, the business of hunting, and the incidents of war and affection. It remains only to consider their use in an historical point of view, or in recording, in a more permanent form than either of the preceding instances, such transactions in the affairs of a wandering forest life as appear to them to have demanded more labored attempts to preserve.

The term *kekeewin* is applied to picture-writing generally. Another syllable (*no*) is thrown into the centre of the word when the figures are more particularly designed to convey instruction: The term then is *kekeenowin*. It is the distinction which the native vocabulary appears to establish between simple representative figures and symbols. The term *muzzinabikon* is strictly applied to inscriptions on rocks, or, as the word literally implies, rock-writing.

Of rock-writing, or muzzinabikon, there are many examples in North America,





but most of the known inscriptions consist of single or at most but few figures. An Indian pictographic rock on the right bank of the Ohio, near Steubenville, O., bears a marked resemblance to that at Dighton, Mass. Allusion has been made to several instances of this kind, which are generally in the simple representative character. There has been noticed a striking disposition in the persons inscribing these figures to place them in positions on the rock not easily accessible, as on the perpendicular face of a cliff, to reach which some artificial contrivance must have been necessary. The object clearly was to produce a feeling of surprise or mystery. The mottled and shaded appearance on the imposing line of coast on Lake Superior, called the Pictured Rocks, is not the result of picture-writing. No artificial writing of any kind has been noticed there. The term has been introduced into popular use to denote a geological effect analogous to that for which in mineralogy the Germans have the appropriate term of *angelaufenen farben*, or iridescent colors.<sup>1</sup>

There exists, however, an inscription at a point west of this precipitous portion of the coast, on the banks of the Namabin or Carp River, about half a day's march from its mouth. A copy of this inscription was made by the chief Chingwauk, drawn on birch bark. He also explained the symbols and gave the following interpretation. There lived on that stream, as he states, years ago, a chief of the name of Myeengun, or the Wolf of the Mermaid (or rather, as the language has it, Merman totem), who was skilled in the Meda, and was invested by the opinion of his people with a character of much skill and secret power. He practised the arts and ceremonies of the Meda, and made *cheekwondum*. By these means he acquired influence and raised a war-party which crossed Lake Superior in canoes. The expedition was not barren of success in other respects, but this exploit was considered as a direct evidence of the influence of his gods, and it gave him so much credit that he determined to perpetuate the memory of it by a muzzinabikon. He made two inscriptions, one on the south and the other on the north shore of the lake. Both were on the precipitous faces of rocks. Copies of them are presented in Plate 28. These copies were made with the point of a knife on a roll of bark of firm texture, and exhibit an evidence of remarkable ingenuity and dexterity in the art. They are transcribed in the two pictographs marked A and B.

Figure 1 (A) represents the chief Myeengun, whose family totem is given under the form of his lodge (No. 2). This lodge is to be regarded as ancestral. The totem Nebanabee, or the Merman, No. 3, fills it, and symbolically denotes that all its members bear the same mark. His individual name is given by Figure No. 4, the wolf. The whole of the remaining eight figures are symbolical representations of the various spirits or gods upon whom he relied. No. 5 is the Misshibezhieu, or fabulous panther. The drawing shows a human head crowned with horns, the usual symbol of power, with the body and claws of a panther and a mane. The name of the panther, Misshibezhieu, is a great lynx. The crosses upon the body

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<sup>1</sup> This term denotes an effect merely, but conveys no idea of the cause or manner of producing the effect which is so graphically denoted in the German.

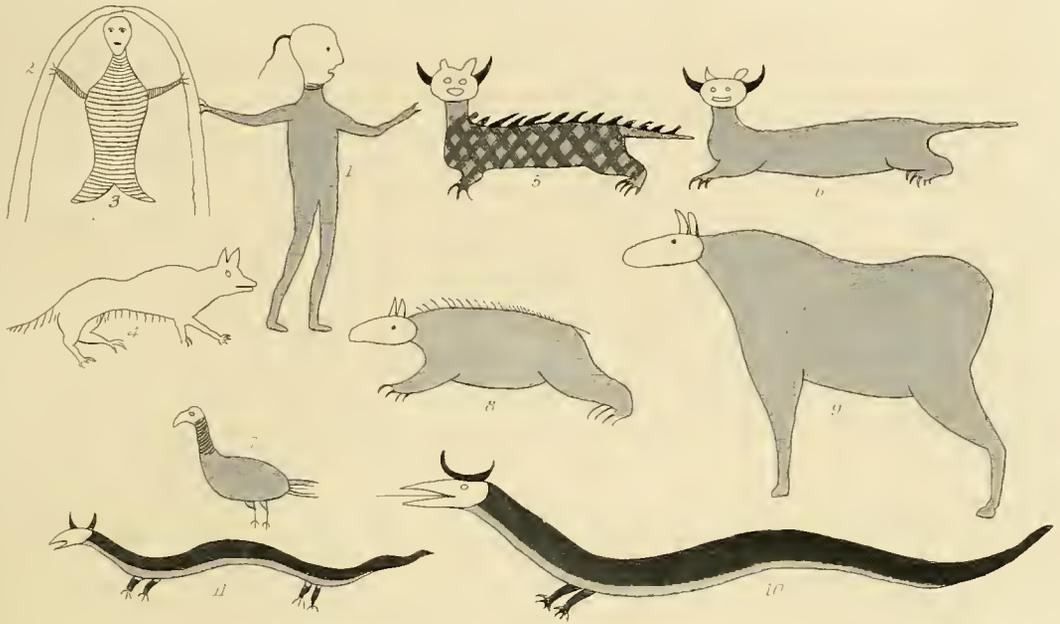
denote night, and are supposed to indicate the time proper for the exercise of the powers it conveys. No. 6 is a representation of the same figure without a mane and without crosses, and denotes the exercise of its powers by daylight. In No. 7 he depicts his reliance upon Mong, or the loon; in No. 8 upon Mukwah, or the black bear; and in No. 9 on Moaz, or the moose. Each of these objects is emblematic of some property or qualification desired by the warrior. The loon, whose cry foretells changes of the weather, denotes forecast; the bear, strength and sagacity; and the moose, wariness, being the most keen of hearing and wary of any of the quadrupeds. In No. 10 he depicts a kind of fabulous serpent resembling a saurian, having two feet, and armed with horns. Both of these appendages are believed to be symbolic of the serpent's swiftness and power over life. It is called *Misshikinabik*, or Great Serpent. In No. 11 there is shown a reptile of analogous powers, but it has a body mounted on four legs, and is therefore more clearly of the lizard or saurian type. The name is, however, the same.

Thus far are detailed the means and power upon which the chief relied, and these were (symbolically) inscribed in the region of his residence, on the southern shores of the lake. The results of the expedition are given in pictograph B, Plate 28, which was painted on the face of a rock at *Wazhenaubikiniguning Augawong*, or the Place of the Writing, or Inscription Rock, on the north shores of Lake Superior, Canada. It is near a bay between this point and *Namabin River* that the lake was crossed. The passage was made in five canoes of various sizes and containing in all fifty-one men. Of these, sixteen men were in No. 1, nine in No. 2, ten in No. 3, eight in No. 4, and eight in No. 5. The first canoe was led by *Kishkemunasee*, or the Kingfisher (No. 6), who was the chief's principal auxiliary. The crossing occupied three days, as shown by the figure of three suns, under a sky and a rainbow, in No. 7. In Nos. 8, 9, and 10 he introduces three objects of reliance not previously brought forward. No. 8 is the *Mikenok*, or land-tortoise, an important symbol, which appears to imply the chief point of triumph,—that is, reaching land. No. 9 is the horse, and reveals the date of this adventure as being subsequent to the settlement of Canada. The *Meda* is depicted on the horse's back, crowned with feathers, and holding up his drum-stick, such as is used in the mystic incantations. No. 10 is the *Migazee*, or eagle, the prime symbol of courage. In No. 11 the chief records the aid he received from the fabulous night-panther,—this panther, by the way, is generally located in the clouds,—and in No. 12 a like service is recorded to the credit of the Great Serpent.

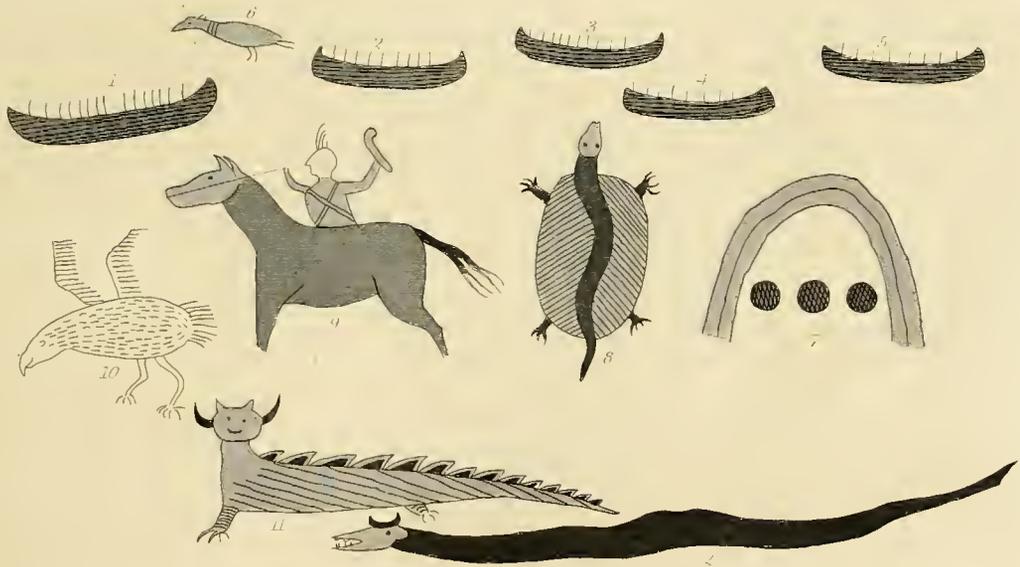
#### ANCIENT BUILDING.

*Floridian Teocallis, or Platform-Residences of the Native Rulers and Priests.*—*Garcilasso de la Vega* informs us that the dwelling-houses of the caciques or chiefs of Florida in 1540, during *De Soto's* march through the present area of Florida, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, were generally erected on large artificial mounds, or a species of *teocallis*. These artificial platforms were sometimes eighteen hundred

A



B



Drawn by Capt. C. E. ...

PICTOGRAPHS ON LAKE SUPERIOR AND CARI RIVER MICH  
BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.



feet in circumference at the base, and from twenty to fifty feet high. They were capable of furnishing space for the houses of the chief and his family and their attendants. The sides were steep, and ascended by steps cut in the earth and cased with wood. This structure for the micco, or chief, is stated to have constituted the centre of every newly-laid-out village or town. Around it was drawn a large square, where the principal and subordinate persons and commonalty had their residences. It was the first object erected on the selection of a town-site; the earth was brought to the spot. The chief and his priest, who were often one in their functions, were thus placed in a position not only of greater security, but one from which they could overlook the whole town.

It is perceived from Mr. Pickett's History of Alabama that remains of such structures are found in many places in the extensive area of the United States denoted by De la Vega. They are clearly distinguished from the mass of remains called indiscriminately tumuli and mounds, by being flat at top, sometimes square, and assuming the character of precipitous raised plains or platforms, while the tumuli proper are conical, often acutely so, and carried up sometimes to the height of ninety feet. When they are not terminated in a cone, the horizontal area is small, and appears by its reduced size to have been rather suited to the temple-wigwam than the micco's residence.

These remarks seem to be deserving of attention. At an age of our Indian population when every few hundred men constituted a separate nation, who lived in constant hostility, such platforms of elevated earth afforded vantage-ground not only for residence but for a battle, and it was quite natural that afterwards, when they combined into confederacies, as the large Muscogee stock is known to have done, the use of these select places for the rulers should have been forgotten in the lapse of centuries, or concealed from the curiosity of inquirers.

The observation of these ancient plateaus throws light on this class of our antiquities. It is not only the earliest light we have on the subject north of the Gulf of Mexico, but it reveals one of the purposes of these antique tumuli which are scattered so profusely over portions of the ancient area of the western and southern parts of the United States.

The Muscogees, under several cognate names, trace their origin to the Mexican empire, and these plateaus appear to have had their prototype in the more imposing Mexican teocallis; and thus we may perceive that the United States, and indeed all North America, was overspread in its native population by religious rites and notions, which became, indeed, fainter and fainter as they spread northward and escaped from a species of sacerdotal tyranny, but were yet of the same general character.

It is something in all archæological investigation to reach a period where wonder and speculation end and reality begins. It is perceived that in the extension of these artificial heaps of honored earth from the Gulf northward, they became teocallis or platform pyramids of less area and greater acuteness, but they were in all instances of this kind truncated, or had a level area at their tops. We allude here exclusively to the "tumuli proper," and not to the "redoubt mounds" or "the barrows," or to

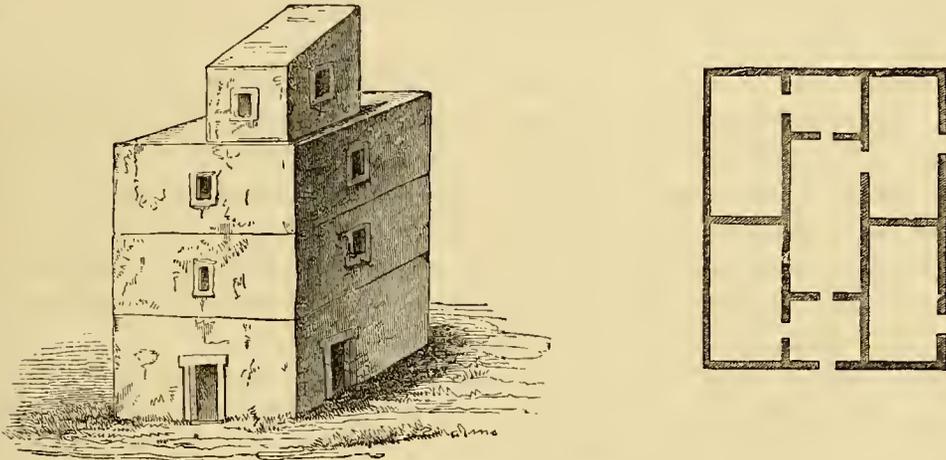
small "altars of sacrifice." Yet this summit plateau was fully developed in the chief mounds of the Mississippi Valley and its tributaries, as at Cahokia, in Illinois, which has a base of six hundred and sixty-six feet, and at Grave Creek Flats, Miamisburg, and other noted points of central antique native power in the West, at all of which places the priest had room amply sufficient for his residence and official functions on the summit.

*Casa Grande.*—Father Pedro Font, a Spanish friar, who visited the Casa Grande in 1775, thus describes it: "The Casa Grande, or Palace of Montezuma, may have, according to the accounts and scant information there are of it which the Indians give, an antiquity of five hundred years, for it appears that its foundation was laid by the Mexicans, when in their transmigration the devil took them through many lands, until arriving at the promised country of Mexico, where, in their extensive settlements, they raised edifices and planted a population. The place on which the house stands is level, separated from the river Gila to the distance of a league, the remains of the houses which formed the town extending more than a league to the eastward and to the other points. All this ground is strewn with pieces of pots, jars, plates, etc., some coarse, and others colored of a variety of tints, white, blue, red, etc., a sign that it was once thickly inhabited, and by a people distinct from the Pimas of the Gila, as these know not how to make like ware.

"The house is square, and sets exactly to the four cardinal points. About it are some ruins indicating a fence or wall which enclosed the house and other buildings, remarkable at the corners, where there appears to have been a structure like an interior castle or watch-tower, for at the corner which stands to the southwest there is a piece up, with its divisions and one story. The exterior wall of the house is four hundred and twenty feet from north to south, and two hundred and sixty feet from east to west. The interior is composed of five halls, three in the middle of equal size, and one at each extreme of greater length. The three are twenty-six feet from north to south, and from east to west ten feet. The two at the ends are twelve feet from north to south, and thirty-eight from east to west. In height they are eleven feet, and in this are equal. The doors of communication are five feet high and two feet wide, are nearly all of the same size, excepting the four first, being the four outer, which appear to be as wide again. The thickness of the walls is four feet; they are well enclosed; those of the exterior are six feet. The house had a measurement on the outside from north to south of seventy feet, and from east to west of fifty. The walls are scarped from without. Before the door on the east side there is, apart from the house, another room, which is from north to south twenty-six feet, and from east to west eighteen feet, exclusive of the thickness of the walls. The wood-work was of pine, from what could be seen, and the nearest ridge of pines is some twenty-five leagues distant, which has also some mesquite. The entire structure is of earth, and according to appearances the tapia was made in blocks of different sizes. A very large canal leads up a good distance from the river, from which the population were supplied, and which is now much filled up. It is evident, however, that the edifice has had three stories, and if that be true which could be gleaned from the Indians, and

from the marks which were to be seen, there had been four, the lower floor of the house having been below, like that of a cellar. To give light to the rooms there are only to be seen the doors and some round holes in the middle of the walls which look to the east and west, and the Indians said that through these holes, which are somewhat large, the prince, whom they called the Bitter Man, looked out to salute the sun when it rose and set. No appearances of stairs were found, from which we judged that they had been consumed by the fire which had been set to the building by the Apaches.

“The windows are square and very true, are without hinges or bolts (*sin quicios ni atravesados*), were made with a mould and arch, the same as the doors, although narrow, and in this particular might be recognized to be the work of Indians. It is thirty-six paces in length and twenty-one in width, of good symmetry, as the following design, with the ground-plan, will show.



“At the distance of the shot of an arquebuse twelve other houses are to be seen, also half fallen, having thick walls, and all the ceilings burnt, except in the lower room of one house, which is of round timbers, smooth and not thick, which appeared to be of cedar or savin, and over them sticks (*otales*) of very equal size, and a cake of mortar and hard clay, making a roof or ceiling of great ingenuity. In the environs are to be seen many other ruins and heaps of broken earth, which circumscribe it two leagues, with much broken earthenware of plates and pots of fine clay, painted of many colors, and which resemble the jars of Guadalajara in New Spain. It may be inferred that the population or city of this body politic was very large; and that it was one of government is shown by a main canal which comes from the river by the plain, running around for the distance of three leagues, and enclosing the inhabitants in its area, being in breadth ten varas, and about four in depth, through which perhaps was directed one-half the volume of the river, in such a manner that it might serve for a defensive moat as well as to supply the wards with water and irrigate the plantations in the adjacencies. The guides said that at the distance of a day’s

journey there were a variety of other edifices of the same construction towards the north, on the opposite side of the river, on another stream which flows to unite with this, and which they call Verde, built by a people who came from the region of the north, the chief of whom was called the Siba, which name, according to its definition in their language, is the Bitter man, or the Cruel; and that because of the sanguinary wars he held against the Apaches, and twenty other nations confederated with them. Many being killed on both sides, the country was abandoned; a portion of the inhabitants, dissatisfied, separated and returned to the north, whence they had come years before, and the rest went to the east and south. From this information we judge—and it is probable—that they are the ancestry of the Mexican nation, which is according to their structures and vestiges, and are like those that are spoken of as existing in the 34th degree of latitude, and in the environs of the fort of Janos, in 29 degrees, which are also called Casas Grandes, and many others, of which we have notices, to be seen as far up as the 37th and 40th degrees north. On the margin of the river, distant one league from the Casas Grandes, we found a town in which we counted 130 souls. . . .

“Having heard mass on the 19th, we continued towards the west, over sterile plains. On all the grounds about these buildings there is not a single pasture, but they appear as if they had been strewn with salt. Having traversed four leagues, we arrived at a town, Tusonimon, which is so named from a great heap of horns, from the wild or sylvan sheep, which appears like a hill, and, from the numbers that there are of the animals, they make the common subsistence of the inhabitants. From what can be seen from the highest of those houses, there appears to be a country of more than a hundred thousand hastas<sup>1</sup> in extent.

“The heathen Indians received us with jubilee, giving of their provision to the soldiers, and we counted two hundred persons, who were gentle and affable. Remaining there to sleep, the Father and I instructed them, through the interpreters, in the mysteries of our Holy Faith, on which they besought us that there might be baptized fifteen of their children and seven sick adults.”

#### FORTIFICATIONS.

Of the principles of natural fortification, by occupying hills and defiles, the ancestors of the present race of Indians availed themselves often in a most admirable manner. Their works were accurately suited to the enemy they had to encounter, and the localities where they were likely to meet in conflict. They surrounded a camp or village with a ditch and palisade. They occupied a defile in which a few could resist many. They threw up lunettes on a commanding eminence. They excavated orifices in the earth to shield themselves from arrows. They made the entrances to the gate of a fort intricate for the enemy to penetrate. They sometimes constructed a hay-cock mound or rampart before it. They even occupied, with lines

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<sup>1</sup> The measure of a lance, about three yards in length.—TRANS.

and works, the entire summit of a narrow abrupt hill, making a talus, such as that which Dr. Locke has described, in 1838, as existing in Adams County, Ohio. Their works were all intended for defence against the simple missiles of the hunter state.

Prior to the confederation of the cantons of the Iroquois, those tribes erected forts to defend themselves against one another. The Muscogulgees and Choctaws practised this art of defence during the early expeditions of the Spaniards in Florida. The Wyandots were found to have a notable work at Hochelaga, on the first visit of Cartier, and the Tuscaroras might have successfully defended themselves in 1712 on the Neuse, in North Carolina, had not the colonists brought cannon. It is not surprising that the Indian arts soon fell into disuse after the introduction of the higher order of European arts. Bartram, on entering Georgia and Florida in 1773, found the remains of earthen structures on the sources of the Altamaha, which, from their plan and outline, he pronounced to be of a former race, but after he became familiar with the Muscogees he found the same arts and plans still in use. He mentions a peculiar species of earthworks which were erected by the existing race as mounds of refuge from the effects of floods. It appears that the rivers which pour from the Appalachian range south into the Gulf of Mexico rise with such rapidity as often to endanger villages on the bottom-lands. Artificial mounds are erected on these bottoms for escape, having a raised way to connect them with the high grounds. Colonel Hawkins, in his sketch of the Creek country in 1798, mentions similar mounds of escape on the banks of the leading rivers. These observers disclose a fact believed to be of some importance in estimating the age of antiquities. It is this: that vestiges and remains of ancient towns and villages are on the lowest grounds, being the first positions selected. In these places the natives resided till the suddenness of the rise of the rivers taught them their insecurity.

De Soto, on reaching "Talise," in 1540, found it to be "fortified with ramparts of earth and strong palisades." The same degree of art, but exhibited more elaborately, was found in the defences of the larger town of Mauvila. "This fortress stood in a fine plain, and was surrounded by a high wall formed of huge trunks of trees driven into the ground side by side and wedged together. These were crossed within and without by smaller and longer pieces, bound to them by bands made of split reeds and wild vines. The whole was thickly plastered over with a kind of mortar made of clay and straw tramped together, which filled up every chink and crevice of the wood-work, so that it appeared as if smoothed with a trowel. Throughout its whole circuit the wall was pierced at the height of a man with loop-holes, whence arrows might be discharged at an enemy, and at every fifty paces it was surmounted by a tower capable of holding seven or eight fighting men." This was the highest state of the building art De Soto met with in Florida. Chicaza, the Indian village, though finely located on an eminence, was found to be built of "reeds and straw." On reaching the Yazoo, De Soto came in sight of an Indian fortress called Alibamo. It was "built in the form of a quadrangle, of strong palisades. The four sides were each four hundred paces in length. Within, the fort was traversed from side to side by two other palisades, dividing it into separate parts. In the outer wall

were three portals so low and narrow that a man could not enter them mounted on a horse." Thus far De Soto in his march across Florida had found no Indians making a stand for defence at a mound. On reaching the village of Chisca, on the banks of the Mississippi, he found the dwelling of the chief and his family seated on "a high artificial mound," ascended by two ladders or cased steps. But it was evidently not regarded by the Indians as a "fortress," for not only did they not assemble there to fight, but the enraged chief, on seizing his arms to join the fray, attempted immediately to descend to the plain to engage in the fight, and on the conclusion of a verbal treaty the Indian ruler stipulated that the Spaniards should not ascend his honored, and perhaps sacred, platform-mound. Here seemed the sentiment of sacredness attached to the priest's residence on a Mexican *teocalli*.

#### ANCIENT INDIAN ART.

These details of a portion of the proofs of the ante-Columbian occupancy of America, and of the track of Indian migrations, properly precede the consideration of its Indian antiquities, and leave us free to investigate the state of Indian art as it existed at and prior to the epoch of the discovery. It is essential clearly to establish this state of art, and to keep it constantly in view during the great and violent changes wrought in the whole frame of Indian society, arts, and institutions at separate periods by the introduction of European knowledge, arts, and fabrics. It may be asserted that whatever the arts of the aborigines were, at the various latitudes in which the civilization of Europe came into contact or conflict with them, these latter arts were sure to decline before the superior European skill and knowledge. For if an Algonkin or an Iroquois on the Atlantic coast could in 1500 manufacture a very good earthen pot or a splendid bow and arrow, he would not many years continue to cultivate these arts when he could, by the exchange of a few skins, obtain in place of the one a light brass kettle, and for the other a gun. Nor would he long continue to clothe himself with lynx, black-fox, and beaver skins, when for a tithe of their worth he could procure the woollen blankets and cloths of England, France, and Holland. He might prefer, indeed, to carve and engrave his pipe from fictile stones, as he did of yore, but it was inevitable that the state of native art should decline. We must admit that the ancient Indian was a better artist than the modern. This is a fundamental truth in our archæology.

When the Spanish discovered America, Europe was shaken to its centre by religious agitations. For the Reformation was then on the point of breaking forth, and in a few years was at its height. Luther commenced his open career just two years before Cortez first appeared before the city of Mexico. That part of the Church controlled by Spain was swayed by the zeal and energy of Loyola, and it was a point of deep religious emulation and triumph to show the divided Churches of Europe that she was successfully engaged in converting the millions of new-found idolatrous aborigines to the true faith. In this effort conquest itself became one of the chief means of securing the triumphs of the Spanish Church. The very state

of the buildings, arts, and power of the Indians was exaggerated to show the greatness of the victory and to enhance the glory of the conquest. Let the simple journal of Bernal Diaz, nay, the polished and elaborate history of De Solis, be read with a view to this general state of things, and the observer cannot fail to discover at every step the strong tendency to overestimate the state of arts, the power of the Indian government, and the general type of semi-civilization. A dressed deer-skin, with rude devices of animals and men, folded in a quadrangular form, was pronounced "a book;" the stroke of an Indian drum-stick, "a gong;" rude walls, without a door or a roof, "a fort;" the merest crude fabrics of wearing, without the knowledge of a distaff or a shuttle, were likened to the mantles of European kings; a cacique, with his plumes, was "a noble;" and Montezuma himself, a sagamore swaying chiefs of lesser power, was exalted by the term of "emperor," a word unknown to the Aztec language. They made pots and vases by hand, but had not the knowledge of the potter's wheel or of the wooden lathe. What sort of civilization would Europe have without these simple arts? They had no skill in fusion. They melted no iron, they made no glass. Gold required no skill in separation from its matrix, and the rude images of animals sent over to Spain by Cortez did not exceed the art of a Pottawatomie.

The arts of the semi-civilized tribes of Mexico extended to about 34° N. lat. Towns with municipal regulations and a population of industrial habits and manners were found by the Spanish in the area on the eastern borders of the Gulf of California, extending northward to the river Gila and to Cibola, the modern Zuñi, reaching onward northeastwardly to Isleta, on the Rio Grande del Norte, and to Quivera and to Pecos, the ancient Cicuyé, east of that stream.

When the English (half a century after Coronado) landed on the coasts of Virginia, in lat. about 35°, the tribes whom they encountered resembled, indeed, in their physical traits, those of Mexico, but they were in the state of savage hunters. Hudson, in 1609, found the same remark applicable to the Manhattanese and Mohicans of New York, and the same observation was made by the English Pilgrims who landed in New England in 1620. Their early writers describe the tribes as being in a very low state of barbarism, and as demon-worshippers, under the power of *Kamato-wit*. Cartier, who had discovered the St. Lawrence in 1535, six years before Coronado's expedition to New Mexico, describes them as having only the manners and arts of hunters. Champlain, the real founder of Canada, in 1609, takes the same view, although he found both generic stocks of the Iroquois and Algonkins, as is perceived from comparisons, a decidedly more athletic, vigorous, and brave people than the Tras-Gila or Mexican tribes. Among the Iroquois especially he noticed them to be cultivators of large quantities of maize, very brave in war, and actuated by the centralized and progressive principles of a confederation of cantons. Colden, indeed, informs us that the Algonkins had preceded the Iroquois in their attainments, but leaves us to infer that they fell behind in their power and influence in consequence mainly of their want of confederation, the existence of which rendered the Iroquois one and united in their efforts, external and internal. In this

respect they stood out prominently among all the Northern tribes, evincing a degree of wisdom and policy that would not have been unworthy of Greeks, and they continued to exercise this influence and standing through all the colonial period till the close of the American Revolution.

As the other colonies were planted, their leaders concurred in the views originally expressed by their predecessors of the Indian tribes, and also in the opinion of the very obvious advantage which the politico-agricultural element had given to the Iroquois. Robert de la Salle in 1678 laid the foundations of Fort Niagara, and proceeded the following year to the Mississippi River, of which, through Joliet, the commissioner, and Marquette, he was the discoverer, at the influx of the Wisconsin. These explorers found the Western tribes, as well as the Iroquois, to be cultivators of maize. But neither he nor any of his lieutenants or missionary teachers make detailed observations on the history, migrations, antiquities, or traditions of the tribes. It was not, in fact, the age for this species of research. The subject of antiquities is never named. It does not appear from this comparative silence that during the settlement of New France the active adventurers and missionaries of the period observed any evidences of skill or arts which they did not suppose to be common to the existing tribes, or which their predecessors had not erected. Pipes, tobacco, sea-shells, copper ornaments, mica, flint-stones, and Indian corn were objects of native traffic. They viewed the intrenchments and ditches formed to protect villages from the sudden attacks of hostile bands as requiring no labor which the population was not adequate to bestow, or which called for remark. The heaps or mounds of earth at that period were regarded as simple mausolea for the dead. It was not necessary to imagine a state of arts and semi-civilization which at best was very far inferior to what the same race of tribes had attained a few degrees farther south.

Louisiana was colonized late in the seventeenth century. La Salle made the effort in 1683, and a settlement had been made at Biloxi in 1699; but New Orleans was not founded till 1717. This was ten years after the settlement of Vincennes in the country of the Illinois, sixteen years after the establishment of a military post at Detroit, and full eight-and-thirty after the foundation of Michilimackinac, the *Peckwutinong* of the Indians, on the peninsula of Michigan. This view opens the panorama of the settlements in the Mississippi Valley and the great chain of lakes. The French admired the tribes, and spoke enthusiastically of their character, but it did not appear to them that they possessed arts or had any skill in the application of labor beyond that of their actual condition as foresters. They made bows and arrows, clubs and spears, skilfully. They carved their pipes artistically from steatites and other soft material. They frequently chose the sites of their villages on eminences, which denoted good taste and a poetic feeling, and often surrounded them with pickets. They buried their dead in mounds or simple graves, with pictographic headposts. Fires were usually lighted on these at night. No discrimination was made between new and ancient works of this kind, which latter had been abandoned from sickness, fear, or superstition. When the Neuter Nation and their allies, the

Andastes and Eries, built forts to sustain themselves against the attacks of the Iroquois, between 1635 and 1655, the period of their first overthrow, it did not appear to the French an exercise of military art beyond the general condition of the tribes. Neither did such an impression occur to the train of explorers, civil and religious, who, in 1678, followed in the track of La Salle in his explorations of the West. Marquette expresses no surprise at the "earthen pots" or shapely "calumets" of native manufacture in the tribes he passed among. He saw nothing of antiquarian value to notice, though he must have seen the totemic mounds of the Wisconsin and the platform-mound at the ancient site of Prairie du Chien; nor do D'Ablon, Allouez, Le Clerq, or Membre, in their numerous adventures extending through the whole area of the Upper Mississippi Valley, at that period, anywhere refer to the topic. Charlevoix in 1721 travelled through the Indian country of New France from Quebec to Michilimackinac, and thence to the Mississippi, which he descended to New Orleans, without seeming to have passed antiquarian vestiges attributable to any other races of men than the ancestors of the existing tribes. He regards the tribes whom he had visited, namely, from the mouth of the Mississippi, lat. 30° N., to the banks of Lake Superior, at Chigoimegon or Sandy River, as one in manners, customs, and history.

#### SPINNING AND WEAVING.

To determine the state of art, and consequently the degree of semi-civilization, of the ancient inhabitants in the Mississippi Valley and of the mound period, of which these vestiges are the only history left, we must draw the chronology employed from the remains themselves. The distaff is one of the oldest evidences of human civilization. This art appears in the very dawn of Grecian history, and it is intimately interwoven in the descriptions of the various phases of art down to the days of Arkwright and Watt and Bolton. Spinning and weaving by machinery marked an era. For the distaff there was substituted in the cotton-growing latitudes of Mexico and South America a simple movement resembling that of the top or teetotum whirled in a bowl. With the thread thus obtained a species of weaving was effected by the ancient Mexicans and Peruvians. This is traced, in the diffusion of the art, as far north as the Rio Gila. The tribes of the Mississippi Valley had not the cotton-plant even so late as De Soto's day (1542). They employed the fibre of certain plants of the hemp species, or of the inner macerated bark of certain trees, for garments. These, by a toilsome manipulation of the females, were woven into tilmas and mantles by a kind of hand-loom, such as is still in use by the descendants of these tribes, and into bags and mats. The hand-weaving of nets from rushes and twine of a native make is another art of probably early date. After the introduction of woollen goods the Indian females of North America used a woof of the yarn of unravelled cloth, together with a native warp of vegetable material, which greatly complicates the fabric. It is believed that the samples taken from a mound in the West, exhibited by Mr. Foster in 1851 at a meeting of the American Association for

Promoting Science, were of this species, and consequently that these indices are of suggestive importance.<sup>1</sup>

How little improvement has marked the rude native mode of spinning and weaving, as thus described, is shown by examining modern specimens of native production in the same type of art. The common coarse *mushkemoot* of the Algonkins and of the Dakotas of the Upper Mississippi at this day consists of a mixed fabric of vegetable fibre and of wool, the latter obtained by unravelling old cloth of European or American fabric. In articles designed by these tribes for ornament in hunter-life, such as shot- and tobacco-pouches, small porcelain beads, white or colored, of European make, are introduced into the texture. It is in this respect alone that the modern Indian hand-weaving of the "Mississippi Valley" tribes of the present era excels the ancient fabrics.

#### METALLURGY.

Does the state of their metallurgy indicate a higher skill? Soldering is an art unknown to the Mississippi Valley mound-builders. All the antique bracelets of copper disinterred from these mounds which have been examined are merely bent slips of the metal hammered out and brought into contact without interfusion. If it be meant to unite the opposite ends of a piece of metal which has been bent to form a circle, as a ring or a bracelet, it requires a composition of some of the semi-metals under the force of the blow-pipe to produce union. This is a primary point of the smith's knowledge. No bracelets or other objects of metal have, indeed, been discovered in the numerous mounds of the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys which denote the existence of this art.

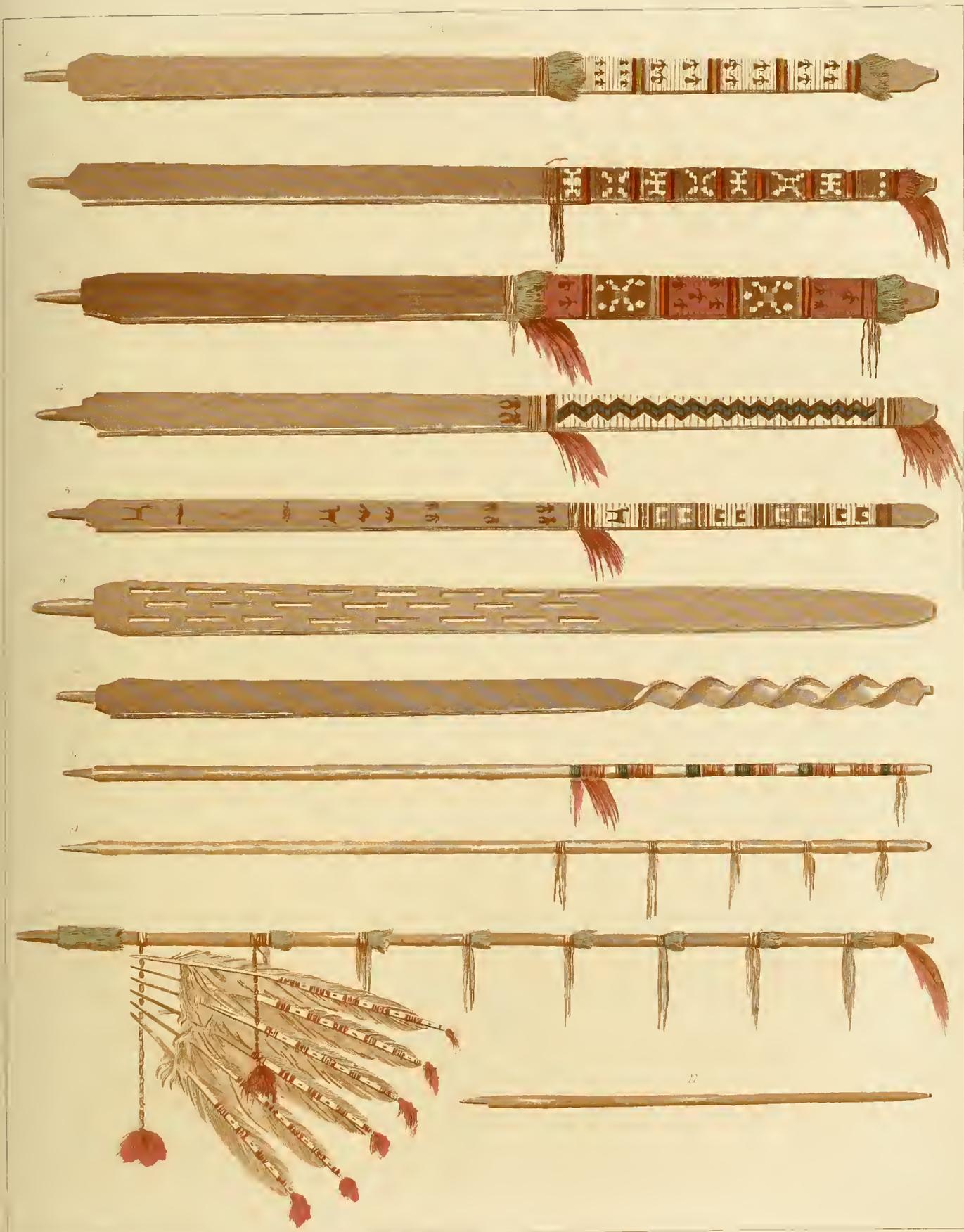
#### POTTERY.

The proofs derived from pottery are very indicative of aboriginal periods. The potter's art is very ancient. The potter's wheel is distinctly mentioned by Isaiah

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<sup>1</sup> In the American Scientific Convention at Albany, New York, Prof. J. W. Foster, U. S. Geologist, read a paper descriptive of samples of ancient cloth from the mounds of Ohio.

"Mr. Foster said that as far back as 1837 specimens of the same cloth had been presented to him, but he questioned the reality of it, and feared to make it public lest he should be propagating an error. The specimens are of a different texture. One may have been made by the ordinary means of weaving, but the other is evidently the result of some handiwork. There seems to be some connection between the Peruvians and the Mound-Builders. The present specimens were taken from a mound about two miles from Middletown, Ohio. It is evident that the Indians never made this cloth, for they did not understand weaving, and they did not obtain it from Europe, for it is not such as would have been made for their trade. This cloth goes far towards authorizing a distinction between the North American Indians and the Mound-Builders. It is composed of a material closely allied to hemp. Dr. Goadby said that it was easy to distinguish between the fibre of flax and that of cotton. The former is round and solid, while the other presents the appearance of a vegetable tube. Prof. Agassiz suggested that this cloth might be made of nettles. He said he had seen such in Switzerland, and on the first view it was his impression that the cloth in question was made of the North American nettle. Prof. Renwick, of Newark, then inquired if this was not spoken of by Columbus in his discovery. It was his impression that it was."—*Report Am. Sci. Assoc.*



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PIPE STEMS



and Ezekiel. There is no evidence whatever that this wheel was used in America at the period of its discovery. All the Mexican and Peruvian pottery examined is found to have been formed by a species of handicraft without machinery. It exhibits no striæ to denote the centrifugal force, and it is without exactitude of diameter. Least of all are these requisites present in the Mississippi pottery. This article is found in every instance to be unglazed. The aborigines knew nothing of the vitric art.

The area covered by relics of Indian pottery in the United States is very extensive. Fragments of it taken from the valleys of the Merrimac, Connecticut, Hudson, Susquehanna, Delaware, Congaree, Savannah, and Alabama are nearly identical in their composition and mechanical texture, and it also agrees in character with the vases and fragments from old sites of Indian earthworks and occupation in the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys. This antique pottery is a very coarse and peculiar species of terra-cotta; it admitted, from its coarse texture, the application of sudden heat. The tendency of the aluminous material of common clay to shrink and crack is counteracted by the admixture of silicious granitic particles, or finely pulverized shells. The ancient *akeek* or hominy-pot of the tribes was generally used like the sand-bath in operative chemistry. It was set in a bed of coals or ashes, or suspended by a tripod with bark strings. In the Southern States vases and porringers were made from the same coarse materials. Human figures were sometimes moulded from the plastic mass, antique specimens of which are thought to indicate the transference to this hemisphere of the phallic worship of India. The Florida pottery is superior in composition, manufacture, and ornament to that of the Atlantic and Lake tribes. It is a tradition of the Shawanoes that Florida was anciently inhabited by white men, and that their ancestors found vestiges of arts such as were not common to the red men.

#### PIPE-SCULPTURE.

Another example of the ancient state of art of the tribes of the United States is found in the enamels, and wrought shells and pipes, sculptured and earthenware. Indian art appears to have had its germ in this latter peculiar species of sculpture, which was the only one of their arts that withstood the shock of the introduction of European skill. The ancient forms of these are shown by the disclosures of their graves and altar-mounds in the West to have been very elaborate. The specimens figured by Mr. Squier from the Scioto Valley evince a very close observation of the peculiar and distinguishing traits of various species of carnivorous birds, quadrupeds, and reptiles. The imitative faculty appears to be very strong in the Indian in all periods of his history, and has been brought out with much skill in connection with this very striking habit. We observe a similar, but not in this instance a superior, degree of skill to have existed among the Toltecs, Aztecs, and native Peruvians. Their ardor seems to have been drawn off in a measure from pipe-sculpture to pottery, architecture, picture-writing, and perhaps pure hieroglyphics, while the United States tribes continued to devote their highest skill to pipe-sculpture.

The sculpture of pipes from stones and various brittle species of minerals is an ancient and truly Indian art, as is most completely shown by all ages of Indian sepulture, and particularly by those of the mound epoch. It is a mistake to suppose that the pipe-sculptures of the Scioto Valley, the ancient capital of Indian power in the Ohio Valley, evince a state of art superior to the general aboriginal type. Mr. Squier (see *Monuments of the Mississippi Valley*), who advances this idea, deceives himself if he imagines that these offerings from the altar-mounds of that valley denote a higher state of art than that of the Toltecs or Aztecs, the state of pipe-carving of the old Allegan tribes, or even that of some of the United States Indians of the present day.

From the earliest date a character of sacredness has been attached by the American tribes to the incineration of tobacco, an article which has been in use as an acceptable gift to the Deity. It was supposed by them to be the most desirable of all offerings to the Great Spirit, and it entered largely into their ceremonial rites and social pleasures. The art of sculpture with them was concentrated on this single branch, namely, the making of pipe-bowls. These were wrought usually from steatites, serpentines, shales, soft tertiary red stones, or other fissile indurated minerals. Even fossil coal has been found as the material. The object of art was to conceal the chief design of using it as a smoking apparatus under some animated form, as a lizard, frog, bird, or quadruped, which was sculptured often with considerable spirit and justness of proportions.

#### INDIAN AXES.

Various stone implements of the antique period of the hunter occupancy of America have received the name of "Indian axes." The ancient Indians, prior to the era of the discovery of America, had no use for an axe in the sense in which we apply the term nowadays. Fire was the agent they employed in felling trees and reducing their trunks to proper lengths. There was no cutting of trees. No stone axe possesses the hardness or sharpness essential to cut the solid fibres of an oak, a pine, an elm, or any other species of American tree. When the wants of an Indian hunter had determined him to fell a tree in order to make a log canoe or construct pickets for a palisade, he lighted a fire close around it upon the ground. When the fire had burned in so as to produce a coal that might impede its further progress, a stone instrument of peculiar construction, with a handle to keep the person from the heat, was employed to pick away the coal and keep the surface fresh. This is the instrument called by the Indians *agakwut*, to which popular opinion has usually applied the name of axe.

The mode of using this ancient axe, which would be more appropriately classed as a pick, was by twisting around it, of a size corresponding to the ring, a supple withe, forming the handle, which could be firmly tied together, and which would enable the user to strike a firm *inward* blow. This handle was not at right angles with the axe. It was so placed, as the ring shows, that at about the length of three feet it would intersect a line drawn at right angles from the foot of the blade,

or edge of greatest sharpness. This incidence of the handle to the blade would enable an indrawing blow to be struck, for which there were practical reasons.

#### FUNERAL VASE.

The idea of placing food in or near the grave to serve the departed spirit on its journey to the fancied land of rest in another world is connected with the ancient belief in a duality of souls. It exists among the present tribes of the United States. One of these souls is liberated at death, but the other is compelled to abide with the body, and it is to provide for this that a dish or vase of food is deposited generally at this day, not in the grave, to be buried with the corpse, but under a close covering of bark erected over the grave.

The ancient Indians placed this food in a vase of unglazed pottery in the grave. This pottery, as disclosed by graves, is of a dark color, and consists of clay and shells slightly baked. The vase is generally small, sometimes not more than six inches in height, but occasionally from nine to ten; it is seldom more. It is uniformly without a foot, and with the lip slightly turned, and externally ornamented. The ornaments were evidently impressed on the vase in its soft state, and are unpainted.

Nearly every ancient Indian grave that has been opened in the State of Tennessee has one of these ancient vases, or "crocks," as they are popularly called. Their use can hardly be imagined without adverting to this ancient custom.

The small burial-mounds of Florida, along the Gulf coast, are literally filled with these antique vases. These places of sepulture are locally denominated "feasting-mounds," from an evident impression that the ancient vases were dedicated to some purpose of this kind. It appears to be a peculiarity in those discovered near the Apalachicola, as observed by Mr. Hitchcock, that at the bottom of each vase a small orifice is found, broken in.

The late Dr. Douglas Houghton obtained fragments of the same species of ware from some ancient works existing in Chautauqua County, New York. This locality is near the village of Fredonia, but a little distance from the banks of Lake Erie. Dr. Houghton found at the same place, and made of the same material, the fragments of a small but curious clay image, which was ornamented with a head-dress resembling very accurately the skin of a bear's head, the nose pointing directly in front. The great extent of country over which the vases are found denotes the general prevalence of the custom at the ancient era of these graves, and of the mounds and earthworks which exist.

#### AISHKUN, OR BONE AWL.

Before the discovery, men's and women's clothes were made of skins or dressed leather. It was necessary to the formation of garments for the body and legs, and of shoes for the feet, that some hard and sharp instrument should be employed, capable of readily penetrating the skin or leather. The ancient method of sewing practised by our tribes resembled that of a modern cordwainer rather than of a

seamstress or tailor. Leather, dressed or undressed, being the material to be put together, this was accomplished by making holes in the edges of the garment or skin, and pushing through these the ends of deer sinews, or other fibrous integument. For this purpose the small and compact end of a horn, which is called *aishkun* by the Algonkins, was employed. Sometimes a rib bone, at other times the tibia of an animal, was used. These articles are still employed for this purpose for coarse work among the remote tribes. These awls were of various sizes.

#### BONE SHUTTLE.

In making their mats or rude lodge-tapestry, and other coarse fabrics, the aborigines employed an instrument of bone of a peculiar construction which has the properties of a shuttle. It was designed to introduce the wool in preparing these fabrics, as they did, from rushes and other flexible materials used for the purpose. The art was rude, and of a kind to fall into disuse among the coast tribes as soon as European manufactures were introduced. It is, therefore, when found in opening graves, etc., a proof of the ante-European period.

One of these antique implements was disclosed about 1835 in opening an old grave in the course of some excavations which were undertaken within the enclosure of Fort Niagara, New York. This grave must have been older than the origin of that fortress, the foundations of which were laid by La Salle among the Seneca Iroquois in 1678.

This instrument is constructed of finely-polished bone. It is ten and a half inches in length, perfectly cylindrical, about one-eighth of an inch in thickness, and has a double barbed head one and a quarter inches in length. Between the barbs is a mouth or slit which would enable it to carry the thread across and through the warp. The instrument is slightly curved, probably owing to the difficulty of finding a bone of so fine a quality perfectly straight.

#### FLESHING INSTRUMENT, OR STONE CHISEL.

It is known that in skinning an animal some parts of the flesh and integuments will always adhere to the skin. With a hunter the operation of skinning is often done in haste, and even when there is ever so much leisure the fear of cutting the skin induces the flayer to infringe upon the carcass rather than to endanger the value of the hide.

In the hunter state of society it becomes the duty of the women to dress and prepare the skins taken in the chase. For this purpose the skins are stretched in the green state on a frame, and the flesh and integuments are cleanly removed. This was done in the early times by means of an instrument of stone which has often been mistaken for a small axe. It is a species of hand chisel, blunt that it may not cut the skin, and yet of sufficient edge and hardness to permit a stout jerking blow. It was grasped firmly by the top. It required no crease for the purpose of binding it

to a handle. It was often very rude in construction, being nothing but an elongated stone, small, and brought to a blunt edge.

By this means skins of the deer and of other animals were completely rid of adhering flesh prior to currying, braining, smoking, or such other processes as were required to fit them for the various uses to which they might be devoted.

#### ANTIQUE INDIAN KNIFE.

Various substances have been used to supply the purpose of a metallic knife. The Peruvians and the Aztecs at the epoch when the Spanish appeared among them employed obsidian, a species of volcanic rock which exists in the Andes and the Cordilleras. Specimens of this article have been found in the Western barrows, where, however, it seems most probable they came by traffic. We may suppose, in other instances, that tribes displaced along the Gulf shores brought them to new locations.

Generally our United States tribes employed flint, chert, hornstone, or some other form of the silicious class of minerals. The first wants of society are easily supplied. Teeth are a primitive resource among savage nations, and any accessible hard and sharp substance comes next. It is well attested that the Appalachian tribes, who all lived in the latitudes of the cane, used that very hard and durable substance to fabricate knives from.

#### ANCIENT STONE BILL, POINTED MACE, OR TOMAHAWK.

The pointed mace found in the early North American graves and barrows is uniformly of a semilunar form. It appears to have been the *casse-tête* or head-breaker, such as we can ascribe only to a very rude state of society. It was employed by warriors prior to the introduction of the agakwut and tomahawk. All the specimens examined have an orifice in the centre of the curve, for the insertion of a handle. Its object was to penetrate by its sharp points the skull of the adversary. This was not done by cutting, as with the agakwut or mace, but by perforating the cranium by its own gravity and the superadded force of the warrior. In an attack it must have been a formidable weapon.

A specimen obtained from a small mound on the banks of the Tonawanda, near Batavia, New York, is of the following dimensions: length, eight inches; breadth, one and a half inches; thickness, about one and a quarter inches. The material is a neutral-colored silicious slate, exquisitely worked and polished. Its weight is half a pound. Another specimen, from Oakland County, Michigan, has both the lunar points slightly broken off, yet it weighs six and a half ounces. It is of the same material, but striped. It is in all respects a stouter instrument.

The use of this instrument, as well as of the antique spear or shemagun, marks an era prior to the discovery.

## COPPER ARM- OR WRIST-BANDS.

The antique specimens of this part of personal decoration which are furnished by graves and tumuli do not differ essentially in their mechanical execution from similar productions among the remote tribes of this day. They are simple rings or bands of the metal bent. There is no union of the bent ends by soldering. Oxidation has nearly destroyed them in the mound specimens which have come to our notice. In the specimens exhumed from the western part of Virginia, at the Great Tumulus of Grave Creek Flats, a salt of copper, apparently a carbonate, was formed upon the metal in such a manner as to protect it from further oxidation.

The use of this metal appears to have been very general by the American tribes at and prior to the era of the discovery, and the occurrence of the ornaments in graves and tumuli may be generally set down to that era.

The fur-trade, which immediately succeeded the arrival of the first ships, soon replaced this rude ornament by bands and bracelets of silver or silvered copper and tin. The passion for silver in all its manufactured forms was early developed among the tribes. They regarded it as a nobler metal than gold. The name for gold in all the languages known to us is a modern descriptive phrase signifying "yellow metal." It would hence appear that gold is not a product of the countries or islands from which the tribes originated.

## ANOMALOUS OBJECTS OF ART AND CUSTOM.

There was found on opening some of the minor mounds of the Ohio Valley a species of tube, carved out of steatite, which attracted attention. These tubes appeared to have been bored by some instrument possessing a degree of hardness superior to steatite. One end was entirely open; the other had a small aperture, as if it had been intended to facilitate suction by a temporary rod and valve. The same district of country disclosed by its tumuli large masses of the silvery kind of mica, which may, from its small perforations, have been designed for ornamenting ancient costume. Other mounds of the same region contained a very thick and heavy species of pottery, which seemed, from its fragments, to have been employed for saline kettles or some metallurgic operation. A singular species of amulet, apparently, was used by the Potomac tribes. Hollow bones of birds were employed as a sort of baldrick by the ancient Indians. They were of various lengths, reaching to three inches, and were bound around the body by a cord passing through them. These articles were taken from the ossuaries at Beverley, in Canada. In the same location were deposited what appear to have been walking-canes, having the twist of a vine about them, and domestic utensils of wood, all of which are, however, now completely mineralized. In some of the low mounds of Florida were discovered the fragments of a utensil the purpose of which appears to have been the preparation of some liquid or drink which required to be ceremonially poured out without the possibility of the contents being spilled and lost.



Eng. by J.C. McRae

Drawn by Jap. S. Eastman, U.S.A.

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RUINS OF AN ANTIQUE WATCH TOWER, PARR'S POINT, GRAVE CREEK FLATS



## LOCAL MANITOES.

The superstitions of the existing race of Indians are evinced by their frequently selecting curiously-wrought boulders of rock, called *Shin-ga-ba-was-sin* by the Algonkins. These boulders have the essential character of idols. They mark the supposed locality of some god of the air. They are sometimes distinguished by the use of pigments. They are generally oddly-shaped water-worn masses, upon which no chisel or labor of any kind has been employed.

## REED FOR ROPE- AND TWINE-MAKING.

We can refer to no period of their traditions when the Indian tribes were destitute of the art of making twine and a small kind of rope. Although they had not the hemp plant, there were several species of shrubs commonly found in the forest, from the inner bark of which they made these articles. They fabricated nets for fishing, which are referred to in their ancient oral tales. The tying of sticks in bundles is one of the oldest and simplest arts of mankind, and the verb *to tie* has therefore been selected by some philologists as one of the primitives. It is, however, a compound, consisting of a *thing* and an *act*, in all the Algonkin dialects known to us.

The process of twine- and rope-making from the barkly fibre of certain plants, it appears, was one connected with some kind of machinery. From the species of stone reed that is found in some of the tumuli, whose object was to hold the strands or plies apart, it is probable that a wooden instrument having the properties of a rope-maker's hand-windlass was employed to twist them together. Yet if this was not done—and we have no evidence that it was—the reed would afford some facilities for hand-twisting.

We have two remains of this instrument. The first was found in the upper vault of the great Grave Creek Mound. It is six inches in length, with two orifices for the twine one and three-quarter inches apart, and tapers from the centre, where it is one and two-tenth inches broad, to half an inch at the ends. Thickness, three-tenths of an inch.

The material of this instrument, examined by the dim light of a candle in the rotunda which existed under this mound in 1844, could not be satisfactorily determined. It was of a limy whiteness, rather heavy, and easily cut. If, as it appeared to be, it was a metal covered deeply by a metallic oxide, that fact could not be determined without the application of tests, for which no opportunity was afforded.

## GEOLOGICAL CHANGES.

There is a fact in regard to American antiquities which deserves attention. It is the geological changes in the surface of the country which have supervened. Ac-

cumulations of soil along the rivers have buried the older antiquities to a considerable depth, and large forests are found in some situations growing on these new deposits of alluvion. Such is the case on the banks of the Arkansas and White Rivers, where the archæological evidences of ancient metallurgic operations are covered by the river soil and forests. Such is also the position of some of the antiquarian vestiges in the Great Lake basins. In 1834 a vase was discovered at Thunder Bay, on Lake Huron, at the base of the roots of a large hemlock-tree which had been torn up by a tempest, bringing to the surface a large mass of clay soil many feet in depth. This vase contained a pipe of earthenware, together with some dorsal fish-bones which may have been employed as instruments. In the St. Mary's Valley a well-hammered copper chisel was raised from the soil at the depth of several feet.

#### CONCLUSIONS.

Bartram, a well-known American naturalist and traveller, and a close observer of the arts and society of the Indians, in 1773 passed through their territories from Florida to the Mississippi. He closes his travels with this observation: "Concerning the monuments of Americans I deem it necessary to observe as my opinion that none of them that I have seen discover the least signs of the arts, sciences, or architecture of the Europeans or other inhabitants of the Old World, yet evidently betray every mark of the most distant antiquity."

In the view which has been given of antiquities which formerly covered the American forests it appears evident, if we dismiss the class of supposed vestiges of the Copenhagen period, that they preserve a parallelism with the manners, customs, and arts of the tribes. They seldom or never rise above it, and where they do we have reason at once to suspect the intrusive foot of the ante-Columbian European. While the arts of the Northern tribes had a manifest prototype in those of the tribes of the central and equinoctial regions of the continent, they did not keep a parity of advance with the Southern tribes. The arts of the latter culminated in teocallis of stone, tumuli, and temples, and in despotisms founded on a very strong religious element. Those of the former terminated in terraces of earth, square platforms, mounds of refuge from floods, and of sepulchre and of sacrifice, and the tribes themselves continued to retain the government of chiefs and councils composed in part of the independent warrior class, with a voluntary priesthood supported by opinion and having so simple and typical a ritual that they often appeared to have none at all. The very magnificence of the forests, rivers, and lakes of the Northern hemisphere wooed them to the life of hunters and nomads. The division into clans and tribes and languages became multiform as a matter of course. Where there is no written language, and of course no standard of comparison, the change in the sounds of words goes on rapidly, while the great principles of utterance, or general grammar, remain. Mere change of accent under such circumstances would produce a dialect. The business of hunting and war was carried to the greatest extent. Agriculture and drudgery remained, as we found it in 1600, in the hands of females

and boys and old men. The war spirit led to fortifications. They felled trees, not by cutting them down with sharp instruments, but by surrounding the trunks with girdling fires and by the use of the coal-hatchet or peck. They fortified the strong and commanding parts of hills and peninsulas by digging ditches around them; often a whole village was thus defended. The principle of the Tlascalan gate is found in several of the still existing vestiges. They raised large tumuli to the dead, as at Cahokia and Grave Creek, wherever the strength of a village had admitted, or the respect paid to their heroes or sages demanded it. They pursued veins of native copper on the surface, as we see on Lake Superior, or a few feet below it, by building fires to heat the matrix or enclosing rock, and pouring on water to crumble it. Mauls of hard stone were used to beat off the rock after it had been rendered friable by heat. A sapling with its limbs cut short made a practical ladder to descend into pits. Did not the Toltecs and Aztecs mine the same metal by the same rustic process?

With regard to garments, the dressed skins of animals formed the staple reliance. They were often prepared with great skill, and ornamented with the quills of the porcupine, dyed grass or sinews, and sea-shells. Court dresses had a mantle of soft skins, covered with plates of mica, which made a conspicuous covering. Small and beautiful species of sea-shells were strung with wreaths for the neck. The heavy conch, with its flesh-colored naure, was cut into medals, with orifices artistically bored horizontally through the plates. They wrought disks for public games out of the hardest porphyry. Their canoes of bark and wood, their war-clubs of heavy iron-wood or maple, their bows and arrows tipped with the finest darts of chert, quartz, or chalcedony, their bowls, pots, and household implements of wood, stone, and pottery, have often been the topic of admiration.

Their old men liked to talk of their ancestry. All nations like to discourse on this subject. The old times were always the best with our Indians: their chiefs, their laws, their manners, their very morals and languages, were then purer and better. Speaking of the earthworks of the Mississippi, Ducoign, of Kaskaskia, referred them to his ancestors. As to the class of intrusive antiquities, Indian traditions have not entirely failed to reach them. Wappoekanita, a Shawnee chief, one hundred and twenty years old, referred them to white men who had once lived in the Ohio Valley. It seems, therefore, that in North America as well as in South America the white man has had an influence on, if he was not the originator of, the higher arts of civilization. The progress of discovery leads to the expectation that we may yet, by patient investigation, receive new lights on this subject.

## CHAPTER V.

### RELIGION AND MAGIC.

Idea of God—Good and Evil—Spirits—Dakota Gods—Giants' Feast and Dance—Immortality—Future State—Sun-Worship—Sacred Fire—Algonkin Beliefs—Attributes of God—Priests and Powwows—Jossakeeds—Medas—Magic—War Magic—Hunting Magic—Healing Art—Wabenoës.

THE fundamental beliefs in the uninstructed mind of the red man are the creation of the world from chaos by the Great Spirit, a universal deluge by which men were destroyed, the existence of two antagonistic principles, Good and Evil, and the worship of the sun as the symbol and effulgent representative of the Creator, the Great Manito. A belief in the immortality of the soul is also very prevalent, but the idea of future punishment had no place in his system.

*Idea of God.*—Deism probably exists in no purer form among the uncivilized nations of mankind than that in which it is found in the abstract beliefs of the North American tribes. The Indian is, psychologically considered, a religious being. His mental organization leads him to trust in the power of a Deity. He is a believer in the mysterious and wonderful. To him the world is replete with mysteries and wonders. Every phenomenon in nature which he cannot explain is the act of a God. The clouds, in their varied display, are invested with the sublime symbolic teachings of a God. God is everywhere present. The thunder and lightning, and the brilliant displays of the aurora borealis, are identified as manifestations of the power of God, who is the great creative Spirit. The Indian's ear is open to his teachings in every sound of the forest; living as he does in the open air, his eye is familiar with the face of the heavens, which are spread out before him as a vast volume of pictography, in which he reads wonderful things. Such at least is the idea of the Indian of the tribes of the United States, with which we are most familiar. He sees a supernatural power in all these surrounding telluric and sublime ethereal manifestations. He lifts his voice to him in supplication in his native forests without temples or formality, and when he offers a sacrifice to such a deity it is not in a roasted quadruped, such as so often smokes on the altar of the other deities of the uncultured man, but in the light and curling fumes of tobacco. The Great Spirit of the Indians is a purer deity than the Greeks or the Romans, with all their refinement, possessed.

*Good and Evil.*—That there exists a unity in this idea of a great Spiritual Existence who made all things, upholds all things, and governs all things, even to the minutest destinies of men, is apparent to those who closely scrutinize this man and direct their attention to the objects and sources of his hopes and fears. While looking directly to the Great Spirit for success in life, and acknowledging life and death,

fortune and misfortune, as due to his supreme power and omnipresence, his mind has been strongly impressed that there is also an evil influence in the world. To account for this, without impugning the benevolence and goodness of God, an antagonistical God is believed in, who is the author of evil. Thus there are two Gods created in the Indian theology, all good and benevolent acts being ascribed to one, while the other is regarded as the potent power of malignancy. The primary term for the Deity is still retained by the Indians, but they prefer to it an epithet signifying "good" or "bad." In this manner there is created a duality of Gods, rather than a dual Deity. It is impossible, however, to witness closely the rites and ceremonies which the tribes practise in their sacred and ceremonial societies without perceiving that there is no very accurate or uniform discrimination between the powers of the two antagonistic Deities, while the benignant power which accords life and death is regarded as possessing the spiritual mastery.

It was not enough for the founders of the Indian religion to generalize the powers of good and evil by creating in their theology two Gods. To enable these diverse Gods to exercise their powers in a certain conceivable godlike manner, each is provided with an innumerable host of minor gods or spirits, who, under the shape of birds, beasts, reptiles, men, angels, demons, giants, dwarfs, sorcerers, enchanters, fairies, pygmies, and other forms, inhabit the world. These are classified into benign and malignant spirits, or semi-gods, agreeably to the Deity under whose influence they are sent abroad.

*Minor Gods or Spirits.*—An implicit believer in these antagonistic powers, nothing is too astonishing, mysterious, and subtile for the Indian to believe. Everything he sees or hears in the animate world may be the subject of intense fear or hope; he is perpetually in doubt which. He is a ready believer in transformations, possessions, and incarnations. A deer, a bear, or a swift-flying bird may be the messenger of good or of evil. He is constantly on the *qui vive*, but especially on the lookout for something untoward. The movement of a bush or the voice of a wild animal may be as premonitory a sign to him as the roar of Niagara or a clap of thunder. This is not the limit of his susceptibility to mysterious fears; not only is he a believer in the influences of magic, sorcery, and necromancy, and constantly on the watch through these or other sources for hosts of good or evil spirits, but all these influences may be exhibited or excited through the evident powers of invisible and invulnerable agencies.

Sometimes the Indian imagines, as night approaches, that he sees small spirits like fairies skip before him over the plain and suddenly vanish; at other times he fancies he sees them dancing in the moonlight on the tops of cliffs. One class of these aboriginal fairies, or little vanishing men (*Puk-wud-jin-inie*), are of the land, another are of the water.

The most formidable and dreaded of the class of demoniacal terrorists are the Windegoes, a kind of giants or ogres who are always cannibals and destroy whole families.

But, however frequent these several objects of imagination are in the Indian's

lore, by far the greater part of his creations of fancy are the tutelary or guardian spirits of individuals. These are often encountered and made palpable to the senses in the shape of quadrupeds, birds, reptiles, or other organic forms. The Indian's dwelling, or wigwam, is constantly among these wild animals of hoof and wing, and in his view they may be either enchanted or unenchanted, spirits or real animals. He chases them by day, and dreams of them by night. He subsists on their flesh. He sells their skins for European fabrics. He wears the feathers of the falcon tribe on his head, he trims his buckskin hunting-shirt with the rattling shreds of the deer's hoof, the claws of the grizzly bear adorn his neck. A dream or a fact is alike potent in the Indian mind. He is intimate with the habits, motions, and character of all animals. He feels himself peculiarly connected at all times with the animal creation. By the totemic system he identifies his personal and tribal history and existence with theirs, and he feels himself to be the peculiar favorite of the Great Spirit whenever they exist in abundance on his hunting-grounds. And when he dies, the figure of the quadruped, bird, or reptile which has guarded him through life is put in hieroglyphics upon his grave-post. His medical system is largely connected with magic. Believing in this, he wields the influence which the spirits of animals exercise over human health and disease, for he not only regards all animals, whether in a state of metamorphosis or not, as possessing souls and reasoning faculties like man, expecting to meet them in a future state in the Indian elysium, but they are believed to possess a necromantic influence over this life.

When it is considered that the human mind under its best phases was so strongly fettered by this superstitious belief in witchcraft, sorcery, and magic, it cannot be deemed strange that similar delusions should have been found to prevail so universally among the Indian tribes of this continent. And the fact only serves more conclusively to show that the Indian mind is of an ancient stock of the human race, of an epoch when a belief in magic and sorcery held undisputed sway, and when it was distracted and disturbed by polytheistic theories and wild dogmas.

*Gods of the Dakotas.*—Táh-koo-wah-kán is the marvellous, the mysterious, the incomprehensible of the Dakotas. It covers the whole of the spirit-world and the God manifestation to man.

Unk-ta-he is the god of the water. The Dakotas say that this god and its associates are seen in their dreams. It is the master-spirit of all their juggling and superstitious belief. From it the medicine-men obtain their supernatural powers, and a great part of their religion springs from this god.

Fig. A, Plate 31, representing the abode of this god and its associates, is explained thus. The inner circle represents the sea, and Fig. 7 the principal god. Figs. 3, 4, 5, and 6 are its associates. Fig. 2 is an Indian. Fig. 8, comprehending the space between the two circles, is the world. Fig. 1 is a river with an Indian village on its banks. Figs. 11 are doors through which the gods go out into the world. Figs. 9 represent lightning which the associate gods use for defence. Figs. 10 are trees growing in the woods and on the bank of the river.

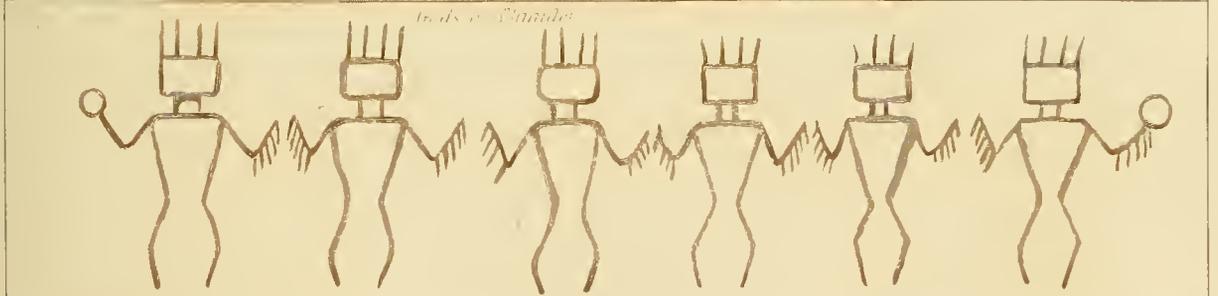
The Indian who drew this diagram says that Unk-ta-he came out of the sea, and



*roads of the waters*



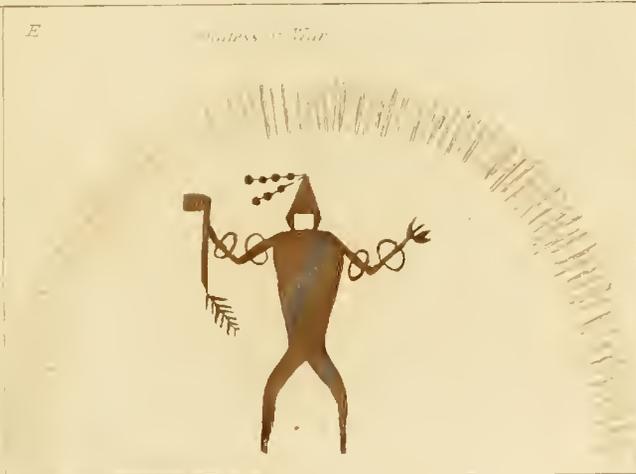
*road of the forest*



*roads of the temple*



*road of the arrows*



E

*roads of the war*



F

*road of the horn*



took him from his village on the river in the spirit, before he was born, and carried him down into the great deep. As he passed by the associate gods, each of them gave him some advice, but when he got to the last one, Fig. 3, he received a drum, and was told that when he struck it and used the language he had received from the gods of the deep, everything would go as he wished. After receiving the last instruction the principal god of the water put him out on dry land, when he was born of a woman, in flesh an Indian.

The advice that the Indian received from the gods while in the deep he refused to tell, for it is a part of their great medicine.

Fig. B represents the god of the forest (*Chah-o-ter-dah*). This god lives in a tree that grows on the highest eminences, and his house (Fig. 13) is at the foot of it. When this god wants anything he leaves his house and sits on a branch of the tree (Fig. 12), which, they say, is as smooth as glass. By his power of attraction he draws around him all the birds of the forest, who act as guards and sentinels, and inform him when anything approaches his residence, that he may prepare for defence. This god and the god of thunder are mortal enemies, and often have severe combats, in which the latter is generally worsted. When the god of thunder comes racing along, casting his lightning at the tree in expectation of killing the god of the forest, the latter, having been timely informed of his approach by his faithful sentinels (Figs. 14, 14), has retired to the water below. The god of thunder sends his lightning after him at the foot of the tree, but, coming in contact with the water, it is lost. The god of the forest then ascends the tree and hurls his lightning with such skill and force at the god of thunder as to bring him down a victim at his feet. There being a great many gods of thunder, the killing of one now and then does not exterminate them. The god of the forest being considered superior to the god of thunder, the latter seldom attacks the former, but passes his abode at a great distance. The crooked line in the hand of the god of the forest (Fig. 12) is a crooked gun, by which he can shoot in any direction around the earth. Fig. 15 is one of the gods of thunder. Fig. C represents the gods of thunder; sometimes they are represented with a hawk's head. The Dakotas say that thunder is a large bird flying through the air, and the noise we hear is the fluttering of the old and young birds. The old ones commence the noise, and the young ones carry it on. The old one is wise and will not injure the Indians, but the young ones are foolish and do all the mischief they can. Thus, if an Indian is killed by lightning they say the young rascals of thunder did it. They say that once there was a bird of thunder killed back of Little Crow's village, on the Mississippi River. It had a face like a man, with a nose like an eagle's bill; his body was long and slender. Its wings had four joints to each, which were painted in zigzags to represent lightning. The back of its head was red and rough, resembling a turkey.

Fig. D is the god of the grass, or god of the weeds (*Whitte-ko-kah-gah*). The proper translation of this word is "to make crazy." This god, they say, is formed from a coarse kind of weed called *pajee-ko-tah*, which has the power of giving them fits or making them crazy, and also of giving them success in hunting. In his right

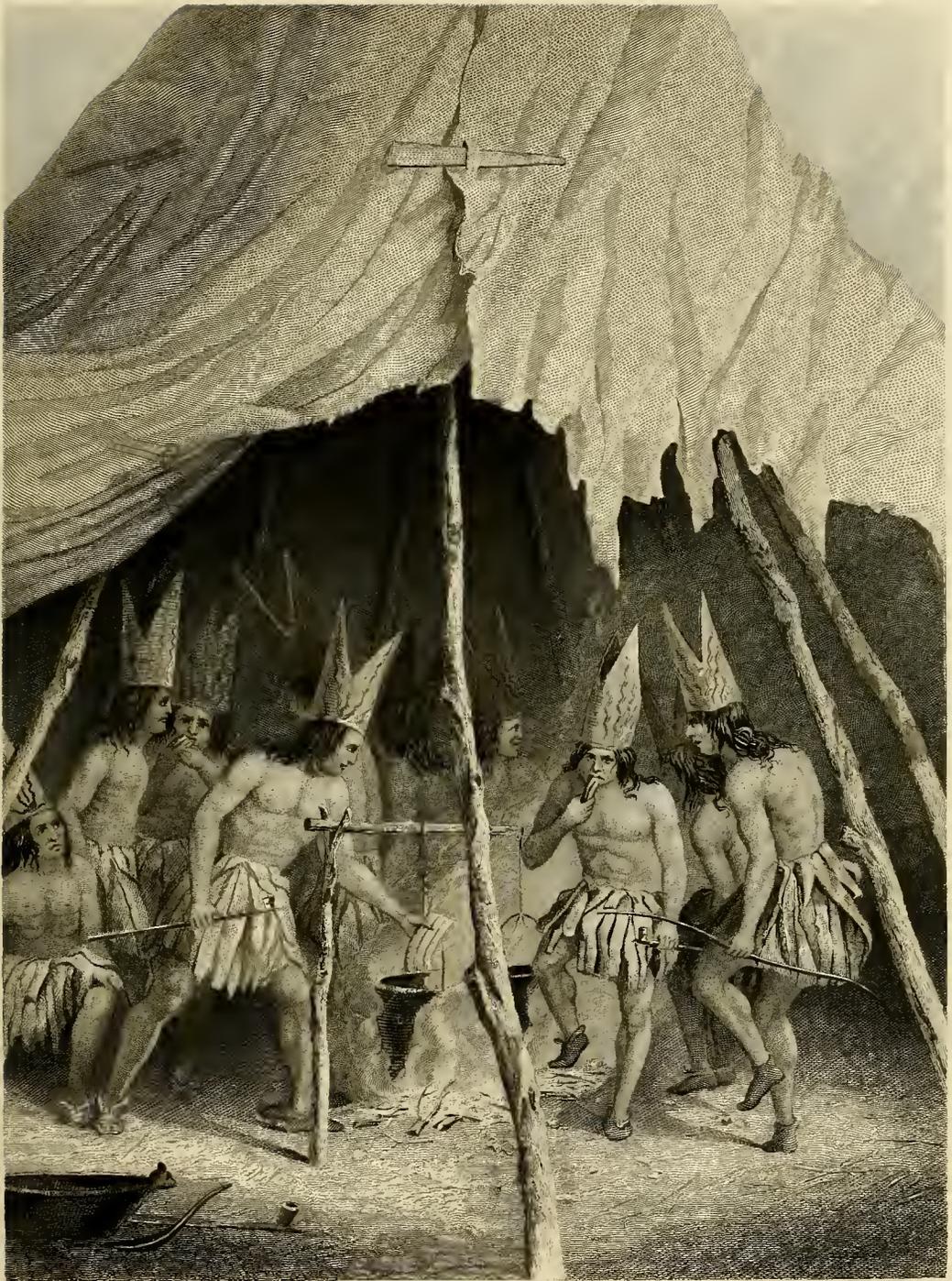
hand he holds a rattle of deer-hoofs. There are sixty-four deer-claws in this rattle, or, as they say, the deer-claws of eight deer. In his left hand he carries a bow and arrow, and although the arrow is made blunt by chewing it, still he can send it through the largest animals. From his cap dart streaks of lightning so brilliant as to dazzle the eyes of animals, and thus enable him to approach close to them. In his mouth is a whistle, which is used in the dance to invoke the assistance of this god. When the Indians have bad luck in hunting they get up a dance to invoke the assistance of this god.

Fig. E, Wa-hun-de-dan, or Aurora Borealis, or Old Woman, or Goddess of War. The Dakotas worship this god under the above names. When they are about going to war, the war-chief invokes this god, who appears to him as represented in Fig. E, and instructs him how to act, where he will find the enemy, their condition, the success and misfortunes that will attend the war-party. The goddess is represented with hoops on her arms, and the number of these that she throws on the ground indicates the number of scalps the party will take. If the party is to have bad luck, she will throw to the ground as many broken arrows as there will be warriors killed and wounded. The little balls running out from the cap (see Plate) represent tufts of down which the Indians wear on the head after having killed an enemy. The hatchet with a fringe to it is one which has killed an enemy. It is their custom always to fasten a piece of an animal's skin to any implements used in war. The rays around the figure represent the aurora borealis, which the goddess has forced up in honor of victory.

Fig. F, Eah, or Big-Mouth. This is another god that the Indians invoke to assist them in their wars. He is represented with a big rattle in his hand. When the Indians are on a war-party the war-chief calls to his aid this god and another named Schun-schun-ah (Mirage, or the glimmering of the sun), to inform him of the whereabouts of the enemy, and they say that he seldom fails to receive the correct information.

The Dakotas have many other gods.

*Giant's Feast and Dance.*—This feast and dance is made in honor of a god whom the Dakotas call Ha-o-kah or the Giant, whom they believe to possess supernatural powers, and to be second only to the Great Spirit. The Dakotas have a party or clan in their tribe called the Giant's party. This clan believe in the existence of this god, and occasionally give a feast and dance in honor of him. This is performed by the men only, within a wigwam, around a fire over which are kettles of meat boiling. They have no clothing excepting a conical cap made of birch bark, streaked with paint to represent lightning, and some strips of the same material around the loins. While hopping and singing around the kettles, they will thrust in their bare hands and pull out the pieces of meat and eat them while scalding hot. After the meat is all eaten they will splash the hot water over their bare backs, all the time hopping around and singing out, "Oh, how cold it is!" pretending that the hot water does not scald them, and that the god will not allow any of his clan to be injured by it. It is presumed that previous to going to the feast they prepare them-







WETON BUDDO BOWAL

HOUSTONAL GRAVE NIGHT



selves for it by covering themselves with an astringent which they obtain from a root. This deadens the cuticle, and thereby prevents the hot water from injuring them.

*Immortality.*—The doctrine of the immortality of the soul is a distinct belief of most of the North American Indians. No one can have been a witness to their funerals, and heard the address which it is customary to make to the corpse while it is lying dressed out ready for burial in the best of habiliments, without being strongly impressed with this idea. And the customs and observances connected with its interment on elevated dry ground, with the implements and ornaments of life, and the lighting of the symbolical funeral fire for several nights on the grave, which is an Algonkin custom, appear to denote that the soul is believed to be observant of the respect paid to the body, and that a reunion of the two is believed in. A very ancient notion appears to reveal itself in the gift of food that is offered for some time to the dead, namely, the soul's *duality*. It would seem that they believed in a sensual and local soul as distinguished from an ambient and absent spirit.

*Future State.*—The Indian is a man who emphatically and positively relies on the indications of dreams, which are believed to be inspired by the guardian spirit. His dreams are his revelations. The Great Spirit is indeed still enthroned in his mind as the creator and presider over the universe, but he is shorn of his power by these myriads of local gods and spirits who mediate between *him* and *them*. He is, in fact, a negative being,—negatively good. Goodness and mercy are the two great attributes ascribed to him. They are relied on by the hunter and warrior, through the mediation of the guardian spirits, in every situation in life and in death. And the savage dies with the faith of his ancestors on his lips and in his heart, believing that all good hunters and brave warriors will be received into the Indian paradise. It is a theory of the Indian that the evils and trials of this life are, as it were, a merit-roll, compensation, or sort of expiation made to the Great Spirit for the gift of life, and its many abuses and crimes, of which his conscience makes him sensible, and that in a future state men will be admitted to an easier life. Hence death to him is not fraught with terrors, it is rather a state full of attractions. Hell is a foreign word to the Indian mind and language; although a compound word, *Majimonidonong* (place of the Bad Spirit), has been coined for it. Hence it is that the peculiar doctrines of Christianity, which vindicate the *justice* as well as the *goodness* and *mercy* of God, are so distasteful and repulsive to the Indian mind. For he, so far as we can judge, deems man justifiable *per se*.

*Indian Theory of the Deification of the Sun.*—The Oriental world held the same views as our aborigines on the subject of the deification of animals, to whom offerings were made. Nor was it less united in its ideas with regard to the mysterious nature of fire and the sun. Both these theories infatuated the American Indians. None of the general customs of the American tribes have so greatly changed as those connected with the external ceremonies of the worship of the sun, once so prevalent throughout the continent. The idea of a trinary central seat of heat, light, and life in the sun was once the general belief of the entire Indian population of America. When Cortez landed in Mexico the theory was there still in vogue, and was recog-

nized by the priesthood, who annually renewed the sacred fire, and thus secured their influence, but its vitality was sapped by a system of horrid human sacrifices to the Mexican Moloch, who was worshipped under the name of Huitzilopochtli.

In the Mississippi Valley, the Natchez, or Chigantualgas of the Spaniards, one of the early groups of tribes, practised its prominent rites for at least a decade after the close of the seventeenth century. As late as the year 1721, P. de Charlevoix, the learned envoy sent by the French Court to inspect the American missions, found it in existence among the Natchez occupying the present area of the State of Mississippi, who had a temple in which the fire was kept burning, and a regularly appointed priesthood who enforced the system. They received the offerings, dedicated them to the sun, and exacted the fees, or tenths, whether of birds, fish, animals, or other objects.

A rustic temple forty feet by twenty, constructed of wood, without any floor, was erected for the worship of the luminary. In this edifice a fire was kept perpetually burning by means of three massive pieces of wood, which appointed keepers watched in turn. As in Mexico and Peru, the duties and powers of the chief executive and head ecclesiastic were united in one person. Every morning the Sun-chief stood at the door of the temple, facing the east, and addressed the rising luminary thrice, after which he prostrated himself, and then offered the incense of tobacco by smoking a pipe appropriated to this occasion, blowing the smoke first towards the sun, and then towards the cardinal points, very much after the manner of the ceremony described by Sir Alexander Mackenzie as practised among the Kenistenos and Assiniboines of Rainy Lake and Lake of the Woods, of the North.

The heads of families never failed to carry the first-fruits of all they gathered to the door of the temple. The keeper, having first dedicated them, took them to the chief, as his prerogative. Offerings of bread were also made at every full moon, and the corn and other grains before planting were first brought to the temple for a benediction. Compare this custom with the blood sprinkled on the planted corn in the sacrifice of Haxta, on the Missouri, in 1838.

It is evident from the description of Charlevoix that the system was then in its wane, though it had prevailed extensively, and was yet recognized by the Appalachian group of tribes. "The greatest part of the nations of Louisiana," observes M. de Charlevoix, "had formerly the temples as well as the Natchez, and in all these temples a perpetual fire was kept up. It should seem that the Mobilians enjoyed a sort of primacy in religion over all the other nations in this part of Florida, for when any of the fires happened to be extinguished through chance or negligence it was necessary to kindle them again at theirs. But the temple of the Natchez is the only one existing at present, and is held in great veneration by all the savages inhabiting this vast continent; the decrease of whose numbers is as considerable, and has been still more sudden than that of the people of Canada, without it being possible to assign a true reason for this result. Whole nations have disappeared within the space of forty years at most, and those who still remain are no more than the shadow of what they were."

But although the deification of the sun had at an early day been a cardinal principle in the religion of all the tribes from the Gulf of Mexico to the Kennebec, the Penobscot, and the St. Lawrence, it had sunk into secondary importance, and its worship was only acknowledged by genuflections long before the extinguishment of its last altar-fires at Natchez. Evidences that the system had been diffused among the Northern tribes still exist in their inartistic monuments, as also in their traditions and pictographs. The essential rites performed by the Great Sun-chief at Natchez, namely, the offering of tobacco in a State pipe, kindled with sacred fire, were precisely the same as those practised at all public and solemn assemblies of the tribes from the era of the primary European emigration to Virginia throughout all periods of our history. No public functionary resident in the Indian country has failed to notice the extraordinary importance attached to these ceremonies by the Indians.

Vestiges of the former prevalence of fire-worship exist over immense spaces, and its rites are found to lie at the foundation of the aboriginal religion throughout the geographical area of the United States. In one of the Indian traditions the preservation of a sacred fire is carried to the banks of Lake Superior. Even over the bleak latitudes of New England, where the sparseness of the native population did not permit large assemblages to assist in such rites, there is the clearest indication that the sun was worshipped as the direct symbol and visible presence of the Great Spirit. Cotton Mather observes of the Massachusetts Indians, "there is with them a Sun-god and a Moon-god, and the like, and they cannot conceive but that fire must be a kind of god, inasmuch as a spark of it will soon produce very strange effects."

#### SACRED FIRE.

The sacred character of fire is impressed very widely and deeply on the Indian manners and customs. Among the Chippewas of the North there is a custom to light a fire at night on a newly-made grave. This fire is renewed during four nights. Fire in their minds is regarded in some manner as we should view the opening of a door into the spiritual world. It is believed that its symbolical light is thus thrown on the path of the deceased to guide its footsteps through its darkling way to the land of the dead.

That the procurement of sacred fire by percussion, the ceremonies of lighting the pipe, and the incineration of tobacco therein, and its being first lifted towards the sun, prefigured beliefs in the ancient fire-worship, is more than probable. In the ordinary use of the weed this custom is doubtless but the indulgence of a favorite pastime. But the moment a sacred use is to be made of the rite, fire for the purpose is extracted from its latent form in the flint. It must be sacred, not common fire, with which the pipe is illumined. It is the duty of a particular official to attend to this rite and to perform the genuflections. A particular name is bestowed on this functionary. Not to observe this ceremony, or to employ ordinary fire from embers, would appear to have the effect in their minds of employing "strange fire." Every one who has negotiated treaties with the tribes will bear testimony to the existence

of this rite and the solemnity attached to it. Sir Alexander Mackenzie has well described it as it existed among the Kenisteno nation. Their medas, or priesthood, erect a particular lodge, or temple of offering, for the purpose. "The scene of these ceremonies is in an open enclosure, on the basin of a river or lake, and in the most conspicuous situation, in order that such as are passing along or travelling may be induced to make their offerings. There is also a particular custom among them, that on these occasions if any of the tribe, or even a stranger, should be passing by and be in real want of anything that is displayed as an offering, he has a right to take it, so that he replaces it with some article that he can spare, though it be of far inferior value; but to take or touch anything wantonly is considered as a sacrilegious act, and highly insulting to the Great Master of Life, to use their own expression, who is the sacred object of their devotion.

"The scene of private sacrifice is the lodge of the person who performs it, which is prepared for that purpose by removing everything out of it, and spreading green branches in every part. The fire and ashes are also taken away. A new hearth is made of fresh earth, and another fire is lighted. The owner of the dwelling remains alone in it, and he begins the ceremony by spreading a piece of new cloth, or a well-dressed moose-skin, neatly painted, on which he opens his medicine-bag and exposes its contents, consisting of various articles. The principal of them is a kind of household god, which is a small carved image about eight inches long. Its first covering is of down, over which a piece of birch bark is closely tied, and the whole is enveloped in several folds of red and blue cloth. This little figure is an object of the most pious regard. The next article is his war-cap, which is decorated with the feathers and plumes of scarce birds, beavers' and eagles' claws, etc. There is also suspended from it a quill or feather for every enemy whom the owner of it has slain in battle. The remaining contents of the bag are a piece of Brazil tobacco, several roots and simples, which are in great estimation for their medicinal qualities, and a pipe. These articles being all exposed, and the stem resting upon two forks, as it must not touch the ground, the master of the lodge sends for the person he most esteems, who sits down opposite to him; the pipe is then filled and fixed to the stem. A pair of wooden pincers is provided to put the fire in the pipe, and a double-pointed pin to empty it of the remnant of tobacco which is not consumed. This arrangement being made, the men assemble, and sometimes the women are allowed to be humble spectators, while the most religious awe and solemnity pervade the whole. The Michiniwais, or Assistant, takes up the pipe, lights it, and presents it to the officiating person, who receives it standing, and holds it between both his hands. He then turns himself to the east and draws a few whiffs, which he blows to that point. The same ceremony he observes to the other three quarters, with his eyes directed upwards during the whole of it. He holds the stem about the middle, between the first three fingers of both hands, and, raising them upon a line with his forehead, he swings it three times round from the east, with the sun, when, after pointing and balancing it in various directions, he reposes it on the [sacred] forks."

## ALGONKIN BELIEF.

The fundamental points of religious belief of the Algonkin tribes are much the same, and resemble those of the cognate tribes of other stocks and lineage. They believe that the world was created by a Supreme Spirit, whom they call Monedo, and Ozheaud, the Maker, and who is specifically addressed under the prefix of Gézha, the Benevolent or Merciful, and Gitchi, the Great. To Monedo they assign some of the leading attributes of God, believing that he is everlasting, all-powerful, and all-wise, and of immaculate and unchanging goodness and mercy. In this they agree. With respect to ubiquity and invisibility there is some discrepancy. A spirit, and dwelling in the upper atmosphere, or *Ishpiming*, yet whenever the arcanum of their belief is reached they locate him in the sun or moon or indefinite skies, or as the presiding spirit of the Indian Elysium.

In their pictorial scrolls they paint the sun as a man's head surrounded with rays, and appear to confound the symbol with the substance. They attribute life and light, vitality and intelligence, the world over, alike to Monedo, and to Gézis, the Sun. Iöseo, who visited the sun, as their legends say, found it to be a man, and walked a day's journey with him around the exterior line or rim of the globe, through the periphery of which they could look down, at the sun's noon-place, upon the inhabitants of the earth. Again, the Great Spirit is said to be invisible in form, and to possess ubiquity in the guise of symbols, as he is recognized in the pleasing or frowning shapes and colors assumed by the revolving clouds, the moaning tempests, the vivid lightnings, and the appalling thunder. In these shapes he is clearly represented, not in a human shape, but by symbols. They apply to him also the terms Upholder of the World, Master of Life, and, as the original author of life, Father.

## HEAVEN.

*Ishpiming*, the term employed by all the missionary translators of the Lord's prayer for "heaven," means simply *above*, or in the high illimitable space. It is a local phrase for abiding on high. But *Ishpiming* is not the fancied Indian paradise so often referred to in their traditions, where the good are to be rewarded with hunting-grounds and the bad are to sink in a retributive black stream. Whatever else can be said of the Land of the Blest, or the country of souls, which is identical, its locality is not in the sky. We are presented rather, in the lively imagery with which it is painted, with a new earth, or terrene abode, which is to be replete with the affluence of animal life, disporting its varied creations amid beautiful groves, or along the banks of smooth streams and lakes, where there are no tempests, no pinching and chilling vicissitudes of weather, and no broken formations of rough mountains, cataracts, or volcanoes, but where the avocations of life are so sweet and varied, and so completely exempted from the power of the Spirit of Evil, that human happiness is complete. Death, it is fancied, opens the door to this sweet land, and death is therefore viewed with complacency. When this Indian paradise is, however, closely

scanned, it turns out to be a gorgeous and soft region of shades and shadows. Streams flow softly, groves wave their branches in gentle airs, birds warble sweetly, herds of noble and stately animals browse on the level plains; but these are all the shadows of the elements of the earth: it is, in fact, the earth itself restored to its pristine beauty, with all its classes of creation in a state of shadowy metamorphosis. The Great Monedo is indeed heard of there, but he is not a god of judgment or of punishment; his voice is exclusively that of a Father welcoming home his wandering children from a land of sufferings, trials, and death.

It is under this view of his philosophical indifference to life and repose of character in death that it is said in "The Man of Bronze,"—

"Time comes unsighed for, unregretted flies,  
Pleased that he lives, but happy that he dies."

#### ATTRIBUTES OF GOD.

Of justice and holiness, as attributes of the supreme Indian Monedo, the narrations are silent, unless they be recognized in the typical form of the stream to be crossed prior to the soul's entry into the realms of the blest. According to their funeral addresses, the qualities necessary to secure a safe passage across are fidelity and success as a hunter in providing for one's family and bravery as a warrior in defending the rights and honor of his tribe. There is no moral code regulating the duties and reciprocal intercourse between man and man.

Such views as these would leave the Indian theology comparatively mild, were they not united with a general theory of the moral government of the world which leaves the whole practical system of life and death dark, wild, and visionary indeed. In the sense in which the Indian God has been exhibited he is little more than a sublime abstraction, depicting an image of transcendent power and glory, vast, undefined, and unfixd. He is believed to be the necessary and uncreated principle of benevolence and goodness. It is therefore not necessary to propitiate his wrath. He must needs be good. He is not made responsible for the right government of the world which he has created and upholds. He is no lawgiver and no judge. To lie, to steal, to murder, are not offences against *him*; they may be offences against man, but must be answered to man. To be good, wise, benevolent, as the Great Monedo is, appears to be a duty of the aboriginal man, viewing man as the friend of man. But in the state the Indian actually occupies he regards man as the enemy of man. He does wrong, and is the just object of retaliation. He is wronged, he retaliates. Every tie in a good and just society is broken by the sons of the forest. Who is to be appealed to? Is the Monedo to arbitrate the cause in another state of existence? Does he hold out a reward as an inducement to do good, or a punishment to dissuade from doing evil? Neither. He stands, indeed, on the high grounds of a Supreme Governor of the World, but shrinks from his supreme independent duties, and while he wraps around him the awful robes of might and majesty, evincing his presence in the glory of the sun, lifting up his voice in thunder, and riding, like Israel's God, on

“the wings of the wind,” he commits his practical government to demi-gods and sub-creations of every possible hue, malignant and benign, who fill the air, the earth, and the water, and convert the globe into a vast moral chaos. The class of evil spirits range themselves under the power of the Great Spirit of Evil, who is called Mudje Monido,—that is, a bad spirit. The good spirits of every class are believed to be under the chief spirit of good, but as these are bound by the principles of their creation eternally to *be* good and *do* good, and cannot be evil or do evil, and as the Indian God does not prescribe their mission, nor even overrule them to “bring good out of evil,” but has left all these spirits in a state of jarring collision, the consequence is that, judged by his sentiments, the unrestrained evil spirits have the mastery and bear rule in the world. To this class, therefore, the chief offerings are made. The Indian who is instructed in the lore of his tribe is prone to recognize these malignant spirits on every hand, and is kept in constant mental fear of their power. He recognizes them not only in his dreams, and in numberless signs and omens among birds and beasts, he not only *typifies* if he does not *identify* them in the whole animal tribes, but he hears them talk in tempests, he sees them in dark clouds, they beset him in almost every possible angry sound which the jarring elements can make, and they crawl in the very insects of curious shape that creep out of the earth. He attributes sickness and death to the power of these malignant but subordinate gods, and there is no temporal evil which they are not supposed to bring. Fear is thus on every hand, and the forest in his migrations through it is little else than a visible scene of audible but admonitory sounds and threatening signs.

## PRIESTS AND POWWOWS.

Whatever other trait may exist in the character of the Indian tribes, it is religion that is most important to their prosperity and welfare. It is on this point that they come most prominently in conflict with the axioms and practices of civilized nations; and, as if conscious that the chief thing to be guarded against was a change in their ancient religion or rites, as a fundamental interest on which their fate must turn, it is on this vital point that they have from the earliest era made the most general, resolute, and constant defence, for it has been the defence of the ancient priests against Christianity. Distrustful of the power of these tutelar spirits, or of his own faith in them, the Indian relies on a class of diviners to whom it is believed the power and will of God are peculiarly revealed. These persons are believed to be more holy than others. They pass more time in fasting in secret and studying to make themselves mediums of God's will. To preserve their ancient religion intact, to defend its doctrines and promulgate its rites, the power of the Indian priest, powwow, magician, soothsayer, meda, medicine-man, wakon-man, prophet, or by whatever other name he may be called, is brought constantly into requisition. The children learn the rites, ceremonies, and choruses of the sacerdotal office as soon as they can learn anything, and long before they have reached the threshold of manhood they are adepts in the Indian ceremonies and beliefs.

We must call this class of men a priesthood, because they profess to administer in holy or mysterious things, things that pass the ordinary comprehension of their listeners. Whatever is wonderful in invention or phenomena, sublime, incomprehensible, godlike,—whatever relates to futurity and is unknown,—whatever, in short, is connected with the exercise of power for good or evil, which is not merely human, but “spiritual,” or rather such as a spirit or demon, a monedo, a wakon, or an abainka, may exert on the mind of man, leading it to put forth powers not innate,—this it is the profession, art, and province of this class of men to do. Above all, the Indians believe in them. They believe that these men have this supernatural power: that they can foretell events, cure or inflict diseases, and influence life or death.

There are three classes of men in the Indian nations who affect to be exponents of the will of the Great Spirit and of the Evil Spirit. They are, in the order of estimation in which they are held—1, Jossakeeds; 2, Medas; 3, Wabenoës. Each of these constitute a class or society of themselves. It is not known that one may not be a member of either or of all, if duly initiated. They are generally, however, distinct in their powers and functions.

#### THE JOSSAKEED.

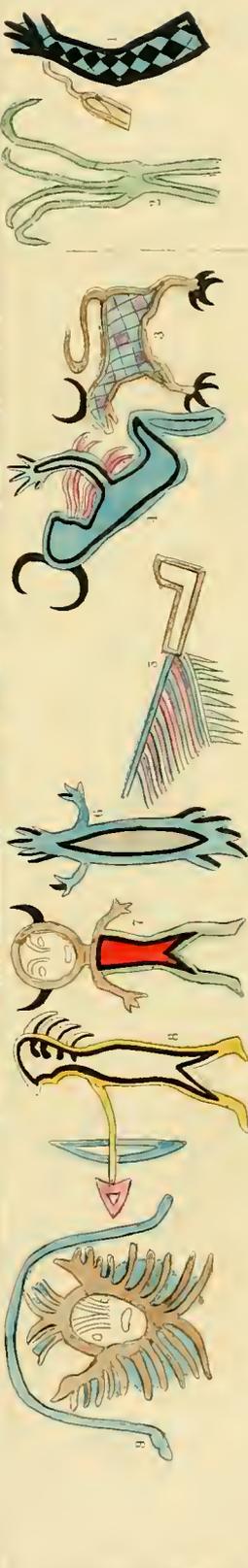
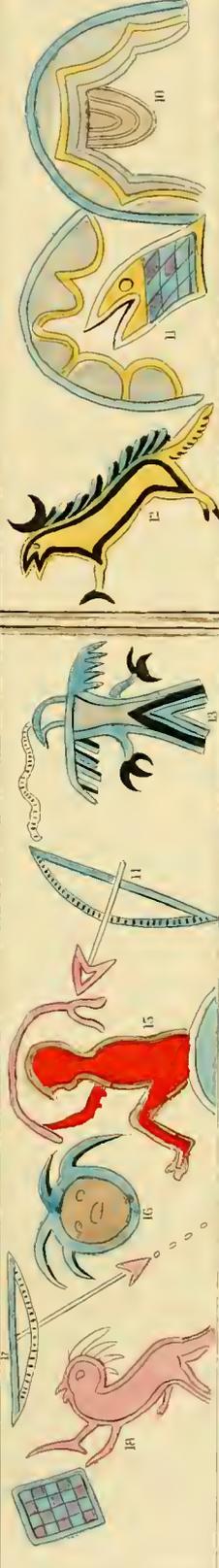
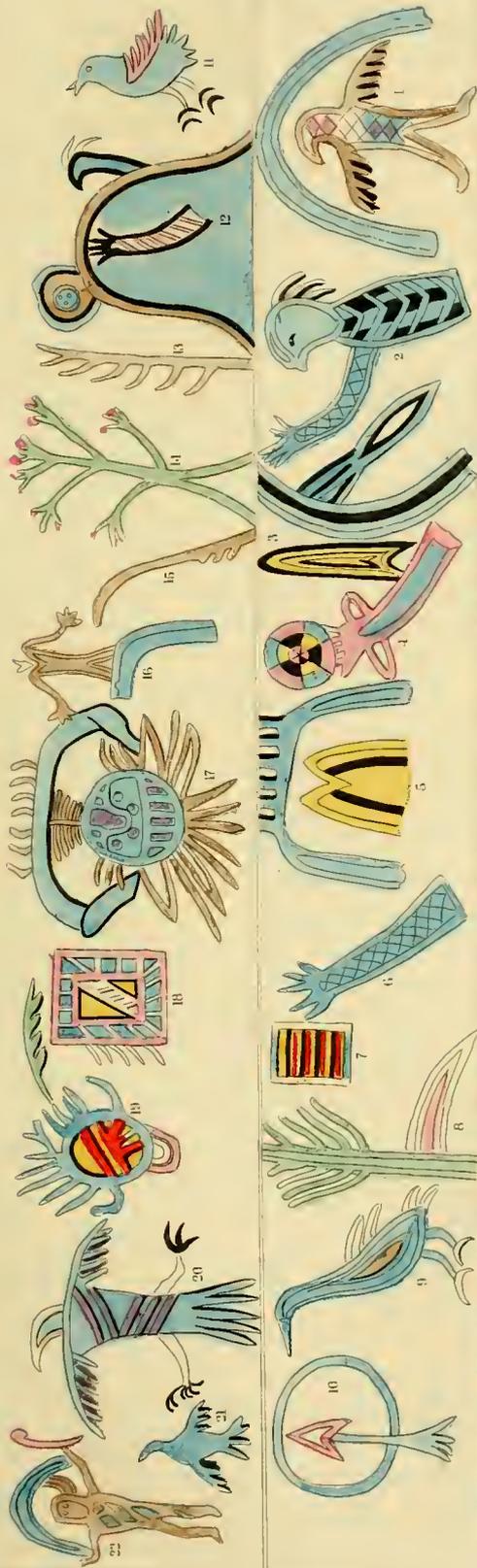
The Jossakeed is a prophet. He affects sanctity and a contempt of riches, goes poorly clad, retires to secret places to commune with the Great Spirit, and builds a high conical lodge, formed by stout poles wound about with skins, in order to utter his responses. He holds the relative situation of the ancient oracle. Unknown events, lost articles, the fate of friends, the location of animals sought in the chase, the coming of an enemy, and such like topics, are put into the shape of questions asked of him after he has entered his prophetic lodge and announced his readiness to give answers. If he be a man of shrewdness of observation, and a good knowledge of his people, the resources of the country, and the character and causes of migration of its animals at each season, he always shapes his replies with due scope of oracular indefiniteness to secure respect and confidence and become a person of leading influence in the tribe. This office is liable to become degraded into mere trickery and jugglery in the hands of weak and bad men.

#### THE MEDA.

The Meda is a magician. He is a professor of the arts of the Grand Medicine Dance. He makes use of various articles which are supposed to have the power of curing the sick. He exhibits magical bones, stuffed birds, skins of animals, and other articles of superstitious awe, which are carefully kept in medicine-sacks. He is, however, professedly a magician. The power imparted to his medicines and charms is ascribed to necromancy. He sings while he operates. He is, in fine, the medical mountebank and juggler of the tribe.

In the society of the Medawin the object is to teach the higher doctrines of

N° I



N° II

Drawn by Capt. S. Eastman U.S.A.  
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 MEDA SONGS.



spiritual existence, its nature and mode of existence, and the influence it exercises among men. It is an association of men who profess the highest knowledge known to the tribes. *Meda* is one of those primitive forms of words of which the meaning can be inferred only from its application. It is rendered a noun of multitude by the inflection *win*. The *meda* is to be distinguished from the Indian doctor or physician. The only use he makes of medicines is one wholly connected with the doctrine of magic. He is a seer or soothsayer, a fortune-teller, a diviner, and a prophet.

The term specifically applied to the acts of the last-named office, is to *jesukä* or divine. This word becomes a substantive in *jesukäd*, while the ceremony is *jesukau*, and the lodge itself *jesukaun*.

The oracular lodge is formed with eight stakes, or occasionally only four; the stakes are two or three inches thick, by twelve, fifteen, or twenty feet high, according to the feats of strength of which the juggler thinks himself capable. The eighth stake is terminated by its natural foliage; its summit has several small branches, upon which are suspended the offerings to the spirits.

Three singers, with the drum, the Shissigwân at the Oshkanzhiwâg, assist in preparing the lodge; they place themselves at the north of the lodge. The people must not go on the side of the singers.

The singers bind the juggler, or jossakeed, hand and foot, and push him into the lodge, under the skins which cover it; being introduced, he demands of his attendants the pipe, and says to him who presents it, Sagaswêiwen—invite to smoke, whereupon the attendant calls the spirits of the four cardinal points.

To the north he cries, Hoho koko koko kisâgâsweigo—Owl, thou art invited to smoke. The people reply for the Spirit of the North, ho!—yes.

To the east, Menabazh, menabazh, kisâgâsweigo. The people reply, ho!—yes.

The south, Menengwâ (butterfly) kisâgâsweigo. The people reply, ho!—yes.

The west, Animiki (the thunder) kisâgâsweigo, etc.

After this invitation silence reigns among the people, and they look in the air to see the spirits come. The jugglers sing, the chanters join them, the lodge shakes, a noise and an extraordinary confusion manifest themselves; it is the spirits who are coming from the four corners of the horizon—there are eight, a sacred number. The turtle arrives first and retires last. She is the babbler, the interpreting spirit, the secretary, the speaker of the assembly of monedoes. It is through her that the spirits and the jugglers speak to the people, and she must be addressed to learn something of the juggler and of the spirits. Each time that a monedo arrives, a heavy blow is heard upon the ground like the fall of something heavy on the earth, and the lodge is rudely shaken by it. At the first sound of this kind the people say, "Is it thou, the turtle, great gossip?" (Kinnâ Mishiken?) (Mikinak, turtle in general; Mishiken, the turtle which keeps with the spirits.) When the spirits are assembled, the council begins, and speaking is heard in the lodge: there is much order in the discussion, the spirits speaking only one after the other, but each with a different voice.

At this moment the people sit gazing at the phenomena before them in silent awe and fixed and breathless expectation. The oracular lodge is believed to be filled with

spirits of omnipotent power, who have come at the bidding of the chief prophet, on the atmosphere, from the remotest parts of the earth. Shakspeare, in the convocation of the witches in Macbeth, could not have conceived more truly of the organization and proposed power of the dark spirits assembled in the lodge had he been on the spot and studied the whole Indian institutions. When the jossakeed has assembled all the spirits over whom he claims jurisdiction, he is ready to make responses. The theory is that he can send these agents to the uttermost parts of the continent in a few seconds to bring an answer.

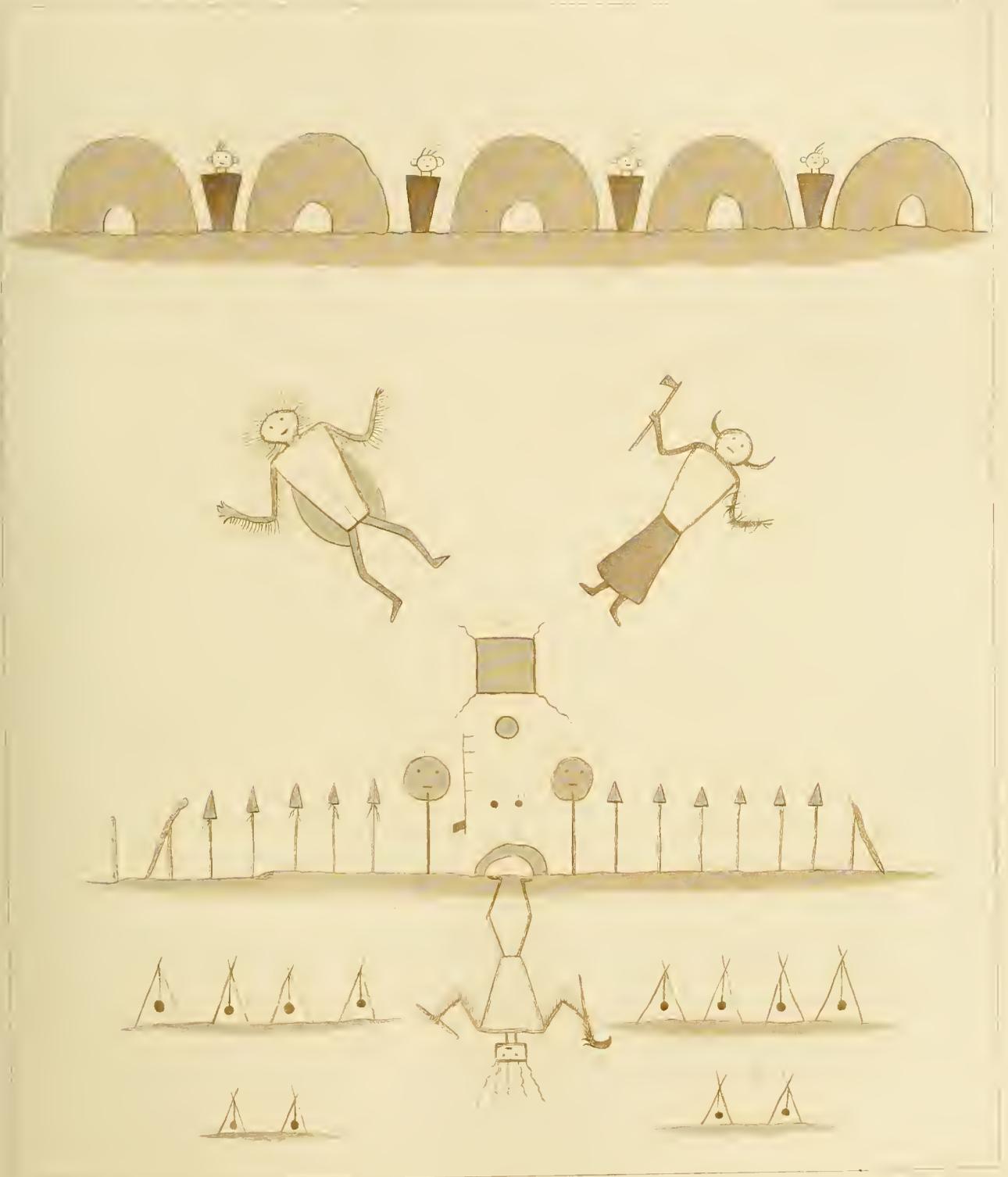
There is no limitation to the power of the diviner. The range of his skill relates to the whole realm of the distant, unknown, past, present, and future. To give examples: one wishes to know the precise spot on the bottom or shores of Lake Superior where lies the body of a person who has been drowned. Others ask why the tribe has been deprived of the range of animals in the chase, and where these animals are now to be found in the forest—east, west, north, or south; whether the enemy approaches their territory; what the great ruler of the white men is *now* thinking about; whether the keeper of the mysterious land of the dead has allowed such a person to enter his premises; where a lost article is to be found. In short, there is no limit to their wishes, wants, or desires. But this may be remarked of the responses,—that they are usually couched in generalities or equivocal terms.

#### MAGIC.

The Indian's character can never be properly understood without studying his arts of sorcery and divination. To comprehend the scope and influence of these among the Indian tribes, as they are taught by the prophets and medas in periodical public assemblages in the villages throughout the forest latitudes, it is necessary to have a clear idea of two things,—namely, first, the Indian doctrine of monedoes or spirits, and, second, the prophetic ceremonies of divination, and the mysteries of the medawin, as practised by the medas and magical doctors of the grand national society devoted to mystical arts. Whatever the Indian cannot explain, whatever appears to him inexplicable, whatever is made use of for nourishment, for health, for curing, contributes to his sensual pleasures and to his preservation, is in his eyes a thing of mysterious *power*, a spirit,—in his language, a monedo. The monedoes relieve the Indian from the necessity of induction and reflection, of comparing and judging; and his life consists in trying to do what the monedoes do, to imitate them, to equal them; and when the prophet believes himself to have arrived at this point he calls himself monedo, and becomes a teacher.

#### MAGIC APPLIED TO WAR.

In the hour of danger, on the war-path, or on the hunt, the influence of the prophet is especially brought to bear. The Dakota war-chief who heads an expedition is always one of these medicine-men, and is believed to have the power to guide



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OPERATIONS OF THE WAR CHIEF WHEN ON A WAR EXCURSION



the party to success or save it from defeat through the all-powerful influence of his medicine. He interprets the signs observed, such as the flight of birds, the running of animals, distant sounds, atmospheric effects, etc., all of which he construes to influence the movements of his party as his own whims may dictate. These spiritual operations are usually carried on at night after the party has encamped; and through his mysterious doings, and the assistance he derives from the gods, he foretells what will occur the next day, the position of the enemy, their strength, and the number of scalps that will be taken. In his juggling he calls upon such gods for assistance as have especial influence in war.

The war-chief's operations are thus described by a Dakota Indian, from whose sketch was taken the drawing for the accompanying plate. Fig. 1 is the war-chief, holding in his right hand a war-club shaped at the end like a hawk's head. Fig. 2 is his wigwam in which he performs his spiritual operations. Figs. 3 and 4 are gods that are invoked for assistance in war. These are usually cut out of birch bark and stuck up on poles near his wigwam. Fig. 7 is the god E-yah, or Big-Mouth. This god is often represented with horns on his head and a rattle in his hand. He has the power of telling the position of the enemy. Fig. 8 is the god Wa-hun-de-dan (interpreted old woman, aurora borealis, or goddess of war.) She informs the war-chief not only where the enemy is to be found, but also of his strength and the success or misfortune that will attend the party. She even tells the number of scalps that will be taken, and the number of warriors that will be killed or wounded. But the most powerful influence the Indians bring to bear on their war excursions is a mystery which they call Schun-schun-ah (Mirage, or glimmering of the sun). This is represented by the small dots 5 and 6. This is so powerful that it never fails to inform the war-chief of the position and strength of the enemy. Fig. 12 is the war-pipe, the smoke of which is offered to E-yah and to the spirits of the enemy, which they dread, and to appease which offerings of different kinds are made. Fig. 9 is a hole in the ground directly in front of the wigwam of the chief, into which the old woman, Fig. 8, rolls her hoops, as representatives of the enemy's spirits. These the war-chief kills by striking them with his war-club. Fig. 11 is a bowl of sweetened water set before the hole for the purpose of enticing the spirits into it. Figs. 13 and 14 are the lances of the warriors set around the wigwam of the chief, and Figs. 19 and 20 are sacks in which the war-implements are kept. Figs. 15 and 16 are the camp-fires of those warriors who have before been on the war-path, and Figs. 17 and 18 are those who have never before been to war. The latter are not allowed to approach the war-chief during his spiritual operations.

Fig. 21 is the enemy's camp, and Figs. 22, 23, 24, and 25 are the spirits of the enemy, indicating the number of scalps that will be taken.

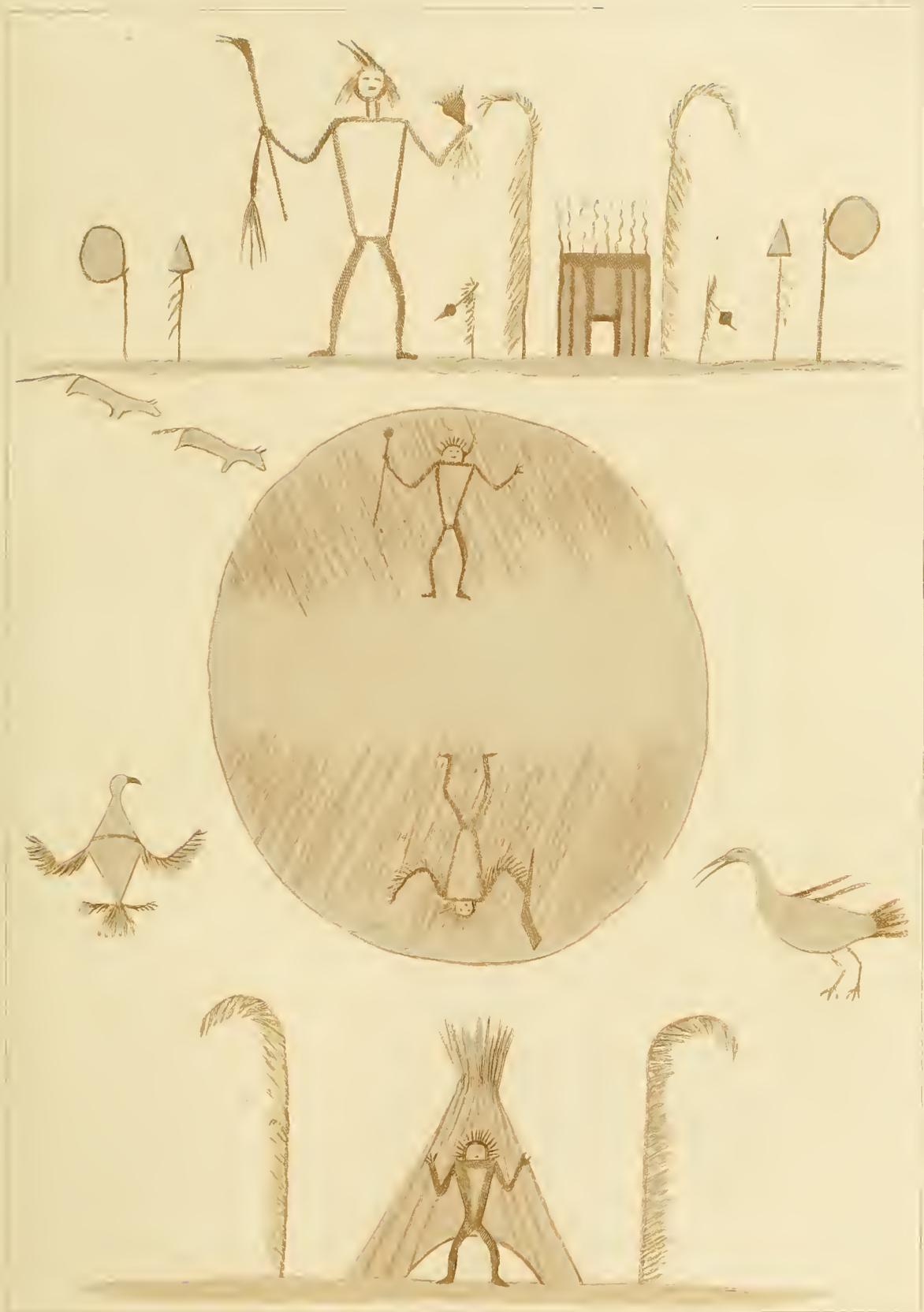
Plate 36 is another example of Indian superstition, representing the contest between the gods of the North and South for warm and cold weather. Fig. 1 represents the world. Fig. 2 is the god of the North, represented in a snow-storm. He is called Wa-ze-at-tah We-chas-tah. Fig. 14 is the god of the South, represented in a rain-storm. He is called Eto-kah We-chas-tah. Figs. 3 and 4, representing wolves, are

the soldiers of the northern god, who fight his battles. When he wants cold weather, he sends forth these soldiers to battle with the southern god. The latter is assisted by the crow and the plover, Figs. 15 and 16. When the battle begins, the wolves are aided by a snow-storm. A terrible conflict ensues, in which the southern god is discomfited, cold weather prevails, snow and frost appear, and the world is frozen up. As spring approaches, the southern god desires warm weather; thereupon he sends out his soldiers, the crow and plover, armed with war-clubs, and assisted by a thunder-storm, to attack the wolves. The thunder-storm melts the snow and ice, and the crow and plover fall upon the wolves with their war-clubs, and after a severe contest succeed in beating them to pieces and drowning the god of the North in a flood of spray arising from the melting of the snow and ice. Thus these two gods will battle for warm and cold weather as long as the world shall stand, according to Indian mythology. When either god goes out to battle, he leaves a young god at home, so that if he be defeated there shall be another one left to renew the conflict at the next season. Fig. 8 is the northern god in reserve, with a flute in one hand and a rattle in the other. Fig. 5 is his house, and Figs. 6 and 7 are poles ornamented with eagles' feathers. Figs. 9 and 10 are lances, ready for defence. Figs. 20 and 21 are small hand-rattles, used with the drums, Figs. 11 and 12, to sound the alarm. Fig. 17 is the southern god in his wigwam, and Figs. 18 and 19 are ornaments similar to Figs. 6 and 7.

#### MAGIC APPLIED TO THE CHASE.

That the Indian's belief in the magical power of the meda, and the art of the *meda-wininee*, or meda-men, should be brought to bear on the business of hunting, may naturally be inferred. The ceremonies which the father adopts to propitiate success the son imitates, and long before he reaches manhood he esteems these ceremonies of the highest importance. The efficacy of the different baits put in traps, the secret virtues and power of certain substances carried in the medicine-sack and exhibited in the secret arcanum of the meda's and jossakeed's lodge, are objects of eager and earnest attainment; and no small part of the time the hunter devotes to ceremonial rites is given up to this mystical part of his art.

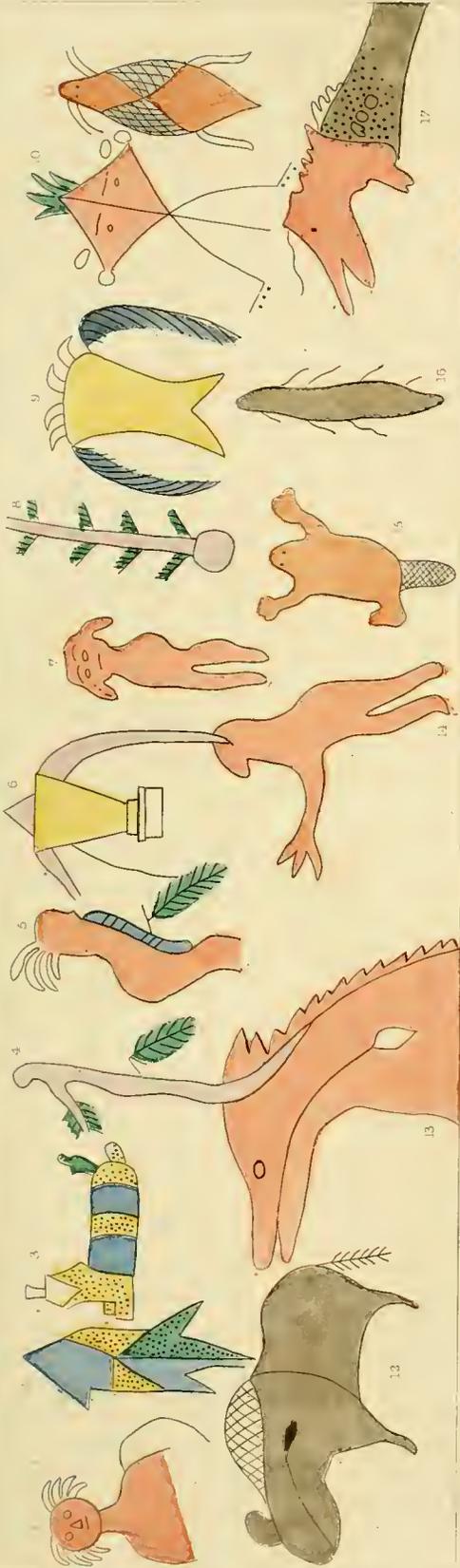
It is believed that these secret and sacred objects of care preserved in his skipetagan are endowed with virtues to attract animals in certain ranges of country to which they *are willed* by the jossakeed. An arrow touched by their magical medáwin and afterwards fired into the *track* of an animal is believed to arrest his course or otherwise affect him until the hunter can come up. A similar virtue is believed to be exerted if but the figure of the animal sought be drawn on wood or bark and afterwards submitted to the efficacious influences of the magic medicine and the incantation. Pictographs of such drawings are frequently carried about by the hunter to avail himself of their influence, or of the means of becoming more perfect in the mystical art by intercommunication with other and distant Indians. These figures are often drawn on portable objects of his property, such as implements of hunting, canoes, utensils, or rolls of lodge-barks, or sheathing. So subtile is the influence



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THE WORLD AND TWO GODS OF THE WEATHER





Drawn by Capt. E. S. Eastman, U.S.A.  
-MISION PUEBLO LA PLATA, ARGENTINA-

PICTORIAL RECORD OF A CHIEF'S SUCCESS IN HUNTING AND WAR



exerted by the medáwug or magi deemed to be, that one hunter, it is believed, can wield it against another, and thus paralyze his exertions, or render his weapons, or his skill in using them, inefficacious.

#### MAGIC APPLIED TO THE HEALING ART.

To exhibit the power of the operator, or officiating priest, in the curative art, an elongated lodge is expressly erected with poles and foliage newly cut and particularly prepared for this purpose. This work is done by assistants of the society, who obey specific directions, but are careful to exclude such species of wood or shrubbery as may be deemed detrimental to the patient. The highest importance is attached to this particular, as well as to other minor points in the shape, position, or interior arrangements of the lodge; for to discover any oversight of this kind after the ceremony is past, is a sufficient and, generally, satisfactory cause of failure. When the lodge is prepared, the master of the ceremonies, who has been applied to by the relatives of a sick person, proceeds to it, taking his drum, rattles, and other instruments of his art. He is met by other members of the meda who have been invited to be present and participate in the rites. After they have gone through some of the preliminary ceremonies and chanted some of the songs, the patient is introduced. If too weak to walk, he is carried in on a bed or pallet, and laid down in the designated position. The exactness and order which attend every movement constitute one of its peculiarities. No one may enter who has not been invited, but spectators are permitted to look on from without. Having entered the arcanum, and all being seated, a mysterious silence is observed for some time. Importance is attached to the course of the winds, the state of the clouds, and other phenomena of the heavens; for it is to be observed that these ceremonies are conducted on open elevated places, and the lodge is built without a roof, so that the minutest changes can be observed. It is a fact worthy of notice that attempts of the medas to heal the sick are only made when the patients have been given over by, or have failed to obtain relief from, the *muske-ke-win-in-ee*, or physician. If success crown the effort, the by-standers are ready to attribute it to superhuman power, and if it fail there is the less ground to marvel at it, and the friends are at least satisfied that they have done all in their power; and in this way private affection is soothed and public opinion satisfied. Such are the feelings that operate in an Indian village.

All these rites and ceremonies, with the messages and responses, are executed with great address and cunning. The Indians, who are amused by them, nevertheless believe the marvellous things achieved, and it would be hazardous to attempt to disabuse them. During this ordeal of trial and trick the gifts pass at each moment into the hands of the singers and musicians, by whom they are transferred to the grand jossakeed, who receives others also from under the lodge. After the ceremony the result is that the jossakeed and the singers order a feast, which has no particular form, at the expense of the dupes of the day.

It is carefully to be noted that the power possessed by the prophet or jossakeed

is personal. There is no succession of the office. It is a position arrived at from the opinion of the tribe that he excels in the knowledge of and power of influencing the spirit-world. He can call spirits from the "vasty deep." There is no limit to his knowledge of the mysterious and the supernatural. He even affects to call life back to the dead, and by a series of subtle tricks and concealments persuades his people that miracles are within his power. While he thus exercises the functions of a prophet, he is also a member of the highest class of the fraternity of the medáwin, a society of men who exercise the medical art on the principles of magic and incantations.

To acquire the frame of mind and state of purity deemed necessary to the exercise of both classes of functions, fasts and the frequent use of the secret hot vapor-bath are resorted to. In all ceremonies, prophetic or medico-magical, great reliance is placed on the vapor-bath. This bath consists of a tight lodge, which is filled with vapor by throwing water on heated stones. It is entered with sacred feelings, and is deemed a powerful means of purification. Secret arts are here often disclosed between medas of high power, which could not be imparted in other places or positions, believed to be less subject to the influence of sanctifying power. They are called *Madodiswon*; their office is a consecrated practice, made use of to ask something which is wished not to be made public, some private request. Vapor-baths are not a matter of luxury or sensuality among the Indians of North America; their use belongs to the medicine rite. They are prohibited to the vulgar, and are used in consecrated cases only, and according to prescribed forms which must not be departed from.

The whole tendency of the secret institutions of the Indian is to acquire power through belief in a multiplicity of spirits; to pry into futurity by this means, that he may provide against untoward events; to propitiate the class of benign spirits, that he may have success in war, in hunting, and in the medical art; or, by acceptable sacrifices, incantations, and songs to the class of malignant spirits, to secure free scope for his social intercourse and passions. It is to the latter objects that the association of the Wabeno is directed.

#### THE WABENO.

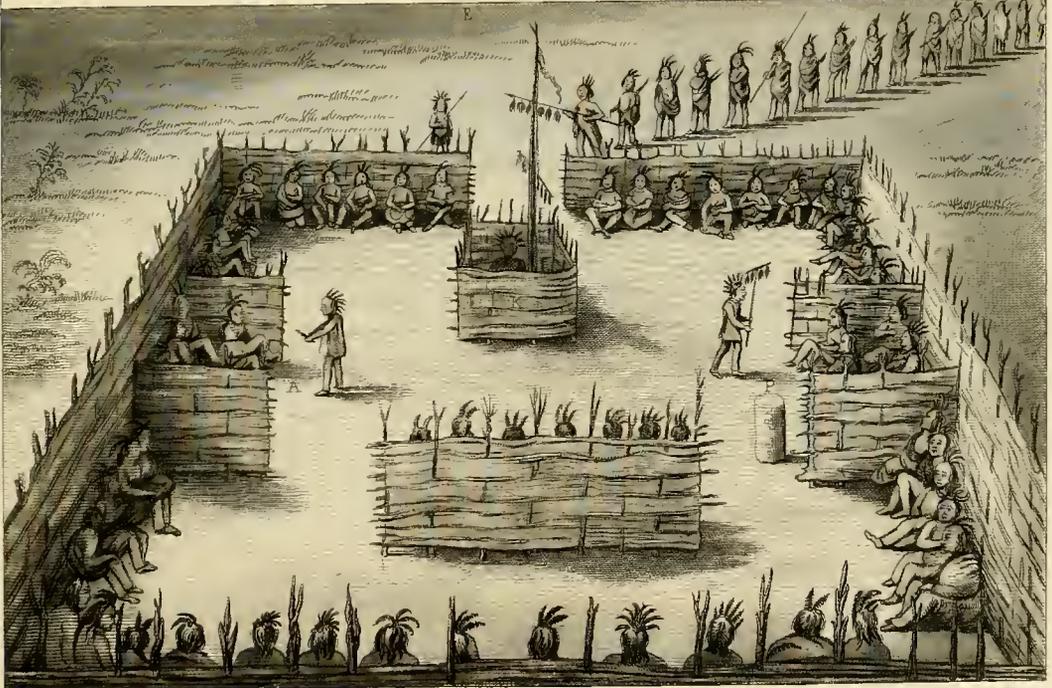
The institution of the Wabeno among our Indians is said to be a modification of the ceremonies of the Meda. It is stated by judicious persons among themselves to be of modern origin. They regard it as a degraded form of the mysteries of the Meda, which, according to Pottawatomie tradition, were introduced by the Manitoes to revive Manabozho out of his gloom on account of the death of Chibiabos. It permits the introduction of a class of subjects which are studiously excluded from the Meda. It is in the orgies of this society alone that the topic of love is introduced. Songs of love mingle in its mysteries, and are made subjects of mnemonic record. The mysteries of this institution are always conducted at night. Many of the deceptions practised in the exhibition of its arts derive their effect from the presence of darkness. Tricks by fire are of this character. The sounds of its orgies are often heard at very late hours, and if the sound of the Indian drum be heard after mid-



PROPHET'S LODGE.

FIG 2

Plate 33



Drawn by C. T. Tibbels. U. S. A.

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MELAWISGS





Drawn by Capt. S. Eastman U.S.A.

WABENO SONGS.



night, it may generally be inferred with certainty to proceed from the circle of the wabenoës. The term *wabeno* itself is a derivative from *wabun*, the morning light. Its orgies are protracted till morning dawn. Men-of-the-Dawn is a free translation of the term in its plural form.

The following synopsis, referring by figures to the hieroglyphic devices, exhibits the words of the chants and incantations in their simplest forms, together with the key-sign or ideographic terms of pictorial notation.

## SYNOPSIS OF WABENO SONGS.

<i>Chant, or Incantation.</i>	<i>Key-Symbol, or Ideographic term of Notation.</i>
1. My lodge crawls by the wabeno power.	A lodge for nocturnal dances.
2. Under the ground I have taken him.	A man holding a live snake.
3. I too am a wabeno.	The figure of a man sitting, crowned with feathers.
4. I make the wabeno dance.	A man standing on half the celestial hemisphere.
5. The sky—the sky I sail upon.	A magic bone, decorated with feathers.
6. I am a wabeno spirit—this is my work.	A horned serpent.
7. I work with two bodies.	A hunter with a bow and arrow.
8. The owl! the owl! the black owl!	An owl.
9. Let me hunt for it.	A wolf standing on the sky.
10. The burning flames.	Flames.
11. My little child, I show you pity.	A human figure with one wing.
12. I turn round in standing.	A tree.
13. The wabeno's power.	A female figure.
14. Wabeno, let us stand.	An artificial figure representing a spirit.
15. I have made it with my back.	A demoniacal spirit.
16. I have made him struggle for life.	A magic bone with wings.
17. I dance till daylight.	A tree with human legs.
18. Dance around.	A magic bone.
19. And I too, my son.	A drum-stick.
20. He that is a wabeno I fear.	A man with one horn, holding a drum-stick.
21. Your body I make go.	A headless man standing on the sky, depicted with a charmed heart.
22. I paint my tree to the sky.	A tree reaching the supposed arc of the sky.

<i>Chant, or Incantation.</i>	<i>Key-Symbol, or Ideographic term of Notation.</i>
23. I wish a son.	A man, depicted with the emblems of power.
24. My wabeno sky.	A swallow-tailed hawk.
25. My body is a great wabeno.	A man, depicted with one arm and one horn reversed.
26. My son's bone—the crawling bone.	A nondescript bird.
27. They will fly up, my friends.	A human body, with the head and wings of a bird.
28. The turkey I make use of.	A turkey.
29. The wolf's skin I have.	A wolf.
30. There is no spirit—no wabeno spirit.	A flying lizard.
31. Great wabeno. I make the wabeno.	A man with wings and horns.
32. What spirit, brother, do you see?	A pipe.
33. } At night I come to harm you.	Symbol of the moon.
34. }	
35. I am sitting in the east.	Symbol of the sun.
36. With my meda, brother, I shall knock you down.	A monster snake, or dragon.
37. Run, wolf! your body's mine.	A wolf, depicted with a charmed heart.
38.	A magic bone.

It is manifest from this examination that there is no clue given to the words of these chants except that resulting from the power of association of ideas, and that the words must have been committed to memory before this pictorial record could be read or sung. As an aid to the memory of the meda, or the wabeno, seated in a large assemblage, and surrounded with objects suited to withdraw his attention from the chants and weaken his verbal memory, such inscriptions must be of great use. To others besides the medas, jossakeeds, and wabenoes they must present only such general ideographic information as is denoted by the simple symbols or representative signs.

It is not easy to draw the line between the principles of the meda and those of the wabeno. The general objects of the signs and chants are the same. The sun is employed here, as there, as the symbol of the Great Spirit. The ideas that are entertained of this spirit are to be drawn from the belief of the wabeno that he will exert his power through necromancy in the vegetable kingdom and among the classes of animals and birds, that he will endow inanimate objects with equal power, and, finally, that he will not favor the designs of men when they are not directed to right and virtuous objects. This is clearly the province assigned by Indian belief to the antagonistic power of evil.

## CHAPTER VI.

### MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

Influence of Climate—Flora and Fauna—Domestic Animals—Similarity of Customs among Widely-Separated Tribes—Imitations and Changes—Observations of Travellers—Vicissitudes of Indian Life—The Indian on his Hunting-Grounds—Indian Family—Domestic Life—Women—Children—Courtship and Marriage—Polygamy—Totems—Forest Teachings—Fishing—Hunting—War—Striking the Post—Feasts and Fasts—Medicine Feast—Sports and Pastimes—Discoidal Stones—Ball-Playing—Games of Chance—Dances—Sugar-Making—Costume—Accoutrements—Characteristic Traits—Imperturbability—Taciturnity—Regard for Insanity—Revenge—Superstition—Manito's Spirit Craft—Omens, Dreams, etc.—Secret Societies—Menstrual Lodge—Human Sacrifices—Burial-Customs—Mourning—Ossuaries—Iroquois Customs—Creek—Dakota—Ojibway.

### INFLUENCE OF CLIMATE.

GEOGRAPHICAL phenomena, the means of subsistence, and the natural history of countries exert an important influence on customs. Tribes living under the equator or within the tropics need little or no dress. Where the banana, the yam, and other tropical fruits furnished the spontaneous means of subsistence, only a small amount of labor was required. The ancient Caribs, who resided in a country possessing a delicious climate and on a soil which produced all that was required to support existence, went almost entirely naked, and loitered away life in idleness, while the Athabascas, of the Arctic latitudes, were compelled to wrap their feet in furs, and to rely on the forests for their entire supplies of animal and vegetable food. There were no generic differences between these tribes, either mentally or physically. A Carib transferred to the northern confines of British America would envelop his body in warm clothing, and an Athabaskan who emigrated to St. Domingo would throw away his elk-skin coat, coarse woollens, and moccasins, and soon fall into the effeminate manners of the subjects of Queen Anacoana.

It is remarkable that the open sea-coasts of America were adverse to civilization. On the contrary, remote interior positions surrounded by mountains, as the valley of Anahuac, or the basin of Titicaca, favored the germs of Indian civilization. This was not successfully developed, it is true, without bloody wars, and the effects of extravagant and dreadful superstitions, leading to dynasties in which the liberty of the individual was lost. It was, however, less these acts of power than the stationary habits of the people—those habits that permitted labor to be applied in local districts—that mainly fostered, it is conceived, the true germs of civilization. The tendency to a central power was also developed among the Iroquois at a point remote from the seaboard, and they were surrounded by hostile tribes, against whom they maintained

the most bloody wars. But they were situated on elevated and advantageous table-lands, which poured their surplus waters down large and prominent rivers to the distant sea. They had likewise the element of the zea maize, all of which, however, might have proved insufficient for their rise had they not fallen on the policy of tribal confederation.

If the United States tribes be compared with one another, there will be found numerous coincidences of a striking character. Take a Muscogee from the plains of the Red River or the Arkansas, an Algonkin from the banks of Lake Superior, and a Dakota or an Iowa from the plains of the Missouri or the Mississippi, and it will require an interpreter to make them understand one other; but notice their leading features and expressions, ascertain their thoughts and modes of action in war and in peace, their customs of hunting, war-dances, and ceremonials, endeavor to get at the texture and philosophy of their minds, and the coincidences will be found so striking that they must impress every beholder with the existence of a character *sui generis*, which nobody can mistake.

“Not Hindoo, Afghan, Cushite, or Parsee:  
The Indian his own prototype must be.”

#### FLORA AND FAUNA.

The flora of the United States has greatly affected the Indian customs. When the exploratory ships of Sir Francis Drake first visited the coasts of Virginia, they there procured the potato, which was thence introduced into Ireland and England. The Powhatan tribes, in whose territories this valuable tuber grew, had never thought of cultivating it. The females sought it in the forests, as the Assiniboines seek the tepia at the present day on the plains of the Red River. When in after-years the same root was reintroduced into this country from Europe, the tribes began to cultivate it very extensively, and the potato is so easy of cultivation and so productive that its use has been disseminated by them throughout a wide latitude.

The customs of the Indians are, to a great extent, founded on the fauna inhabiting their country, and many of their rites and superstitions take their complexion from the objects of the chase. The bison has ever been deemed by them one of the prime objects of the hunter's prowess and skill. But it is a wild and untamable species, which they consider as one of the peculiar tokens of a kind Providence to them in their nomadic state, and which they regard only as an object of the chase. In an interview of Governor Stevens with one of the prairie tribes of the buffalo plains of the North, he informed them of the scheme of a contemplated railroad to the Pacific which would intersect their hunting-grounds. An evident alarm was produced. Adhering to the idea that the herds of buffalo were an inestimable boon to them, the venerable chief said, “The Great Father of Life, who made us and gave us these lands to live upon, made also the buffalo and other game to afford us the means of life: his meat is our food; with his skin we clothe ourselves and build our houses;



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he is our only means of life,—food, fuel,<sup>1</sup> and raiment. I fear we shall soon be deprived of the buffalo; then starvation and cold will diminish our numbers, and we shall all be swept away. The buffalo is fast disappearing. As the white man advances, our game and our means of life grow less, and before many years they will all be gone.” He resumed: “I hear of a great road to be built through our lands. We do not know what the object of this is; we cannot understand it, but we think it will drive away the buffalo.” The advance of civilization was evidently regarded by these tribes not as a blessing which was to furnish them new means of subsistence, but as a curse which was to sweep them from the earth. This is emphatically the opinion among the hunter tribes. They will not even consent to raise domestic cattle, far less wild. They abhor milk as the cup of an enchanter.

## DOMESTIC ANIMALS.

The Spaniards introduced the horse into Mexico in 1519. In 1538 both the horse and the hog were introduced into Florida. A drove of hogs had been driven through Florida by De Soto to sustain his army under possible exigencies. Coronado adopted the same precaution in 1541, by driving flocks of sheep into New Mexico under the protection of his army. Many of these were taken by the celebrated seven tribes of Cibola, against whom he waged war with the view of compelling them to reveal the location of treasures of gold. Thus the Navajoes and Moquis obtained the breed of sheep which have so multiplied in their hands, whence have originated the false and extravagant theories regarding their condition and origin.

The horse multiplied so rapidly on the plains and savannas of Mexico that all the tribes of Indians east, west, and north of that country soon supplied themselves with this efficient auxiliary to man in his journeys and labor. The predatory tribes west of the Missouri carried this animal with them to the north, and introduced it among the Dakotas and the Assiniboines, whence it found its way into Oregon through the passes of the Rocky Mountains. A singular and marked result attended the possession of the horse by the outgoing tribes of the Shoshone stock, which is indigenous to the broad range of the Rocky Mountains, a barren region abounding in rugged peaks and defiles, possessing a very limited flora and fauna, and but few natural resources. These Indians are compelled to live on roots and larvæ. Driven by the Pawnees and Crows from the open country at the foot of the mountains, they at times venture down from their gorges to seek the buffalo; but they have always evinced a pusillanimous character, and have been generally pronounced to be the lowest and most degraded of all the tribes. Yet the tribes of this inferior stock who successfully emigrated to the plains of Texas, where they are known by the Spanish name of Comanches, have been improved both in spirit and character by the possession of the horse, and have acquired so much skill in his management that they are regarded as the Arabs of the plains. Those portions of the

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<sup>1</sup> With the dried excrement of this animal, picked up on the bleak plains, the Indian builds his fire.

Shoshone stock who descended the Lewis or Snake River into Oregon, have also progressed in the social scale by the use of the horse, whilst the tribes inhabiting the interior of California still retain their grovelling habits, are footmen, and dwell in caves and in excavations in the earth.

Nothing produces a more immediate effect upon the customs of the Indians than the introduction of domestic animals. All the stock-raising habits of the North American tribes, as developed in their attention to the rearing of the horse, cow, hog, and sheep, date back only to the period of the discovery and conquest of the country. Among the tribes of the Great Lake basins, extending thence to the sources of the Mississippi and to the forest regions east of that river, the canoe has supplied the place of the horse. The same remark applies to the country north of latitude 40°. In all this part of America hay must be cut for the horse, and he must be housed during the winter. The tribes living on the Atlantic coasts at the era of the establishment of the colonies navigated the rivers in canoes formed from solid trees hollowed out by the alternate use of fire and stone picks. In the latitudes in which flourished the paper birch, sheets of the outer rind of that tree spread over a framework of cedar furnished the common facilities for conveyance and transportation. Yet, when the Shawnees and various other tribes of the Algonkin stock removed from the north to the interior latitudes of Kansas, they abandoned the art of fabricating the bark canoe, and relied solely on horses.

#### SIMILARITY OF CUSTOMS OF WIDELY-SEPARATED TRIBES.

To the evidences of the mental capacity of the Indians, their power of computing numbers, their skill in arts, ancient and modern, their oral attempts in fiction and fancy, and their power of pictographic notation,—to these topics, which are essential to any philosophical view of the man, it will be sufficient here merely to allude. In whatever respect they differ, or however one tribe or class of tribes may excel another, there is a remarkable agreement in their general manners and customs and opinions, and in their physical and mental traits and character. Indians from the Rio Grande del Norte, and from the plains of Texas, Kansas, Nebraska, and Minnesota, present striking points of agreement. Their *physique* and their *morale* are one. Peculiarities of manners and customs, where they exist in the most striking forms, are found to be due in great measure to the diversities of latitude and longitude, the changes of climate, geographical position, and the natural products and distinctive zoology of the country. Their modes of war and worship, hunting, and amusements, were very similar. In the sacrifice of prisoners taken in war, in the laws of retaliation, in the sacred character attached to public transactions solemnized by smoking the pipe, in the adoption of persons taken in war into families, in the exhibition of dances on almost every occasion that can enlist human sympathy, in the meagre and inartificial style of music, in the totemic tie that binds relationships together, and in the system of symbols and figures cut and marked on their grave-posts, on trees, and sometimes on rocks, there is a perfect identity of principles, arts,

and opinions. The mere act of wandering and their petty warfare kept them in a savage state, though they had the element of civilization with them in the zea maize. And when the inquiry is extended to external customs and to physical traits, such as the color of the skin, eyes, and hair, and the general stature and features, the resemblance is found to be of a character which may be called continental, so that whoever has seen one tribe may be said to have seen all.

## IMITATIONS AND CHANGES OF CUSTOMS.

The tribes have been much given to imitation of one another's customs. Some of the Iroquois dances have been deemed very characteristic of that family, but it is found that one of the most noted of their war-dances has been derived from the Dakotas. The Algonkins of the Lakes, who are forest tribes, invariably bury their dead, while the Dakotas, of the plains of the Mississippi, place the remains of their deceased friends and relatives on scaffolds. It has been observed that for many years past the Chippewas of Lake Superior and the Upper Mississippi, and also the Sacs and Foxes, who anciently practised the same mode of sepulture, have adopted the Dakota custom of placing their dead on scaffolds. The dead are placed in canoes by the Chinooks of the Pacific coast.

While their mental habits are remarkably permanent, many changes in the external customs of the Indian tribes are constantly occurring, in accordance with their varying positions and circumstances. Nor can it be inferred from the constitution of hunter society that changes which are adopted on the Mississippi, on the Great Lakes, and on the Western prairies, may not be found to have previously existed, under the same circumstances, among affiliated nations residing on the banks of the Yenisei, the Lena, and the Obi, where the Mongol and Tartar races predominate. These changes, it should be borne in mind, have been remarkably rapid and numerous since the materials for this chapter were collected, the last three decades having extended our civilization over the hitherto-undisturbed domain of the Indian and necessitated a total reconstruction of his social and political life. The inevitable result will be the abandonment of all his former habits and a complete conformity to those of the white race.

## OBSERVATIONS OF TRAVELLERS.

Prior to the American Revolution the Indian country had been visited at long intervals by travellers, who aimed to give more or less information of the aborigines. The theatre of such observations had been chiefly the Atlantic coasts. The interior had been furtively visited, and to a very limited extent. The Alleghanies had not been crossed, except by Indian traders for the purposes of commerce. The Great Lake chain was chiefly known to readers from the pages of the old missionary French authors. The Mississippi had actually been less explored than the Nile and the Ganges. The Indian was regarded as a mere wild man of the woods, roving with

nearly the same principles of action as the bears and panthers he chased, and whatever was wild and fierce in manners and customs, rites and opinions, it was thought might be attributed to him. There was, in truth, a singular succession of prejudiced, theoretical, or grasping discoverers and travellers at early periods. It was not the age of exactitude in observation. The French writers were prone to exalt the character and intellect of the Indian; the English writers were as prone to depress it; the one class was ever ready to excuse ferocity, treachery, and ingratitude, the other to behold the man as destitute of every element of mental exaltation; one elevated him to the level of a sage and a philosopher, the other depressed him to that of a brute. Charlevoix, one of the most learned, benevolent, and candid of observers, remarks that, "with a mien and appearance altogether savage, and with manners and customs which favor the greatest barbarity, the Indians enjoy all the advantages of society. At first view, one would imagine them without form of government, law, or subordination, and subject to the wildest caprice; nevertheless, they rarely deviate from certain maxims or usages, founded on good sense alone, which hold the place of law and supply in some sort the want of authority. Reason alone is capable of retaining them in a kind of subordination, not the less effectual towards the end proposed for being entirely voluntary. They manifest much stability in the engagements they have solemnly entered upon, particularly in affliction, as well as in their submission to what they apprehend to be the appointment of Providence; in all of which they exhibit a nobleness of soul and constancy of mind at which we rarely arrive, with all our philosophy and religion."

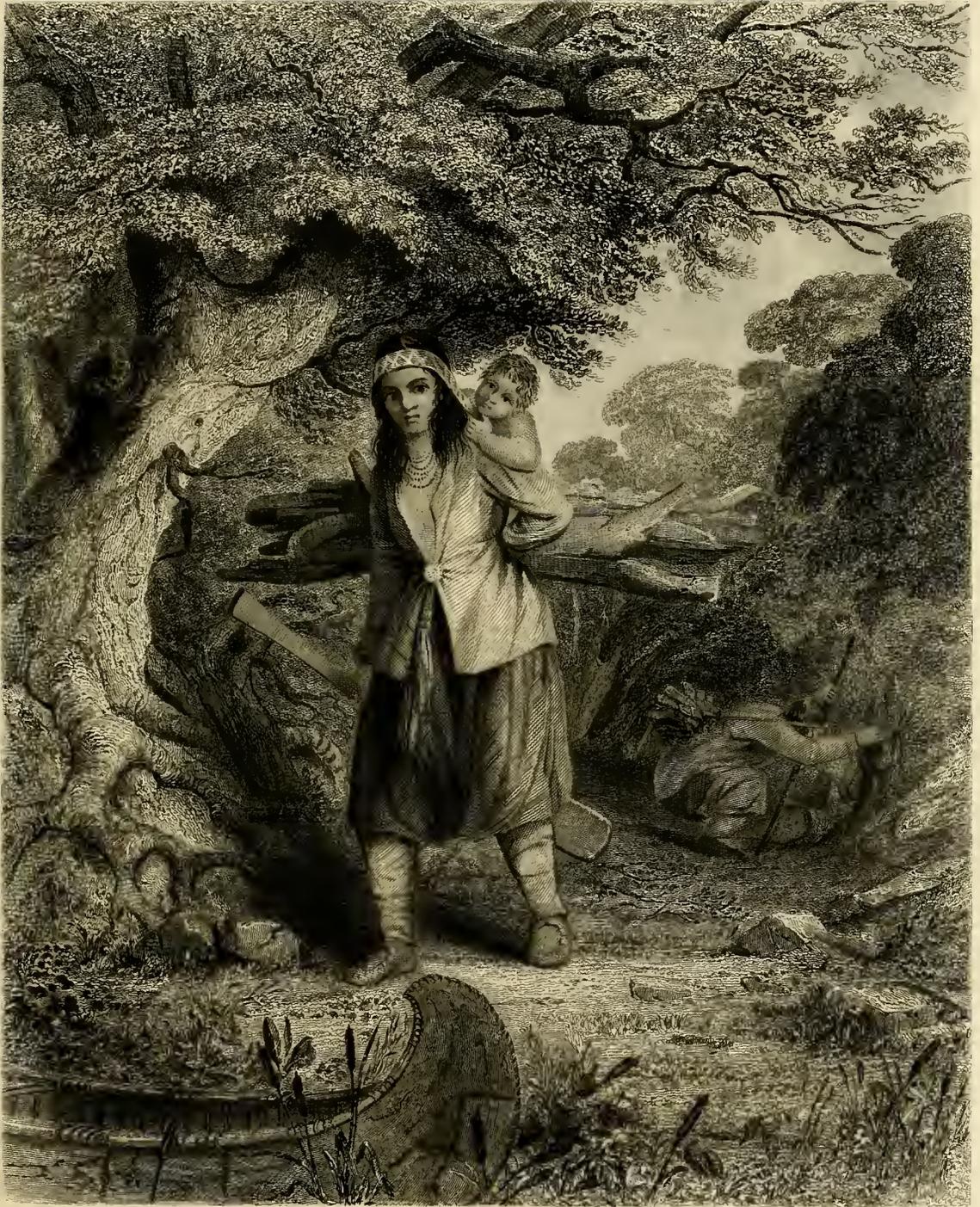
After the close of the American Revolution the attention of Europe was more particularly directed to the aborigines.<sup>1</sup> But the character of the men into whose hands the task fell was such as to elicit little new information respecting them, while these visits exposed the Republic and its treatment of the tribes to a considerable amount of obloquy.

#### VICISSITUDES OF INDIAN LIFE.

The season of revelry and dissipation among the tribes is that which follows the termination of the winter and spring hunts. At this time the hunter's hands are filled, and he quits the remote forests where he has exerted his energies in the chase, to visit the frontiers and exchange his skins and peltries and sugar for goods and merchandise of American or European manufacture. Means are thus enjoyed

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<sup>1</sup> Chastellux, Volney, and Chateaubriand visited this country, and wrote comments on it and its aborigines. William Humboldt placed himself in the front rank of the philologists of Europe, but never visited America; Alexander, his distinguished brother, devoted himself almost exclusively to natural history and climatic and philosophic phenomena, and confined himself to the Southern hemisphere. It does not appear that he made inquiries into the character, languages, or condition of the aborigines of the United States. Mr. Halket published a severe review of the treatment of Indians at the hands of the Americans ("Historical Notes respecting the Indians of North America," London, 1825). Travellers of the John Dunn Hunter or Psalmanazar school continued to pour out their rapid descriptions and ill-digested theories to a late period. Mr. George Catlin, in his Letters, gives a spirited view of hunting-scenes.



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Indian Woman procuring fuel.



which he cannot as well command at any other season. But, above all, this is the portion of the year when the hunting of animals must be discontinued. It is the season of reproduction. Skins and furs are now out of season, and if bought would command no price. Nature herself provides for this repose: the pelt is bad and parts from the skin. By the first of June, throughout all the latitudes north of 42°, the forests are deserted, and the various bands of hunters are found to be assembled round the frontier forts and towns, or dispersed along the shores of the lakes and rivers in their vicinity. It is the natural carnival of the tribes. The young amuse themselves in sports, ball-playing, and dances. The old take counsel on their affairs. The *medas*, the *wabenoës*, and the *jossakeeds* exert their skill. It is the season for feasts; all hearts are disposed to rejoice. As long as means last, the round of visits and feasting is kept up. By a people who are habitually prone to forget the past and are unmindful of the future, the cares and hardships of the hunter's life are no longer thought of. The warmth and mildness of the season form a powerful incentive to these periodical indulgences; dissipation is added to sloth, and riot to indulgence. So completely absorbing are these objects, so fully do they harmonize with the feelings, wishes, theology, and philosophy of the Indian mind, that the hours of summer may be said to slip away unperceived, and the Indian is awakened from his imaginary trance at the opening of autumn by the stern calls of want and hunger. He now sees that he must again rouse himself for the chase, or starve. He must prepare once more to plunge into the recesses of the forest, or submit to the penury and degradation which his continuance within the settlements will entail. The tempests of autumn, which begin to whistle around his summer wigwam, are no surer tokens of the ice and snows which will block up his path than is the failure of all his means a sign that it is only by renewed exertion, and a manly resort to his gun and trap, his arrow and spear, that he can replace them. Such is the round of vicissitudes of the Indian's life. He labors during the fall and winter that he may enjoy the spring and summer. He accumulates nothing but his experience, and this tells him that life is a round of severe trials, and that he is soonest happy who is first relieved of it. He has no religion to inform him of the realities of a state of futurity, and the consequence is that he is early wearied of this round of severe vicissitudes, and is absolutely glad when the hour of death arrives.

The failure of wild animals has in some instances led the Indians to resort to the planting of corn as a safeguard against want, but the greatest obstacle to the success of agricultural life among them has hitherto been a haughty spirit of pride and the unqualified laziness of the men and boys, who will not work. The men hunt a little in summer, go to war, kill an enemy, dance, lounge, sleep, and smoke. The women do everything,—nurse, chop wood and carry it on their backs from a half to a whole mile, hoe the ground for planting, plant, hoe the corn, gather wild fruit, carry the lodge, and in winter cut and carry the poles to pitch it with, clear off the snow, etc.; and the men often sit and look on.

## THE INDIAN ON HIS HUNTING-GROUNDS.

The social state of the Indians, however, when viewed by the eye of unprejudiced candor and benevolence, is far from being as revolting as it has sometimes been represented. In situations where they have good means of hunting, trapping, and fishing, and where the pressure of the expanding settlements and frontier views of an antagonistic race do not strongly and immediately press on them, their simple institutions of the forests insure them means of social enjoyment on which, in their condition of hunters, they set a high value.

When the season of hunting returns, and they have reached their wintering-grounds and placed a wide margin between the frontier towns and themselves, the tense, cautious reserve and suspicion of harm which marked them while in the settlements trafficking off their furs, and gliding with easy steps through the mazes of civilized society, are relaxed. The savage softens into something like assurance to find himself again surrounded exclusively by his own people, and he sinks back to the natural state of the Indian sociability, and it is seldom that the most prudent and reflecting elders do so without recounting the scaths and losses that they have encountered on the frontiers. The conflicts of the savage and civilized state are, indeed, in a moral sense, terrible. The Indian has parted with the avails of his last year's hunts, and received his exchanges on such terms as he had not the means of prescribing, and generally feels under obligations to those who have transacted his commercial matters, and who are his most sympathizing white friends; but he feels, under the best state of things, as if he had been plundered. If his family and himself have completely escaped the perils of debauchery and other frontier vices, he is happy; it is more than he can generally expect; and his best resolve for the future seems to be that another season he will stay a shorter time about the towns, and try to come back with less cause of reproach to himself. The circle of wild foresters to whom he has again returned look up to him with the utmost respect and trust. They hang upon his words as the maxims of wisdom. He counsels and feasts them, and is regarded as their oracle and guide.

In this periodical reunion of aboriginal society the most perfect sincerity and cheerfulness prevail, and their intercourse is marked with the broadest principles of charity and neighborly feeling. The constraint and ever-watchful suspicion which they evince at the post on the lines, or in other situations exposed to the scrutiny and cupidity of white men, are thrown aside, and give way to ease, sociability, and pleasantry. They feel a security unknown to them in any other situation. The strife seems to be who shall excel in offices of friendship or charity, or in spreading the festive board.

If one is more fortunate than the other in taking fish with net or spear, or in killing a deer or any other animal, the spoil is set aside for a feast, to which all the adults without distinction are invited. When the time arrives, each one, according to ancient custom, takes his dish and spoon, and proceeds to the entertainer's lodge.

The victuals are served up with scrupulous attention that each receives a portion of the best parts according to his standing and rank in the village. While at the meal, which is prolonged by cheerful conversation, anecdotes, and little narratives of personal adventure, the females are generally among the listeners, and no female except the aged ever obtrudes a remark. The young women and girls show that they partake in the festivity by smiles, and are careful to evince their attention to the elder part of the company. Conversation is chiefly engrossed by the old men, chiefs, and middle-aged men. Young men who are desirous of acquiring a standing seldom offer a remark; and when they do, it is with modesty.

The topics discussed at these public meals relate generally to the chase, to the news they have heard, to personal occurrences about the camp or village, or to deeds, real or fabulous, of "auld lang syne." But these matters are discussed in a lively style. Business, if we may be allowed that term for what concerns their trade and intercourse with white men, is never introduced except in formal councils specially convened and opened by smoking the pipe. It seems to be the drift and object of conversation in these *sober* festivities (for it must be recollected that we are speaking of the Indians on their wintering-grounds, and beyond the reach, certainly beyond the free or ordinary use, of whiskey) to extract from their hunts and adventures whatever will admit of a pleasing turn or joke, or excite a laugh. Ridiculous misadventures or comical situations are sure to be applauded in the recital. Whatever is anti-social or untoward is passed over, or, if referred to by one of the company, is parried by some allusion to the scenes before them. Religion, like business, is reserved for its proper occasion. It does not, as with us, form a free topic of remark, at least among those who are connected with their medicine societies, or who entertain a proper veneration for what the Indians call "the Master of life." When the feast is over, the women retire to their lodges and leave the men to smoke.

#### CONSTITUTION OF THE INDIAN FAMILY.

One of the most striking, universal, and permanent customs which distinguish the American tribes, and the one which most of all commends them to our humanities, is that which exists in connection with the family tie. It is this trait, indeed, that deprives barbarism of half its repulsiveness, and gives to this erratic and benighted branch of the species their strongest claims to our sympathies and benevolence.

Ages of wandering and privation incident to savage life have done little to shake the laws of consanguinity. The marital rite is nothing more among our tribes than the personal consent of the parties, without any concurrent act of a priesthood, a magistracy, or witnesses; the tie is assumed by the parties without the necessity of any extraneous sanction except that of parental consent; presents are, however, often made, if the parties be able. It is also disannulled, and the wife dismissed from the wigwam, whenever the husband pleases, or the marital state is continued under the evils of discord or in a state of polygamy; the latter is, however, the usual method among the hunter and prairie tribes. But the ties of consanguinity are

still strictly acknowledged; children become possessed of all their natural rights, and family tradition traces these ties to their remotest links. No savage tribes on the face of the earth, so far as geographical discovery extends, are more tenacious of their relationships. No earthly calamity causes such deep grief to them as the loss of a promising son at his entrance into life. Instances have been known where the father has redeemed his son from the stake by giving himself up to be burnt in his stead.

A notable instance of this kind occurred in the history of the war in the seventeenth century between the Chippewas and the Foxes, after the latter had allied themselves in the West to the Sioux. In this war the Foxes captured the son of a celebrated and aged chief of the Chippewas, named *Bi-ans-wah*, while the father was absent from his wigwam. On reaching his home the old man heard the heart-rending news, and, knowing what the fate of his son would be, he followed on the trail of the enemy alone, and reached the Fox village while they were in the act of kindling the fire to roast him alive. He stepped boldly into the arena and offered to take his son's place. "My son," said he, "has seen but a few winters; his feet have never trod the war-path; but the hairs of my head are white; I have hung many scalps over the graves of my relatives which I have taken from the heads of your warriors; kindle the fire about me, and send my son home to my lodge." The offer was accepted, and the old man, without deigning to utter a groan, was burnt at the stake. Such are the severities of savage warfare, amidst which the family tie is maintained with a heroism which has no parallel in civilized life.

But whatever were the plans of separation which the original families and clans adopted to preserve the lineage, they are all found to have distinct and appropriate names for the different degrees of relationship. In one respect these names have a peculiarity: they denote by their orthography whether the person be an elder or younger brother or sister, an aunt by the father's or the mother's side, or some other like distinctions, which appear to have their origin in the very transitive nature of the language.

#### DOMESTIC LIFE.

It has often been a question how order is obtained in so confined a space as an Indian wigwam, where so many persons seem to the looker-on to be huddled together in confusion. The wife of the hunter has the entire control of the wigwam and all its temporalities. To each person who is a member of the lodge-family is assigned a fixed seat, or habitual abiding-place, which is called *abbinos*. To the master and mistress of the lodge belongs the chief location. To each of the adult and grown children is also assigned his or her particular *abbinos*. The very infant soon learns to know its place, and hastens to the mother's *abbinos*. Indeed, the term for a child—*abbinojee*—appears to be derived from this radix; the termination *ojee*, which is affixed to it, is a diminutive word of endearment,—as we observe in their term for a fly, *wa-wa'begun-ojee*, etc.

If the son is married and brings his bride home (one of the commonest modes of assembling the lodge-circle), the mother assigns the bride her *abbinos*. This is

prepared by spreading one of the finest skins for her seat, and no other person except her husband ever sits there. A visitor who is a neighbor is welcomed to the highest seat temporarily. Inmates of the lodge have their bed, mokuk, wallet, etc., placed behind their own abbinos, and generally war-clubs and arms, if the individual be a warrior, are placed within reach. In this manner the personal rights of each inmate are guarded. The female is punctilious as to her own, so that perfect order is maintained; and it would be as much a violation of their etiquette for an inmate to take possession of another's abbinos at night as it would be, in civilized life, to intrude into a private bed-chamber. By these known rules of the wigwam an Indian's notions of propriety are satisfied, while to the European stranger who casually lifts up the lodge door (a bit of cloth or skin) and peeps in, its interior appears to be appropriated with as indiscriminate a "communism" as if it were occupied by so many pigs, sheep, or bears.

The division of labor between the man and wife in Indian life is not so unequal while they live in the pure hunter state as many suppose. The large proportion of the hunter's time spent in seeking game leaves the wife in the wigwam with a great deal of time on her hands. There is no spinning, weaving, or preparing children for school, no butter- or cheese-making, nor any of a thousand other cares which are inseparable from the agricultural state, to occupy her skill and industry. Even the art of the seamstress is practised by the Indian woman on a few things only. She devotes much of her time to making moccasins and quill-work. Her husband's leggings are carefully ornamented with beads. His shot-pouch and knife-sheath are worked with quills. The hunting-cap is garnished with ribbons. His garters of cloth are adorned with a profusion of small white beads, and colored worsted tassels are prepared for his leggings.

The present state of the Indian trade renders it more thrifty for the hunter to purchase his coat, shirt, aziaun, and leggings of cloth, and employ his time in hunting the small furred animals to pay for them, and this relieves the female in a great measure from the dressing of skins, which was formerly quite a labor.

The labors of the husband and wife among the Dakotas are not equally divided. Take the year round, it is probably for a month or two in the winter that the men are most busy; it is in the midst of the winter hunts. The women often upbraid one another for their cowardice, and think it right for their husbands to defend their country and family. The men make all the arms and implements of war, and the women are not allowed to touch them or even go near them, particularly during the catamenial periods. Men and women make canoes, paddles, cradles, bowls, and spoons. The women plant and hoe the corn, and gather it. The men sometimes help to husk the corn. The women make mats, pull rushes, gather wild rice, cut the wood, carry the lodge, cut the grass, cook, prepare the skins and furs for market, dress the skins, make moccasins and mend them, mend and make clothing, dig roots, dress meat, pound and make pemmican. In the summer a man does not work more than one hour in the day. Through the summer the women labor about six hours per day. In winter the men will average about six hours a day, and the

women about ten hours per day. In the spring the corn-field is planted by her and the youngsters in a vein of gayety and frolic. It is done in a few hours, and taken care of in the same spirit. It is perfectly voluntary labor, and she would not be scolded for omitting it; for all labor with Indians is voluntary.

The character of the man in domestic life has some redeeming traits. His experience of hardship and suffering appears to have made him forbearing. He is not easily vexed, but is almost habitually passive. He does not scold old or young. The spirit of endurance, self-respect, and a species of forest stoicism have given him a philosophy far above it. When he returns from the chase with a load of meat, and throws it down at the door of the wigwam, not a word is said to the wife; or if but a tongue of the animal killed be brought to testify to his success, he is nearly as taciturn. She comprehends at once her part of the duty in both cases, and, whatever that duty is, he never alludes to it. He is not a fault-finder at his meals, but eats whatever is placed before him.

Roasting and boiling are simple operations with the Indians. There is no condiment to be used,—no salt, no pepper. Soups are their great resource, particularly in seasons of want, or where the food will not admit of division by any other method. A squirrel or a small bird will answer to season or qualify a gallon of soup. In times of great straits a few old bones will serve to flavor the liquor, and the ingenuity of the wife is constantly on the stretch to provide a meal. When there is absolutely nothing, and the severities of the season have for a time cut off every resource, there is a dignified endurance in the Indian's mind that rises above complaint. There is no one to blame, in his belief, unless it be the Great Spirit; and he is far from imputing blame to Him. He has exerted his art, but without success. The next day may bring him relief, and he consoles himself with this hope. The children are sometimes put to sleep by telling them tales to stop their crying for hunger. If there be but a morsel in the wigwam, it is given to them, and the father shows the strength of his affection and the quality of his endurance by rigid abstinence from food and by uncomplaining silence. He indulges himself in the use of the pipe and native weed, or kinnikinnick, which is attended with some sort of stimulus to the nerves that keeps them in a state of equilibrium.

#### WOMAN.

Without woman the savage state would be demoniacal. Intrusted by nature with certain instinctive principles of truth, education and refinement prepare her for the noblest ends, but even in the savage state her benign influence is not lost. The savage, when he returns from war or hunting, is fatigued by over-exertion, and he comes back to his wigwam to find repose. The first objects that greet his eye in the lodge are his wife and children. This is pleasing to his heart; the very sight of babes who are too feeble to walk or talk well soothes his mind, and turns it away from ideas of cruelty and blood. It is not customary to indulge in warm greetings. The pride and stoicism of the hunter and warrior forbid it. The pride of the wife, who



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has been made the creature of rough endurance, also forbids it. But, though her lips are silent, she is busy. She hands her husband his smoking apparatus. She gives him clean and dry moccasins. She puts on her little pot, with its forest viands and his wild rice, and by the time he has fully recollected himself, according to Indian notions, and done justice to his philosophical sense of taciturnity and imperturbability, the bark *onagon* (dish) is set before him, and he is made to feel that there is at least one person whose hand is not against him.

A very striking instance of devotion in a daughter for an aged father occurred in the vicinity of Michilimackinac. Gitchy Naigow (*Anglicé*, Great Sand Dune) was a Chippewa chief, who during a long life maintained a reputation for bravery, vigorous exertion, and policy in Indian life, in the region of the Upper Lakes. He was a warm friend of the French during their supremacy in the Canadas, and an actor in the scenes of peril that preceded and followed the fall of Quebec, in 1759. He had been one of the assailants at the memorable capture of old Fort Michilimackinac, in 1763, and is mentioned by the name of Le Grand Sable as one of the most sanguinary actors on that occasion. He lived many years afterwards, shifting his tent, as the seasons changed, from the open shores of Lakes Huron and Michigan to the thick woods which are the shelter of the natives from the wintry winds. Eighty years and upwards had now whitened the locks of the aged chief, and he felt that his continuance in these scenes must be short, when he accompanied his relatives for the last time, during the month of March, from the borders of the water to those forests which yield the sugar-maple. This is a season of enjoyment with the Indians, and they usually remain at their sugar-camps until the sap assumes too much acidity to be longer capable of being made into syrup, and the trees begin to put forth leaves. In the mean time, the days of the enfeebled patriarch who had pitched his tent in a hundred forests approached their close. It was found that when they had packed up their effects to return to the open lake he was unable to sustain the journey. His daughter, Nodowáqua, the wife of Saganash, determined to carry him on her shoulders, that he might for the last time be permitted to witness those refreshing shores. For this purpose, as soon as the carriers were ready to move, she took her long and stout deer-skin apekun, or head-strap, and, fastening it around his body, bent herself strongly forward under the load, then rose under the pious burden, and took the path for the lake. It is usual to put down the burdens at set places, and to proceed by rests on their way. These she obeyed, and brought her father safely to the open shores of Lake Michigan. The distance was about ten miles. Mr. Schoolcraft obtained these particulars from the woman herself at Michilimackinac in 1833, when she was aged. The feat of Æneas in carrying Anchises, when infirm, on his shoulders through the flames of Troy, has long been celebrated, but is rivalled here by that of an Algonkin woman. Poetry has embalmed the one act, let history do the same for the other.

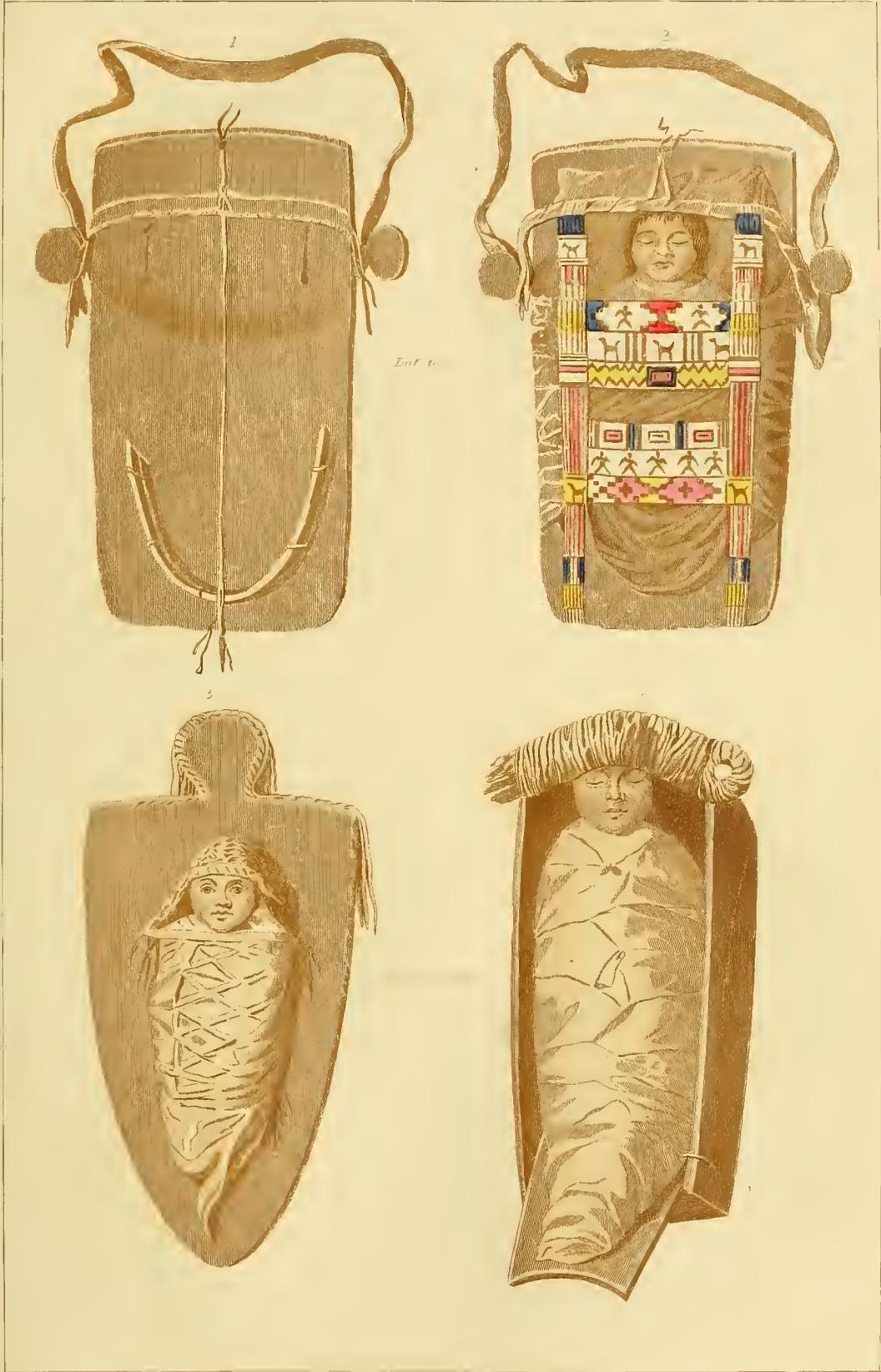
## BIRTH AND ITS INCIDENTS.

Parturition, with the Indian female, is seldom attended with severe or long-continued suffering; it is generally very much to the contrary, and leads to but a slight interruption of her ordinary pursuits. It is the simple result in obstetrics of the continued exercise in the open air of the Indian woman, and her consequent hardihood. A few hours on a journey in the forest is often the whole time required for the confinement, and there appears in most cases to be but little if any premonition. A wife has been known to sally into the adjoining forest in quest of dry limbs for firewood, and to return to the wigwam with her new-born child placed carefully on the back-load. Their exemption from the usual sufferings of child-birth may be said to be the general condition of the hunter state, and one of the few advantages of it which the female enjoys above her civilized sister.

Names are generally bestowed by the *mindemoia*, or *nocomiss*, of the family: that is, by the matron or the aged grandmother, who generally connects the event with some dream. If the child be a male, the name is generally taken from some object or phenomenon in the visible heavens. The returning cloud (*kewanoquot*), the sun in contact with a cloud (*ka-tche-tosh*), the bright cloud (*na-geezhig*), the little thunderer (*an-ne-ma-kens*), a bird in continued flight in the higher air (*ka-ga-osh*), are common names. If it be a female, the imagery is generally drawn from the surface of the earth, the vegetable kingdom, or the waters. The woman of the passing stream, the woman of the green valley, the woman of the rock, are not uncommon names. The flexible character of the language renders these compound terms practicable. There is no rite of any kind analogous to baptism, nor a thought of it; but the name thus given is considered secret; it is, indeed, deemed sacred, for it is not generally revealed, and it is one of the hardest things to induce an Indian to tell his real name. Instead of this, and in order, it would seem, the better to conceal it, men are called by some common nickname, as little fox, wolf, red-head, bad boy, bird, and such like sobriquets, which are generally given by the mothers to infants as terms of endearment.<sup>1</sup> It is these secondary names, which continue to be borne in adult life, that we constantly hear, and the real name is studiously concealed, and frequently not even revealed by the *ajedatig*, or grave-post; for upon this the totem of the family is deemed to be sufficient. The true cause of the concealment of names must be ascribed to their religious and superstitious dogmas. Among the Iroquois, after the birth of the child a name was selected by its mother from those not in use belonging to the tribe, with the concurrence of the chief and near relations. It was then bestowed upon the infant, and its name, with that of the father and mother,

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<sup>1</sup> The perfect identity of opinion entertained on this subject by the Indians of the present day with that held by the Virginia Indians in 1584 is shown in the double name of Pocahontas. "Her true name," says Purchas, "was Matokes, which they concealed from the English in a superstitious fear of hurt by the English if her name was known."—*Pilgrims*, Part V., Book VIII, Chap. V.





was announced at the next ensuing council of the tribe. One class of names was adapted to children, and another to adults, which were exchanged at the age of fifteen or sixteen, in a formal manner. When a chief was elected, his name was "taken away," as they expressed it, and a new one given in its place.

Children are immediately after their birth tied with feminine care on a flat piece of carved wood, called *tikkinagon*, which has a small hoop to protect the head, and a little foot-piece to rest on. Moss is placed between the heels of female infants, which makes them in-toed; in males the adjustment of the moss is designed to produce a perfectly straight position of the foot. The "one-point" blanket of trade wraps it, and a bandage of cloth, if the mother be able to get it, is bound around the whole person, giving it some resemblance to a small mummy. It is the pride of the mother to garnish this cradle-band with ribbons and beads. From the hoop some little jingling ornament is generally suspended, to attract the child's notice. An apekun, or carrying-strap, is securely fastened near the head of the infant, by which the mother can swing it to her back and carry it without injury throughout the forest. Indeed, she can hang it up by the strap on the limb of a tree or in the lodge, and the fixtures are so ingeniously contrived that even if it falls down the child cannot be hurt. In this confinement, during which the child rarely if ever cries, it learns its first lesson in endurance. The management of children is left mostly to women. A male child is not whipped as much as a female. Some women think it wrong to strike a boy at all.

#### COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE.

Among the Dakotas, courtships can be carried on at almost any time, owing to their being huddled together, and constantly meeting one another about the lodges. Some make their visits regularly to the lodge; others do not; and some may not visit the lodge at all, or may never have spoken to the woman, and the first thing she knows she is bought. Both sexes adorn themselves. Red is the color most used. The young men play on the *chotunkah*, or flute. If they make presents, it is of little amount. Finger-rings or ear-rings are about the amount of presents to girls. Consent is asked by sending the price of the girl. If accepted, the girl is sent; if not, the goods are faithfully returned. The goods have been known to be returned because there was no powder-horn.

There are many matches made by elopement, much to the chagrin of the parents. They marry at the age of from ten to twenty. The men have a little more respect for the women and themselves than to live a single life. The young only are addicted to dress. Widowers and widows generally remarry. They have a marriage ceremony, or form of marriage, which is considered lawful and binding. The parents or relations are the only persons consulted. The ceremony is outside the lodge. The mother-in-law has something to say in the choice, and that is about all. The bride is received in the open air, and with some pomp and ceremony. The dress for the bride is as costly as can be obtained.

Polygamy is the cause of much misery and trouble among them. The women,

most of them, abhor the practice, but are overruled by the men. Some of the women commit suicide on this account. Some of the stepmothers are kind; some are very bad; and the children are treated accordingly. Their wives—or dogs, as some of the Indians term them—are well treated as long as they let the men have their own way, and do all the work except hunting. The man has as many wives as he wants, and if one of them remonstrates against this, she will probably be beaten. The men do not often interfere with the work of the women; neither will they help them, if they can avoid it, for fear of being laughed at and called women.

As children increase, the parents appear to be more affectionate; but then this friendship is often broken up by the husband taking a second or even a third wife. At the age of forty, fifty, and even sixty years we see some of the Indians seeking to get a new wife. In the case of plurality of wives, the strongest and most vicious one is mistress of the lodge. The Indian is generally sedate and dignified. The women are as fond of dress as any other people in the world, and put on all the finery they can get,—silver brooches, wampum, ribbons, or blankets of fine cloth. A woman's dress has been seen that was all covered with large and small brooches, and instances have been known of garnished blankets and leggings which cost probably two hundred dollars. Where there is a plurality of wives, if one gets finer goods than the others, there is sure to be some quarrelling among the women; and if one or two of them are not driven off, it is because the others have not strength enough to do so. The man sits and looks on, and lets the women fight it out. If the one he loves most is driven off, he will go and stay with her, and leave the others to shift for themselves awhile, until they can behave better, as he says.

#### TOTEMS.

There is a peculiar form of perpetuating the social bond through a reliance on spirits, which is revealed in the system of totems. By totemic marks the various families of a tribe denote their affiliation. A guardian spirit has been selected by the progenitor of a family from some object in the zoological chain. The representative device of this is called the *totem*. Indians are proud of their totems, and are prone to surround them with allusions to bravery, strength, talent, power of endurance, or other qualities. A warrior's totem never wants honors in their reminiscences, and the mark is put on his grave-post, or *adjedatig*, when he is dead. In his funereal pictograph he invariably sinks his personal name in that of his totem or family name. There appear to have been originally three totems that received the highest honors and respect. They were the turtle, bear, and wolf. These were the great totems of the Iroquois. Other totems appear of secondary, subordinate, and apparently *newer* origin.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The Iroquois have impressed themselves very strongly on our history, but in nothing has their internal organization been more remarkable than in their ingenious and complicated system of totems. Each of the six tribes or cantons of which the league consisted in its most perfect state had eight totems, five being secondary and three primary totems. There were thus eight classes of warriors and hunters,

When a turtle, bird, quadruped, or other form of animated nature is adopted as the guardian spirit, or monedo, the pictograph of it becomes the evidence of consanguinity. Thus, all the persons of the turtle, bear, or wolf family or totem become brothers of the tribal clans of the turtle, bear, or wolf; and so with all other totems. Great stress is laid on this. These marks are in one sense the surname of the clan. The personal name is not indicative of an Indian's totem.

It is not easy to assign a cause for the great importance attached to totems, or for the respect paid to them. These symbolic divisions of tribes would appear to have been the original clan-marks of all the Indian tribes, without regard to tribal organizations; for they are the most ancient traits of association, political or social, that we hear of. As soon as they are named or exhibited, they open the door of Indian reserve. They appear to link the tie of brotherhood. It is not hospitality alone that they insure in the wigwam: the eyes of all the family sparkle as soon as the analogous totem is mentioned, as if it disclosed blood-relationship. For a chief or a warrior to say to his guest, I am of the bear, the tortoise, or the wolf totem, three honored clans, is to remove all ceremony and break the ice of Indian stoicism. These clans seem to have once extended from Patagonia to Lake Athabasca, and thus to furnish a mode of generalization more important than traditions and older than dialects. They draw these marks on scrolls of bark, and on skins and wood. The Indians bear no banners, properly so called; they sometimes carry flags of feathers. The totemic device appears to be a representation of the tutelary spirit of the tribe, not to be worshipped, and in this view it resembles, as Adair remarks, the ancient devices and carvings of terrestrial cherubim.

Among all the tribes of the tutelary class, monedoes who inhabit beasts or birds are particularly selected for totems. An Indian might be called the Red Devil and yet his personal name have no bad significance, the term being derived from a small red insect called *miscomonitoe*, of the genus Coleoptera.

#### FOREST-TEACHINGS.

Hunting and war divide the cares of the man. The arts of both are carefully taught to the young, and enforced and daily applied by constantly repeated influence

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including their entire families, in each tribe or canton. Families of the same totem in each canton could not intermarry. They were totemically related. The union must be between diverse totems. The bear band of a Mohawk could not marry into the bear band of the Oneida, but might into either of the other seven totems. There were thus created forty-eight totemic ties by which the tribes were socially and politically bound together. (It is to be observed that the Tuscaroras have lost one totemic clan, consisting now of but seven.)

There was another law, which, at the same time that it regulated descents, complicated them. The descent of chiefs was in the female line. A chief's son did not succeed him, but his next brother, the right of sovereignty being entirely in his mother. When, however, the chief's wife had a right, his son would succeed him. In this case the totems entitled to furnish chiefs were diverse. This law of descents has rendered it difficult for Europeans to understand Iroquois descents, and has led authors into errors on the topic.

of precept and example. The male children are early instructed in the arts of the chase. Their education begins as soon as they are capable of walking and running about. A tiny bow is given to the little *abbinojee*<sup>1</sup> as a plaything; and as soon as he acquires strength he is encouraged to shoot at small birds or squirrels. Sometimes the triumph that attends the initial success in learning the hunter's art is gained by the snare that children set to catch little animals. The first evidence of success is extravagantly praised, and the object killed, however small, is prepared by the females for a feast, to which the chiefs and warriors are ceremoniously invited.

Skill in killing large quadrupeds is the result of years of effort, but the art so acquired is as carefully taught, and its principles are as anxiously impressed on the rising generation, as are the elements of reading, writing, and arithmetic in civilized society. The Indian youth, as he advances in the principles of the hunter's art, is instructed by the native priesthood to believe that this art can be facilitated by unseen spiritual agency, and a subtle system of medical magic, which is exhibited in connection with devices and figures of the principal animals hunted, is drawn on bark. To these great attention is paid, and the secrets respecting them are treasured up, and its knowledge sedulously cultivated, by the Meda, whose rites and ceremonies have been described on foregoing pages.

#### FISHING.

In a region abounding with lakes and streams, fishing also becomes an art taught to the young. There are some modes of fishing through the ice which are very ingenious. One of the most common of these is to play a decoy through a hole perforated in the ice by means of an instrument called *aishkun* by the Algonkin tribes. It consists of a sort of stout chisel of iron attached firmly to a pole. The decoy is generally the image of a small fish. The Indian, placing himself flat on his stomach, covers his head with his blanket, supported by branches, in order to exclude the light. By thus excluding the extraneous glare the vision is extended into the waters below, and the watcher stands ready with his spear to dart the point into his victim as soon as it approaches to seize the bait. In this manner, as depicted in Plate 44, the Indian is enabled to supply his family with food at the most inclement and pinching seasons. Another mode of taking fish in the winter is to make a series of orifices through the ice in a direct line. A gill-net is then pushed by its head-lines from one orifice to another until its entire length is displayed. Buoys and sinkers are attached to it, and it is then let down into deep water, where white-fish and other large species resort at this season. By this mode, which is very common throughout the lakes where deep water abounds, these species are captured at the greatest depths, while sheltering themselves in their deepest winter recesses. Fish are sometimes brought up in the immediate vicinity of Michilimackinac from a depth of eighty fathoms.

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<sup>1</sup> Child.



J. W. Chapman & J. Andrews Eng.

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SPEARING FISH IN WINTER.





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When the ponds and rivers where the musk-rats harbor are found, their houses are perforated with a strong and peculiarly shaped spear, by which the victim is transpierced, and the animal brought out upon its point.

Salmon-fishing at the Kettle Falls of the Yakima, a tributary of the Columbia River, by means of immense baskets suspended upon poles beneath the water as traps, is thus described. The basket is made of willow, from fifteen to twenty feet long, five or six wide, and about four deep, with a high back upon one side, which is designed to rise above the surface of the water. A stick of timber is firmly anchored in the rocks below the falls, extending out over the stream twenty or thirty feet. Upon this the basket is suspended, and so far submerged as to leave the back just above the water up stream, while the opposite side is several inches below the surface of the water and down stream. The ascending salmon rise up the side of the basket and spring into it, where they are held, their progress being arrested by the high back, and, as they never turn their heads down the current, they are retained securely. Two hundred salmon, weighing from six to forty pounds each, have been caught in this way in a few hours. The falls are fifteen feet high, but they present no barrier to the passage of the salmon up the river. The fish shoot themselves up at one dart,—it is simply swimming up at a faster rate than the water falls,—and then continue their course. The salmon of the Columbia, unlike those of other parts of the world, do not take the hook, and, strange though it may seem, are said never to stop searching for the source of the stream they are in.

The streams which traverse the Indian country are often barred near their outlets with stakes securely bound together, with transverse poles extending from bank to bank. These poles are so close as to prevent sturgeon and all the larger species from ascending except by a single aperture which is purposely left. Through this the fish ascend in their frequent attempts to force their way up stream for the purpose of depositing their spawn, but in descending they are arrested by the poles of the dam, and forced against them. The Indian, walking on the transverse poles, with a hook at the end of a pole which is placed on the upper side of the dam, feels the pressure of the descending fish, and by a quick jerk brings up his victim. During the low waters of the summer solstice, lines of stones are placed from each bank where the river has a marked descent, pointing downwards at an acute angle, until they meet, within three or four feet. This space is filled with stones of less height, over which the pent-up water rushes and falls on a platform of poles. This platform, which performs the purpose of a coarse longitudinal sieve, lets through the water, leaving the fish to flounder and be picked up *ad libitum*. This contrivance is sometimes called *namekowagan*, or sturgeon's yoke.

At the foot of rapids and falls the fish are followed up in their continued struggle to ascend by fishermen in a canoe, who provide themselves with a scoop-net attached to the end of a long pole, and capture their victims by a dexterous swoop of the implement. This act requires great care, activity, and exertion, since, the canoe being made of bark, and almost as light as an egg-shell, the fisherman is liable, the moment he stands on the gunwales, to be tipped over into the boiling, foaming waters. In

order to prevent it from shooting from under him, a man sits at the stern with his paddle to keep the boat headed, and the fisherman stands watching his opportunity as the school of fish pass by; then, balancing himself with the manœuvring and consummate skill of a rope-dancer, he lifts his prey into the canoe.

This species of fishing may be seen practised in the most striking manner during the fishing seasons at the Falls of St. Mary's, on the straits between Lakes Huron and Superior, which have long been noted for the abundance and fine flavor of the white-fish.

Sometimes fish are shot with an arrow by a watcher sitting on the banks of the river. Fish are also speared from a canoe, usually in the morning, when they are close in-shore, lying under the leaves and rushes that grow on the banks of streams. An Indian woman or boy paddles the canoe gently along the shore, while the man stands up in the bow or on the gunwales, holding his spear ready to strike the fish when seen.

The fish-hook is employed chiefly in deep waters, and is intended for the larger species. The white-fish, so common to the whole line of lakes, never bites at a hook, and is captured solely by nets or spears. The ordinary trout- and cod-hook has been supplied by commerce since the discovery of America, but the ancient Indian hook of bone was shaped much like it, and its use was in every way similar, as is seen from an antique bone hook found in the mounds on Cunningham's Island, Lake Erie.

#### ART OF HUNTING.

This ingenuity in the taking of fish evinces a degree of skill which challenges admiration. But it is far inferior to that art which is a necessity to the hunter in his nobler pursuit of game on the land. To him are known the habits, ranges, and food of all the quadrupeds which constitute objects of the chase. It is essential that he should know not only the species of food which each quadruped covets, but also the time most favorable to his sallying out of his coverts to obtain it, together with the various precautions necessary in order to elude the quick ear and instincts of his victims.

The simplest of all species of hunting is, perhaps, the art of hunting the deer. This animal, it is known, is endowed with the fatal curiosity of stopping in its flight to turn round and look at the object that disturbed it; and as this is generally done within rifle-range, the habit is indulged at the cost of its life, whereas if it trusted unwaveringly to its heels it would escape. One of the most ingenious modes of hunting the deer is that of *fire-hunting*, taking advantage of the animal's habit of resorting to the banks of streams at night. In the latter part of spring and summer, the Indian hunters on the small interior rivers take the bark of the elm or cedar, peeling it off whole for five or six feet in length, and, turning it inside out, paint the outer surface black with charcoal. It is then pierced with an orifice to fit it, on the bow of the canoe, so as to hide the sitter; then a light or torch is made by small rolls, two or three feet long, of twisted birch-bark (which is very inflammable), and

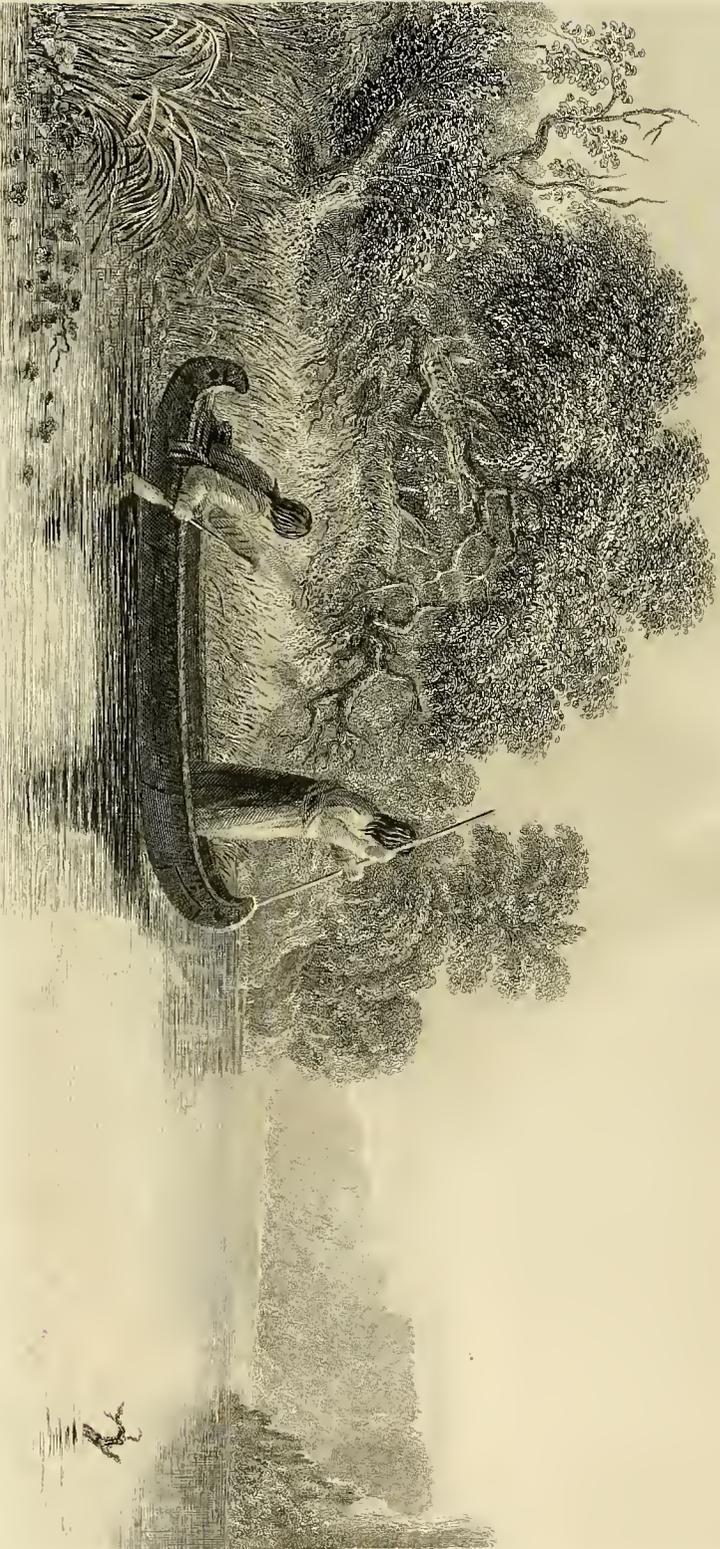


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INDIAN SHOOTING FISH







Capt. S. Eastman, U. S. Army

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THE CHARLES FISH FRY OF A CANTON

Wm. C. Rice





this is placed on the extreme bow of the boat, a little in front of the bark screen, in which position it throws its rays strongly forward, leaving all behind in darkness. The deer, whose eyes are fixed on the light as it floats down, is thus brought within range of the gun. Swans are hunted in the same way.

The mazes of the forest are, however, the Indian hunter's peculiar field of action. No footprint can be impressed there with which he is not familiar. In his temporary journeys in the search after game he generally encamps early and sallies out at the first peep of day on his hunting tour. If he is in a forest country, he chooses his ambush in valleys, for the plain reason that all animals, as night approaches, come into the valleys. In ascending these he is very careful to take that side of a stream which throws the shadow from it, so that he may have a clear view of all that passes on the opposite side, while he is himself screened by the shadow. But he is particularly on the alert to take this precaution if he is apprehensive of lurking foes. The tracks of an animal are the subject of the minutest observation; they tell him at a glance the species of animal that has passed, the time that has elapsed, and the course it has pursued. If the surface of the earth is moist, the indications are plain; if it is hard or rocky, they are drawn from less palpable, but scarcely less unmistakable, signs. One of the most successful and most varied day's hunts of which we are apprised was performed by a noted Chippewa hunter named Nokay, on the Upper Mississippi, who, tradition asserts, killed in one day, near the mouth of the Crow-Wing River, sixteen elk, four buffaloes, five deer, three bears, one lynx, and a porcupine. This feat has doubtless been exceeded in the buffalo ranges of the Southwest, where the bow and arrow are known to have been so dexterously and rapidly applied in respect to that animal, but it is seldom that the chase in forest districts is as successful as in this instance.

If a Dakota kills a deer, the one who gets to him first receives the best piece. Sometimes the slayer gets nothing but the hide, for when they are very hungry there is great pulling and hauling for the meat. The chief never interferes. The strongest is the best fellow, and keeps what he gets. They have no secret arts, beyond their jugglery and the medicine-dance. Any one belonging to the medicine-dance can act as doctor, priest, juggler, or any other character that he can personate. They steal, get drunk, murder, do all sorts of mischief, and notwithstanding all this are looked upon as great medicine-men.

Bears and wolves are shot with a gun. The antelope is a singular animal, and is easily decoyed by the hunter's hiding himself in the grass and sticking something red on a small stick and raising it above the grass a little. The antelope will come to see what it is; the hunter raises the red article every now and then, and lets it fall again. The antelope keeps approaching, until it is decoyed close enough to be shot. The Indians use baits of different kinds for beaver. An Indian who can kill a large number of beavers thinks himself a great medicine-man. The Indians say that there is a great art in setting traps for beaver to be successful. They pretend to charm some kind of animals by mimicking them, and sometimes succeed in killing game in this way.

## WAR AND ITS INCIDENTS.

Success in war is to the Indian the acme of glory, and to learn its arts the object of his highest attainment. The boys and youth acquire at an early period the accomplishment of dancing the war-dance; and although they are not permitted to join its fascinating circle till they assume the envied rank of actual warriors, still their early sports and mimic pastimes are imitations of its various movements and postures. The envied eagle's feather is the prize. For this the Indian's talent, subtlety, endurance, and bravery are taxed to their utmost, and persevering fasts and religious penances and observances are practised. The war-path is taken by youths at an early age. That age may be stated, for general comparison, to be sixteen; but without respect to exact time, it is always after the primary fast during which the youth chooses his personal guardian or *monedo*,—an age when he first assumes the duties of manhood. It is the period of the assumption of the three-pointed blanket, the true toga of the North American Indian.

The whole force of public opinion in our Indian communities is concentrated on this point: the early lodge teachings (such as the recital of adventures of bravery), the dances, the religious rites, the harangues of prominent actors made at public assemblages (such as that called "striking the post"),—whatever, in fact, serves to awaken and fire ambition in the mind of the savage is clustered about the idea of future distinction in war. Civilization has many points of ambitious attainment. The Indian has but one prime honor to grasp: it is triumph in the war-path; it is rushing upon his enemy, tearing the scalp reeking from his head, and then uttering his terrific *sa-sa-kuon* (death-whoop). For this crowning act he is permitted to mount the honored feather of the war-eagle,—the king of carnivorous birds. By this mark he is publicly known, and his honors are recognized by all his tribe, and by the surrounding tribes whose customs assimilate.

When the scalp of an enemy has been won, great pains are taken to exhibit it. For this purpose it is stretched on a hoop and mounted on a pole. The inner part is painted red, and the hair adjusted to hang in its natural manner. If it is the scalp of a male, eagles' feathers are attached to denote *that* fact; if of a female, a comb or scissors is hung on the frame. In this condition it is placed in the hands of an old woman, who bears it about in the scalp-dance, while opprobrious epithets are uttered against the tribe from whom it was taken. Amidst these wild rejoicings the war-cry is vociferated, and the general sentiment with old and young is, "Thus shall it be done to our enemies." The feather of the eagle is the highest honor that a warrior can wear, and a very extravagant sum is sometimes given to procure one. The value of a horse has been known to be paid. The mode in which a feather is to be cut and worn is a matter of importance. The scale of honor with the several tribes may vary, but the essential features are the same. Among the Dakota tribes an eagle's feather with a red spot denotes that the wearer has killed an enemy, a notch cut in it and the edges of the feather painted red indicate that the throat of



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an enemy has been cut. Small consecutive notches on the front side of the feather, without paint, denote that the wearer is the third person that has touched the dead body; both edges notched, that he is the fourth person that has touched it; and the feather partly denuded, that he is the fifth person that has touched the slain. The feather clipped off, and the edges painted red, are indicative of the cutting of an enemy's throat.

The warlike tribe of Chippewas on the sources of the Mississippi, who, from a national act in their history, bear the distinctive name of Pillagers, award a successful warrior, who shoots down and scalps his enemy, three feathers; and for the still more dangerous act of taking a wounded prisoner on the field, five: for they conceive that a wounded enemy is desperate, and will generally reserve his fire for a last act of vengeance, should he die the moment after. Those of the war-party who come up immediately and strike the enemy, so as to get marks of blood on their weapons, receive two feathers. It is customary for as many as can to perform this act. It is considered a proof of bravery, and in their future assemblies for the purpose of "*striking the post*" they will not fail to allude to it. All who can rise in such assemblies and declare the performance of such a deed in the presence of the warriors are ranked as brave men. They never, however, blame one another for personal acts denoting cowardice or any species of timidity while on the war-path, hoping by this course to encourage the young men to do better on future occasions.

All war-parties consist of volunteers. The leader, or war-captain, who attempts to raise one, must have some reputation to start on. His appeals at the assemblages for dancing the preliminary war-dance are to the principles of bravery and nationality. They are brief and to the point. He is careful to be thought to act under the guidance of the Great Spirit, of whose secret will he affects to be apprised in dreams or by some rites. He takes the war-club in his hands, smeared with vermilion to symbolize blood, and begins his war-song. The war-songs are brief, wild repetitions of sentiments of heroic deeds, or incitements to patriotic or military ardor. They are accompanied by the drum and rattle, and by the voice of one or more choristers. They are repeated slowly, sententiously, and with a measured cadence, to which the most exact time is kept. The warrior stamps the ground as if he could shake the universe. His language is often highly figurative, and he deals with the machinery of clouds, the flight of carnivorous birds, and the influence of spiritual agencies, as if the region of space were at his command. He imagines his voice to be heard in the clouds; and while he stamps the ground with well-feigned fury, he fancies himself to take hold of the "circle of the sky" with his hands. Every few moments he stops abruptly in his circular path, and utters the piercing war-cry. He must be a cold listener who can sit unmoved by these appeals. The ideas thrown out succeed one another with the impetuosity of a torrent. They are suggestive of heroic frames of mind, of strong will, of high courage, of burning sentiment:

Hear my voice, ye warlike birds!  
I prepare a feast for you to batten on;

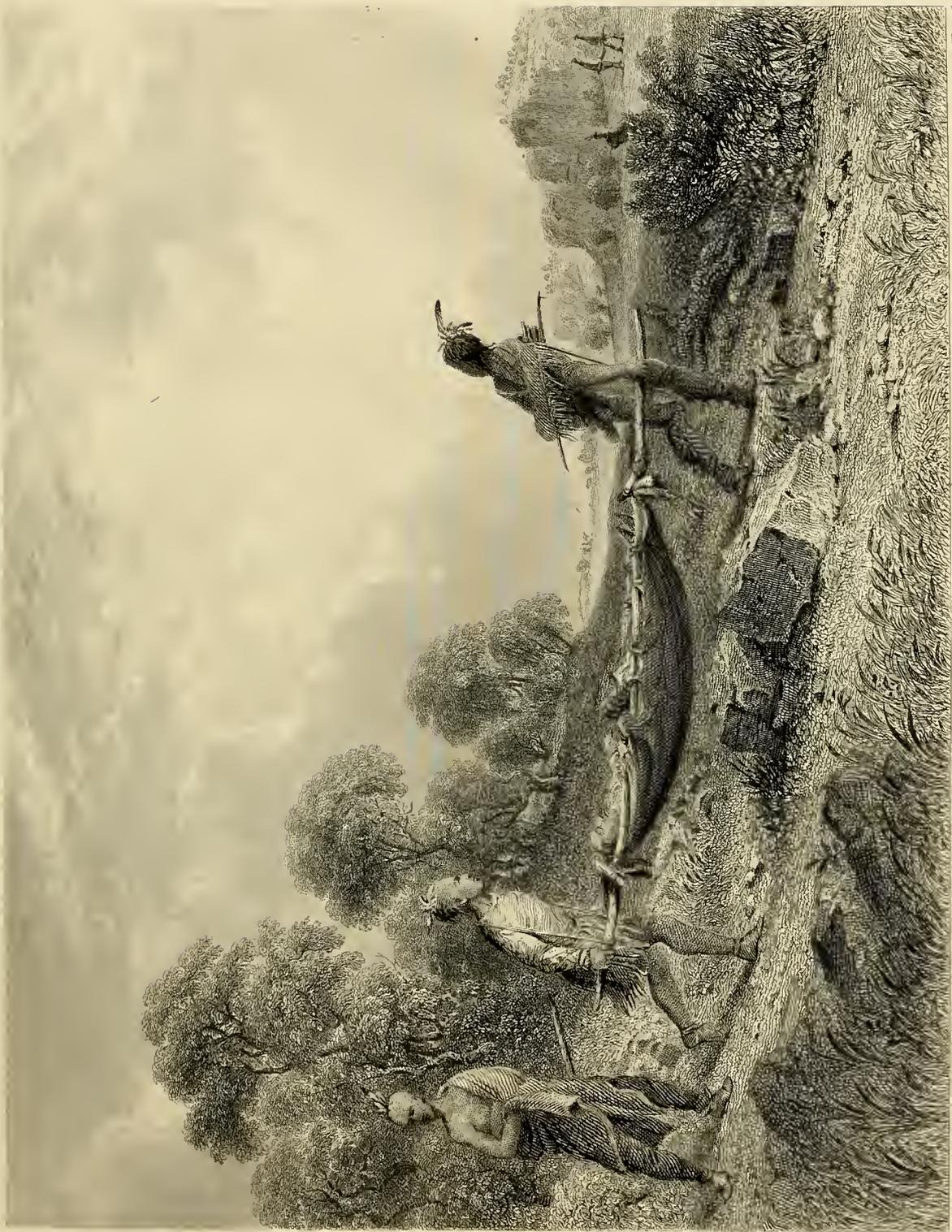
I see you cross the enemy's lines ;  
Like you I shall go.  
I wish the swiftmess of your wings ;  
I wish the vengeance of your claws ;  
I muster my friends ;  
I follow your flight.  
Ho, ye young men, that are warriors,  
Look with wrath on the battle-field.

Every warrior that rises and joins the war-dance becomes thereby a volunteer for the trip. He arms and equips himself, he provides his own sustenance, and when he steps out into the ring and dances he chants his own song, and is greeted with redoubled yells. These ceremonies are tantamount to "enlistment," and no young man who thus comes forward can honorably withdraw.

Whoever has heard an Indian war-song and witnessed an Indian war-dance must be satisfied that the occasion wakes up all the fire and energy of the Indian's soul. His flashing eye, his muscular energy as he begins the dance, his violent gesticulations as he raises his war-cry, the whole frame and expression of the man, demonstrate this. And long before it comes to his turn to utter his stave or part of the chant, his mind has been worked up to the most intense point of excitement. His imagination has pictured the enemy, the ambush and the onset, the victory, and the bleeding victim writhing under his prowess. In thought he has already stamped him under foot and torn off his reeking scalp. He has seen the eagles hovering in the air, ready to pounce on the dead carcass as soon as the combatants quit the field.

It would require strong and graphic language to give descriptive utterance, in the shape of a song, to all he has fancied and sees and feels on the subject. Physical excitement has absorbed his energies. He is in no mood for calm and collected descriptions of battle-scenes. He has no stores of measured rhymes to fall back on. All he can do is to utter brief and often highly symbolic expressions of courage, of defiance, of indomitable rage. His feet stamp the ground as if he would shake it to its centre. The inspiring drum and mystic rattle communicate new energy to every step, while they serve, by the observance of the most exact time, to concentrate his energy. His very looks depict the spirit of rage ; and his yells, quick, sharp, and cut off by the application of the hand to the mouth, are startling and horrific.

Nothing but the taking of life is considered by the Winnebagoes as just cause of war. When an Indian has had a relative killed by Indians of another tribe, and wishes to raise a war-party to avenge him, in case the enemy is not in the immediate neighborhood, and instant action for self-defence is not required, he, in the first place, fasts until he has a favorable dream ; if, perchance, he has had a bad dream, he gets up and eats, and commences his fast again, and continues until his dream is favorable to his purpose ; he then makes a feast, invites his friends, relates his dream, and asks them to go with him on a war-path. The war-chief is usually invited to take command of the party.



*Capt. S. K. Eastman U.S. Army, Del.*

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*C. E. Whittall & J. Andrews Engs.*

TRANSPORTING THE WOUNDED.



All who join the party volunteer; none are compelled to serve, and those who volunteer do not obligate themselves to serve during the war, or for any fixed time. If a warrior turns back after starting on a war-path, he is laughed at, perhaps, but not punished for deserting. The man who gets up the party and his friends furnish a feast at starting; after that each warrior takes care of and supports himself. The Indian goes to war on his own "charges;" no munitions of war, subsistence, or transportation are furnished at the public expense; each warrior furnishes himself with arms and ammunition. To these facts the peculiar character of Indian warfare is to be attributed. Having no commissary department, they cannot subsist an army, and when, under a general and strong excitement, several hundred warriors start together on a war-path, they are of necessity obliged in a short time to separate in search of subsistence.

The Indian who raises a war-party furnishes a horse and as much wampum as he is able; the war-chief also furnishes something. The warrior who takes the first scalp receives the property furnished by the man who got up the party; and the warrior who takes the second scalp receives the property furnished by the war-chief.

Warriors start for the first place of rendezvous singly or in squads, as may be most convenient. No order is observed. After they are assembled, and before starting on the war-path, they dance, and sacrifice dogs and deer-skins dressed white. Each warrior carries a bag made of skins or rushes, in which is carried a root. Before going into battle they chew this root, swallow some of its juice, and put some of it on their bodies, to make them brave and keep them from being hurt. This medicine does not have the effect to deaden pain. After the ceremony of the dance is concluded, the party start in single file, the war-chief at their head. When they arrive in the neighborhood of their enemy, they have a vanguard when marching, and sentinels stationed when encamped at night. Neither priests nor jugglers are consulted respecting the result of a campaign; the dream of the warrior who raises a war-party is relied on.

The war-chief directs the movements of the party and commands in battle; he plans the attack, issues orders to his braves, and assigns them their post. They sometimes fight in line when they happen to meet an enemy in the open field by day. In such case they commence firing as soon as they come within range, and then advance, the object of each party being to drive the other from the field. When one party breaks and retreats, the other pursues, killing with the knife and war-club. The wounded retire to the rear. The usual plan adopted by the party making the attack is first to ascertain by reconnoissance the exact position of the enemy, then start upon him in the night, and at a given signal attack him promiscuously. The war-whoop is not used as an order or signal after commencing an attack, but, like the shout of the white soldier in battle, is intended to defy the enemy and exult in success.

The Dakotas seldom amputate a limb. They have no surgical instruments. They are not skilful in splints. If a limb is broken, it is almost sure to be crooked afterwards. The mode of carrying the sick or wounded is in a litter on two poles

lashed together, with a blanket fastened on top. (Plate 49.) Two men carry this litter, one at each end, by means of the head-strap, which is fastened to each side of the litter and then brought over the carrier's neck. It is wonderful how far two Indians will carry a heavy man in this way.

Sometimes a war-party agree to take one or two prisoners. If a warrior wants a prisoner for the purpose of adopting him into his family, he is allowed to take one. No important ceremony is observed in adopting a prisoner. Without a previous arrangement, male prisoners are seldom taken in battle. Quarter is neither given nor asked; the Indian, when outnumbered and surrounded so that he cannot retreat, knows that it is useless to surrender, and fights to the last. When, as sometimes happens, a warrior is taken in battle, and his captor does not wish to adopt him, and the war-chief is not present to decide his fate, he is bound and taken to the village where that chief resides. The prisoner is then made to go about in the village, and if he enters the lodge of the war-chief he is condemned to die, but if the war-chief shuts his lodge against him his life is safe. The war-chief has the power of life and death in the case. They do not bury their dead who fall in the field of battle, neither do they strip them of their ornaments, but leave them as they fall. They kill and scalp the wounded of their enemy. Sometimes Indians, after being scalped and left for dead on the field of battle, recover and get back to their tribe. There are individuals now living who have recovered under such circumstances. Prisoners whose lives are spared are not made slaves of, but generally marry, and are treated as members of the tribe. The Winnebago warriors say that chastity is by their tribe uniformly respected in war. They say that the Great Spirit has told them not to abuse the women.

The warriors start on the war-path attired in their usual dress, but go into battle divested of most of their clothing. They paint their faces and bodies so as to appear as hideous as possible. They use vermilion and most of the pigments employed by painters, and when these cannot be obtained they besmear their bodies with clay. The feather of the war-eagle is worn by those warriors who have taken a scalp in battle. Some wear frontlets, and this ornament is constructed of various materials, and in various shapes and patterns. They wear a small portion of the hair on the top and back part of the head long and braided. Their ornaments are worn in battle. These consist chiefly of necklaces of animals' claws, bracelets, and rings. The rifle is now in general use instead of the bow and arrow. The war-club, tomahawk, and knife are still used as weapons.

War-parties are raised by any person who feels aggrieved or has had a relative killed. If he cannot carry out his designs, he will employ some one else whom he considers able to make a successful raid. The head of the party must be a great medicine-man, a prophet, or in some other way distinguished. The war-chief makes a dance every three or four nights for two or three weeks before the party marches. This is in the lodge. On these excursions the war-chief makes laws after they get started, and if any one breaks them his gun is broken and his blanket cut by five or six warriors who are appointed for that purpose by the war-chief. They dance when



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RECEIVED THE 10th



they come in the neighborhood of the enemy's country. The order of the march is made by the war-chief. He tells the party where they will camp, what they will kill, and what they will see during the day. The war-chief makes his dances, which is the only ceremony before the march. They move as suits themselves, in Indian file generally. They have no rules for that purpose. They have very good roots which they apply to wounds. They have many roots which they use for food. In these war excursions they pretend that the medicine in their war-sacks will give them courage and success without eating it. Great precaution is used on the march. Three or four are sent ahead of the party as spies, who stop two or three times in a day and let the party come up, and tell what they have seen and heard; and then there is a council on the subject. The chiefs have very little command or control of a village, or in the war; and chiefs do not often go to war. In battle there is no order. After the battle commences there is no concert or calmness. Everything is irregular. If they retreat, each one makes the best of his way home. The plan of attack is made known to the party by the war-chief if possible. The spies reconnoitre the enemy's camp, and the plan of the battle is then fixed. When they are near enough, they have a whistle to blow, at which sound they all fire; then the war-whoop comes, and they charge on the enemy. There is no order of retreat; no rallying-place named. When the worsted party flies, their antagonists follow in irregular pursuit. Prisoners have their hands tied behind them, and have to walk with the war-party.

## STRIKING THE POST.

Whoever has observed the varying phases of Indian society as it exists both in the forests and prairies that stretch between the Alleghany and Rocky Mountains, must have become sensible that the feature of military glory constitutes the prime object of attainment. The civilized warrior receives a badge of honor and a title from his monarch's hands. The Indian is content with an eagle's feather fastened in his hair. His step is as proud, his satisfaction for the honor as great and vivid. One of the principal means of cultivating this spirit in the Indian is a public assemblage for reciting the deeds of bravery in the tribe. For this purpose a post is erected on some eligible spot, where the whole tribe can conveniently witness the ceremonies. This post is painted red, the usual symbolic color of war. Music is provided by the Indian tawaiegon, or drum, and rattles, and by having present a corps of singers who are adepts in the Indian songs and choruses. After these preliminary flourishes, to excite the feeling of military ardor, a sharp yell gives them notice that one of the warriors present is about to recite his exploits. The music immediately stops, and gives place to the most profound attention. Dressed out in his highest "braveries" and war-marks, the warrior then steps forward, and with his club and lance strikes the painted post. No ancient hero drawn by Homer could exhibit more fire in words and acts while he details his exploits. He accompanies every gesture with the precise voice and unction proper to the narration, and when he finishes his recital the whole assembly of warriors unite in yells of victory and defiance. The music and

singing then recommence, and are continued till another warrior signifies his readiness to recite his deeds of bravery. Hours on hours are thus employed, till all who wish have acted their parts. This ceremony is called "striking the post." In this manner the war spirit is fanned. It is a forest school, in which the young boys learn their first lesson, and they become the prey of an ambition which is never gratified till they have torn the bloody scalp from an enemy's head.

#### FEASTS AND FASTS.

There is a feast instituted at certain times during the season to which none but young persons are invited, except the entertainer's wife, and generally two other aged persons, who preside at the feast and administer its rites. The object of this feast seems to be instruction, to which the young and thoughtless are induced to listen for the anticipated pleasure of the feast. When the meats are ready, the entertainer, if he be fluent in speech, or, if not, some person whom he has invited for that purpose, gets up and addresses the youth of both sexes on the subject of their course through life. He admonishes them to be attentive and respectful to the aged, and adhere to their counsel, to obey their parents, never to scoff at the decrepit or deformed, to be modest in their conduct, to be charitable and hospitable, and to fear and love the Great Spirit, who is the giver of life and of every good gift. The precepts are dwelt upon at great length, and generally enforced by examples of a good man and woman and a bad man and woman, and after depicting the latter it is customary, by way of admonition, to say, "You will be like one of these." At the end of every sentence the listeners make a general response of "*haa*." When the advice is finished, an address to the Great Spirit is made, in which He is thanked for the food before them and for the continuance of life. The speaker then says, turning to the guests, "Thus the Great Spirit supplies us with food; let your course through life be always right, and you will ever be thus bountifully supplied."

The feast then commences, and the elders relax their manners a little and mix with the rest, but are still careful to preserve order and a decent, respectful behavior.

Let it not be supposed, however, that the Indian's life while on his wintering-ground is a round of feasting; quite the contrary. Their feasts are often followed by long and painful fasts; and the severity of the seasons and scarcity of game and fish often reduce the Indian and his family to starvation and even death.

When the failure of game, or any other cause, induces the hunter to remove to a new circle of country, the labor of the removal falls upon the female part of the family. The lodge utensils and fixtures of every kind are borne upon the women's backs, sustained by a leather strap around the forehead. On reaching the intended place of encampment, the snow is cleared away, the lodge set up, cedar boughs brought and spread for a floor, the movables stowed away, wood collected, and a fire built; and then, and not until then, can the females sit down and warm their feet and dry their moccasins. If there be any provisions, a supper is cooked; if there be none, all studiously strive to conceal the exhibition of the least concern on



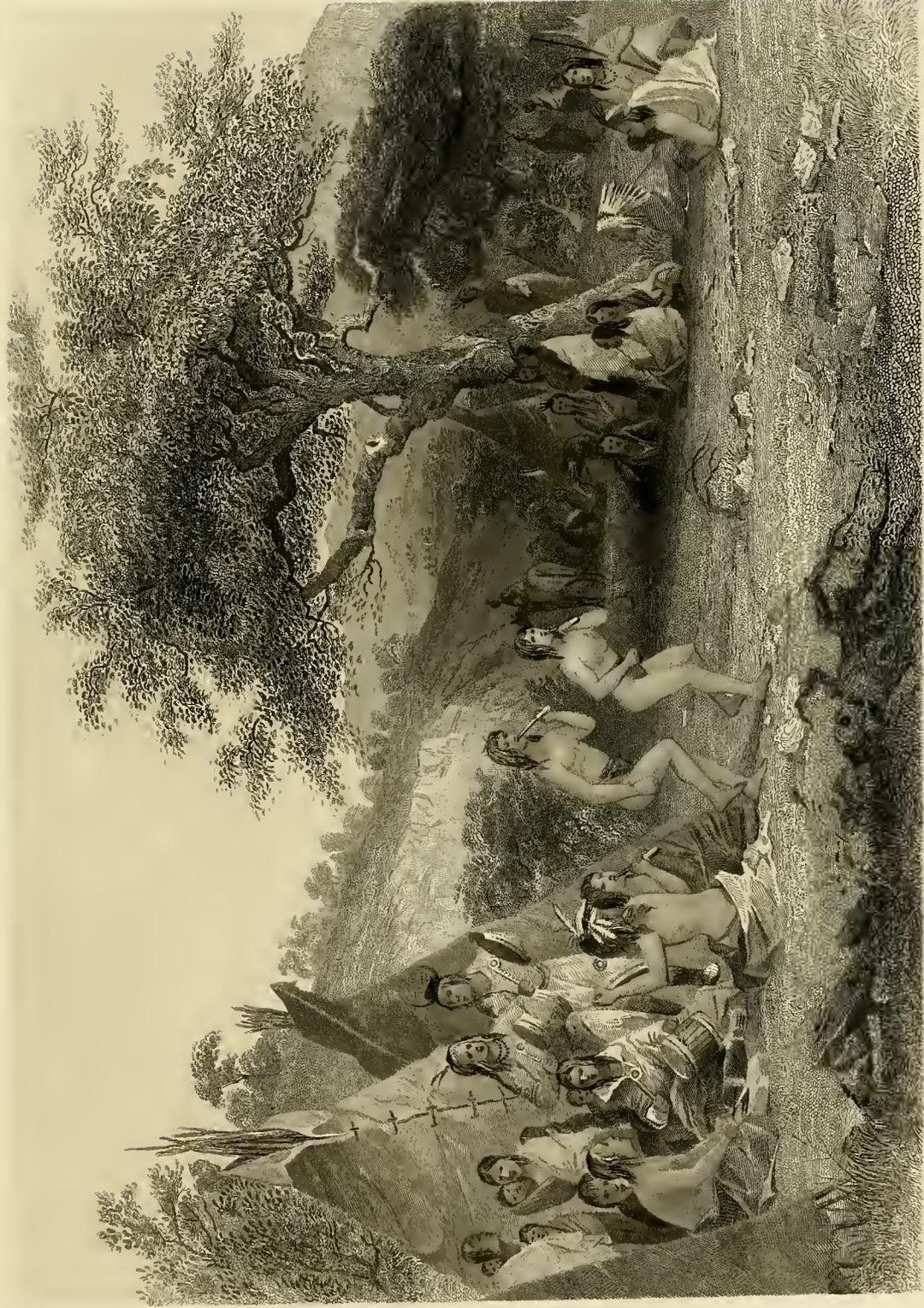




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UNDE... BERRY...







this account, and seek to divert their thoughts by conversation quite foreign to the subject. When all other means of sustaining life are gone, the skins the hunter has collected to pay his debts, or to purchase new supplies of clothing and ammunition, are eaten. They are prepared by removing the pelt and roasting the skin until it acquires a certain degree of crispness. Under all his suffering, the pipe of the hunter is his chief solace, and it is a solace very often resorted to. Smoking-parties are sometimes formed when there exists a scarcity of food, the want of provisions not tending, as might be supposed, to destroy social feeling and render the temper sour. On these occasions the person soliciting company sends a message to this effect: "My friend, come and smoke with me; I have no food, but I have tobacco, and we can pass the evening very well with this." All acknowledge their lives to be in the hands of the Great Spirit, and feel a conviction that all things come from Him, that He loves them, and that, although He allows them to suffer, He will again supply them. This tends to quiet their apprehensions. Fatalists as to good and ill, they submit patiently and silently to what they believe their destiny. When hunger and misery are past, their spirits soon revive, and their minds are too eagerly intent on the enjoyment of the present good to feel any depression from the recollection of what they have suffered or from the anticipation of coming troubles. No people are less clamorous under suffering of the severest kind, and none are more happy, or more prone to evince their happiness, when prosperous in their affairs.

The Dakotas fast on religious principles only when engaged in the worship of the sun and moon. The worship of the sun is caused by some one having dreamed of seeing the sun. The worship is performed at intervals of about four or five minutes, by two young men in a very singular attitude. The two worshippers are almost in a state of nudity,—only a piece of cloth about their loins. Each has a small whistle in his mouth, and faces the sun. The mode of dancing is a kind of hitch of first one leg and then the other, but they keep time to the singing and beating upon raw hides of parchment. In their singing no words are used: nothing but the chorus appropriate to such occasions. This dance is kept up for two or occasionally three days, during which time the worshippers partake of no food. The feast of the new crop is made for what we would term a thanksgiving, but the Indians apply it in honor to their war-medicine and the medicine used among themselves. If a man makes a feast of new corn, it is in honor of his war-medicine. If a woman makes a corn feast, it is in honor of the medicine they use among themselves. At these feasts, if a person does not eat all that is given him, he does not have to pay for it, as is the case in some of their feasts; on the contrary, the one that eats up his dishful first will probably receive a present, from the person who made the feast, of a gun, or a large kettle, or some traps. This being a common custom among them, there is always among the eaters a great strife to see who will eat up his portion first and get the present. As soon as the word is given for them to commence eating, the work begins, and such blowing, stirring, eating, and sweating as ensue the grunting animals could not surpass. The music is vocal, and is simply a chorus, but is considered sacred among the Indians. In some of their feasts everything is sacred.

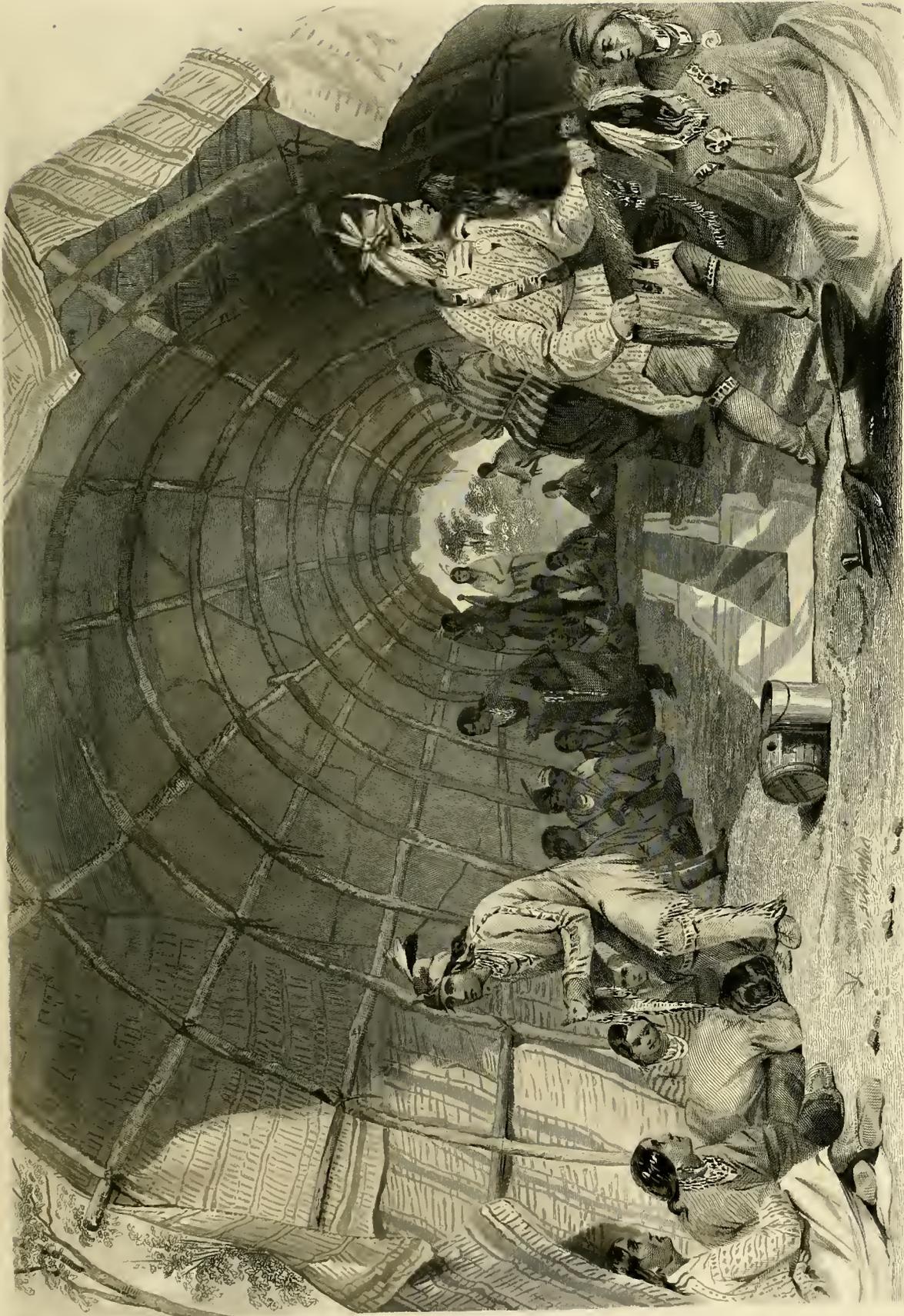
Not a morsel of the meat must fall to the ground, otherwise the spirits would be displeased, and some great calamity would befall them. The bones are all gathered up, and either burnt or thrown into the water, so that the dogs cannot get them, nor the women trample upon them, because they consider a woman very unclean at times, and it would be a great sin for her to step on or over any part of the remnants of their offerings. Tobacco is used in most of their ceremonies except the feasts above mentioned. Its perfumes are offered to the ghosts, or spirits, on many occasions, for good luck in hunting, for calm weather, for clear weather, etc.

#### THE MEDICINE-FEAST.

This feast is an ancient custom or ceremony ; it is accompanied with dancing, and is sometimes called the medicine-dance. The members or communicants of this feast constitute a society having secrets known only to the initiated. There is a similarity between the secret signs used by the members of this society and those of Free-Masons: like them, they have a secret in common with societies of the same order wherever located, and, like them, have different degrees, with secrets belonging to each respectively, in the same society ; but, unlike Free-Masons, they admit women and children to membership.

They have no regular or stated times for holding this feast ; and all the members do not attend at the same time, but only such as are invited by the master of the feast. Persons desirous of joining this society will in some cases use the most rigid economy for years to enable them to lay up goods to pay the initiation-fee. This fee is not fixed at any stipulated amount ; those who join pay according to their ability. Sometimes goods to the amount of two or three hundred dollars are given by an individual. Goods for this purpose generally consist of blankets, broadcloths, calicoes, wampum, and trinkets, and are given to the medicine-men who perform the ceremony of initiating the member. When one or more persons make application to join the society, preparations are made for a feast and dance, which is held in an arched lodge, or bower, constructed of poles and covered with tent-cloth and other materials. The size of the bower is made to conform to the number of persons to be invited, and this number depends much on the ability of the person who makes the feast. The width of a bower is about sixteen feet, the length varying from ten to seventy-five yards. The members of the society sit on each side of the bower, the centre being reserved for dancing. Candidates for admission into this society are required to fast three days previous to being initiated. At some period during this fast they are taken by the old medicine-men to some secluded secret spot and instructed in the doctrines and mysteries of the society ; and it is said that the candidates are during this fast subjected to a severe sweating process, by being covered with blankets and steamed with herbs. The truth of this is not here vouched for, but the appearance of the candidates when brought forward to be initiated in public corroborates it.

The public ceremony of initiation usually takes place about eleven o'clock A.M.



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MEDICINE DANCE OF THE WINNEBAGOES.



The public exercises of dancing, singing, praying, and exhorting, which precede the initiations, commence the previous morning. Before the candidates are brought forward, the ground through the centre of the bower is carpeted with blankets and broadcloth laid over the blankets. The candidates are then led forward and placed on their knees upon the carpet near one end of the bower, and facing the opposite end. Some eight or ten medicine-men then march in single file round the bower with their medicine-bags in their hands. Each time they perform the circuit they halt, and one of them makes a short address; this is repeated until all have spoken. They then form a circle, and lay their medicine-bags on the carpet before them. Then they commence retching and making efforts to vomit, bending over until their heads come nearly in contact with their medicine-bags, on which they vomit, or deposit from their mouth, a small white sea-shell about the size of a bean; this they call the medicine-stone, and claim that it is carried in the stomach and vomited up on these occasions. These stones they put in the mouth of their medicine-bags, and take their position at the end of the bower opposite to and facing the candidates. They then advance in line, as many abreast as there are candidates; holding their medicine-bags before them with both hands, they dance forward slowly at first, and uttering low guttural sounds as they approach the candidates, their step and voice increasing in energy, until with a violent "Ough!" they thrust their medicine-bags at their breasts. Instantly, as if struck with an electric shock, the candidates fall prostrate on their faces, their limbs extended, their muscles rigid and quivering in every fibre. Blankets are now thrown over them, and they are suffered to lie thus a few moments: as soon as they show signs of recovering from the shock, they are assisted to their feet and led forward. Medicine-bags are then put in their hands, and medicine-stones in their mouths; they are now medicine-men or women, as the case may be, in full communion and fellowship. The new members, in company with the old, now go round the bower in single file, knocking members down promiscuously by thrusting their medicine-bags at them. After continuing this exercise for some time, refreshments are brought in, of which they all partake. Dog's flesh is always a component part of the dish served on these occasions. After partaking of the feast, they generally continue the dance and other exercises for several hours. The drum and rattle are the musical instruments used at this feast. The most perfect order and decorum are observed throughout the entire ceremony. The members of this society are remarkably strict in their attendance at this feast: nothing but sickness is admitted as an excuse for not complying with an invitation to attend. Members sometimes travel fifty miles, and even farther, to be present at a feast, when invited. The secret of the society is kept sacred. It is remarkable that neither want nor a thirst for whiskey will tempt the members of this society to part with their medicine-bags. Whether these medicine-men possess the secret of mesmerism or magnetic influence, or whether the whole system is a humbug and imposition, is difficult to determine. A careful observer of the ceremonies of this order for six years has been unable to detect the imposition, if there be one; and it is unreasonable to suppose that an imposition of this character could be practised for

centuries without detection. There is no doubt that the tribe generally believe that their medicine-men possess great power.

The feast of Mondamin, represented in the accompanying drawing, is strictly an offer of first-fruits to the power which has caused their growth and perfection. The ceremonies begin with the gathering of the corn from the field. It is then conveyed to the lodge. It is boiled in water and then served up in the ear to the invited guests, after having been duly offered to the Great Spirit in thankfulness and with an appropriate address. Each guest brings his own dish, and retires backwards to the door, whence he proceeds to his own lodge with the food he has received. This is the ceremony called "Busk" by the Creeks.

#### SPORTS AND PASTIMES.—DISCOIDAL STONES.

Games of various character have attracted the Indian tribes from the earliest notices we have of them. Some of these games are of a domestic character, or such as are usually played in the wigwam or domicile. Of this kind are the game of hunting the moccasin, the game of the bowl, and sundry minor games known to the Algonkins, the Cherokees, and other tribes. But by far the greater number of games practised by the North American Indians are of an athletic character, and are designed to nourish and promote activity of limb and manual expertness in the field or on the green. Such are the various ball-plays and wrestling and running matches which whole tribes are assembled to witness and participate in. To run swiftly, to fend adroitly with the baton, to strike or catch, to lift great weights, to throw stones, to shoot darts, to dance with spirit,—in short, to exhibit any extraordinary feat of agility, strength, or endurance in mimic strife, has ever been held to be among the principal objects of applause, especially in the young. It is, indeed, in these sports that the elements of war are learned, and it is hence that excellence in these feats is universally held up to admiration in the oral recitals of the deeds of their heroes and prodigies. Manabozho excelled in his superhuman and godlike feats, and killed the mammoth serpent and bear-king. Papukewis could turn pironettes until he raised a whirlwind, and Kwäsind could twist off the stoutest rope. These things are related to stimulate the physical powers of the young, and there is not a tribe in the land, whose customs we know, of whom it is not a striking trait to favor the acquisition of skill in games and amusements. Among these field-sports the casting of stones is one of the most ready and natural traits of savage tribes. With such accuracy is this done that it is astonishing with what skill and precision an Indian will hurl stones at any object.

The numerous discoidal stones that are found in the tumuli, and at the sites of ancient occupancy in the Mississippi Valley, serve to denote that this amusement was practised among the earlier tribes of that Valley at the Mound period. These antique quoits are made with great labor and skill from very hard and heavy pieces of stone. They are generally exact disks, of a concave surface, with an orifice in the centre, and a broad rim. A specimen now before us, from one of the smaller tumuli at



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THE FEAST OF MONDAMID





E. W. WOODS, PUBLISHER, N. Y.

W. H. FURNESS DEL.

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BALL PLAY ON THE ICE.



Grave Creek Flats, in the Ohio Valley, is wrought from a solid piece of porphyry. It is three and a half inches in diameter, with a thickness of one and five-tenths inches. The perforation is half an inch, and the rim, forming the disk, a small fraction under the same. The object of hurling such an instrument was manifestly to cover an upright pin or peg driven into the ground. Whether, like the ancient Greeks in hurling their discus, a string was used to give additional velocity and direction to its motion, cannot be stated.

#### BALL-PLAYING.

This game is played by the Northwestern Indians in the winter season, after the winter hunts are over, and during summer, when, the game being unfit to kill, they amuse themselves with athletic sports, games of chance, dances, and war. The game is played by two parties, not necessarily equally divided in numbers, but usually one village against another, or one large village may challenge two or three smaller ones to the combat. When a challenge is accepted, a day is appointed to play the game, ball-bats are made, and each party assembles its whole force of old men, young men, and boys. The women never play in the same game with the men. Heavy bets are made by individuals of the opposite sides. Horses, guns, blankets, buffalo-robes, kettles, and trinkets are freely staked on the result of the game. When the parties are assembled on the ground, two stakes are placed about a quarter of a mile apart, and the game commences midway between them, the object of each party being to get the ball beyond the limits of its opponents. The game commences by one of the old men throwing the ball in the air, when all rush forward to catch it in their ball-bats before or after it falls to the ground. The one who catches it throws it in the direction of the goal of the opposing party, when, if it be caught by one of the same side, it is continued in that direction, and so on until it is thrown beyond the limits, but if caught by an opponent it is thrown back in the opposite direction. In this way the ball is often kept all day between the two boundaries, neither party being able to get it beyond the limits of the other. When one has caught the ball he has the right, before throwing it, to run towards the limits until he is overtaken by the other party, when, being compelled to throw it, he endeavors to send it in the direction of some of his own party, to be caught by some one of them, who continues sending it in the same direction. If a village or party get the ball over the eastern boundary, they change sides, and the next time they have to try and get it over the western boundary; so if the same party propel it over the western boundary, they win one game, and another bet is played for. When the ball is seen flying through the air there is a great shout and hurrah by the spectators. The players sometimes pick it up and run over the lines without being overtaken by any of the opposite party. Then a great shout is raised again to urge on the players. This game is very laborious, and occasionally the participants in it receive some hard blows, either from the club or the ball.

Plate 56 represents a ball-play on the ice. The young man has the ball in his

ball-bat, and is running with it towards the limits of the other side, pursued by all the players.

Plate 57 represents a ball-play on the prairies in summer. The ball is on the ground, and all are rushing forward to catch it with their ball-bats, not being allowed to touch it with their hands.

The ball is carved from a knot, or made of baked clay covered with raw deer-hide. The ball-bat is from three to four feet long, one end bent up in a circular form about four inches in diameter, in which is a net-work made of raw-hide or sinews of the deer or buffalo.

#### GAMES OF CHANCE.

One of the principal amusements of a sedentary character which our tribes practise is that of various games in which success depends on the luck of numbers. These games, to which both the prairie and the forest tribes are addicted, assume the fascination and intensity of interest of gambling, and the most valued articles are often staked on the result of a throw. For this purpose the prairie tribes commonly use the stone of the wild plum or some analogous fruit, upon which various devices indicating their arithmetical value are burned in, or engraved and colored, so as to reveal at a glance the character of the pieces. Among the Dakota tribes this is known by a term which is translated "the game of the plum-stones" (*kun-tah-soo*).

A representation of this universally popular game is given in Plate 58. There are five sets of stones. Each set consists of eight pieces.

To play this game, a little hole is made in the ground and a skin put in it. It is also played on a robe. The women and young men play. The bowl is lifted with one hand about three or four inches, and pushed suddenly down to its place. The plum-stones fly over several times, and the count, as in all games of chance, is advanced or retarded by the luck of the throw. The stake is first put up by all who wish to play. A dozen can play at once. Seven is the game. Sometimes they throw the whole count; at other times they throw twice or thrice, but frequently miss, and the next one takes the dish. The dish which they play in is round, and will hold about two quarts. Women play this game more than the men, and often lose all their trinkets at it.

The game of moccasins is practised by the men, and large bets are made. In this game they take sides, one party playing against the other. One side will sing, whilst one man of the other party hides the ball in a moccasin. There are three moccasins used for the purpose. The man takes the ball or stick between his thumb and forefinger, slips it from one moccasin to another several times, leaves it in one of them, and then stops,—something like thimble-play. The party that has been singing has to guess in which moccasin the ball is, for which purpose one man is chosen. If he guesses where the ball is the first time, he loses. Should the ball not be in the moccasin that he guesses the first time, he can try again. He has now to guess which one of the two remaining moccasins the ball is in. If he is successful,



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PLATE 57. NARRAGANSETT INDIANS.





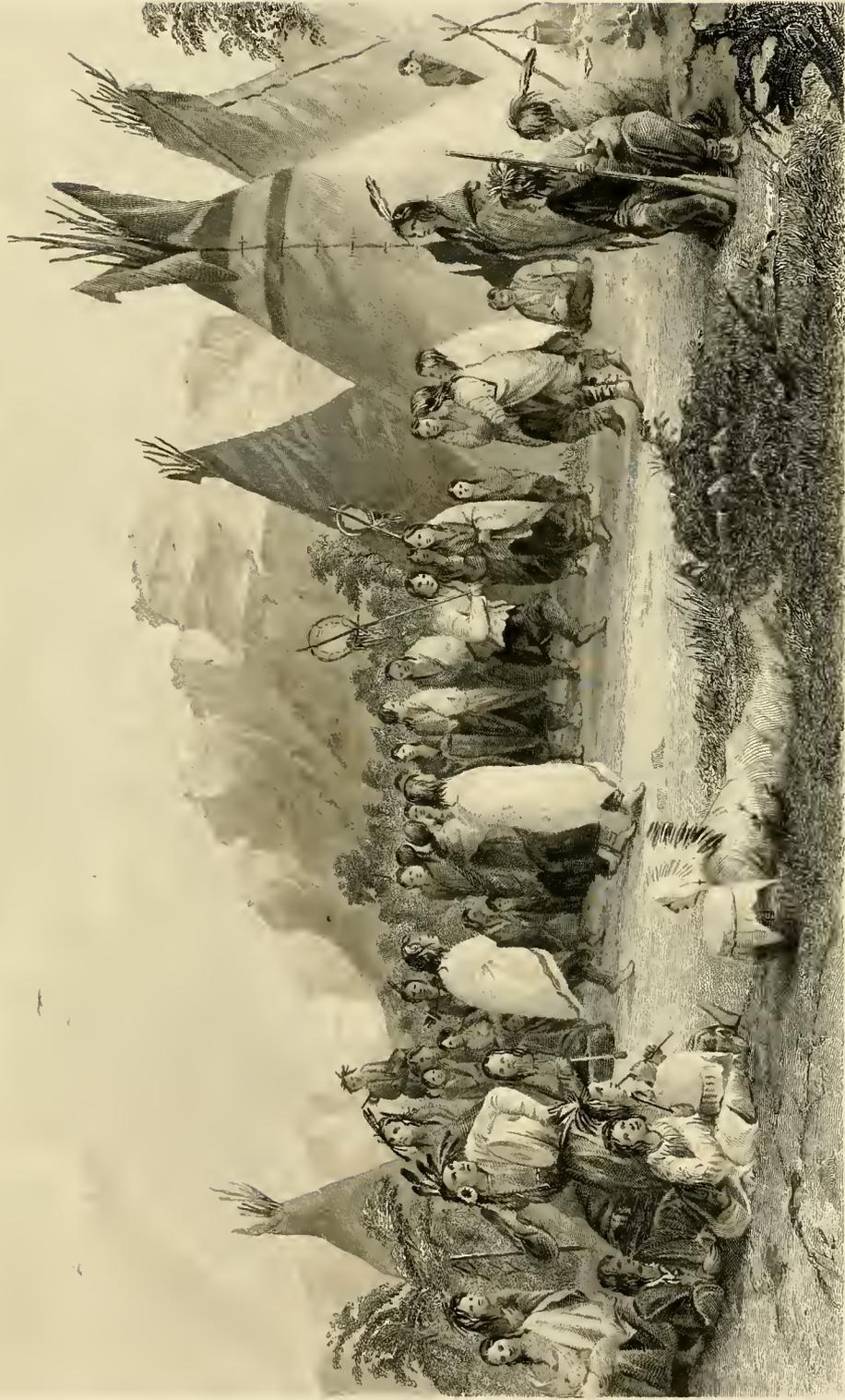
Cap. - Goodman U. S. Army. Del.

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Indian Women playing the Game of Plum Stone





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SCALP DANCE OF THE DAKOTAS



he wins; if not, he loses. So they have only one chance in two of winning. When one side loses, the winning side gives up the moccasins to the other party, that they may try their luck awhile at hiding the ball. They have no high numbers in the game.

A more complicated mode of reliance on the luck of numbers is found in the Chippewa game of the Bowl, called *Puggesaing*. It is played with thirteen pieces, nine of which are formed of bone and four of brass, all of circular shape. Eight of the bone pieces are stained red on the right side, with edges and dots burned black with a hot iron; the reverse is left white. The brass pieces have the right side convex and the reverse concave. The convex surface is bright, the concave surface dark or dull.

The game is won by the red pieces, the arithmetical value of each of which is fixed. Any number of players may take part in the game. Nothing is required but a wooden bowl, which is curiously carved and ornamented (the owner relying somewhat on magic influence) and has a plain, smooth surface.

The Indians now play cards mostly for bets and amusement. Some play away everything they possess except their wives and children. They are never known to gamble them away.

#### DANCING.

Dancing is a national trait, and is a part of the religious, social, and military system of the tribes.

The war-dance is celebrated before starting on a war-path; but although a tribe may not for several years have been engaged in war, this dance is kept up, and frequently practised. The object of this seems to be the same as that sought to be effected by martial music and military reviews among the whites,—namely, to keep alive a martial spirit, and “in peace prepare for war.” The old warriors sometimes join this dance, but usually only the middle-aged and young men engage in it; occasionally boys are allowed to participate. Women do not engage in the war-dance, but encourage it by their presence as spectators. The dancers appear in their war-costume, with a weapon, or something to represent a weapon, in their hands. The musicians are seated around a flag in the centre: the music consists of drums, rattles, and singing. When the music commences, the dancers spring into the ring and dance promiscuously, brandishing their weapons and making menacing gestures. This exercise is violent, and cannot be long sustained without rest. Occasionally a warrior will step forward and go through a pantomime of the discovery, ambuscade, attack, killing, and scalping of an enemy; another will give a history of his exploits, and accompany the recital with appropriate gestures.

When an officer of the government, or any distinguished person, visits their village, they assemble and dance; this is done ostensibly as an honor to the visitor, but in reality with the expectation of receiving a present.

The scalp-dance affords a striking illustration of the vindictive and bloodthirsty spirit of the savage, and the means by which this spirit is imbibed by and cherished in

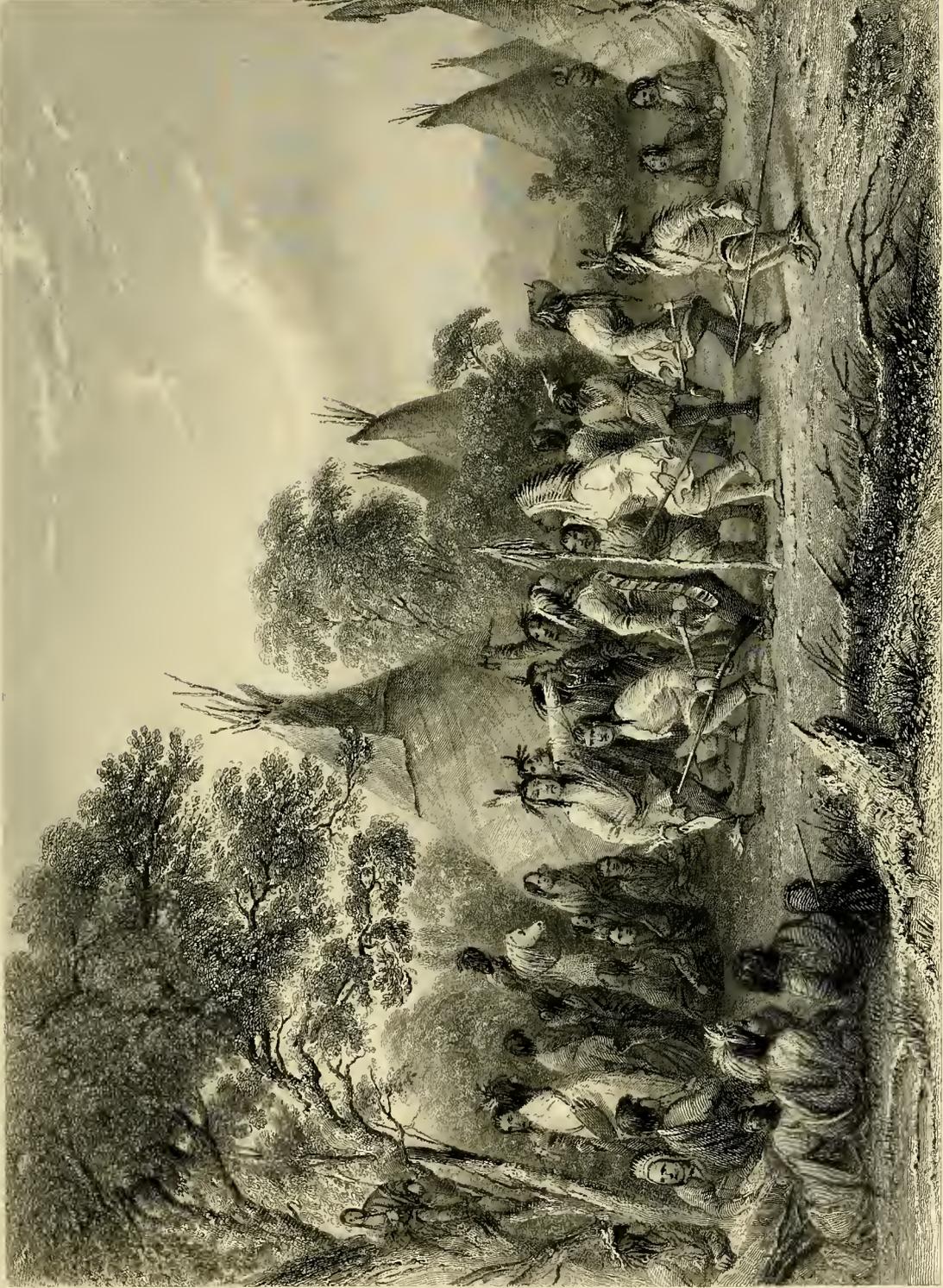
their children. At an occurrence of this kind witnessed by Mr. Schoolcraft in 1851 among the Chippewas, the scalps of a murdered Sioux family were hung up on sticks set in the ground, and men, women, and children danced around them; occasionally the women and children would take a scalp and carry it round the ring. This dance was continued for hours, with great excitement. One of the Chippewas had killed his man with a spear; finding it difficult to extricate his weapon on account of the barb, he cut out a piece of flesh with his knife, and brought it home, still adhering to the spear: this flesh was cut in pieces and given to the boys, who ate it raw.

The funeral-dance is performed at the grave when a sacrifice is made for the dead. They dance around the grave to the music of the drum and singing.

The pipe-dance and other convivial dances are joined in with spirit and glee by both old and young. The women in dancing have but one motion: they spring on the toes, both feet together, the body erect, and hands by the side. The men bound on the right and left foot alternately, with the body slightly bent forward.

#### DOG-DANCE OF THE DAKOTA INDIANS.

This dance is peculiar to the Dakota tribe, and takes its name from the fact that the raw liver of the dog is eaten by the performers. It is not often performed, and only on some extraordinary occasion. The performers are usually the bravest warriors of the tribe, and those having stomachs strong enough to digest raw food. When a dog-dance is to be given, the warriors who are to take part in it, and all others who desire to witness it, assemble at some stated time and place. After they have talked and smoked for a while, the dance commences. A dog with his legs pinioned is thrown into the group of dancers by one of the spectators. This is despatched by one of the medicine-men, or jugglers, with a war-club or tomahawk. The side of the animal is then cut open, and the liver taken out. This is cut into strips and hung on a pole about four or five feet in length. The performers now begin to dance around the pole, smacking their lips and making all sorts of grimaces, showing a great desire to get a taste of the delicious morsel. After performing these antics for a while, one of them will make a grab at the liver, biting off a piece, and then hop off, chewing and swallowing it as he goes. His example is followed by all the other warriors until every morsel of the liver is eaten. Should any particles of it fall to the ground, they are collected by a medicine-man in the palm of his hand, who carries it round to the dancers to be eaten and his hands well licked. After disposing of the first dog, they all sit down in a circle and chat and smoke awhile until another dog is thrown in, when the same ceremonies are repeated, to be continued so long as any one is disposed to present them with a dog. They are required to eat the liver, raw and warm, of every dog that is presented to them; and while they are eating it, none but the medicine-men must touch it with their hands. Women do not join in this dance. The object of this ceremony is, they say, that those who eat the liver of the dog while it is raw and warm shall become possessed



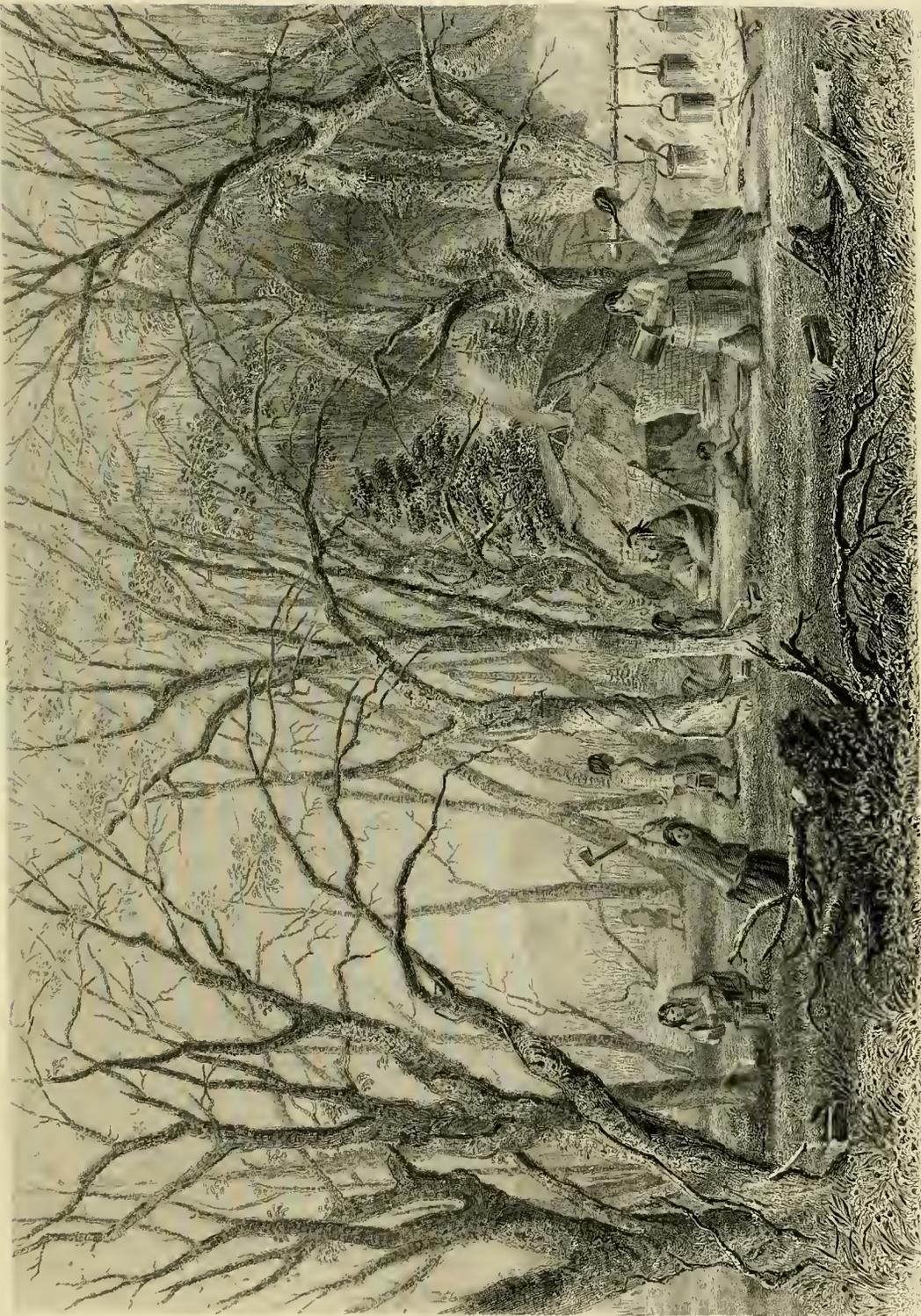
*W. Eastman Capt. U.S. Army. Del.*

*C. B. Henshall & J. Andrews. Eng.*

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DOG DANCE OF THE DAKOTAS







of the sagacity and bravery of the dog. The Ojibwas, the tribe bordering on the Dakotas, and their hereditary enemies, look with disgust on this ceremony.

## SUGAR-MAKING.

As the spring season approaches, and the sap begins to ascend the still leafless trunks of the acer saccharinum, or sugar-maple, the Indian families throughout the northern and middle latitudes repair to their sugar-camps, and engage in preparing that, to them, favorite luxury. The sap is carried in bark buckets, and boiled down in kettles of iron or tin. This labor devolves chiefly on the females. It forms a sort of Indian carnival. The article is profusely eaten by all of every age, and a quantity is put up for sale in boxes made from the white birch bark, which are called *mocoeks*, or *mokuks*. These sugar-boxes are in the shape of the lower section of a quadrangular pyramid. They are of a light-brown color, or, if new, of a nankeen-yellow. While the careful and industrious wife prepares and fills these boxes for sale, the children and youth carry sap from the trees, and have a grand frolic among themselves, boiling candy and pouring it out on the snow to cool, and gambolling about on the frozen surface with the wildest delight. Their mothers supply them, too, with miniature mokuks, filled with sugar from the first runnings of the sap, which make the choicest sugar. These little mokuks are ornamented with dyed porcupine-quills, skilfully wrought in the shape of flowers and figures. The boxes designed for sale are of various sizes, ranging in capacity from twenty to seventy pounds. The number of these boxes made in a single season by an industrious and strong-handed family is known to be from thirty to forty, in addition to all the sugar that has been consumed. It is seldom less than a dozen or twenty boxes to the family, and the average yield may be put between twenty-five and one hundred and fifty dollars in trade.

The heyday scenes of the *Seensibaukwut*, or sugar-making, crown the labors of the spring. The pelt of animals is now out of season, winter has ended with all its rigors, and the setting-in of warm weather prepares the Indian mind for a season of hilarity and feasting, for which the sale of his "golden mokuks" gives him some means. It is now that religious observances are in order. The Medawin, the Jesukawin, and the Wabeno societies assemble. Feasts are given as long as their means last. The sounds of the drum and the rattle echo through their villages. The streams, loosened from their icy fetters, utter a deeper murmur, the forests are decked with the leafy clothing which fits them for purposes of concealment, and the Indian mind prepares itself for renewing its darling schemes of war.

## COSTUME.

It is in these fêtes that the Indian nations should be seen if one would acquire a correct idea of their national costumes and of their customs, and not in their wars, in which their universal custom is, from a fixed principle, to make themselves appear

hideous and terrible. See the Sioux and the Chippewas in the field of battle, it is difficult to distinguish one from the other; see them in their civil or religious fêtes, and they cannot be mistaken one for the other.

The dress of the tribes is changeable, and dependent on climate. The skins of the beaver and fine-furred animals were extensively used in the North at the period of the first planting of the colonies; and it often so happened that an Indian was thus clothed at an expense which would have covered him with the finest and richest broadcloths. Deer-skins furnished the clothing in deer-yielding districts, and the dressed skins of the buffalo did the same throughout the latitudes west of the Mississippi, reaching from about 32° to 52° N.

Throughout the plains and level forests of the tropical and southern latitudes of North America the Indian wears little or no clothing during a large part of the year. But it is different on the eminences elevated thousands of feet above the sea, and also very different as the observer extends his views over the temperate zone. Nudity, where it is asserted of tribes within the present area of the United States, as is done by De Bry of the Virginia Indians, implied generally uncovered limbs and body. But it permitted the azian, or loin-cloth, a necklace of shells, claws, or wampum, feathers on the head, and armlets, as well as ear- and nose-jewels. The Powhatanese women had, if nothing else, a short fringed kirtle of buckskin; the bust was nude,<sup>1</sup> but this was doubtless only the summer costume.

But even in summer the Northern Indians were less scantily clothed. The skins of beasts were adapted to every purpose of garment, and the severity of winter was averted by the richest and warmest furs. Commerce immediately altered this, and taught the Indian the wastefulness of wearing skins and peltries, one tithe of the market-price of which would clothe him in woollen.

Moccasins have stood their ground as a part of the Indian costume with more entire success against European innovation than perhaps any other part of the aboriginal dress. They are made of buckskin or buffalo-skin, dressed and smoked after the Indian fashion. The skin is then macerated and dressed with the brains of the animal, till the harsher properties are well discharged, and it is brought to a soft, smooth, and pliant state. If it is designed for a bride's moccasins, or to be worn by females on some ceremonial occasions, and to be ornamented with porcupine-quills and ribbons, the dressing is continued till it is as soft and white as the finest white dressed doe-skin; but if intended for ordinary use, it is smoked, and brought by the pyroligneous properties of the smoke to a brown color and compact texture, in which state it is fitted the better to repel moisture. This smoking is effected by burning hard-wood chips in a smouldering fire, in the bottom of an orifice dug in the ground, the skin being suspended by a light frame around and above the orifice.

There is a fashion in the cut, closing, and pucker of the shoe which denotes the different tribes. As a general remark, the puckered toe is indicative of the Iroquois and the Dakota stocks and the Missouri tribes generally. In the Algonkin shoe, and

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<sup>1</sup> De Bry's Drawings.

particularly in that of the Chippewas, the pucker is very finely drawn and covered with ornamental quill-work. No attempt has been observed in any of the United States or British-American tribes to macerate their skins in decoctions of oak, chestnut, or hemlock bark, with a view to thicken or solidify the fibre, or to do anything towards the important art of tanning. Yet they are acquainted with the stringent principle of these barks, as we observe in some rude and harsh attempts to apply them medically. Indeed, the moccasin and the legging of skins constitute one of the most characteristic arts of the true hunter state.

The buckskin legging, the "leather-stocking" of popular American literature, prevailed over the continent at the respective periods of tribal discovery, and is in use at present among all our hunter tribes. It is by far the most durable and appropriate article for the purpose known, being as light as it is strong. It resists the rough wear and tear of the woodman's and hunter's life better than any fabric which has been substituted for it. The legging designed for males is made precisely the length of the leg, the outer seam being cut so as to embrace the hip. When thus drawn on, it is fastened by strings of the same material to a main cord or abdominal tie. The female legging has no such appendage. It reaches a little below the knee, where it is fastened by a garter.<sup>1</sup> Both kinds reach down closely on the moccasin, where they are fastened on the ankle, so that the convex part of the leg is quite covered, and the rain and snow are kept out. Ornaments and fringes are permitted, agreeably to the size. The female legging is ornamented only at the bottom. The male legging is fringed and ornamented nearly its entire length. There is generally what is designed as a military stripe, of quill-work, reaching from the ankle half-way up the thigh. To give firmness, and serve at the same time for ornament, a colored worsted tasselled garter is tied below the knee. At this point hawks' bells are attached, which produce a tinkling sound in walking. In female hybrids of Indian blood who have been educated and introduced to the refinements of drawing-room life there is often found some recognition of, or lingering taste for, some particular features of the native costume. There is worn by them a species of pantalet, the substitute for the legging, which is made of thin Italian black silk, drawn over the stocking and slipper, and tied in graceful folds, gathered below the knee.

War-shirts, war-coats, and mantles for use on ceremonial occasions are often made from the skins of the fiercest and most renowned animals captured in the chase. Deer-skin and dressed buffalo-skin constitute their ordinary materials. They are elaborately wrought and profusely ornamented. In this department dyed porcupine-quills, sweet grass, and colored hair are chiefly employed. The favorite colors in the ornaments of their dresses are bright red and blue. At the treaty of Prairie du Chien, on the Upper Mississippi, in 1825, a great variety of these dresses were exhibited. None, however, exceeded in majestic style the robe of a Yankton chief,

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<sup>1</sup> In the painting of Pocahontas, in the rotunda of the Capitol, the sister of the heroine is represented sitting on the floor, with a man's leggings reaching the entire length of her limbs, and tied in the male fashion around her body. Nothing could be more erroneous in respect to Indian costume.

from the Minnesota River, who was called Wanita. He was a remarkably tall man, with features that might have done honor to any of the Roman emperors of early periods as we see them figured on coins. He was clothed in a war-robe of buff-colored buffalo-skin, ornamented with porcupine-quills brilliantly dyed. This garment reached to his feet. He had bunches of red horse-hair tied above his elbows. His moccasins had appendages of the skin of the hystrix, which dangled at his heels. He carried gracefully a highly-ornamented Sioux pipe-handle four feet in length.

Nothing, however, creates so much pride, or receives such elaborate attention, or is purchased at such a cost, as the head-gear in which a chief or warrior presents himself. Taking his ideas probably from the male species of the feathered creation, which are decorated by nature with the brightest and most gaudy colors, he devotes the greatest attention to this point. And the result is almost as various as these species, so far as respects form and color. The primary point aimed at is to denote his prowess and standing in war. The scale by which this merit is measured has been mentioned. But this mode of denoting a specific honor does not interfere with or prevent persons from preparing a highly-ornamented head-dress. The feathers of the eagle are generally chosen for the purpose. Sometimes there is a fillet of colored skins, with a feather of honor attached. Horns are often fastened to this. These are symbolical of power. Where much pains have been bestowed in framing an elaborate head-dress of feathers which would be easily deranged, a case to contain and preserve it for ceremonial days is constructed. The Northern tribes in the winter wear a cap of cloth made to fit closely to the head and fall down the neck, being tied over the shirt or coat in such a manner as to prevent the snow from reaching the neck and throat.

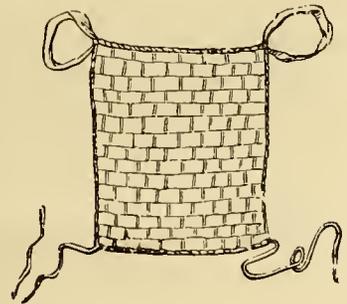
It is also during the prevalence of the rigors of winter that the very singular appendage to the moccasin, called the snow-shoe, is worn. It is simply a contrivance to keep the foot from sinking in soft snow. For this purpose two bows of hard wood are formed and bent elliptically, the two ends of the bows being brought together and closed behind the foot, forming a projection. Two cross-pieces are put to the front part for the foot to rest on, and a third piece behind the heel to give firmness to the frame. The whole surface is then laced over with deer's sinews or strips of hide. A thong of leather confines the foot to the thwarts, permitting it to play freely, and the whole appendage hangs from the toes, resembling a vast sandal, allowing the muscles the freest scope. Various sizes and shapes of the snow-shoe are worn by the different tribes. There is also always a female snow-shoe, which is shorter and has some peculiarities of shape. The cording of the latter is often painted in fanciful colors and furnished with light tassels.

No tribe in the United States dispenses with the *azian*. This is generally made of a quarter of a yard of stronds, drawn closely about the person before and behind, and held up by the abdominal string, which also supports the leggings. A flap of the cloth hangs down an equal length behind and before. This flap is usually ornamented by elaborate needle-work.

Over his shirt, or around his coat, if that garment be worn, the warrior winds his baldric or girdle, which is woven of worsted from beaded threads. The ends of these filaments depend as a tassel. The garter is generally constructed of similar materials. An ornament made of the claws of the grizzly bear, the most ferocious beast of the West, is much coveted by warriors, who fancy themselves, when carrying such a symbol, to be endowed with that animal's courage and ferocity. It is in this sense an amulet as well as an ornament. Indeed, there are few of the ornaments of the Indians that have not this twofold character.

Winnebago Indians of both sexes consider the Mackinac blanket an essential article of dress at all times. White blankets are preferred in the winter, and colored ones in the summer. Red is a favorite color with the young, and green with the aged. Three-point blankets are worn by men, and two-and-a-half-point by women. The calico shirts, cloth leggings, and buckskin moccasins worn by both sexes are similar. In addition to the above articles the women wear a broadcloth petticoat or mantelet, suspended from the hips and extending below the knee. No part of the garments worn by this tribe is made of materials the growth of their own country, except that their leggings and moccasins are sometimes made of deer-skins dressed by themselves. The Winnebago chiefs wear nothing peculiar to designate their office, except it be medals received from the President of the United States. These Indians attach great value to ornaments. Wampum, ear-bobs, rings, bracelets, and bells are the most common ornaments worn by them. Head-dresses ornamented with eagles' feathers are worn by the warriors on public occasions. Some of the young men and women of the tribe paint their blankets with a variety of colors and figures. This is usually done with vermilion and other paints purchased of their traders. Vegetable dyes are used but little by them. They do not tattoo their bodies. A large majority of the young and middle-aged of both sexes paint their faces when they dress for a dance, and on all public occasions. Vermilion, prussian blue, and chrome yellow are generally used for this purpose. The men frequently besmear their bodies with white clay when they join a public dance.

Dyes are made from flowers mostly, and from roots and barks of trees. They dye red, purple, blue, black, green, yellow. The red dye is made from the top of the sumach and a small root found in the ground, by boiling. Yellow is from flowers, by boiling. Black is from maple-bark, butternut, and black mud taken from the bottom of rivers. Vermilion is still sold them in considerable quantities; red clay, blue, and yellow are also used by the men to paint their faces and bodies. Oxide of iron, making a paint somewhat resembling Spanish brown, is largely used by all the Sioux. Sometimes, though not very often, they puncture the skin for ornament, as well as their arms and breast, their forehead and lips. The men make many imprints on their blankets with paint as marks of bravery, etc.



The hair of both sexes is worn long, and tied or braided, and is carefully attended

to. They have no beards. They sometimes part the hair from superstitious motives, and sometimes for ornament.

For war costume among the Indians of Oregon and Upper California paint is freely used, the color principally red, applied to the face, arms, and chest. Feathers and leaves are also used to decorate the head, some having the hair tied up in a knot. Some of these Northern tribes wear for their dress a jacket of mail, something like the cut on the opposite page, which covers them in front, and affords protection against arrows to the most vital portion of their bodies. It is composed of thin parallel battens of very tough wood, woven together by a small cord, with arm-holes and strings at the bottom corners to fasten it around the waist.

#### ACCOUTREMENTS.

The quiver is variously constructed and ornamented, but is generally made of leather or bark. It is suspended from the shoulders by a strap around the breast. An Indian's riches and efficiency in war and hunting consist greatly in the number of his arrows. These are not generally fabricated by the warrior himself, but are made by a person who has the requisite skill in the business and is known as a professional arrow-maker. He is rewarded for his services, and thus is relieved in a great measure from the necessity of hunting on his own account.

The shield is the only protection which the Indian possesses against the arrow. The Aztec guarded himself by a wadded cotton doublet. But there was no such defence against rifles or arms north of the Gulf of Mexico. The prairie tribes who employ the shield use the thickest pieces of the hide of the buffalo. It is an appendage which they paint and decorate with ornaments of eagles' feathers with the greatest nicety.

The Indian ensign is formed by attaching the feathers of the eagle to a pole some six feet in length, the bearer of which is conceived to be intrusted with a high honor. These feathers are attached longitudinally, by puncturing the quill and drawing a line through the orifice.

Wherever the Indian goes, in peace or war, and whatever he does, his pipe is his constant companion. He draws consolation from it in hunger, want, and misfortune, and "when fair skies betide him"—his constant expression for good fortune—it is the pipe to which he appeals, as if every puff of the weed were an acceptable oblation to the Great Spirit. The various sacks in which he carries this cherished plant are ornamented with great skill and patience.

#### CHARACTERISTIC TRAITS.

Imperturbability in all situations is one of the most striking and general traits of the Indian character. To steel his muscles to resist the expression of all emotion seems to be the point of attainment, and this is to be particularly observed on public occasions. Neither fear nor joy is permitted to break this trained equanimity. The newest and most ingenious contrivance placed before him is not allowed to produce

the least expression of wonder ; and, although his language has provided him with many exclamations of surprise, he cannot, when placed in the gaze of public observation, be induced to utter any, even the slightest of them, to mark emotion. The mind and nerves are schooled to this from the earliest hours, and it is deemed a mark of timidity or cowardice to permit his countenance to denote surprise. In this stern discipline of the mind and nerves there is no appreciable difference in the whole Indian race situated between the tropic and arctic zones. Heat of climate has not been found to have the effect to relax the habit, nor cold to make him forget the unvarying severity of cautiousness, or of what is conceived to be its manly requirements. The Inca Atahualpa ordered some of his warriors to be immediately put to death because they had evinced some emotion of surprise at the sight of Pizarro's cavalry, who had been directed to curvet before him ; although the *horse* was everywhere, on his first introduction, known to be the especial object of Indian wonder and fear.

Taciturnity is a habit of mind very consonant to the maxims and experiences of the hunter life. Where the punishment of hot or hasty words is often the knife or the club, a man is compelled to deliberate before he utters a sentiment. It is a maxim in Indian life that a man who is sparing of his words is discreet. The habits of the forest tend to show this. Public speaking and talking are different acts. A speech or an oration is left for public councils and occasions, and is therefore thoughtfully prepared. There is always a private council to determine what shall be said, and a man appointed to speak, who is not always a chief. This preparation is often so carefully made that it was customary in early times on great occasions to have a string of wampum to serve as a memorial or symbol for every paragraph or topic. The requirements of the highest diplomatic circle could hardly, indeed, prescribe greater caution and concealment than are observed in their public treaties ; and in these two qualities we may take a Talleyrand and a Metternich, and a Pontiac and a Tecumseh, as the two extremes where barbarism and civilization meet : it would be difficult to determine in which two classes of diplomatists profound concealment and deception most abound.

#### REGARD FOR THE INSANE.

Regard for lunatics, or the demented members of the human race, is a universal trait among the American tribes. It is even found among the Indians of Oregon, who have been often, and perhaps not erroneously, supposed to be inferior in mental endowments to the tribes of the Atlantic slope and of the Mississippi Valley. Lewis and Clarke, in 1806, saw an Oregon woman who appeared to be demented. She sang in a wild, incoherent manner, and would offer to the spectators all the little articles she possessed, scarifying herself in a horrid manner if any one refused to accept her presents. She seemed to be an object of pity among the Indians, who suffered her to do as she pleased without interruption, her lunacy being considered by the Indians a perfect exemption from responsibility.

## REVENGE.

Any one, two, or three may revenge the death of a relative, and it sometimes happens that two or three are killed for one. A compromise is frequently made by the offending party giving large presents. Fleeing, too, from justice has saved the life of a murderer for years, and he sometimes escapes altogether and dies a natural death. Other murderers are killed years after the offence: when they think all is forgotten, revenge is taken in a moment. They have no particular place of escape, as the people of old had. In feuds arising from polygamy, if a death occurs, the relatives of the deceased almost always seek revenge.

In cases of murder the parties aggrieved generally seek revenge themselves, although there are some instances where a murderer is put to death by the authority of the council. An instance of this kind happened in 1846 at Little Crow's village. An old chief had three wives, and also had children by each of the three, who were always wrangling with one another, although the father had taken great pains to bring them up to be good men. After the old chief's death, the eldest son of each of these three sets of children set up claims to the chieftainship, although their father had previously given it to his first son. The younger brothers were very jealous, and made an attempt to kill him, in which they very nearly succeeded. They shot him with ball and shot; both his arms were broken, and he was also wounded in the face and breast. After this heinous act the young men made their escape, but a month afterwards returned home again, got drunk, and threatened to kill other persons. The village called a council, and resolved to put the young men to death. One of them had fallen asleep, the other was awake. The three appointed to kill them, one of whom was a half-brother, went to the lodge where they were, and shot them. No notice of the decision of the council was given them. The executioner seeks the most favorable opportunity he can find to kill the man. Guns are generally used for this business, although the tomahawk or clubs sometimes are preferred. Messengers are sent out for the restoration of property. The most of the pilfering among themselves is done by women and children. The men say it is too low a practice for them to live by. Stealing horses, however, from an enemy the men regard as an act of bravery and right. The women have severe and bloody fights on account of stealing from one another. The men scarcely ever interfere in these quarrels. Polygamy also gives rise to bloody battles among the women, and the strongest generally keeps the lodge. The men attend to their own difficulties, and let the women settle theirs among themselves.

## INDIAN SUPERSTITIONS.

The Indian appears to be so constituted that whatever is mysterious, wonderful, or incomprehensible is referred by him to the agency of spirits or local gods. Whether engaged in the business of peace or war, these mysterious influences are

ever uppermost in his mind. In war-parties they are often invoked on the use of simples or botanical medicines. Rev. Cotton Mather, a celebrated divine of the early epoch of New England, observes that "every remarkable creature has a peculiar god within it, or about it, and that the ills of life are believed to be due to the anger of these gods, while their success is ascribed to their favor. Chief over these local deities, they describe the great god Kamantowit, who is represented as the creator of all mankind." Every object that possesses life in any department of the universe may be supposed to be inhabited by a manito or spirit. They do not bow down to the images of them, as the Oriental nations do, but merely recognize their spiritual power. Neither do they ever worship any of them, as a principle analogous to the Brahma, Vishnu, or Siva of the Hindoos. The manito is a god showing himself often in an animal form, or in the higher phenomena of the atmosphere, as thunder, lightning, meteors, stars, or the sun and moon. Material objects merely typify the deity, but the idea of the god in most cases is latent in the Indian mind.

There is a custom among the Chippewa warriors of eating small portions of a bitter root, which is supposed to produce insensibility to pain. This is carried as a sacred talisman, and is never resorted to till they come into the vicinity of the enemy. They call it *zhe-go-wauk*. After the warriors have seated themselves in a ring in the prairie to chew this root, they arise with renewed courage and spirits.

#### MANITOEES.

Manitoes, except those of the tutelary class, are believed to be generally invisible and immaterial, but can assume any form in the range of the animate creation, and even, when the occasion calls for it, take their place among inanimate objects. They also, in communicating with mankind, often assume the human form, and take the shapes of giants, dwarfs, or cannibals. The power of this assumption is common to the evil and to the good spirits. In the oral tales of the Indians the form is most commonly assumed by malign disturbers of Indian peace, as sorcerers, witches, etc. The Great Spirit and his messengers are also recognized, sometimes in the human form, as in the narratives of the creation of the world and of mankind, and in the legends concerning the origin of the knowledge of making fire and of killing and roasting the deer. They also teach a perpetual struggle and fundamental war between the two opposing powers or original spirits of good and evil. These, Charlevoix tells us, were twins, believed by the Iroquois to be brought forth by Atahentsic, the mother of mankind. Oriwahennic, a Wyandot chief, related to Mr. Schoolcraft the same tradition in 1838. The tribes of the Iroquois stock believe that Tarenayawagon cleared their streams of insuperable obstructions, and taught them the arts of life and of government.

Totemic marks are not only the ideographic signs for families, denoting consanguinity, but also perform an important office in the Indian bark scrolls, and pictographs, and painted skins, on which the warlike feats of individuals are depicted. These totemic devices are also shown in their application to public transactions.

They are employed, with a formula expressing numbers, to denote the census of Indian villages.

The Indians, living in vast forests abounding in enormous trees, adopted the belief in wood-dryads, the demons of the Greeks, whom they propitiate under the name of Monedoes, or local spirits, regarding them as subordinate powers of the Great Spirit. As these dryads were generally thought to be of a malignant nature, the offering to them, at consecrated spots, of tobacco, vermilion, red cloth, or any other highly-valued article, was adopted as the means of appeasing them. Giants, sorcerers, wizards, and other creations of a timid fancy were supposed to be inspired by these wood-demons.

Another striking feature of their system of deification was the belief that the Indian Monedo not only concealed himself under the forms of men who mingled in society and were familiarly conversed with, but also frequently assumed the shape of a wolf, deer, bear, elk, bird, tortoise, amphibious animal, or even an insect. Here appears the evidence of a fruitful imagination, corresponding with the ancient forms of deification existing among the nations resident in the valleys of the Euphrates and the Nile. Of the clan of evil deities are the Kluneolux of the Iroquois, the Chepian, the Wabeno, and the Manitoosh of the Algonkins, and the Skookum of the Oregonians.

#### SPIRIT-CRAFT.

The transition from the Monedoes, or spirit-worship of the North American Indians, to demonology is slight. The American aboriginal demon, or manitoosh, is ever one of malign power to the human race. As such he was exhibited in 1534, on the St. Lawrence, by the followers of Donnaconna, to Jacques Cartier, in order to induce that explorer to relinquish his contemplated visit to Hochelaga (the modern Montreal). For this purpose, three of the Indians, who had been selected to represent the part, issued from the forest in the shape of wild and fierce demons, and played tricks before the intrepid Norman by passing near Cartier's vessels in their canoes, dressed with horns, and singing and yelling like "devils."

A similar demonstration was witnessed by David Brainerd, the missionary, on the sources of the Susquehanna, in 1744. One of the Indian sorcerers on this occasion enacted the character of an enraged fiend, clothed in the hide of a huge bear. He sprang suddenly from the sacred lodge of the Indian powwow, and, with no slight power of diabolical resemblance, played the part of a wild demon so as effectually to deter the Indian spectators from listening any longer to the white man's teachings. Analogous representations of a great wood-demon have been witnessed among the Western tribes.

The study of this complicated system of spirit-craft reveals many of the shifts and resources of the Indian mind in peace and in war, and under one of its most subtle phases,—namely, the power of the jossakeeds and medas. In the language of the Iroquois the supreme god is called Neo, or, as the term is more frequently heard in its personal combinations, Owayneo. The Dakota group of tribes apply the term

Wahconda, from *wakon*, a spirit. In the Choctaw form of the Appalachian, it is *Aba-Inka*. These terms are the ideolinguual equivalents for one another. And the system of spiritual reliances and beliefs is the same in its general features. The Indian man turns from himself and everything human, which he distrusts, to the spiritual and mysterious beings of his own creation. Wonder charms the savage soul, and in this belief we behold his perpetual source of it. In theory he refers to one supreme, omnipresent Great Spirit, while he recognizes as subordinates of this deity almost every object in heaven or on earth which strikes his fancy.

#### OMENS, DREAMS, ETC.

The Indians are much afraid of vampires and the bat, and say it is a bad omen when they fly about them. They also view with superstitious dread the *ignis-fatuus*, vulgarly called the jack-o'-lantern. Whoever sees one of these at night regards it as a sure sign of death to some one of his family. Dreams are much believed in by them, but what causes them they cannot tell. One thing is certain, that their bad dreams are caused mostly by their over-eating at night and going to sleep soon after. An Indian has been known to go to two or three feasts of an evening, and eat all that was given him, which would amount to five or six pounds of venison, with the fat along with it. In good dreams they suppose some friendly spirit has been near them, giving them good advice. Indians are often downcast, and imagine some ill fate is going to happen to them. Hardly a day passes over an Indian family without some omen being seen or heard; consequently they are very much troubled in their superstitious beliefs. They pray, but their prayers are very short. The following is a sample: "Spirits or ghosts, have mercy on me and show me where I can find a deer or bear" (as the case may be).

#### MENSTRUAL LODGE.

None of the subsisting Indian customs are more significant than those connected with the menstrual lodge; and none exercise a more important influence in the circle of the wigwam. This lunar retreat is always, if possible, in some secluded place, within the supervision of the members of the family wigwam. Adair sees in this custom a striking Hebrew trait. The temporary abstraction of the female is always known to the lodge-circle. The lodge of separation is generally made of branches, rolls of bark, and other light materials. In the summer nothing further is demanded, and no fire is required. When the weather renders a fire desirable, a very small one is lighted from dry sticks. The occupation of the inmate, in the interval, is to prepare flags for mats, to pick up sticks for fire, or to engage in some other light labor. The leading idea evinced by the custom is that of a deeply-seated superstitious fear of contact with any person within the camp. Whatever is touched by the woman during this period is deemed ceremonially unclean. She takes with her in her seclusion a spoon, a dish, and a small axe. If her step crosses the path

of a hunter or warrior, it communicates a talismanic influence, the magical and medical charms of his pursuits are destroyed, the secret power of the Meda has been counteracted,—in fine, his panoply of medaic and totemic influence is, for the time, paralyzed. The warrior's luck has been crossed for that day. Merely to touch a cup with the marks of uncleanness is equally malign.

#### HUMAN SACRIFICES.

It has been doubted whether human life has ever been sacrificed to demons, or to objects of idolatrous worship, by the United States Indian tribes. The burning of prisoners of war at the stake is a familiar phase of Indian character. It is generally the ebullition of savage vengeance, under a highly excited state of hostility, and, as such, is often known to be the retaliation of one tribe against another. To excite pain and to prolong cruelty is one of the highest objects of the successful capture of an enemy. To endure this ordeal is the greatest glory of the expiring and defiant foe. With the Aztecs human sacrifices were a religious rite. Nothing was deemed so acceptable an offering to Huitzilopochtli as the human heart warmly torn from the bleeding victim. But the whole history of our tribes may be appealed to, it is believed, without finding that a single human being has been sacrificed to a spirit, a demon, or a god. Smith was not condemned by Powhatan to satisfy a wood-demon or evil spirit, nor was Crawford tied to the stake by the Delawares and Wyandots as a religious victim demanded by the powwows.

In the month of April, 1838, an event occurred on the Missouri, about one hundred and sixty miles above Council Bluffs, at the recital of which the heart shudders with horror. The Pawnees and Sioux had long carried on a fierce and sanguinary warfare on that remote border. In the month of February, the former tribe, which has long had a name for cruelty, captured a Sioux girl named Haxta, only fourteen years of age. She was taken to their villages, where, during several months, she was treated with care and kindness. More than the usual attention was perhaps paid to her diet, but not a word was uttered respecting her fate. The dreadful truth first flashed on her mind on the 22d of April, at the time when spring had already assumed her mild and genial reign, and the tribe had begun to plant their corn. A council of the chiefs and warriors assembled, at which her destiny was determined. Still, the result of their deliberations was carefully concealed from her. At the breaking up of this council she was brought out from the lodge in which she had been domiciliated, and, accompanied by the whole council, was led from wigwam to wigwam. At each of these they gave her a small billet of wood and a little paint, which she handed to the warrior next her, passing on through the round of visits till she had called at every lodge.

Two days after this ceremonious round of visits, she was led out to the ground which had been chosen as the place of her sacrifice, and not till she arrived at this spot did she conjecture the true object of the symbolical contributions, and the general concurrence in the doom she was destined to undergo. The spot selected was







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between two trees standing five feet apart. Three bars of wood had been tied from tree to tree as a platform for her to stand on. A small, equably burning fire had been kindled under the centre of this stand, the blaze of which was just sufficient to reach her feet. Two stout Pawnee warriors then mounted the bars, taking a firm grasp of her, and holding her directly above the blaze. Small fagots of light dry wood were then kindled, and held under her armpits.

A wide ring of the assembled population of the village, and its chiefs and warriors, stood around to witness this extraordinary spectacle, but not in immediate juxtaposition to the spot. Each warrior had his bow and arrow ready. The moment of the application of the little burning fagots under her arms was a signal to them to fire; and in an instant her body was pierced with arrows so thickly that every vital part of her body was penetrated.

Life being extinct, these arrows were quickly withdrawn, and while the flesh was yet warm it was cut in small pieces from her bones, and put in little baskets. All this was done with almost inconceivable quickness. The baskets of human flesh were then taken to an adjacent corn-field. The principal chief took a piece of the flesh and squeezed a drop of blood upon the newly-deposited grains of corn. This example was immediately followed by the rest, till all the corn had been thus bathed in human blood, when the hills were covered over with the earth. It is stated that this is by no means an isolated instance of human sacrifice among the Pawnees.

The Otoes, who are very near neighbors of the Pawnees, have a peculiar mode of sacrificing a horse at the funeral ceremonies of his master. The animal having been shot, his tail is cut off and tied to a long pole, which is then planted in the grave. The carcass of the horse is also deposited in the grave before it is filled up. The sense of attention and respect of the Indian spectator is thus satisfied. He believes that by these typical rites provision is made that the spirit of the horse shall carry his master through the land of shadows to the anticipated hunting-grounds of the aboriginal paradise. For with the Otoes, and the prairie tribes generally, the horse and man are alike believed to possess souls. Indian traditions state that Manabozho called all the quadrupeds his brothers; they are regarded, therefore, as merely under the power of enchantment.

#### BURIAL-CUSTOMS.

The burial-ceremonies among our Indian tribes are at all times attended with interest, from the insight they give into Indian character. Some of these incontestably disclose their belief in the immortality of the soul, while the idea of its lingering with the body for a time after death, and requiring food, denotes a concurrence with Oriental customs, or at least the strong tie of local attachment which pervades the Indian mind. When a Chippewa corpse is put into its coffin, the lid is tied, not nailed, on. The reason they give for this is that the communication between the living and the dead is better kept up; the freed soul, which has preceded the body to the Indian elysium, will, it is believed, thus have access to the newly-buried body.

Over the top of the grave a roof-shaped covering of cedar bark is built to shed

the rain. A small aperture is cut through the bark at the head of the grave. On a Chippewa's being asked why this was done, he replied, "To allow the soul to pass out and in." "But you believe that the soul goes up from the body at the time of death to a land of happiness. How then can it remain in the body?" "There are two souls," replied the Indian philosopher. "You know that in dreams we pass over wide countries, and see hills and lakes and mountains, and many scenes which pass before our eyes and affect us. Yet at the same time our bodies do not stir, and there is a soul left with the body, else it would be dead. So you perceive it must be another soul that accompanies us."

It is near this orifice left for the soul that the portion of food consecrated in feasts for the dead is usually placed, in a wooden or bark dish. It could not but happen that victuals thus exposed should be devoured by the porcupine, fisher, wolf, or some other species of animals which seek their food by night. From whatever cause, however, the Indian makes no scruple in believing its abstraction to be the work of the soul in its supposed visits to or from the body.

Along the shores of the Pacific, where a canoe constitutes the principal personal property of an Indian, the deceased owner is placed in it, and the vessel deposited in the forks of trees until the flesh has resolved itself into its elements, when the bones are carefully buried. The Indian has a peculiar regard and respect for his dead; and, whatever other traits he lacks in this world, he makes important provisions, according to his creed, for the convenience of his friends in the next. The rites of sepulture are always performed with exact and ceremonious attention. Their belief is that the spirits of the dead, though unseen, are present on these occasions, and that they are very scrupulous that the rites should be duly performed. The ritual of canoe-burial as practised by the Chinooks, at the mouth of the Columbia, is given by Mr. James G. Swan in the following words:

"When a chief or person of consequence, either male or female, is taken sick of any fatal disease, recourse is had to the Indian doctor, or medicine-man, after it is found that all their applications of simples have failed. The doctors are supposed to possess different powers: one excels in removing the Skookum, or evil spirit, which is thought to prey upon the vitals, causing death; and another professes to be endowed with the faculty of driving away the spirits of the dead, that are believed to be always hovering round their friends on earth, ready at all times to carry them to the land of spirits."

The same observer, who was present at the burial of an aged female of rank at Shoalwater Bay, in Washington Territory, gives the following graphic account of what occurred:

"She had been sick some time of liver complaint, and, finding her symptoms grew more aggravated, she sent for a medicine-man to *mamoke to-mah-na-was*, or work spells, to drive away the *memelose*, or dead people, who, she said, came to her every night.

"Towards night the doctor came, bringing with him his own and another family to assist in the ceremonies. After they had eaten supper, the centre of the lodge



ESSEX ILLINOIS





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was cleaned up, and fresh sand strewn over it. A bright fire of dry wood was then kindled. One of the best canoes belonging to the deceased was taken into the woods a short distance from the lodge, and prepared for the reception of the body. These canoes are carved out of a single log of cedar, and are of the most beautiful proportions. Some are of a size capable of holding a hundred persons, with all their arms and accoutrements. The canoe in question was about thirty-five feet long. It was first thoroughly washed, then two large square holes were cut through the bottom, probably for the twofold purpose of letting out any water that might collect in the canoe during rain-storms, and also to prevent the canoe from ever again being used. Nice new mats of rushes were then placed inside, and on these the corpse, wrapped in new blankets, was laid.

“All the household implements and utensils that had been the property of the deceased were placed in the canoe beside her, care being taken to crack or break all the crockery and to punch holes through the tin or copper utensils. Blankets, calico dresses, and trinkets were also placed around the body, which was then covered over with more new mats, and a small canoe that fitted into the large one was turned bottom up over all. Four stout posts of cedar plank were then driven into the ground, and through holes mortised near the top were thrust two parallel bars about four feet from the ground. The canoe was then raised up and firmly secured on the top of the bars, and the whole covered over with mats.

“The object of elevating the canoe was to keep the wild beasts from tearing the body, and to allow of a free circulation of air, which, by keeping the canoe dry, prevented a rapid decomposition of the wood, which would be likely to take place if the canoe was on the damp earth. Although the majority of canoes I have seen were placed on the horizontal bars, yet it is not a general rule, as sometimes two posts formed of forked branches are used, and the canoe rests in the fork. Neither do the coast tribes always use the canoes to bury their dead in, for I have noticed at the mouth of the Columbia several instances where boxes made of boards were used instead of canoes.

“After a person dies, and before the body is removed from the lodge, there are no outward signs of grief, but no sooner are the burial-rites completed than they commence singing the death-song, which is simply an address to the spirit of the departed friend or relative, bewailing their loss, and telling of their many virtues.

“The burden of the song in the instance just cited was,—

“Oh! our mother, why did you leave us?

We can hardly see, by reason of the water that runs from our eyes.

Many years have you lived with us, and have often told us words of wisdom.

We are not poor, neither were you poor.

We had plenty of food, and plenty of clothing:

Then, why did you leave us for the land of the dead?

Your limbs were stout, and your heart was strong.

You should have lived with us for many years longer, and taught us the deeds of the olden time.’

“This song, with some slight variation, was sung every morning at sunrise, and

every evening at sunset, for thirty days, at the expiration of which time the lodge was pulled down and the family moved to another part of the Bay."

In speaking of the general customs regarding sepulture among the tribes of that part of the Pacific coast, the same gentleman gives the following account:

"At the expiration of a year the bones are taken out of the canoes, and, after being wrapped in new white cotton cloth, are enclosed in a box and buried in the earth, usually under the canoe, but in some instances they are gathered into a sort of family burying-ground.

"There are many instances where bones may be found in canoes, where they have lain for many years, but in these cases the immediate relatives of the deceased had either died or gone to some other part of the coast. I endeavored to witness the ceremony of collecting and burying the bones of several Indians, but, as I found the relatives objected, I did not urge the matter. They said they were afraid to have me with them, as the dead were standing round to see the ceremony, and would be angry if a stranger was there. It was formerly the custom, and is now among the tribes farther north, to kill a favorite slave whenever a person of importance dies; or, instead of a slave, a favorite horse; but where there are any white settlers among the Indians this custom is abandoned. It has been stated that the Indians of Oregon and Washington always kill the doctors when they are unsuccessful. Instances have undoubtedly occurred where the relatives of a deceased person have become exasperated with a doctor and have killed him, but it is not a general practice, nor have I ever known of an instance of the kind from personal observation.

"When any person dies in a lodge, the family never will sleep in it again, but either burn it up or, as in the instance I have mentioned, remove it to some other location. This, I believe, is an invariable custom. Sometimes the lodge is immediately destroyed, and at other times remains for a while and is then removed; or, if the boards are not wanted, the lodge will be deserted entirely, and suffered to remain and gradually go to decay. Since the whites have settled among the coast tribes they have induced the natives in many instances to bury their dead in the ground, but when left to themselves they almost universally retain and adhere to their ancient custom, and bury their dead in canoes."

The prairie, by its extent and desolateness, appears to exert a deleterious influence on the savage mind. Some of the grosser and more revolting customs of the prairie Indians respecting interments are no doubt traceable to their wild and lawless habits. Nothing observed respecting burials among them reaches so absolutely a revolting point as a custom which has been noticed among certain of the Oregon tribes, and which is perhaps not general. An eye-witness, writing from the mouth of the Columbia, describes it as follows: "I have just returned from a visit to the Chinook Indian country, where I witnessed a most revolting ceremony,—that of burying the living with the dead. One of the chiefs lost a daughter, a fine-looking woman, about twenty years of age. She was wrapped up in a rush mat, together with all her trinkets, and placed in a canoe. The father had an Indian slave bound hand and foot, and fastened to the body of the deceased, and enclosed the two in another

mat, leaving out the head of the living one. The Indians then took the canoe (which was employed in lieu of a coffin) and carried it to a high rock and left it there. Their custom is to let the slave live for three days, then another slave is compelled to strangle the victim by a cord drawn around the neck. They also kill the horse that may have been a favorite of the deceased, and bury it at the head of the canoe. I was desirous of interfering and saving the life of the poor victim, but Mr. Harris, the gentleman with me, and the two Indians, our companions, assured me that I should only get myself into serious trouble; and as we were at a great distance from the settlements, and our party so small, self-preservation dictated a different course from the inclinations of our hearts."

At the interment of a warrior and hunter in Upper Michigan, in 1822, the corpse was carefully dressed, as above described, and after it was brought to the grave, and before the lid was nailed to the coffin, an address was made by an Indian to the corpse. The substance of it relating to this belief was this: "You are about to go to that land where our forefathers have gone; you have finished your journey here before us. We shall follow you, and rejoin the happy groups which you will meet." When the speaking and ceremonies are concluded, the coffin is lowered into the trench prepared to receive it, and thus "buried out of sight." This mode of interment is common to the forest tribes of the North, and appears to have been practised by them from the earliest periods. They choose dry and elevated places for burial, which are completely out of the reach of floods. Often these spots selected for the burial of the dead are sightly and picturesque points, which command extensive views. They bury east and west. They are without proper tools, and do not dig deep, but generally make the place of interment secure from the depredations of wild beasts by arranging the trunks of small trees in the form of a parallelogram, notched at the angles, around it, or by stakes driven into the ground. In other instances a bark roof is constructed which will shed the rains.

The raising of "heaps" of earth over the grave, in the form of small mounds or barrows, appears to have been practised in ancient periods as a mark of distinction for eminent persons. But whatever was its prevalence at other epochs, while they were in the West and Southwest, and before they crossed the Alleghanies, it fell into almost entire disuse in the Atlantic and Lake tribes. There are some traces of it in Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Western New York. Rarely the resting-places of Indian heroes were marked by heaps of stones. In Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi this species of tumuli, formed of earth, is found to be common, and the tradition of the Muscogees respecting the custom is well preserved. But by far the most striking theatre of this rude mode of sepulture is the Mississippi Valley, whose plains and alluvions have been literally sown with the dead. The tribes of the Mississippi Valley, where the population was more dense and the means of subsistence more abundant, were not satisfied that their great warriors and orators should be so quickly "buried out of sight;" and the small sepulchral mound, as well as the more lofty village, or public tumulus, was, at the epoch of the maximum of their power, frequently erected.

Burial among the wild hordes of the prairies assumes a feature that marks it as a peculiar habit of those tribes. They scaffold their dead on eminences where they may be descried afar off. The corpse, after it has received its wrappings, is placed in a rude coffin, which is generally garnished with red pigments, and rendered picturesque to the eye by offerings to the dead, hung on poles, and, if it can be got, a flag. Burials, or deposits of the body in caves, are often resorted to.

No trait has commended the forest tribes of the old area of the United States more to the respect and admiration of beholders than the scrupulous regard with which they are found to remember the burial-grounds of their ancestors, the veneration and piety they exhibit in visiting, at all periods, these spots, and the anguish of their minds at any marks of disrespect and disturbance of the bones of their ancestors. Gifts are made at graves so long as it is supposed there is any part of the perishable matter remaining, and oblations are poured out to the spirits of the departed after other rites are discontinued.

#### MOURNING.

They mourn their dead with pious lamentation. They often visit the burial-place, and linger around it, with a belief that such visits are agreeable to the departed spirit. This trait of reverence for the departed is one of the most universally observed characteristics of Indian life. And it is one which at the same time most emphatically denotes the Indian to be a man of heart. He has been said to be as imperturbable as the cliffs he often gazes on with fixity of muscle. He recounts his atrocities and achievements in war at the recitations of the war-post with shouts. He maintains his stoical indifference at the stake, and even breaks forth in a funeral song of triumph; but he is subdued by the stroke of death in his social and family circle.

Black is the universal sign for mourning; it is the symbol for death, and is taken from night. In their pictography the image of the sun is represented to stand for or symbolize night, for which purpose it is crossed and blackened. The face of the mourner is smeared with some simple black mixture that will not readily rub off. On occasions of deep affliction the arms and legs are cut or scarified, an Oriental custom with many nations. The corpse is dressed in its best clothes. It is wrapped in a new blanket, and new moccasins and leggings put on. The crown-band, head-dress or frontlet, and feathers, are also put on. His war-club, gun, and pipe are placed beside him, together with a small quantity of vermilion. The corpse is laid in public, where all can gather around it, when an address is made, partly to the spectators, describing the character of the deceased, and partly to the deceased himself, speaking to him as if the *ochichag*, or soul, were still present, and giving directions as to the path he is supposed to be about to tread in a future state.

If it is a female that is about to be interred, she is provided with a paddle, a kettle, an *apekun*, or carrying-strap for the head, and other feminine implements. The Pawnees, and other prairie tribes, kill the warrior's horse upon his grave, that



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he may be ready to mount in a future state, and proceed to the appointed scene of rest.

The idea of immortality is strongly dwelt upon. It is not spoken of as a supposition, or a mere belief not fixed; it is regarded as an actuality, as something known and approved by the judgment of the nation. However mistaken they are on the subject of accountability for acts done in the present life, no small part of their entire mythology, and the belief that sustains the man in his vicissitudes and wanderings here, arise from the anticipation of ease and enjoyment in a future condition, after the soul has left the body. The resignation, nay, the alacrity, with which an Indian frequently lies down and surrenders life, is to be ascribed to this prevalent belief. He does not fear to go to a land which, all his life long, he has heard abounds in rewards without punishments.

#### GRAVE-POSTS.

The character of the devices which are placed on the grave-post of the Indian has been described under the head of Pictography. Such devices are appropriate for adults who have trodden the war-path and made themselves conspicuous for bravery or heroism. Children and youth generally pass away from the scenes of Indian life without any such memorials, but their loss is often bewailed by mothers with inconsolable grief and bitterness. It is the intensity of this grief which lies at the foundation of the practice of adopting white children stolen from the settlements on the frontiers. Such cases are generally, if not in every instance, traceable to a request of the Indian mother to replace the child of which she has been bereft by death.

#### OSSUARIES.

Tribal changes in the mode of disposing of the dead, from interment to exposure on scaffolding, it is believed, result from the military element in the Indian character, which seeks to preserve by sepulchral display the memory of the brave exploits of the departed. But this is not the most important change in their sepulchral customs which has taken place since the discovery of the continent. No fact is better established than the former existence of the custom of permitting the body to decay in charnel-lodges, or other situations above ground, and of subsequently interring the bones, with public ceremony, in trenches, accompanying this duty with pious rites, in which the inhabitants of entire villages participated. In these ultimate rites the amulets and charms were carefully redeposited. These articles of cherished value left by the deceased person consisted of medals, or pieces of sea-shells formed into segments and circles, or beads of the same material; sometimes of entire shells, bones, animals' claws, sculptured pipes, ornaments made of red steatite and of other soft or fissile stones, domestic or warlike utensils, or articles of copper. One of the ancient ossuaries referred to exists on the small island of Mennisais, one of the Michilimackinac group. These antique ossuaries have sometimes given rise to the opinion that

great battles had been fought at these localities, and the slain promiscuously buried. But such an opinion is controverted by the discovery of these carefully and deliberately deposited mementos. The large size and number of the sepulchral bone-trenches found in the West and North, such as the noted depositories at Beverley, Canada West, are often matter of surprise. Such ossuaries would appear to have been the charnel-houses of entire districts. There are localities in the Mississippi Valley where the bones have been walled in with flat stones, as on the lands above the Battery Rock, on the Ohio.

#### MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE IROQUOIS.

The following account of the manners and customs of the Iroquois is taken from Cadwallader Colden's history of that famous confederacy :

“When any of the young men of these nations have a mind to signalize themselves, and to gain a reputation among their countrymen by some notable enterprise against their enemy, they at first communicate their design to two or three of their most intimate friends, and if they come into it an invitation is made in their names to all the young men in the castle to feast on dog's flesh, but whether this be because dog's flesh is most agreeable to Indian palates, or whether it be as an emblem of fidelity, for which the dog is distinguished by all nations, that it is always used on this occasion, I have not sufficient information to determine. When the company is met, the promoters of the enterprise set forth the undertaking in the best colors they can ; they boast of what they intend to do, and incite others to join from the glory there is to be obtained ; and all who eat the dog's flesh thereby enlist themselves.

“The night before they set out they make a grand feast ; to this all the noted warriors of the nation are invited, and here they have their war-dance to the beat of a kind of a kettle-drum. The warriors are seated in two rows in the house, and each rises up in his turn and sings the great acts he has himself performed, and the deeds of his ancestors ; and this is always accompanied with a kind of a dance, or rather action, representing the manner in which they were performed ; and from time to time all present join in a chorus, applauding every notable act. They exaggerate the injuries they have at any time received from their enemies, and extol the glory which any of their ancestors have gained by their bravery and courage ; so that they work up their spirits to a high degree of warlike enthusiasm. I have sometimes persuaded some of their young Indians to act these dances for our diversion, and to show us the manner of them ; and even on these occasions they have worked themselves up to such a pitch that they have made all present uneasy.

“They come to these dances with their faces painted in a frightful manner, as they always are when they go to war, to make themselves terrible to their enemies ; and in this manner the night is spent. Next day they march out with much formality, dressed in their finest apparel, and in their march observe a proud silence. An officer of the regular troops told me that while he was commandant of Fort Hunter the Mohawks, on one of these occasions, told him that they expected the



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INDIAN BURIAL GROUND.



usual military honors as they passed the garrison. Accordingly, he drew out his garrison, the men presented their pieces as the Indians passed, and the drum beat a march, and with less respect, the officer said, they would have been dissatisfied. The Indians passed in a single row, one after another, with great gravity and profound silence; and every one of them, as he passed the officer, took his gun from his shoulder and fired into the ground near the officer's foot. They marched in this manner three or four miles from their castle. The women on these occasions always follow them with their old clothes, and they send back by them their finery in which they marched from the castle. But before they go from this place where they exchange their clothes, they always peel a large piece of the bark from some great tree; they commonly choose an oak, as most lasting; upon the smooth side of this wood they, with their red paint, draw one or more canoes going from home, with the number of men in them paddling which go upon the expedition; and some animal, as a deer or fox, an emblem of the nation against which the expedition is designed, is painted at the head of the canoes; for they always travel in canoes along the rivers which lead to the country against which the expedition is designed, as far as they can.

“After the expedition is over, they stop at the same place in their return, and send to their castle to inform their friends of their arrival, that they may be prepared to give them a solemn reception, suited to the success they have had. In the mean time they represent on the same, or some tree near it, the event of the enterprise; and now the canoes are painted white, their heads turned towards the castle; the number of the enemy killed is represented by scalps painted black, and the number of prisoners by as many withes (in their painting not unlike pot-hooks), with which they usually pinion their captives. These trees are the annals, or rather trophies, of the Five Nations. I have seen many of them, and by them and their war-songs they preserve the history of their great achievements. The solemn reception of these warriors, and the acclamations of applause which they receive at their return, cannot but have on the hearers the same effect in raising an emulation for glory that a triumph had on the old Romans.

“After their prisoners are secured, they never offer them the least maltreatment, but, on the contrary, will rather starve themselves than suffer them to want; and I have been always assured that there is not one instance of their offering the least violence to the chastity of any woman that was their captive. But, notwithstanding, the poor prisoners afterwards undergo severe punishments before they receive the last doom of life or death. The warriors think it for their glory to lead them through all the villages of the nations subject to them which lie near the road; and these, to show their affection to the Five Nations, and their abhorrence of their enemies, draw up in two lines, through which the poor prisoners, stark naked, must run the gauntlet; and on this occasion, it is always observed, the women are more cruel than the men. The prisoners meet with the same sad reception when they reach their journey's end; and after this they are presented to those that have lost any relation in that or any other former enterprise. If the captives be accepted, there is an end to their sorrow from that moment; they are dressed as fine as they can make them;

they are absolutely free (except to return to their own country), and enjoy all the privileges the person had in whose place they are accepted; but if otherwise, they die in torments, to satiate the revenge of those that refuse them.

“If a young man or boy be received in place of a husband that was killed, all the children of the deceased call that boy father: so that one may sometimes hear a man of thirty say that such a boy of fifteen or twenty is his father.

“Their castles are generally a square, surrounded with palisadoes, without any bastions or outworks, for since the general peace their villages lie all open.

“Their only instruments of war are muskets, hatchets, and long sharp-pointed knives. These they always carry about with them. Their hatchet in war time is stuck in their girdle behind them; and, besides what use they make of this weapon in their hand, they have a dexterous way of throwing it, which I have seen them often practise in their exercise, by throwing it into a tree at a distance. They have in this the art of directing and regulating the motion, so that though the hatchet turns round as it flies, the edge always sticks in the tree, and near the place at which they aim it.

“They use neither drum nor trumpet, nor any kind of musical instruments, in their wars: their throats serve them on all occasions where such are necessary. Many of them have a surprising faculty of raising their voice, not only in inarticulate sounds, but likewise to make their words understood at a distance; and we find the same was practised by Homer’s heroes.

“ ‘Thrice to its pitch his lofty voice he rears,  
O friend! Ulysses’ shouts invade my ears.’

“The Five Nations have such absolute notions of liberty that they allow of no kind of superiority of one over another, and banish all servitude from their territories. They never make any prisoner a slave, but it is customary to make a compliment of naturalization into the Five Nations; and, considering how highly they value themselves above all others, this must be no small compliment. This is not done by any general act of the nation, but every single person has a right to do it by a kind of adoption. The first time I was among the Mohawks I had this compliment from one of their old sachems, which he did by giving me his own name, Cayenderongue. He had been a notable warrior, and he told me that now I had a right to assume to myself all the acts of valor he had performed, and that now my name would echo from hill to hill all over the Five Nations. As for my part, I thought no more of it at that time than as an artifice to draw a belly-full of strong liquor from me for himself and his companions; but when, about ten or twelve years afterwards, my business led me again among them, I directed the interpreter to say something from me to the sachems; he was for some time at a loss to understand their answer, till he asked me whether I had any name among them. I then found that I was known to them by that name, and that the old sachem, from the time he had given me his name, had assumed another for himself. I was adopted at that

time into the tribe of the bear, and for that reason I often afterwards had the kind compliment of brother Bear.

“The hospitality of these Indians is no less remarkable than their other virtues. As soon as any stranger comes, they are sure to offer him victuals. If there be several in company, and come from afar, one of their best houses is cleaned, and given up for their entertainment. Their complaisance on these occasions goes even further than Christian civility allows of, as they have no other rule for it than the furnishing their guest with everything they think will be agreeable to him.

“This nation, indeed, has laid aside many of its ancient customs, and so likewise have the other nations with whom we are best acquainted, and have adopted many of ours, so that it is not easy now to distinguish their original and genuine manners from those which they have lately acquired; and for this reason it is that they now seldom offer victuals to persons of any distinction, because they know that their food and cookery is not agreeable to our delicate palates. Their men value themselves in having all kind of food in equal esteem. A Mohawk sachem told me with a kind of pride that a man eats everything without distinction,—bears, cats, dogs, snakes, frogs, etc.,—intimating that it is womanish to have any choice of food.

“I can, however, give two strong instances of the hospitality of the Mohawks, which fell under my own observation, and which show that they have the very same notion of hospitality which we find in the ancient poets. When I was last in the Mohawk country the sachems told me that they had an Englishman among their people, a servant who had run from his master in New York. I immediately told them that they must deliver him up. ‘No,’ they answered, ‘we never serve any man so who puts himself under our protection.’ On this I insisted on the injury they did thereby to his master, and they allowed it might be an injury, and replied, ‘Though we will never deliver him up, we are willing to pay the value of the servant to the master.’ Another made his escape from the jail at Albany, where he was in prison on an execution for debt. The Mohawks received him, and as they protected him against the sheriff and his officers, they not only paid the debt for him, but gave him land over and above sufficient for a good farm, whereon he lived when I was last there. To this it may be added, all their extraordinary visits are accompanied with giving and receiving presents of some value.

“Polygamy is not usual among them; and, indeed, in any nation where all are on a par as to riches and power, plurality of wives cannot well be introduced. As all kind of slavery is banished from the countries of the Five Nations, so they keep themselves free also from the bondage of wedlock; and when either of the parties becomes disgusted, they separate without formality or ignominy to either, unless it be occasioned by some scandalous offence in one of them. And in case of divorce the children, according to the natural course of all animals, follow the mother. The women here bring forth their children with as much ease as other animals, and without the help of a midwife, and soon after their delivery return to their usual employment. They alone also perform all the drudgery about their houses. They plant their corn, and labor it in every respect till it is brought to the table; they

likewise cut all their firewood, and bring it home on their backs, and in the marches bear the burdens. The men disdain all kind of labor, and employ themselves alone in hunting, as the only proper business for soldiers. At times when it is not proper to hunt, one finds the old men in companies in conversation, the young men at their exercises, shooting at marks, throwing the hatchet, wrestling, or running, and the women all busy at labor in the fields.

“Theft is very scandalous among them, and it is necessary it should be so among all Indians, since they have no locks but those of their minds to preserve their goods.

“There is one vice which the Indians have all fallen into since their acquaintance with the Christians, of which they could not be guilty before that time; that is, drunkenness. It is strange how all the Indian nations, and almost every person among them, male and female, are infatuated with the love of strong drink; they know no bounds to their desire while they can swallow it down, and then indeed the greatest man among them scarcely deserves the name of a brute.

“They never have been taught to conquer any passion but by some contrary passion, and the traders, with whom they chiefly converse, are so far from giving them any abhorrence of this vice, that they encourage it all they can, not only for the profit of the liquor they sell, but that they may have an opportunity to impose upon them. And this, as they chiefly drink spirits, has destroyed greater numbers than all their wars and diseases put together.

“The people of the Five Nations are much given to speech-making, ever the natural consequence of a perfect republican government. Where no single person has a power to compel, the arts of persuasion alone must prevail. As their best speakers distinguish themselves in their public councils and treaties with other nations, and thereby gain the esteem and applause of their countrymen (the only superiority which any of them has over the others), it is probable they apply themselves to this art by some kind of study and exercise. It is impossible for me to judge how far they excel, as I am ignorant of their language, but the speakers whom I have heard had all a great fluency of words, and much more grace in their manner than any man could expect among a people entirely ignorant of all the liberal arts and sciences.

“I am informed that they are very nice in the turn of their expressions, and that few of themselves are so far masters of their language as never to offend the ears of their Indian auditory by an impolite expression. They have, it seems, a certain *urbanitas*, or atticism, in their language, of which the common ears are ever sensible, though only their great speakers attain to it. They are so much given to speech-making that their common compliments to any person they respect at meeting and parting are made in harangues.

“They have some kind of elegance in varying and compounding their words, to which not many of themselves attain, and this principally distinguishes their best speakers. Sometimes one word among them includes an entire definition of the thing; for example, they call wine *Oneharadeschoengtseragherie*; as much as to say, a liquor made of the juice of the grape. The words expressing things lately come

to their knowledge are all compounds. They have no labials in their language, nor can they pronounce any word wherein there is a labial, and when one endeavors to teach them to pronounce these words they say it is too ridiculous that they must shut their lips to speak. Their language abounds with gutturals and strong aspirations; these make it very sonorous and bold; and their speeches abound with metaphors, after the manner of the Eastern nations, as will best appear by the speeches that I have copied. As to what religious notions they have, it is difficult to judge of them; because the Indians that speak any English, and live near us, have learned many things of us; and it is not easy to distinguish the notions they had originally among themselves from those they have learned from the Christians. It is certain they have no kind of public worship, and I am told that they have no radical word to express God, but use a compound word signifying the Preserver, Sustainer, or Master of the Universe; neither could I ever learn what sentiments they have of future existence after death. They make a large round hole in which the body can be placed upright or upon its haunches; which, after the body is placed in it, is covered with timber to support the earth which they lay over, and thereby keep the body free from being pressed. They then raise the earth in a round hill over it. They always dress the corpse in all its finery, and put wampum and other things into the grave with it; and the relations suffer not grass nor any weed to grow on the grave, and frequently visit it with lamentations. But whether these things be done only as marks of respect to the deceased, or from a notion of some kind of existence after death, must be left to the judgment of the reader.

“They are very superstitious in observing omens and dreams. I have observed them show a superstitious awe of the owl, and be highly displeased with some that mimicked the cry of that bird in the night. An officer of the regular troops told me also that while he had the command of the garrison at Oswego a boy of one of the far westward nations died there; the parents made a regular pile of split wood, laid the corpse upon it, and burnt it; while the pile was burning they stood gravely looking on without any lamentation, but when it was burnt down they gathered up the bones with many tears, put them into a box, and carried them away with them; and this inclination which all ignorant people have to superstition and amusing ceremonies, gives the popish priests a great advantage in recommending their religion beyond what the regularity of the Protestant doctrine allows of.

“Queen Anne sent over a missionary to reside among the Mohawks, and allowed him a sufficient subsistence from the privy purse; she sent furniture for a chapel, and a valuable set of plate for the communion-table, and (if I am not mistaken) the like furniture and plate for each of the other nations, though that of the Mohawks was only applied to the use designed. The Common Prayer, or at least a considerable part of it, was translated also into their language and printed; some other pieces were likewise translated for the minister’s use,—namely, an exposition of the Creed, Decalogue, Lord’s Prayer, and Church Catechism, and a discourse on the Sacraments. But as that minister was never able to attain any tolerable knowledge of their language, and was naturally a heavy man, he had but small success; and, his

allowance failing by the queen's death, he left them. These nations had no teacher from that time till within these few years, that a young gentleman, out of pious zeal, went voluntarily among the Mohawks. He was at first entirely ignorant of their language, and had no interpreter except one of the Indians, who understood a little English and had in the late missionary's time learned to read and write in his own language. He learned from him how to pronounce the words in the translations which had been made for the late missionary's use. He set up a school to teach their children to read and write their own language, and they made surprising proficiency, considering their master did not understand their language. I happened to be in the Mohawk country, and saw several of their performances. I was present at their worship, where they went through some part of the Common Prayer with great decency. I was likewise present several times at their private devotions, which some of them performed duly morning and evening. I had also many opportunities of observing the great regard they had for this young man; so far, that the fear of his leaving them made the greatest restraint on them, with which he threatened them after they had been guilty of any offence. Soon after that time this gentleman went to England, received orders, and was sent by the society missionary to Albany, with liberty to spend some part of his time among the Mohawks.

"I had lately a letter from him, dated the 7th of December, 1741, in which he writes as follows: 'Drunkenness was so common among them that I doubt if there was one grown person of either sex free from it; seldom a day passed without some, and very often forty or fifty, being drunk at a time. But I found they were very fond of keeping me among them, and afraid I should leave them, which I made use of to good purpose, daily threatening them with my departure in case they did not forsake that vice, and frequently requiring a particular promise from them singly; by which means (through God's blessing) there was a gradual reformation; and I know not that I have seen above ten or twelve persons drunk among them this summer. The women are almost all entirely reformed, and the men very much. They have entirely left off divorces, and are legally married. They are very constant and devout at church and family devotions. They have not been known to exercise cruelty to prisoners, and have in a great measure left off going a fighting, which I find the most difficult of all things to dissuade them from. They seem also persuaded of the truths of Christianity. The great inconveniency I labor under is the want of an interpreter, which could I obtain for two or three years, I should hope to be tolerably master of their language, and be able to render it easier to my successor.'

"There is one custom their men constantly observe which I must not forget to mention; that if they be sent with any message, though it demand the greatest despatch, or though they bring intelligence of any imminent danger, they never tell it at their first approach, but sit down for a minute or two at least, in silence, to recollect themselves before they speak, that they may not show any degree of fear or surprise by an indecent expression. Every sudden repartee in a public treaty leaves with them an impression of a light inconsiderate mind; but in private conversation

they use and are delighted with brisk, witty answers, as we can be. By this they show the great difference they place between the conversations of man and man and nation and nation, and in this, and a thousand other things, might well be an example to the European nations."

CUSTOMS OF THE CREEK OR MUSCOGEE NATION.

The Creeks believe that God, or the Great Spirit, created the universe, and all things just as they exist. They believe that the earth is a plane, that it is stationary, and that it is an animate substance; also that below us there are several successive planes, and that inhabitants are dwelling upon them. The sun, the moon, and some of the stars they believe revolve around the earth, but some of the stars they think are stationary and stuck upon the sky. They believe that the moon is inhabited by a man and a dog. As to the stars, they know nothing of their nature. They consider the sun to be a large body of heat, which revolves around the earth. Some think it is a ball of fire. They do not comprehend the revolution of the earth around the sun. They suppose that the sun literally rises and sets. They believe the sky to be a material mass of some kind, to which the stars are appended. They think it is of a half-circular form, but that its truncations do not touch the earth. They account for eclipses by saying that the big dog swallows the sun, but they have no idea where the big dog comes from. They do not believe that intervening objects are the causes of the eclipses. The "dead-sun" is accounted for as resulting from the fogs going up from the earth; and they suppose that this fog is created by the smoke of fire, and sometimes that it arises from the rivers. They compute the year from the budding of the trees, and suppose that it consists of an indefinite number of moons. They have no astronomical knowledge of the length of the year.

They have no cycle,—no fixed or stated period at the end of which they believe the world will come to a close. But they say the world will be destroyed by fire, and that when this period arrives the earth will be filled with war, and a body of people will appear among the Indians, and they will be destroyed, and then the Great Spirit will destroy the earth to keep others from getting possession of it. They have no name for the year but the two general divisions, *winter* and *summer*. The month and week are divisions unknown to them generally. They consider all days alike. The day is not subdivided into hours or any other portion of time. They have but one general name for all the stars. They have nothing corresponding to our signs of the zodiac. They do not attach any importance or influence to the stars, except the meteors commonly called "shooting stars." The meteoric dust which falls from these they suppose to be excrement cast upon the earth: this they mix with their medicine, and, when thus prepared, consider it very efficacious. They do not believe that the moon has any influence upon men, plants, or animals. Corn is planted with regard to the particular periods of the moon. There is nothing known among them of the moon's influencing the growth of corn.

The aurora borealis they suppose indicates changes in the weather, and always

for the worse. The Milky Way they consider to be the paths of the spirits, but the spirits of whom or of what they do not know. Comets they think indicate war, but of their nature they know nothing. The phenomenon of falling stars they explain by saying that the falling body is efficacious for medicinal purposes. The Winnebagoes believe the aurora borealis is produced by a bad spirit, and that it is ominous of death. They call the Milky Way "the road of the dead." They cannot account for comets or meteors, but consider them ominous of calamities.

The Creeks have an annual "busk," which formerly embraced a period of eight days, but now covers a period of four days; this time is devoted to thanksgiving and fasting. It resembles very much the year of jubilee among the Hebrews. At the return of this festival all offences are cancelled. It commences at the ripening of the new crops, at which time a general purgation and cleansing take place. At intervals singing and dancing are introduced. On the first day of the "busketau" there is a general feast prepared from the old crop, to which all contribute, and attendance upon which is obligatory. Sacred fires are built, upon which four pieces of green oak wood are arranged in positions corresponding with the four cardinal points of the compass.

They count by decimals, and can compute up to millions. Beyond ten the digits are employed in connection with the decimals, and this method is used to any extent. Each perpendicular stroke stands for one, and each additional stroke marks an additional number. The ages of deceased persons, or the number of scalps taken by them, or the war-parties which they have headed, are recorded on their grave-posts by this system of strokes. The sign of the cross represents ten. The chronological marks that are in present use are a small number of sticks, made generally of cane. Another plan sometimes used formerly was to make small holes in a board, in which a peg was inserted, to record the days of the week.

They use herbs and incantations in their general medical practice. They are careful and tender of their sick, as a general thing.

The Creek nation is divided into two districts, the Arkansas and the Canadian. The officers consist of a principal and a second chief, who are chosen by the general council; in addition, each district has two principal chiefs, chosen in the same manner as the two principal chiefs of the nation. Each district is governed by the same laws. Every hundred persons have a right to elect a chief, who represents them in general council. The tribe is divided into several clans,—viz., Tiger, Wind, Bear, Wolf, Bird, Fox, Root, Alligator, Deer,—all names denoting strength. The tribe appears to have been organized originally on the totemic plan, each clan bearing the name of some bird or animal. The only utility of the division into clans appears to be to denote those objects in which they take the greatest delight. They are indicative of the original families, and also of distinguished chiefs of the tribe. Clans are a sign of kindred. The devices were not their names. They are not governed by distinct chiefs. The chieftainships were not originally hereditary. The descent was formerly in the female line; but this custom has become extinct, and the chiefs are now chosen by the council.

The general council of the Creek Indians consists of a representation from the whole tribe, as divided into towns. This council, composed of the chiefs, is vested with plenary power to act for the whole tribe. Their verbal summons or decisions have all the force of a written document. These decisions are announced in general council, and also recorded by the clerk. The authority of the members of the council (as among the principal chiefs) is often assumed; and in many cases it is delegated to them by virtue of their standing and influence. They are at all times open to popular opinion, and are the mere exponents of it. The power of the chiefs in council is unlimited. Their decisions are absolute. The principal chiefs are appointed by the general council, and at present are not chosen so much for their renowned deeds as for their civil and popular qualifications. Their term of office continues during good behavior. The disapproval of the body of the people is an effective bar to the exercise of their powers and functions.

The chiefs in public council speak the opinions and sentiments of the warriors. In local matters they consult the priests, old men, and young men composing the tribe. Sometimes they are subject to be influenced by extraneous opinions. In many cases they watch over the interests of the people with shrewdness and intensity. In their councils their decisions are generally determined by the opinions of the leading chiefs, whose dictum usually influences the mass. The right to sit in council is nominally equivalent to giving a vote. The ayes and noes, if counted, would be taken by the clerk. Casting the vote, however, has not been introduced among the Creeks. Powers are sometimes exercised by the chiefs in advance of public opinion, but anything gross or outrageous would be indignantly repelled.

The public or general councils are opened with a good deal of ceremony. The principal chiefs first enter and take their seats. The next in order then enter, and, addressing themselves to the whole body, ask, "Are you all present, my friends?" They then take their seats. The principal chief, rising from his seat, presents to the second chief his tobacco; and this interchange takes place throughout the whole assembly. These interchanges having been gone through with, they next speak about their domestic affairs; then local matters are discussed; after which they proceed to business. Their business is conducted irregularly, daily, and generally with regard to the position of the sun. The principal chief adjourns the council to the appointed time next day. Before the close of their deliberations the two bodies agree upon a day of final adjournment. At the appointed time for adjournment the two bodies come together. The second chiefs, rising first, address themselves to the first chiefs, telling them "they are going to leave them." They then seat themselves, the whole council following in regular order according to their grade. The principal chiefs, then rising, say, "We return home." There is still some respect paid to ancient ceremonies. Regard also is paid to the weather in their deliberations. They have two national clerks, and one United States and one national interpreter. All questions are considered with more or less deliberation. There are no cases that require absolute unanimity. There may be cases in which the voice of a leading chief might be taken as the will of the tribe.

Decisions made by the chiefs in council are carried into effect with unquestioning obedience. In cases of capital punishment, the executioner is selected from a body of men called "the Light Horse." He uses neither tomahawk, club, nor arrow. The gun is generally employed as the instrument of execution. If the culprit has no choice of place for execution, the executioner may appoint the place, which is usually selected with reference to convenience for burial. In case of the restoration of property, a messenger is sent to the parties. There is, however, no regularity on this subject.

In case of a vacancy by death or otherwise, the office is filled by the selection of the general council. Sometimes the vacancy is filled by the town to which the chief belonged, and then the matter brought before the general council for sanction. In case of a vacancy among the leading chiefs, it is filled by the general council. The chiefs may be deposed from office for gross outrage. The custom of wearing medals is an ancient one, but is gradually falling into disuse. There are but few that wear them. The medals received from the United States are valued and preserved, but are not worn.

The priesthood or physic-makers do not constitute a distinct power in the government. They do not sit in the council as a priesthood, and their advice in political matters is not resorted to. Sometimes, however, in local matters their conjurations have influence. The weather, about the time of the distribution of the annuity, in some parts of the nation, falls under the scrutiny of the physic-makers. Among the Creeks there is no such thing as selling or ceding of lands. "*It is for me, for thee, and for all.*" Sometimes, however, improvements are disposed of.

The powers of a civil chief and those of a war chief are often united in the same person. The distinction between war chiefs and civil chiefs is scarcely known. There is a limit when a young man may express his opinion; this is at the age of twenty-one. The matrons have no rights whatever in council. They have no separate seat in council. They have no prescriptive right of being heard by an official person who bears the character of a messenger from the women. The widows of distinguished chiefs, or those of acknowledged wisdom, are never admitted to sit in council. The Creeks have a right to summon a general council of the tribes. These councils may be called for any purpose, and by any of the tribes. A general council of the tribes was held at Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation, about the year 1843.

Formerly, where a murder had been committed, the brother of the deceased avenged the murder; if there was no brother, then the duty devolved upon the nearest relative. Among the Creeks now, however, the murderer undergoes a regular trial before some of the leading chiefs of the nation, and is dealt with according to their decision. If an Indian should murder a negro, the law is satisfied with the value of the negro being paid to the owner. The lapse of time and the fleeing of the murderer generally allay resentment and lead to compromises. After the annual "busk" all offences are cancelled. There is no distinction made between the male and the female in the estimate of life. Debts of licensed traders are sometimes brought before the council for adjudication. The chiefs generally have a sufficient

knowledge of numbers to enable them to act with prudence. A message accompanied with wampum is never sent in case of private disputes or of controversies among the tribes.

## DAKOTA CUSTOMS.

The Dakotas believe that the Great Spirit made all things except rice and thunder. They count time by seasons,—spring, summer, autumn, and winter, which is reckoned as one year. Twenty-eight days or nights are counted one moon, and each month or moon has a name,—viz., January, the severe or hard moon; February, the moon in which raccoons run; March, the moon of sore eyes; April, the moon during which the geese lay; May, the moon for planting; June, the moon for strawberries and hoeing corn; July, midsummer; August, the moon when corn is gathered; September, the moon when they gather wild rice; October and November, the moon when the does run; December, the moon when the deer shed their horns.

They have no particular place for their departed souls. They say there are large cities somewhere in the heavens where they will go, but believe they will still be at war with their former enemies, and will have plenty of game.

Time diminishes, in their view, the obligation to pay a debt, because, they say, the white people can get goods by merely going after them or writing for them, and that when a trader obtains a new supply of goods he is not in want of the debts due him, and that the Indian is in greater need of the amount than the trader is. Therefore they often cheat the trader by selling his furs to some person to whom they are not indebted. If an Indian has bad luck in hunting, he says it is caused by the misconduct of some of his family, or by some enemy; that is, his family have not properly observed the laws of honoring the spirits of the dead, or some one owes him a grudge, and by supernatural powers has caused his bad success and misery, for which he will take revenge on the person he suspects the first time an opportunity offers. Many of the Indians, however, are punctual in paying their debts as far as lies in their power. There is a general inclination to pay their national debts, which are, by Indian rule, individual debts of such long standing that they cannot pay them within themselves. They know they all owe their traders, and they are willing to make it a national business to pay them. As to the value of property in skins and furs, they always overestimate it. Indeed, any kind of property that they are judges of is valued too high, and they often suffer in consequence. There are cases where Indians have sold the same article twice, but this rarely happens.

The Indians say it is lawful to take revenge, but otherwise it is not right to take their fellow's blood; they consider it a great crime. When murder is committed, they regard the victim as injured, and not the Great Spirit, because all have a right to live. They have very little notion of punishment for crime hereafter; indeed, they know very little about whether the Great Spirit has anything to do with their affairs, present or future. All the fear they have is of the spirit of the departed. They stand in great awe of the spirits of the dead, because they think it is in the power of the departed spirits to injure them in any way they please. This super-

stition has in some measure a salutary effect. It operates on them just as strongly as the fear of being hung does on the white man. Indeed, fear of punishment from the departed spirits keeps them in greater awe than the fear of hanging does the evil-disposed among the white race.

The Deity, they say, is always offended with them. They do not know by what means they were created, and when any calamity befalls them they do not understand why. Large stones are painted and worshipped; these stones they call their grandfathers. For the expiation of sins a sacrifice is made of some kind of animal. Sometimes the skins of animals, dressed, sometimes rare pieces of white cotton and new blankets, are made use of for sacrifices, all of which are suspended in the air.

The practice of lying they consider very reprehensible. In this respect every one sees the mote in his brother's eye, but does not discover the beam that is in his own. Many of them would like to see falsehood punished, but have not the moral stamina to speak truth themselves. Many even desire to reward truth, but very seldom have the ability to do so.

Veneration for parents and for old age is very great in some Indians, and they all feel it for the dead. Their priests or jugglers, also, are greatly venerated, but it is from fear of some supernatural punishment as much as from anything else. The Indians are very remarkable for their fear of uttering certain names. The father-in-law must not call the son-in-law by name, neither must the mother-in-law, and the son-in-law must not call his father-in-law or mother-in-law by name. There are also many others in the line of relationship who cannot call one another by name. Instances have occurred where the forbidden name has been called, and the offenders were punished by having all their clothing cut from their backs and thrown away. Indian children sometimes, but very rarely, strike their parents. The punishment is generally a blow in return. There are no accounts of Indians having been stoned to death. Indians have been known to be killed, however, in a drunken riot, both with stones and clubs.

There are cases where the Indians say retaliation is wrong, and they try to prevent it, and sometimes succeed in pacifying the parties. If a bad deed is done, and the offender is punished in some way, they say he has got what he gave. A person of bad character among the Indians is scorned by them, but from fear of his cutting their lodges, killing their horses, or doing some mischief, they are obliged to invite him to their feasts. A bad man often runs at large among the Indians for years on account of the above-named fears. They even are obliged to let him join in their great medicine-dance.

The chastity of the women is much more regarded by the Indians than many people would suppose. There are but few lewd, loose women among them, and only a few will drink ardent spirits.

The Dakotas believe that the Deity consists of two persons, or, as they express it, "the Great Spirit and his wife." They do not believe that they will have to give an account of their deeds in another world. Some of the Indians say that death is caused by the Great Spirit, others that it is caused by the supernatural power of

individuals. All evil, they say, comes from the heart; but who or what implanted it there they know not. The Indians know nothing of the devil except what the white people have told them. All the punishment they expect to receive is in this world. They fear the persons they have offended and the spirits of the dead more than anything else.

They have no images of wood that they worship, nor have they any edifices for public worship. An Indian will pick up a round stone of any kind and paint it, and go a few rods from his lodge and clean away the grass, say from one to two feet in diameter, and there place his stone, or god, as he would term it, and make an offering of some tobacco and some feathers, and pray to the stone to deliver him from some danger that he has probably dreamed of, or imagines. The Indians believe in the immortality of the soul, but as for accountability they have but a vague idea of it. Future rewards and punishments they have no conception of. All that they can say respecting the soul is that when it leaves the body it goes southward, but of its place of abode they have no fixed idea. They believe that each soul acts for itself. They think that in the future state they will continue to be at enmity with their former enemies. As many as four souls inhabit one person, as with the bear, which the Indians say has four spirits; and they also believe that some other animals have souls.

The Indians believe that many animals have the power to injure them by a migrating movement. In many cases where an Indian is taken sick he attributes his sickness to some biped, quadruped, or amphibious animal; but they charge some of their own people with being the cause of some animals torturing them with sickness, and the only way they have of driving the animal from the sick is to make something similar to it of bark, and shoot it to pieces. The following are the Indians' laws of prohibition, and if these are not obeyed some one of the family has to suffer, so that they are almost always in trouble. A woman must not step over a turtle. None of the family must stick an awl or a needle into a turtle: if they do, the turtle will surely punish them for it at some future time. The same law holds good with respect to a raccoon, a fisher, a bear, a wolf, a fish,—in fact, almost any animal. It is the same with a stick of wood on the fire. No person must chop on it with an axe or a knife, or stick an awl into it. If he does, some one will either cut himself or will wound his foot with a splinter. Neither must a coal be taken from the fire with a knife or any other sharp instrument. A woman must not ride or bridle a horse, or handle the sack used for war purposes. A woman must remain out of doors during the time of her menstruation, and the war-implements must hang out of doors during that time. An Indian has been known to pray to a bear he had shot because he feared that some other bear might take the wounded animal's part, and perhaps tear him to pieces. If a bear attacks an Indian and tears him, the Indian will say at once that the bear was angry with him. Indians talk and reason with a horse the same as they would with a human being. If a horse should run away, the owner would say the horse was displeased because he had not given him a belt or a piece of scarlet cloth to wear about his neck.

The red hand spoken of by Mr. Stevens, as seen on the walls of the ruins in Central America, is a very common thing among the Dakotas. One will sometimes see a row of the stamps of the whole hand, with red paint, on their blankets. This denotes that the wearer has been wounded in action by an enemy. If the stamp is with black paint, it denotes that he has killed an enemy in action.

The clans in the great medicine-dance are kept secret. The Indians that are not members of the dance know no more about it than the white people. They have many feasts that they call religious feasts. There are two societies: one is the medicine society, the others are not members of the medicine society; still, out of these feasts and dances they have no distinction,—all are on an equal footing. In the great medicine-dance there are associated people of all sorts and morals,—the murderer, the drunkard, the adulterer, the thief, etc. Still, it is a mysterious thing, and probably more of a secret than Freemasonry; for there are instances where the secrets of Freemasonry have been divulged, but those of the great medicine-dance of the Dakotas have never been revealed. Apparently there is no more wisdom among the medicine party than there is in those that do not belong to it. Neither are they more artful, except in doing mischief, and in keeping the people in ignorance. They oppose everything that tends to enlighten them. Could their absurd practices be broken up, no doubt this people would listen to good counsel; but the medicine party claim to be possessed of supernatural powers; therefore they inspire fear, and so their dupes end their days in awe of this imaginary power. As for songs, they have no long ones; three or four words is about the length of them. They have a number of tunes or choruses, which they sing on many occasions at feasts, dances, etc.

As to their belief in evil spirits, they do not understand the difference between a great good spirit and a great evil spirit, as we do. The idea that the Indians have is that a spirit can be good when necessary, and can do evil if it thinks fit. The rattlesnake is much feared by them, and in fact all kinds of snakes are looked upon with horror; still, they will not kill one of them. They use the skin of the rattlesnake in the great medicine-dance. The rattles are also kept in their medicine-bags. The Indians say that if they kill a rattlesnake some other one will bite them for so doing. Indians sometimes smoke to serpents, and ask them to be friendly to them, and go away and leave them. Sometimes they will leave a piece of tobacco as a peace-offering.

The honor that is paid to the turtle, the wolf, and the bear is for the purpose of keeping peace with them, for they fear that they can supernaturally send diseases upon them. This myth is kept up by the clans of the medicine party, and probably in some instances deters them from injuring one another.

They have a name for each of the four cardinal points, which are described as follows: the way of the setting sun is west, the situation of the pines is north, the way the sun rises is east, the downward direction is south. There is supposed to be an animal in the water which has large horns, and which they call *Unk-a-ta-he*. They pretend to be in possession of its bones, in small pieces, which they value very highly for medicine.

The Dakotas believe in fairies of the water, and say they often see them in all shapes of animals; they think them vicious, and consider the appearance of one an omen of some calamity that is to befall them. They believe there are fairies of the land as well as of the water. There are local spirits inhabiting almost all parts of the Indian country,—as cliffs, mountains, rivers, lakes, etc.; they believe these spirits trouble them often. The only fabled monsters are the Giant and the Unk-a-ta-he; the Giant surpasses all in power, and the Unk-a-ta-he comes next. The Giant, or Ha-o-kuh, can kill anything it looks at merely by its piercing eyes; the Unk-a-ta-he has great power, and can even kill the thunder.

Thunder is a large bird, they say; hence its velocity. The rumbling noise of thunder is caused by an immense quantity of young birds; it is commenced by the old bird, and carried on by the young birds: this is the cause of the long duration of the peals of thunder. The Indian says it is the young birds, or thunders, that do the mischief; they are like young mischievous men who will not listen to good counsel. The old thunder, or bird, is wise and good, and does not kill anybody, or do any kind of mischief.

The Dakotas have a degree of relationship three and four generations back. The old women generally keep this account, and are very correct. They have no surnames, but always live near together; their houses are not more than ten feet apart. They cannot well forget their relationship; the father's name, as well as that of the mother, is recollected for three or four generations. They are not named after either of the parents; an Indian may be called a White Spider, and his son a White Whale or Red Buffalo; and so with a woman. The mother may be called the Checkered Cloud, and the daughter may be called Gray Hand or Red Blanket. The same names are not used for elder brother and younger. The first male child may be named Chiska; the second, Hapan; the third, Hape; the fourth, Chahlun; the fifth, Hah-ka; the first female, Wenvonah; the second, Hahpan; the third, Hahpistinah; the fourth, Wauska; the fifth, Wehahka. If there are any more born, they have to give them some other name, for they have no more regular names for children; and after a short time these names are changed to some outlandish ones. Aunt and uncle are the same on both sides. The names of the deceased are seldom spoken by the Indians; they say such a one's brother or sister, uncle or aunt, as the case may be, is dead. All Indian names are peculiar to their habits and customs; the men have different expressions from the women, and new beginners are laughed at frequently by both men and women. To a man they say, "You talk like a woman," and to a woman, "You talk like a man." The languages of all the nations differ so much that they cannot understand one another.

The hunter does not furnish abundance of food and clothing. Now and then an Indian will provide abundance of venison for his family for a month or two in the winter. Some of them do not kill more than from two to ten deer during the winter hunts. Some kill from ten to fifty. Those that have good luck feed the poor. Clothing the Indian obtains in credit from the traders, paying from one-half to two-thirds of the amount.

There is but little order in the lodge. Children act much as they please, and every Indian is a king in his own lodge. The children generally roll themselves up in their blankets by themselves; that is, after they are four, five, or six years old. Under this age they generally sleep with their parents or grandparents. There is a fixed seat for the man, and one for the wife. The woman sits next the door, and the man sits next to her, or in the back part of the lodge. As the woman has all the drudgery to do, she sits next the door, so as to be able to get out readily. The woman has one particular way of sitting. She always draws her feet up under her to the right side, and will thus sit for hours sometimes; a position no white person could remain in twenty minutes. The man tumbles and lounges about as he pleases. They all sit flat upon the ground on some straw and skins of different kinds. This is in the lodge. The summer-house is from twenty to thirty feet long, and fifteen to twenty wide, with a platform on each side about two feet high and six wide. On this platform they all sleep in summer; generally four families in a lodge, sometimes more. If there are four families, each one will have a corner, and if there are more (young married people, for instance) they take the middle.

They are diffident, and have some respect for strangers, and are more modest before them than at other times. Their habits and customs are not the same in winter as in summer. In the winter they have no particular hours for eating. If they have plenty, they eat often; if not, they make one or two meals per day suffice. In the common meals they seldom offer up thanks. Sometimes an Indian will say, "Wah negh on she wan da;" which means, Spirits of the dead, have mercy on me. Then they will add what they want; if good weather, they say so; if good luck in hunting, they say so. Their appetites are capricious, admitting of great powers of abstinence and of repletion.

When an Indian dies, he is wrapped up in the clothes he died in and is laid upon a scaffold. If his friends think enough of him to cover him decently, they do so by throwing new blankets, white, scarlet, etc., over him. Calico is also thrown over the dead body in some instances. As many as ten blankets are thrown over a corpse, but these do not remain. When the corpse is abandoned, these are all taken off but one. The rest are kept to make a great medicine-dance with for the repose of the spirits. A few words are addressed to the spirit of the departed, and all present burst into a flood of tears and wailing. The purport of the address is for the spirit to remain in his own place, and not disturb his friends and relatives; and promises are made on the part of the mourners to be faithful in keeping their laws and customs in making feasts for the departed spirits. The custom of burying implements with the dead is not practised except by particular request. This is done in order that the spirit may make use of the implements the same as in this life,—to earn a livelihood with them.

The Dakotas gather the bones of the dead about a year after they have been placed on the scaffold, and mourn over them for the last time as a final honor to the remains. The ceremony is public, and much grief is displayed. The women scarify themselves, and cut their long hair off to about half its original length. The men

black their faces and bodies, wear old clothes, and go barefoot. The women also wear their old garments, go barefoot and barelegged, and tear the borders off their petticoats. The dead are lamented by wailing at the top of the mourners' voices. They can be heard for two or three miles on a calm evening. For one year they visit the place of the dead, carrying food, and make a feast to feed the spirit of the departed. The Sioux do not carry images of the departed, but the Chippewas do. When a body is placed upon the scaffold, they sometimes light a fire near it. They build no mounds, but sometimes erect grave-posts, and paint characters on them denoting the number of enemies killed, prisoners taken, etc., by the deceased.

The orphans go to some of the nearest relations. Very seldom does the chief look after any but his own, and he is generally so poor that he cannot take care even of his own children as he should do. Children take care of their aged parents; if there are none, the next of kin take care of them.

The Sioux lodges are from eight to fifteen feet in diameter, about ten to fifteen feet high, and made of buffalo-skins tanned. Elk-skins are used for this purpose also. The summer-house is built of wood, or perches set upright, twenty or thirty feet long by fifteen or twenty wide. The perches are set in the ground about one foot, and are about six feet out of the ground. Over this is put a roof of elm bark. They are very comfortable for summer use. The lodge of skin lasts three or four years; the lodge of wood, seven or eight years. The skin lodge they carry about on their backs and on horses through all their winter hunts. It is made in the shape of a funnel. This accommodates from five to ten persons. In some lodges, the Sioux of the plains say, they have feasted fifty warriors with ease. About four square feet is what one person would occupy. The women construct and remove the lodges.

The women do the cooking. Raw meat is seldom eaten, and then only in some particular dances. The meat is cooked thoroughly, and often roasted. They can boil fish quite as well as the whites. Some kinds of fish they boil whole. Salt is used, but not a large amount. Milk they do not relish. They never use vessels of bark or wood to boil in. Tin, sheet-iron, copper, and brass kettles are now in use. The clay pots have disappeared altogether. They have no regular time for meals.

In curing, the meat is cut into thin slices one or two feet square, and laid on a frame over a gentle fire until dry. No salt is used. The meat of all kinds of animals is dried. Beaver-tails are boiled before drying. Fish are cut thin and dried over a fire. In the fall the Chippewas hang up the white-fish and the toalabe, a species of white-fish, running a sharp stick through the tail, and placing ten on a stick. In this way they are kept fresh through the winter.

Little reliance is put on the spontaneous products of the forest. Roots are much and beneficially used for food. Plums, whortleberries, cranberries, hazel-nuts, tipsinah (turnips), and psinchah (a species of potato) are abundant. The latter is found on the prairies. Wild honey, of which the Indians are remarkably fond, has of late years been found in their country. They put a quantity of it, comb, dirt, and all, into a kettle and boil it, making a feast of hot honey, dirt, comb, and water. Of course they are unable to keep such a compound on their stomachs. Sugar-making

is carried on to some extent by the Sioux, but, as the children eat it almost as fast as they can make it, they do not sell much. Wild rice is gathered in the shallow waters of the rivers and lakes extending north of latitude 40°, in such quantities as to furnish one of the principal means of Indian subsistence. It is thus still obtained in the principal shallow lakes and streams of Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota, and in the valleys of the Upper Mississippi and Missouri. It ripens in September. The labor of gathering it falls to the females. Two or three of them in a canoe enter the field of rice, and, bending the stalks in handfuls over the sides of the canoe, beat out the grain with paddles. The labor of keeping the crops from being destroyed by birds devolves upon the women and children. So fierce sometimes are the attacks of the winged marauders that a staging is erected in the field on which the watchers sit and frighten them away.

#### OJIBWA MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

The Ojibwa believes that his soul or shadow, after the death of the body, follows a wide beaten path which leads towards the west, and that it goes to a country abounding in everything the Indian covets on earth, game in abundance, dancing, and rejoicing. The soul enters a long lodge, in which are congregated all his relatives for generations past, who welcome him with gladness. To reach this land of joy and bliss he crosses a deep and rapid water.

When the Ojibwas first became acquainted with the white man they practised the arts of agriculture, and raised on their island large quantities of corn and potatoes. They lived also by hunting. The mainland opposite their village abounded in moose, bear, elk, and deer; and the buffalo, in those days, ranged in herds within half a day's journey from the lake shore. Every stream that flowed into the lake abounded with beaver, otter, and muskrat. The waters of the lake also afforded them fish of many kinds. The trout, siskiwit, white-fish, and sturgeon, in spawning-time, would fill their rivers. Making racks across the stream, they would spear and hook up great quantities of them as the fish came down after spawning. They made nets of cedar and basswood bark, and from the sinews of animals.

The ribs of the moose and buffalo made materials for their knives; a stone tied to the end of a stick, with which they broke sticks and branches, answered the purpose of an axe; the thigh-bone of a muskrat made their awls, clay supplied them with the material for kettles, and bows of wood, stone-headed arrows, and spear-heads of bone, formed their implements of hunting and war.

Fire was obtained from the friction of two sticks. Their shirts and leggings were made of finely-dressed skins. Blankets were made of beaver-skins, eight of which sewed together formed the robe of a man.

It is a fact worthy of record that copper, though abounding in their country on the lake shore, they never formed into implements for use. They considered it in the light of a sacred article, and never used it except to ornament their medicine-bags.



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If ancient tools have been found and marks are discovered showing that copper was worked on Lake Superior ages ago, it is not at all probable, on this account, that the race now living there were the workers of it.

At this era there was maintained at Mo-ning-wun-a-kan-ing, the central town of the Ojibwas, a continual fire as a symbol of their nationality. They maintained also a civil polity, which, however, was much mixed up with their religious and medicinal beliefs.

The totem of the Ah-áw-wa<sup>1</sup> ruled over them, and Muk-wah, or the Bear Totem, led them to war.

The rites of the Me-da-we-win, or the worship of the one Great Spirit, and of the lesser spirits that fill earth, sky, and water, were practised in those days in their purest and most original forms.

They say that a large wigwam was erected on the island, which they called Me-da-wig-wam, and in which all the holier rites of their religion were practised. Though probably rude in structure, and temporary in its materials, it was the temple of these primitive sons of the forest. And in their religious phraseology the island of their ancient temple is known to this day as *Me-da-wig-wam*, or Meda lodge.

In those days their native and primitive customs were in full force and rigidly adhered to. Neither man nor woman ever passed the age of puberty without severe and protracted fasts. Besides the one great and overruling spirit, each person sought in dreams and fasts his particular guardian or dream-spirit. Many more persons are said to have lived the full term of life allotted to mankind than do at the present day. When a person fell sick, a smallpox lodge was immediately made purposely for him, and a medicine-man called to attend and cure. Only this personage had any intercourse with the sick. If a person died of a severe or violent disease, his clothing, the barks, and even the poles that formed his lodge, were burned by fire. Thus did they guard against pestilence, and sickness appears to have been more rare than at the present day.

The old men all agree in saying that before the white man came among them there were fewer murders and thefts, and less lying; more fear and devotion to the Great Spirit, more obedience to their parents, respect for old age, and chastity in man and woman, than exist among them now. The ties of blood were stronger, there was more good-will, hospitality, and charity, and the widow and the orphan were never allowed to live in poverty and want.

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<sup>1</sup> Ah-áw-wa, Mo-awh-wauk, and Mong are nearly synonymous, and mean the Loon, which is the totem of the royal Ojibwa family.

## CHAPTER VII.

### THE TRIBES.—ETHNOLOGICAL DISTRIBUTION—ORGANIZATION—GOVERNMENT.

*Algonkins.*—Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island Indians—Abenakis—Penobscots—Pennacooks—Allegans—Delawares—Pottawatomies—Chippewas—Pillagers—Shawnees—Cheyennes—Arapahoes—Miamis—Menomonies—Kickapoos—Michigamies—Blackfeet—Mascoutins—Brothertons—Ottawas—Sacs and Foxes—Pawnees, Peorias, Quappaws, etc.

*Appalachians.*—Cherokees—Creeks—Choctaws—Chickasaws—Seminoles—Congarees—Natchez.

*Pacific Slope.*—California, Oregon, and Washington tribes.

*Dakota or Sioux.*—Dakotas—Assiniboines—Mandans—Minnetarees—Arikarees—Crows—Winnebagoes—Iowas—Omahas—Osages—Poncas.

*Iroquois.*—Onondagas—Oneidas—New York Indians—Wyandot Hurons—Catawbas—Eries.

*Athabascas.*—Alaskas—Apaches—Navajoes.

*Shoshones.*—Comanches—Utes—Bannocks—Wichitas—Kiowas—Pueblos—Zuñi—Moquis—Snakes.

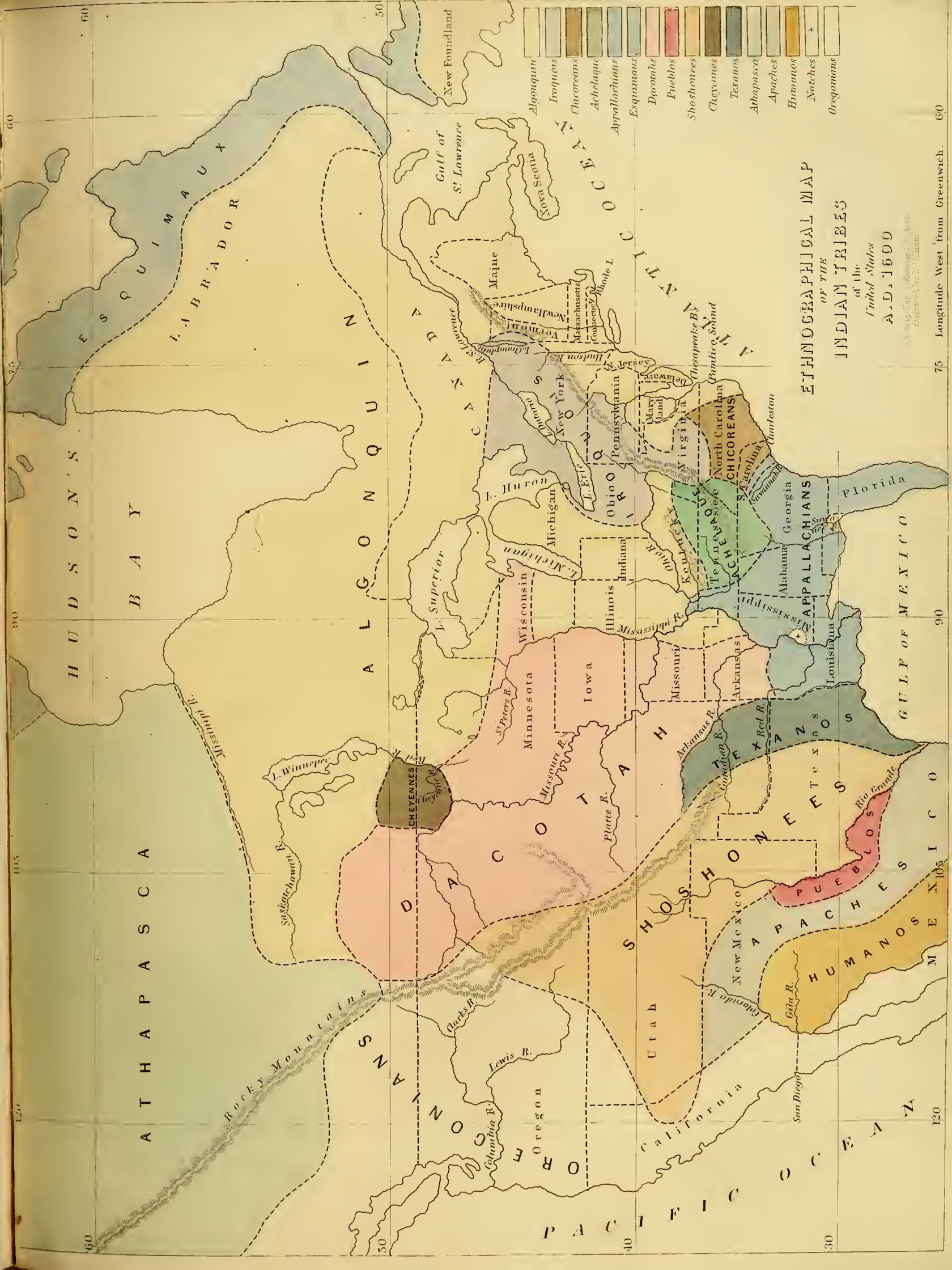
*Yumas.*—Pimos—Papagos—Maricopas.

### ETHNOGRAPHICAL POSITION OF THE PRINCIPAL STOCKS—GEOGRAPHICAL AREA OCCUPIED.

THE aborigines, on the planting of the colonies, rather roved over than occupied the continent. To hunt the deer and go to war were their prime employments. Powhatan called himself a king in Virginia, and Massasoit so styled himself in Massachusetts. But the governing power of their kingdoms was a rope of sand, and the Indian tribes were so many camps of anarchy. This was a necessary result of the hunter state, which is bound together by slight cords, and always requires large districts of forest to lie in the wilderness condition that wild animals may multiply.

Another striking trait in the Indians was that they existed in an infinite variety of tribes and septs having affinities of language and blood, yet each having its peculiar beliefs, customs, and manners. All the knowledge we can truly be said to possess of the pioneer race of this continent relates to its modern history, and it is desirable that we should gather this in relation to every prominent tribe in existence while we yet have the means to do so. Of the remoter forest bands and roving tribes who have done nothing but kill animals and men, little need be said, for they excite little interest. But the history of those tribes that have produced exalted leaders, eloquent orators and councillors, or captains who have exhibited unusual capacity or wisdom—and there have been many such—will always be of permanent interest and value.

Every great valley, lake, or mountain-range had its separate tribe, although, when closely examined, the languages proved them to be only speaking dialects of a few parent stocks. While many of the tribes that differed in speech are evidently of one



- Algonquin
- Iroquois
- Chicoreans
- Achelaque
- Appalachians
- Esquimaux
- Dacotahs
- Pueblos
- Shoshones
- Cheyennes
- Texas
- Athapasca
- Apaches
- Humanos
- Natches
- Oregians

**ETHNOGRAPHICAL MAP**  
 OF THE  
 United States  
 A.D. 1600

Prepared by W. H. Allen

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C A L I F O R N I A

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A P A C H E S

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racial stock, others, belonging to the same linguistic connection, present the widest physical divergences. Language forms the most convenient basis for classifying the tribes, but the uncertainty in this respect makes the true relation of the Cheyennes, Arapahoes, and Blackfeet doubtful, some classing them as Dakotas, others as Algonkins. In all the range of the North Atlantic there were not over three or four generic stocks, and apparently not more than seven in the entire area east of the Mississippi River. These groups, in the order of discovery from south to north and from east to west, were the Appalachian, Achalague, Chicorean, Algonkin, Iroquois, Dakota, Shoshone, and Athabaskan.

The era assumed for this survey is 1512. De Leon had landed in Florida. Cabot and Cortereal had seen the Indians of the North Atlantic shores ten or fifteen years earlier. Casting the eye over the map of North America, from the influx of the St. Lawrence, along the indentations of the coast, successively settled by the British colonies, reaching to the latitude of Pamlico Sound, in North Carolina, we perceive that the country was occupied by the numerous affiliated tribes of the Algonkin stock. A family of littoral tribes extended along the coasts of the Carolinas, of whom not a soul is known to be living. In the latitude of St. Helena, Broad River, and the Combahee, the Spanish called them Chicoreans, but they are known to English history as Yamassees.

Tradition assigns the next place to the Uchees, but they had been at the earliest dates subdued by the Muskokis or Creeks, and the remainder, who had escaped the calamities of war, had been adopted into the Creek confederacy, a prominent member of the Appalachian group.

#### I.—APPALACHIANS, OR CHAHTA-MUSKOKI.

The several groups are placed upon the accompanying map in the order of their discovery. The Spanish, who discovered the peninsula of Florida, were not backward in their attempts to explore it. It would not appear that the Gulf of Florida is of a breadth and character to have prevented the natives from passing to Cuba, either by a bold traverse in the halcyon months, or by the way of the Bahama Islands; and such an origin has been conjectured by some early voyagers for the Caribbean tribes, but without physiological proofs. On the contrary, the Spaniards of Cuba, when they landed in Florida, found their island interpreters entirely at fault; they could not understand a word of the language; and Panfilo de Narvaez, who landed in 1527 at what is now called Tampa Bay, was obliged to employ the vague language of signs. This want of an interpreter was, it is believed, at the bottom of all his misfortunes. He perpetually misunderstood the Indians, and they him.

These several landings were in the wide-spreading circle of what we denominate the Appalachian group, a powerful confederacy in the southeastern corner of the United States, of which the Creek or Muskoki, the Choctaw, and the Chickasaw, formed the three leading tribes. The others were the Seminoles, Mobiles, Colusas

or Coosadas, Alibamous, Uchees, Appalaches, and Timucuas. The language of the latter tribe, now extinct, is specially sympathetic, and is regarded by Gatschet as a stock language. The Cherokees may perhaps be regarded as belonging to this family. While the main tribes were undoubtedly homogeneous, there appears evidence, in the name of the friendly and placid chief "Mocoso" (Little Bear), of the existence of the Shawnee dialect of the Algonkin element of language, at this time, in the Floridian peninsula; and their present tribal name (Southerners) and recorded traditions confirm this.

De Soto was enabled, with the aid of the interpretership of Juan Ortiz, a soldier left by Narvaez, who had learned the Appalache language, to carry on his communications with the several tribes until he reached and crossed the Mississippi. This appears evident, for it is said that, although the languages differed, the difference was not radical, so that he could communicate with them. The Appalaches evidently spoke the Muskoki, but it is clear that, in the wild search after gold-mines, De Soto crossed his own track. After his return from Cofachique, a Creek name, he crossed a part of the Cherokee country, again entered the territory of the Creeks, and afterwards that of the Choctaws (called Mavilians or Mobilians), and, at his highest point on the Mississippi, that of the Chickasaws.

The names Alibamo, Cosa, Talise, Chicaza, and Tascaluza, are scarcely distinguishable, in their popular pronunciation, from the modern words Alabama, Coosa, Tallassee, Chickasaw, and Tuscaloosa; the last of these is pure Choctaw, meaning Black Warrior.

Geographical names still existing denote that the Muskokis extended at the time of the colonization from the Coosawhatchee, in South Carolina, through Georgia to the Appalachianola, embracing both its branches, to the Tallapoosa and the Alabama. Their territory now constitutes the States of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Florida, with a portion of Louisiana east of the Mississippi. Their most ancient seat of power was on the Altamaha, whence, about the settlement of South Carolina, it was removed to Wetumpka. The Seminole tribe of this people extended down to the peninsula of Florida. The Muskokis were conquerors coming from the west, and they had, beyond doubt, subdued or driven out prior occupants.

The coast of the Gulf of Mexico, Mobile Bay, the lower parts of the Alabama, the Tombigbee, and the Pascagoula, to the Mississippi, were occupied by the Choctaws. The Natchez, a people of apparently Toltec origin, occupied a position along the banks of the Mississippi from a point nearly opposite the Red River to the mouth of the Yazoo. North of the territory of the Natchez began the boundary of the Chickasaws, reaching east to the head of the Tombigbee, and extending up the left bank of the Mississippi, and into the Ohio, through the present States of Tennessee and Kentucky.

## II.—ACHALAQUES.

In the march of De Soto westward (1540) from Cutifachiqui, which is thought by Mr. Pickett to have been on the Savannah River, he passed through the southern

portion of the territory of the Achalaques,—the Cherokees of our day,—a region which is branded by him as “barren.” He was now among the foot-hills of the Appalachian range. The name Achalaque represents, indeed, the sounds of the term for this group more fully than does the English term Cherokee. It is known that the sound of *r* is wanting in this language. David Brown, the brother of Catherine, a native Cherokee, calls it “the sweet language of Tsallake.” The boundary of the territory possessed by this tribe appears to have been less subject to variation than that of any other tribe with whom we have been in intercourse, not excepting the Iroquois, whose domains grew, however, by accessions from conquest. The Cherokees occupied the termination of the Appalachian, neither reaching to the Atlantic, the Gulf, nor the Mississippi in Northern Alabama. In this secluded position, abounding in pure streams of water and fertile valleys, they had lived from prehistoric times. The Cumberland River anciently bore their name, and appears to have been their outlet to the Ohio Valley. By some ethnologists the Cherokees, the Natchez, and the Catawbas are classed with the Appalachian family.

### III.—CHICOREAN GROUP.

The genera of tribes to whom we apply this name claim the States of South and North Carolina as the peculiar theatre of their occupancy at the earliest era. We first hear of them about 1510. The credulous governor of Porto Rico, Ponce de Leon, rendered himself memorable by his early discovery of, and adventures in, Florida, which he named; but he was mortally wounded in a conflict with the natives. An adventurer by the name of Diego Meruelo, being afterwards driven on the coast, received a small quantity of the precious metals. This inflamed the golden hopes of a company engaged in mining at San Domingo, who fitted out three ships for a voyage thither. The leader was Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, whose object was the kidnapping of Indians to work in the mines. With this nefarious purpose he sailed eastwardly along the coasts of what is now called South Carolina. At Combahee River he traded with the Indians (Yamassees), and, after completing his traffic, invited them on board of his vessels; and when a sufficient number had gone into the holds of his ships, he closed the hatches and sailed back to San Domingo.

The Yamassees spread along the sea-coast of South Carolina. The midland and interior portions were covered by the Catawbas and Cheraws, artful and valiant races, who extended into North Carolina, and who have signalized their history by their friendship for the whites. The Catawbas were not an indigenous people in South Carolina, having been driven from the north by the Iroquois, who continued to be their deadly enemies. The mountain-region and uplands were debatable ground, which was made a hostile arena by the contending Cherokees and Iroquois. The latter, in the Tuscarora branch, spread across North Carolina, and preserved a point of approach for their kindred in Western New York and the Lakes. They maintained a war of extraordinary violence against the Cherokees and Catawbas, which was conducted generally by small parties. There is reason to suppose that the Cherokees

were the "Tallagewy" of the Lenapes, who were defeated in the north, and driven down the Ohio by that ancient tribe in alliance with the Iroquois. This group absorbs the small sea-coast tribes of North Carolina. It extends into Southern Virginia, south of Albemarle Sound.

#### IV.—ALGONKINS.

This is the most important group, historically and numerically, in the United States. Nearly all of the Atlantic tribes have either disappeared, emigrated west, or been placed upon reservations. We meet with some traces of this language in ancient Florida. It first assumes importance in the sub-genus of the Powhatanese circle in Virginia. It is afterwards found in the Nanticokes, assumes a very decided type in the Lenni Lenapes, or Delawares, and is afterwards traced, in various dialects, in the valleys of the Hudson and Connecticut, and throughout the whole geographical area of New England, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia.

The term appears to have been first employed as a generic word by the French for the old Nipercineans, Attawas, Montagnies, and their congeners in the valley of the St. Lawrence. It is applied to the Saulteurs of St. Mary, the Maskigoes of Canada, and, as shown by a recent vocabulary, the Blackfeet of the Upper Missouri, the Saskatchewan, the Pillagers of the Upper Mississippi, the Cheyennes and Arapahoes of the Platte, Missouri, and Upper Arkansas, and the Crees or Kenistenos of Hudson Bay. Returning from these remote points, where this broad migratory column was met by the Athabaskan group, the term includes the Miamis, Weas, Piankeshaws, Shawnees, Pottawatomies, Sacs and Foxes, Kickapoos, and Illinois, and their varieties, the Kaskaskias, etc., to the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi. At the point where the jurisdiction of the Chickasaws ceased, a professedly neutral war-ground existed, which has received the name of Kentucky, and which was in part occupied at a subsequent time by the Shawnees, an Algonkin tribe. Such a diffusion of a group of tribes has no parallel in North America, and indicates an original energy of character which is noteworthy. There were not less than twenty degrees of latitude along the North Atlantic occupied by the Algonkins in their divisions, covering the entire area between the Mississippi River and the ocean.

#### V.—IROQUOIS.

Within this widely-spread group the Five and afterwards Six Nations (called Iroquois) planted themselves in Western New York, and on the shores of Lakes Ontario and Erie, at a point where they would appear to have been in danger of being crushed by the surrounding nations; but they had the wisdom to see that the small Indian tribes destroyed themselves by discord, and they organized themselves into a confederacy, in which the principles of military glory and union were carried to a remarkable extent. They conquered, and then made allies of, the Mohican and Hudson River tribes, reaching to Long Island. They subdued in a similar way the

Monsees, and the Lenapes themselves, who had long occupied a central prominence in Pennsylvania, and also extended their conquests east and west and north and south. They drove away the Allegewy, in alliance with the Delawares, before the end of the fifteenth century, and kept open a road of conquest, in the direction of the Alleghany range, to South Carolina. The Wyandots are of this stock. It is clear from Le Jeune that this tribe was located on the island of Montreal when the French first settled in Canada, but, owing to their alliance with the French and the Algonkins, they were expelled from the St. Lawrence valley about the middle of the sixteenth century. Ethnologically the Iroquois are of Algonkin stock. This family has three main divisions: Wyandots or Hurons, of Canada; Iroquois or Six Nations, of New York; and Monocans or Monahoacs, of Virginia, including Nottaways, Meherrins, and others, who subsequently joined the Iroquois confederacy.

The Iroquois were the Goths of North America. Where the point of their original growth to nationality was located, or how the Indian mind developed that power of confederation and combination, both civil and military, which made them the terror of the Indian tribes of North America, it is difficult to determine. Their own traditions deduce their origin from the waters of the great Kanawaga, or St. Lawrence. But language discloses the fact that at the earliest dates tribes of this stock occupied Upper Virginia and North Carolina, under the names of Mohicans and Tuscaroras. However they may have wandered, their seats of power, at the opening of the sixteenth century, were in Western New York. They were not littoral tribes, but interior ones, although they had at prehistoric dates carried their conquests down the Hudson, the Delaware, the Susquehanna, and the Alleghany.

The Iroquois, occupying this central position on a broad summit of fertile tableland, favorable for raising maize and abounding in game, had a position of unrivalled advantages. The leading rivers towards the north, the east, the west, and the south originated on this summit, which gave them the power of descending rapidly into the enemy's country, and, by abandoning their water craft or leaving it at a fixed point, returning scathless by land. Thus they had conquered the Mohicans, the Delawares, the Susquehannocks, and others, spreading the terror of their arms from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi.

#### VI.—DAKOTAS.

West of the Mississippi there were two generic stocks of great importance. These were the Dakotas or Sioux, and the Shoshones. The geographical limits of these tribes were immense, and they were divided into languages and dialects and clanships even more numerous than the Algonkins, Iroquois, and Appalachians.

First in influence of these two stocks, and in savage energies, manners, and customs, are the Dakotas or Sioux. Like the Algonkins, the Iroquois, and the Appalachians, who had crossed the Mississippi at different points at early epochs, they appear to have come from the south and southwest. At the era denoted for these researches they spread from the Red River and the Arkansas up the valley of

the Mississippi, on its western borders, to its sources, having at early dates extended eastward to the head of the great lake-chain. They embraced the Arkansas, Quappas, Cadrons, Wichitas, Osages, Kansas, Pawnees, Iowas, Ottoes, Poncas, Omahaws, Missourians, Arickarees, Minnetarees, Tetons, Yanktons, and other known Sioux tribes; also the Upsarokas or Crows, and the Mandans. The Assiniboins, a Sioux tribe with an Algonkin name, were the most northerly tribal element of this ethnographic horde. One of their tribes, the Isanti, were found at the head of Lake Superior in Hennepin's day; another, the Winnebagoes ("Puans" of the Canadians), also a Dakota tribe with an Algonkin cognomen, were seated at Green Bay at La Salle's first visit, and have but recently retraced their steps, under the removal movement, to the west of the Mississippi. The language of the Hidatsas identifies them also with the Dakotas. De Soto, when he crossed the Mississippi, in 1541, in latitude about 32°, landed among a class of tribes, one of whom, the Quappas (Guipana), is clearly named. De Vaca, ten years earlier, mentions the Aouas (Iowas). The term Dakota is here used in a generic sense for a stock of languages, and not as designating the Sioux only, as it embraces a very large number of tribes west of the Mississippi. It is not contended that these tribes can converse understandingly together, but that they are connected by one ethnological chain, which is distinctly traced so far as it has been compared by vocabularies.

The course of the tide of migration of the Dakotas appears to have been north, until the advanced tribes reached the sources of the Mississippi and the western shores of Lake Superior. At the time the French first entered the country the Winnebagoes had reached Green Bay, and the Sioux of Minnesota were already on their retrograde march. Traces of their ancient villages and hieroglyphics have been noticed at Leech Lake, Mille Lacs, and other interior positions intermediate between Lake Superior and the east bank of the Mississippi. They had begun to retreat before the northwestern rush of the Algonkins, who appear to have been most expert woodsmen from the remotest dates. Mr. Horatio Hale<sup>1</sup> believes that formerly "the whole of what is now the central portion of the United States, from the Mississippi nearly to the Atlantic, was occupied by Dakota tribes, who have been cut up and gradually exterminated by the intrusive and more energetic Algonkins and Iroquois."

#### VII.—SHOSHONES.

The Shoshones, or Snake Indians, have from the remotest times occupied the plateaus and summits and valleys of the Rocky Mountain region. Lewis and Clarke found them to possess its summits in latitude 48° in 1805. Fremont found them spread over the latitude of 42° in 1840. Their traditions represent them to have lived in the valley of the Saskatchewan, from which they were driven by the Blackfeet. Under the name of Bannocks and Root-Diggers they have excited compassion, being often reduced to live on roots and larvæ. Under the name of Niunas, or

<sup>1</sup> Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society for 1871, p. 15.

Comanches, they cover Texas. The Utahs are linguistically Shoshones. Under this name they were the scourge of New Mexico, and constituted the unreliable and perfidious tribes of the Territory of Utah. California and Oregon have numerous bands and clans of the Bannocks.

This group extended over parts of Idaho, Utah, Wyoming, Oregon, Nevada, Montana, Arizona, Texas, California, and New Mexico. It embraced the Winniasht, or Western Shoshones, of Oregon and Idaho; the Bannocks, Utahs or Utes, Comanches or Yetans, and Moqui, of New Mexico; all of the seven Pueblos except the Oreibe, in which the Tegua dialect is spoken, and the Digueno of Southwestern California. The Pawnees are by some regarded as of the Shoshone family, although Mr. Lewis H. Morgan considers them distinct linguistically from all other tribes. Besides the Pawnees proper, who are now in the Indian Territory, there are the Arickarees and the Wichitas, including such small tribes in Texas and Louisiana as the Wachoes and the Kichais.

#### VIII.—ATHABASCAS.

This group occupies the greater part of Alaska and the Canadian dominion, including the Hoopas and Umpquas of Oregon and the roving Apaches and Navajoes of New Mexico, and presents the remarkable spectacle of a stock dividing in some central area, one branch moving northward and becoming established in a nearly arctic climate, the other moving southward into a semi-tropical region. The evidence of the relationship of these widely-separated tribes is derived from a comparison of vocables by the late Prof. W. W. Turner, which clearly established the fact.

Recent ethnologists rank the Achalaques and Chicoras with the Appalachians, and add to the above groups the Yumas of Southern Arizona and Lower California, including the Yampai, Tonto-Apaches, Maricopas, Mojaves, etc.; the New Mexican Pueblo or Village Indians, inhabiting twenty-six towns, with similar habits, institutions, and social life, but presenting the remarkable phenomenon of a strictly ethnological group speaking six distinct languages; the Columbian, extending into Washington Territory and Oregon, and including the Flathead or Selish, the Nisqualli of Puget Sound, the Sahaptins or Nez Percés, the Yakimas, Walla-Walla, etc.; and the Californian, mainly a geographical group, containing three large divisions, the Klamath, Ponco, and Runsien, others belonging to the Shoshones, Yumas, and Athabascas. The former are in the Klamath River basin; south of them are the Poncas, mainly in the Potter Valley; and still farther south are the Runsien of Monterey Bay. The Yuma language is spoken on the Colorado River above and below its junction with the Gila.

Besides the prominent stocks, there existed, interlaced, as it were, at wide points, the small tribes of Natchez, Uchecs, and the ancient Corees and Chicoras of Georgia and the Carolinas. The Eries and Andastes, the Mundwa, the Attuckapas, the Mascotins, and the Allegans, occupied minor positions.

## ORGANIZATION AND GOVERNMENT.

The term "tribe" denotes among the American aborigines a common descent. The tribe is the most primitive of social organizations, being found in the earliest stages of the history of all nations, and containing the germs of their civil government. What constituted the tribe was the possession of a tribal territory and a tribal name, an independent dialect, the right of investing chiefs chosen by it, government through a council of chiefs, and a religious faith and worship. The tribe always took its name from some animal or inanimate object, and never from a person. Its constant tendency to disintegration was a striking feature, and a great hindrance to its progress. New tribes were constantly springing up, having a boundless field for expansion, and stimulated by the hope of superior advantages in acquiring the means of subsistence. Some of the tribal rights and obligations were as follows:

*The Right of Electing Sachems and Chiefs.*—There were two classes of chiefs,—the sachems, who were hereditary, and the common chiefs, who were not. The office of sachem was made perpetual, vacancies being filled whenever they occurred, while the office of chief, bestowed as a reward of merit, died with its possessor. The sachem could not go to war as such, that being the duty of the individuals chosen to office for personal bravery, wisdom, or eloquence. Any chief could be deposed by a council of the tribe for improper conduct or on account of loss of confidence.

*The Obligation not to Marry in the Tribe.*—The motive for this, says Mr. Lewis H. Morgan, was to provide a permanent shield against promiscuity, and also against the intermarriage of brothers and sisters. Brother and sister would of course be of the same tribe, and, since the paternity of the children was unknown, descent was necessarily reckoned in the female line. This was subsequently changed among the Omahaws and the Ojibways to the male line.

*Obligations arising from Kinship.*—These have been weakened by civilized society, in which protection is accorded by the state, but in primitive society the individual depended wholly for security upon his tribe and kin. The obligation to avenge a murder was generally recognized. If the injury could not be adjusted by a composition, and the relations of the slain person were implacable, one or more avengers were appointed by the tribe, whose duty it became to kill the criminal wherever found. Blood for blood satisfied the demands of justice.

*Council of the Tribes.*—This, made up of the older men, was a democratic assembly, as every member had a voice. It elected and deposed chiefs, avenged or condoned the crime of murder, elected "keepers of the faith," performed the ceremony of adoption, and distributed the property of a deceased member. There was a still higher council of the tribe, and, higher yet, that of a confederacy, composed exclusively of chiefs.<sup>1</sup>

*The Right of Adoption.*—This was one of the distinctive attributes of the tribe.

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<sup>1</sup> Art. "Tribe," Johnson's Cyclopædia, App., p. 1705.

Captives taken in war were either put to death or adopted, the latter destiny being generally accorded to the women and children. A captive adopted in the relation of a son or a daughter, or in that of a brother or a sister, was ever afterwards treated in all respects as though born in that relation. The ceremony of adoption, among the Iroquois, was performed at a public council with the solemnity of a religious rite. A captive who succeeded in running the gauntlet was entitled to adoption for his hardihood and endurance. When adopted, captives usually took the places in the family of those lost in battle, and served to recruit the strength of the tribe.

*Inheritance of Property.*—In savage tribes little property existed. Most of the deceased owner's personal valuables were buried with him. Universal custom retained the property in the tribe, and it was distributed among the nearest of kin. Among the Iroquois this distribution was generally made, under the auspices of the chief, to the near relatives; though the tribe, if it chose, could make an arbitrary distribution without regard to kindred. Land was universally held in common by the tribes, but a possessory right was acquired to so much as was brought under cultivation, which passed by inheritance the same as personal effects.

*The Phratry.*—The phratry, or brotherhood, grew naturally out of the family organization, it being a union or association of two or more families of the same tribe for common objects. Those thus united were usually such as had descended from the same original family. It existed in a large number of tribes, and possessed no original governmental functions, but was a useful feature in the social system. The eight Seneca families were divided into two phratries, as follows: *First Phratry*: 1, Bear; 2, Wolf; 3, Beaver; 4, Turtle. *Second Phratry*: 5, Deer; 6, Snipe; 7, Heron; 8, Hawk.

These two were equal in functions. They concerned themselves with public games, in which the people divided by phratries, with cases of murder, with the funerals of distinguished men, and with the confirmation of the nomination of sachems and chiefs made by the tribe. The Senecas, Cayugas, and Onondagas were composed of eight families, seven of which were existing when the confederacy was formed (about 1450). The Mohawks and Oneidas were in three,—the Wolf, the Bear, and the Turtle.

*Confederacies.*—Several of these, some of them quite remarkable, were in existence at the epoch of the discovery. Among them were the Iroquois confederacy of five independent tribes, the Creek confederacy of six, and the Dakota league of "the Seven Council-Fires." It is probable that the Village Indians were also confederated. The Iroquois confederacy, the highest exemplification of the system, grew up naturally. Three common totemic families in all the tribes, the Wolf, the Turtle, and the Bear, afforded an ample basis for union, the remaining five in the three tribes serving to bind the three more closely together. The Iroquois affirm that their confederacy was formed by a council of the wise men and chiefs of the five tribes, which met for that purpose on the north bank of Onondaga Lake, near the site of the present city of Syracuse, and that before its session was concluded the organiza-

tion was perfected and put in operation. They also affirm that it has come down to the present time with scarcely a change in its internal organization.

Its general features were a union of tribes of the same family, each retaining independence and local self-government; a general council of sachems, limited in number, equal in rank, and holding supreme authority over all matters pertaining to the confederacy, including the right of the investiture of the sachems to office. The sachems of the confederacy were also sachems of their respective tribes, and the council of the tribe was left supreme over all matters pertaining exclusively to it. Unanimity was essential to any public act in the general council. The council of each tribe could convene the general council, which could not convene itself. It was open to the orators of the people for the purpose of discussing public questions, but the council alone decided. There was no recognized head, one sachem having as much authority as another. They had two principal war-chiefs, with equal powers.

The Onondagas, being the central tribe, were made the "keepers of the council brand," and their valley was the seat of government. The council came in time to have three divisions: the "civil," which declared war, made treaties, and looked after the general welfare; the "mourning," which filled vacancies in the sachemship; and the religious, for common religious observances and the celebration of public games. Five days was the usual length of its sessions, which were opened and conducted with much ceremony, and were great occasions in Indian life, particularly when sachems were installed, when the structure and principles of the confederacy were explained from belts of wampum for the instruction of the newly-inducted sachem. The belt or string of wampum was devised as an exact record of important transactions. Into it "was talked," to use their expression, the proposition or statement made, of which it became the sole evidence, but an interpreter was required to render its meaning.

The type of tribal government is clearly patriarchal. Nothing can be simpler or can contain less of those principles which writers regard as a compact or agreement, implied or otherwise. Respect for age constitutes its germ. The head of the lodge rules by this power, and the effect is commensurate with the fulness and perfection of the cause. Opinion gives it all its force, and opinion breaks its power as often as it is justly called in question.

Councils are called whenever the matter in hand is more weighty than pertains to the affairs of a single lodge or household fraternity. The members are called *o-gi-mas* by the Algonkins, and by a word of similar meaning among all the tribes. Persons who are so associated are no longer styled *nōsas*, or fathers, which is the term for the head of the lodge circle. The new term is therefore a civil cognomen, being equivalent to magistrate.

Ogimas who have distinguished themselves for wisdom, good counsel, or eloquence lay the foundation for expecting that office to be continued in their families; and where the expectation is not particularly disappointed, or where it is completely fulfilled, the office is deemed hereditary. But the office at every mutation by death receives a new vitality from opinion. If no capacity for good counsel is manifested,

or if there be no examples of bravery, endurance, or energy of character, the office of a chief becomes merely nominal, and the influence exercised is little or nothing. If, on the contrary, there arise among the class of warriors and young men daring and resolute men, whether gifted with speaking powers or not, opinion at once pushes them on to the chieftains' seats, and they are in effect installed and recognized as chiefs.

In the Algonkin tribes the chiefs are the mere exponents of public opinion. They are prompted by it on all questions requiring the exercise of any responsibility, or which, without much responsibility, are merely new. When so prompted they feel strong. They express themselves with boldness, and frequently go in advance of, or concentrate, the public voice, in a manner to elicit approbation. They are set forward by the warriors and young men as the mouth-piece of their tribes to utter views which depict the Indian as a man whose rights are constantly trenched on by the whites, who has suffered many things from the beginning, who endures continued trespasses on his lands, and who is the proud defender of the domain of the forest as the resting-place of the bones of his fathers. In all such topics the chief has a free range, and will be sure to carry his listeners along with him. But let the topic be an internal question, a fiscal or land question, a question of division of any sort, and his power is at an end. He immediately disclaims the idea of settling it without private councils with the warriors and mass of the nation, and it is only when he has thus been instructed that he returns to the council to uphold or defend questions.

In such a government of chiefs and councils resides the sovereignty. They make peace and war, they conclude treaties and agreements. Our government has hitherto treated with them at these open councils as fully competent to exercise the powers assumed, and has upheld the chiefs and councils as the rightful constituted authority.

Such is the civil organization of the hunter tribes. There is among them no formal mode of expressing opinion, as by a vote, unless it may be termed *acclamation*. Election by ballot, *viva voce*, or taking private suffrages in any form, is a characteristic of high civilization. The natives never practised it. For such of the semi-civilized tribes as have at the present day adopted written constitutions and a system of elections these constitutions are referred to.

The government of the civilized Indians, and, indeed, of all the tribes of the Indian Territory, is one of independent chiefs, whose power, however, is limited, as they are still wards of the United States government. For the purpose of punishing crimes against citizens of the United States, the Territory is annexed to the judicial district of Arkansas and Missouri.

#### THE ALGONKINS.—MASSACHUSETTS INDIANS.

When the English landed in Massachusetts, in 1620, there were some twenty tribes of Indians in the present area of New England, speaking cognate dialects.

They were hunters and fishermen, in the lowest state of barbarism, and though they never had been, apparently, densely populous, the tribes had then recently suffered much from a general epidemic. There were five principal tribes: the Nausets, on Cape Cod; the Pokanokets, or Wampanoags, living between Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay; the Massachusetts, on and near the bay of that name; the Pennacooks, on the northern frontier extending into New Hampshire; and the Nipmucks, in Central Massachusetts, extending into Connecticut and Rhode Island. In manners and customs, forest-arts and traditions, and language, they did not differ in their ethnological type. They made use in their wars of the balista, which antique instrument is represented several times, agreeably to Chingwauk's interpretation, on the Dighton Rock.

In his Life of Rev. John Eliot, the Rev. Cotton Mather, in the quaint language of the times, describes the Massachusetts Indians at the close of the seventeenth century as follows:

“Know, then, that these doleful creatures are the veriest ruins of mankind which are to be found anywhere upon the face of the earth. No such estates are to be expected among them as have been the baits which the pretended converters in other countries have snapped at. One might see among them what an hard master the devil is to the most devoted of his vassals. These abject creatures live in a country full of mines; we have already made entrance upon our iron; and in the very surface of the ground among us there lies copper enough to supply all this world; besides other mines hereafter to be exposed. But our shiftless Indians were never owners of so much as a knife till we came among them. Their name for an Englishman was a *knife-man*; stone was used instead of metal for their tools; and for their coins they have only little beads with holes in them to string them upon a bracelet, whereof some are white, and of these there go six for a penny, some are black, or blue, and of these go three for a penny. This wampum, as they call it, is made of the shell-fish, which lies upon the sea-coast continually.

“They live in a country where we now have all the conveniences of human life. But as for them, their housing is nothing but a few mats tied about poles fastened in the earth, where a good fire is their bed-clothes in the coldest seasons. Their clothing is but a skin of a beast, covering their hind-parts, their fore-parts having but a little apron where nature calls for secrecy. Their diet has not a greater dainty than their *nokehick*, that is, a spoonful of their parched meal, with a spoonful of water, which will strengthen them to travel a day together; except we should mention the flesh of deers, bears, moose, raccoons, and the like, which they have when they can catch them; as also a little fish, which if they would preserve, 'twas by drying, not by salting, for they had not a grain of salt in the world, I think, till we bestowed it on them. Their physic is, excepting a few odd specifics, which some of them encounter certain cases with, nothing hardly but an *hot-house*, or a *powwow*. Their hot-house is a little cave, about eight feet over, where, after they have terribly heated it, a crew of them go sit and sweat and smoke for an hour together, and then immediately run into some very cold adjacent brook, without the least mischief to them.

'Tis this way they recover themselves from some diseases. But, in most of their dangerous distempers, 'tis a powwow that must be sent for; that is, a priest, who has more familiarity with Satan than his neighbors. This conjurer comes, and roars, and howls, and uses magical ceremonies over the sick man, and will be well paid for it when he has done; if this don't effect the cure, the man's time is come, and there's an end.

“They live in a country full of the best ship-timber under heaven, but never saw a ship till some came from Europe hither; and then they were scared out of their wits to see the monster come sailing in, and spitting fire, with a mighty noise, out of her floating side. They cross the water in canoes, made sometimes of trees, which they burn and hew till they have hollowed them, and sometimes of barks, which they stitch into a light sort of a vessel, to be easily carried over land; if they over-set, it is but a little paddling like a dog, and they are soon where they were.

“Their way of living is infinitely barbarous; the men are most abominably slothful, making their poor squaws or wives to plant, and dress, and barn, and beat their corn, and build their wigwams for them; which, perhaps, may be the reason of their extraordinary ease in child-birth. In the mean time, their chief employment, when they'll condescend unto any, is that of hunting; wherein they'll go out some scores, if not hundreds of them, in a company, driving all before them.

“They'll continue in a place till they have burnt up all the wood thereabouts, and then they pluck up stakes to follow the wood which they cannot fetch home unto themselves; hence, when they inquire about the English, ‘Why come they hither?’ they have, themselves, very learnedly determined the case,—it was because we wanted firing. No arts are understood among them, unless just so far as to maintain their brutish conversation, which is little more than is to be found among the very beavers upon our streams.

“Their division of time is by sleeps, and moons, and winters; and, by lodging abroad, they have somewhat observed the motions of the stars; among which it has been surprising unto me to find that they have always called Charles' Wain by the name of Paukunnawaw, or The Bear, which is the name whereby Europeans also have distinguished it. Moreover, they have little, if any, traditions among them worthy of our notice; and reading and writing is altogether unknown to them, though there is a rock or two in the country that has unaccountable characters engraved upon it. All the religion they have amounts unto thus much: they believe that there are many gods, who made and own the several nations of the world; of which a certain great god, in the southwest regions of heaven, bears the greatest figure. They believe that every remarkable creature has a peculiar god within it, or about it; there is with them a sun-god, or a moon-god, and the like; and they cannot conceive but that the fire must be a kind of god, inasmuch as a spark of it will soon produce very strange effects. They believe that when any good or ill happens to them, there is the favor or the anger of a god expressed in it; and hence, as in a time of calamity they keep a dance, or a day of extravagant ridiculous devotions to their god, so in a time of prosperity they likewise have a feast, wherein

they also make presents one unto another. Finally, they believe that their chief god, Kamantowit, made a man and woman of a stone; which, upon dislike, he broke to pieces, and made another man and woman of a tree, which were the fountains of all mankind; and that we all have in us immortal souls, which, if we were godly, shall go to a splendid entertainment with Kamantowit, but, otherwise, must wander about in a restless horror forever. But if you say to them anything of a resurrection, they will reply upon you, 'I shall never believe it!' And, when they have any weighty undertaking before them, 'tis an usual thing for them to have their assemblies, wherein, after the usage of some diabolical rites, a devil appears unto them, to inform them and advise them about their circumstances; and sometimes there are odd events of their making these applications to the devil: for instance, 'tis particularly affirmed that the Indians, in their wars with us, finding a sore inconvenience by our dogs, which would make a sad yelling if, in the night, they scented the approaches of them, they sacrificed a dog to the devil; after which no English dog would bark at an Indian for divers months ensuing. This was the miserable people which our Eliot propounded unto himself the saving of."

Eliot, who has been justly styled the Apostle of the Indians, came from England in 1631; and although charged with the duties of a pastor, and taking a prominent part in the ecclesiastical government of the New England churches, he turned his attention, at the same time, very strongly to the conversion of the tribes. To this end he engaged native teachers, and learned the Indian language. In this he made great proficiency, and soon began to preach to them in their vernacular. Colaborers joined him; and by their efforts, native evangelists were raised up, under whose labors, superintended by Mr. Eliot, Indian churches were established at various points. Fifteen hundred souls were under religious instruction on Martha's Vineyard alone.

In 1661 Eliot published a translation of the entire Scriptures in their language, which is seen to be a well-characterized dialect of the Algonkin. This work evinces vast labor and research. Many English terms for nouns and verbs are employed, with the usual Indian inflections. The words God and Jehovah appear as synonymes of Manito, the Indian term for Deity. He found, it appears, no term for the verb "to love," and introduced the word *womon* as an equivalent, adding the ordinary Indian suffixes and inflections for person, number, and tense.

Eliot's translation of the Bible into the Indian language constitutes an era in American philology. It preceded, it is believed, any missionary effort of equal magnitude, in the way of translation, in India or any other part of the world, and it must forever remain as a monument of New England zeal and active labor in the conversion of the native tribes. The term Massachusetts language is applied to the various cognate and closely-affiliated dialects of the tribes who formerly inhabited that territory. It constitutes a peculiar type of the Algonkin, which was spread widely along the Atlantic and in the West.

It is interesting to observe the fate of this people, who were the object of so much benevolent care, after the lapse of little less than two centuries. The great blow to

the permanent success of this work was struck by the general war which broke out under the indomitable sachem called Metacom, better known as King Philip, who drew all but the Christian communities and the Mohicans into his scheme. Even these were often suspected. The cruelties which were committed during this war produced the most bitter hatred and distrust between the parties. The whole race of Indians was suspected, and from the painful events of this unwise war, on the part of the natives, we must date the suspicious and unkind feelings which were so long prevalent, and which yet tincture the American mind.

In 1849 the Legislature of Massachusetts directed inquiries to be made respecting them. From the report made on this occasion, there were found to be remnants of twelve tribes or local clans, living respectively at Chippequiddie, Christiantown, Gay Head, Fall River, Marshpee, Herring Pond, Hassanamisco, Punkapog, Natick, Dudley, Grafton, and Yarmouth. Their number was estimated at eight hundred and forty-seven, only about seven or eight of whom were of pure blood, the remainder being a mixture of Indian and African. A plan for their improvement was proposed. This plan embraced the following features: 1. The enactment of a uniform system of laws, to apply to every tribe in the State, in the spirit of modern philanthropy. 2. The merging of all except those at Marshpee, Herring Pond, and Martha's Vineyard into one community. 3. Granting to every one who wishes it the privileges of citizenship, involving the liability to taxation. 4. The appointment of an Indian commissioner for their supervision and improvement. At present these Indians number about five hundred, the larger part of whom are at Gay Head, in Duke's County, and Marshpee, in Barnstable County. They have all lost their original language, have generally intermarried with negroes, and are commonly regarded as mulattoes. The two towns above named were incorporated in 1870. Of the Stockbridge tribe, one hundred and twenty-six remained, and are at the Green Bay agency, Wisconsin.

The Stockbridges were formerly an intelligent and prosperous people. Unfortunately for them, they left their valuable lands in New York, and in 1857 removed to their present home. This has proved highly detrimental to them. The soil of their new reservation is poor, and has never yielded them more than a meagre subsistence. For this reason many have left the tribe, and quarrels and bickerings among the residue have been prejudicial to the peace and progress of the community.

#### MAINE INDIANS.—ABENAKIS.

The Abenakis formerly inhabited the territory which now comprises a part of the States of Maine and New Hampshire. They include the Canibas, or tribes of the Kennebec, Androscoggin, Saco, and Sheepscott, of whom the Sokokes or Pequawkets, of the Saco, speak a distinct dialect, the Penobscots, called Tarrantines by the early writers, and the Malecites (Marechites), of the St. Croix and the St. John. The two latter are the Etchemins of the early French writers. All of these speak dialects of the Algonkin, and understand one another's speech. Abenakis is a

geographical term adopted by the French, denoting the area occupied by this tribe on the first settlement of Canada. Having at an early period received missionaries from Canada, they espoused the French interests in the long contest between that province and the British colonists in New England, and were engaged in hostilities with the latter until the conquest of Canada. A few years previous to this event, about 1754, all but the Penobscots withdrew into Canada.

The fullest vocabulary we possess of the Abenaki language is furnished by the manuscripts of Father Rale, the zealous missionary among the Norridgewocks. These papers were published a few years ago by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, at Boston, under the direction of Mr. Pickering. To the valuable data thus furnished, Mr. Gallatin has added a vocabulary of the Penobscot dialect, derived from other sources. He observes that the Abenaki language has close affinities with the dialects of the other two nations east of the St. Lawrence, namely, the Etchemins or Canoe-men, and the Micmacs or Souriquois. He fixes their geographical limits in A.D. 1600 between the Kennebec and the Piscataqua, observing that Governor Sullivan had placed it definitely at Saco, a point which is thought to be corroborated by the fact that the French writers speak of a tribe called Sokokies, whom they locate in that particular quarter. This last tribe is also mentioned by Colden, under the name of Sohokies, as living eastward of Boston; and if, as seems probable, the term Saco is derived from them, it is perhaps the strongest trace they have left in the geography of New Hampshire.

In 1724 the Norridgewocks suffered a total defeat from the New England troops, losing their missionary, Rale, in the conflict; after which they migrated into Lower Canada. There are at present a missionary and a teacher among them in the service of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. By a report from the former, made in 1839, there were sixty persons returned as attending Protestant worship, of which number twenty-four were church members, and twenty youths who attended a daily school.

*Abenaki* is a term of obvious import. *Wa-bun-ong* is a term denoting the east, literally called "a place of light." By dropping the local inflection in *ong*, and adding the word *aki*, "earth" or "land," the phrase Abenaki—"Eastlander"—is formed. The *w* is dropped by the French. They also in early times sometimes spelled the word Abenagues, in the plural, and sometimes Oubenakis. The Iroquois, according to Colden, called them Owenungas, along with the Pennacooks and other Northeast Indians. Some of the early English writers call them Tarrantines, a term employed by Wood to distinguish them from the other New England tribes who did not use the letter *r*.

#### PENOBSCOTS.

The Penobscot or Panawanskek tribe were found by the earliest explorers on the river of that name, near the present location of the small remnant of the tribe at Oldtown, near Bangor. Their especial places of rendezvous were Mattawamkeag, Passadumkeag, and Penobscot Falls. At the two latter places were French forts,

with French and Indian villages. The fort at Passadumkeag was destroyed by Colonel Thomas Westbrook in 1722-23, and the fort and village at Penobscot Falls by Captain Joseph Heath in 1725.

June 21, 1775, the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts recognized their claims to "territories beginning at the head of the tide on the Penobscot River, extending six miles on each side of the said river."<sup>1</sup> Bangor was first settled in 1769, and its chief settlement for several years was near the head of the tide. This claim being afterwards found an obstacle to the settlement of the country, Massachusetts, in August, 1786, sent three commissioners, General Benjamin Lincoln, General Rufus Putnam, and Dr. Thomas Rice, to obtain a cession of the territory. The tribe afterwards refused to ratify the agreement then made, and in 1796 a new commission, consisting of General William Shepherd, Nathan Dane, and Daniel Davis, succeeded in obtaining a release of all their land on the river, except Oldtown and the islands in the river above it, for thirty miles. This territory embraced one hundred and eighty-nine thousand four hundred and twenty-six acres, and was afterwards surveyed into nine townships. The Indians subsequently claimed the territory six miles wide on both sides of the river above the thirty miles thus relinquished, to an indefinite extent, and assumed to sell the timber from it. This territory they also ceded for a consideration in 1818, and after the separation of Maine from Massachusetts, Maine assumed the obligations of the latter, and renewed the treaty at Bangor, August 17, 1820.

The Penobscots are nearly related to the Passamaquoddies (of whom about five hundred reside at Davis Island and Pleasant Point, on the bay of that name), and to the Micmacs or Malecites of New Brunswick. They are Roman Catholics, have a church and several schools, and possess some devotional works in their own language, prepared by Rev. E. Vetromile, S.J. They have established an elective government, and number about five hundred.

#### PENNACOOKS.

This tribe formerly occupied the Merrimac Valley. Their seat of power was at Amoskeag Falls. They were in amity with the surrounding tribes, over whom they exercised an important influence. They were under the government of a powerful sagamore, called Passaconaway, who was the depository both of political and of religious power. His wisdom in council was respected, but his power as a native priest and sorcerer caused him to be feared. He resisted the gospel when it was first offered him and his band by Eliot, and they regarded the advent of the whites in the country as fraught with influences adverse to their prosperity and destructive to the aboriginal tribes. They made the most determined resistance to the settlement of New England, and of New Hampshire especially, of any tribe on the borders of the North Atlantic; and when they were expelled from the Merrimac they returned

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<sup>1</sup> This land, which secured their alliance in the Revolutionary War, they have since sold piecemeal.

from the north and west, whither they had fled, with a degree of fury and spirit of vengeance which is almost without a parallel. These events are stated in their order in the following observations, as gleaned from the authorities by a gentleman resident in the district of country whose aboriginal history is under discussion.<sup>1</sup>

The voyagers to the coast of New England in the early part of the seventeenth century found multiplied divisions among the several tribes of Indians, though all speaking radically the same language, namely, the Algonkin. Captain John Smith, one of these early voyagers, gives the most minute account of these tribes. He says, "The principal habitations I saw at Northward was Pennobscot, who are in Warres with the Terentines, their next northerly neighbors. Southerly up the Rivers, and along the coast, wee found Mecadacut, Segocket, Pemmaquid, Nusconcus, Sagadahock, Satquin, Aumugheawgen, and Kenabeca: to those belong the countries and people of Segotago, Paulhantanuck, Pocopassum, Taughtanakagnes, Wabigganus, Nassaque, Mauherosqueck, Warigwick, Moshoquen, Waccogo, Pasharanack, &c. To those are allied in confederacy the Countries of Aucoisco, Accominticus, Passataquak, Augawoam, and Naemkeck; all those, for any thing I could perceive, differ little in language, or any thing, though most of them be Sagamos and Lords of themselves, yet they hold the Bashabes of Penobscot the chiefe and greatest amongst them. The next is Mattahunt, Totant, Massachuset, Paconekick, then Cape Cod, by which is Pawmet, the Iles Nawset and Capawuck, neere which are the shoules of Rocks and sands that stretch themselves into the maine Sea twenty leagues, and very dangerous, betwixt the degrees of 40 and 41." Most of these tribes named by Smith occupied the same relative positions for more than a century after the country was permanently settled by the English.

West of Cape Cod were the powerful tribes of the Narragansetts and Pequots, while in the country, upon the rivers and lakes, were several other large tribes,—the Nipmucks, in the interior of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, and occupying the valley of the Merrimac in New Hampshire and Massachusetts, and the Norridgewocks, seated upon the branches of the Kennebec and the lakes in the northern interior of Maine. The Norridgewocks were called Abenakis by the French, and were principally noted for their adherence to the French interests, and for their inroads upon the English settlements, which their connection with the French led them to undertake.

East of the Penobscot were the Scootucks, or Passamaquoddies, inhabiting the Scootuck or St. Croix River and the shore of Passamaquoddy Bay; the Milicetes, in the valley of the river St. John; and the Micmacs, occupying the rest of New Brunswick and the peninsula of Nova Scotia.

The Micmacs were, and still are, a warlike people. Living mainly upon the sea-shore, athletic, of powerful frame, and most expert canoe-men, they were fond of warlike expeditions, and often were a source of fear and anxiety to their western neighbors, under the dreaded name of Tarrantines. They even extended their hostile

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<sup>1</sup> Chandler E. Potter.

expeditions against the tribes of Massachusetts, within the knowledge of the English ; and in some of the earliest stipulations between the tribes of New Hampshire and Massachusetts and their English neighbors, mention is made of their dread of the Tarrantines.

When Captain Smith coasted along the shore of New England, in 1614, making the island of Monhegan the centre of his operations, the Penobscot tribe was one of the most powerful in New England. It was under the control of a bashaba or chief who held the tribes of Maine, as far west as the Saco, tributary or subject to him. He was then at war with the Tarrantines, and in 1615 that warlike people sent an expedition against him with such secrecy that they took him by surprise and put him and his family to death. Divisions arose as to the succession of the bashaba, and the Tarrantines, taking advantage of these, soon overpowered the other tribes of Maine, and extended a war of extermination along the coast of Massachusetts. Hand in hand, as it were, with war stalked pestilence, so that in 1620 the tribes upon the sea-coast from the St. Croix to Cape Cod had become greatly diminished in numbers, and some places were almost entirely depopulated.

Speaking of this depopulation, Captain Smith says, "They had three plagues in three years successively, neere two hundred miles along the sea-coast, that in some places there scarce remained five of a hundred, . . . but it is most certaine there was an exceeding great plague amongst them ; for where I have seene two or three hundred, within three years after remained scarce thirty."

Whatever this disease may have been, it seems to have extended little farther south than Cape Cod, and to have been limited in violence, at least, to the tribes of the sea-coast, so that the Pilgrims in 1620, and for many years subsequently, had little to fear from the once powerful tribes upon the sea-shore north of Cape Cod ; while they had to use every precaution against the power of the southern tribes and those of the interior, which had been less afflicted by disease and war.

At this period the most powerful tribes of the interior, and probably of New England, north of the Pequots, had their residence in the valley of the Merrimac, upon the productive falls and fertile meadows of that beautiful river. These meadows, or "intervalles," as they are usually called, are basins made up of alluvial and vegetable deposits, and were doubtless once covered with water, which has gradually passed away through the Merrimac, that, continually deepening its channel, has burst the rocky barriers of these bays, or lakes, and left their former beds dry and arable land. That these "intervalles" were submerged at a comparatively late period hardly admits of a doubt, as the barriers of these ancient bays can be readily traced above Pawtucket, Amoskeag, Hookset, Garvin's, and Sewell's Falls ; and upon most of these basins, or intervalles, have been found, far below their surface, logs, fresh-water shells, and other unmistakable evidences of submersion. The Merrimac then was a succession of bays from Lake Winnepesaukee to the ocean, some of which still remain at Sanbornton and Meredith, contributing so much to the beauty of the scenery of that neighborhood. These intervalles were of great fertility, and of such ready productiveness as to afford an abundant harvest to the

scanty husbandry of the Indian. More than two centuries of culture have hardly decreased their fertility.

Then the Merrimac afforded other superior advantages for Indian settlements. Rising in the White Mountains at an altitude of six thousand feet above the level of the ocean, its waters find their way to the Atlantic through the distance of two hundred and fifty miles; and of course there are rapids and falls through most of its length. These afforded ample fishing-grounds to the natives, whereat to spear, and take with dip-net and seine, the myriads of alewives, shad, and salmon that literally crowded the Merrimac during certain seasons of the year. Then the woods upon its banks were filled with moose, deer, and bears, whilst the ponds and lakes, the sources of its tributaries, were teeming with water-fowl.

In this beautiful valley of the Merrimac, with all these attractions of fertile planting-grounds, an abundance of fish, and hunting-grounds of unlimited extent, the first English adventurers found several tribes of Indians occupying localities chosen with Indian taste and with special reference to the Indian's comfort and wants. From its mouth far above its affluents the Winnepesaukee and the Pemigewasset, the shores of this "silver stream" were dotted with Indian villages. It was the very paradise of the Indian imagination. Is it a wonder that the wresting of such a home from "the lords of the soil" should have been accompanied with strife and bloodshed, or that the Indian, in his ignorance and wildness, when driven from the graves of his fathers at the hands of strangers, should have left the marks of his vengeance behind him, traced with all the horrors of the scalping-knife and the tomahawk? It is not strange; nor is it so singular, or so much a matter of reproach, as that a people fresh from the lash of oppression, laying claim to much of humanity, and ever bearing upon their arm the shield of morality and religion, should have driven the simple-hearted natives from their lands without even color of right except what comes from that precept of barbarism that "might makes right," and without even color of title, when title was pretended, except what was purchased for a few blankets, a trucking-coat, a few beads and baubles, or, perhaps still worse, a runlet of "occupee" or "fire-water."

These tribes upon the Merrimac were the Agawam, Wamesit or Pawtucket, Nashua, Souhegan, Namaoskeag, Pennacook, and Winnepesaukee. The Agawam tribe occupied the eastern part of what is now Essex County, in Massachusetts, extending from tide-water upon the Merrimac round to Cape Ann. Their territory, skirted upon two sides by the Merrimac and the Atlantic, indented by bays, intersected by rivers, and interspersed with ponds, was appropriately called *Wonnescquamsauke*, meaning literally the *pleasant water-place*; the word being a compound from *wonne*, "pleasant," *asquam*, "water," and *auke*, "a place." This word was sometimes contracted to *Wonnescquam*, often to *Squamsauke*, and still oftener to *Squam* or *Asquam*. The deep guttural pronunciation of *asquam* by the Indians sounded to the English like *agawam*, and hence the word as applied to the Indians of that section. Several localities in Essex County are now known by names contracted and derived from this Indian word *Wonnescquamsauke*, as *Squam*, the name

of a pleasant harbor and village upon the north side of Cape Ann, and Swampscott, the name of a pleasant village in the eastern part of Lynn. The Wamesits occupied the forks of the Merrimac and Concord Rivers, near the Pawtucket Falls in the former river. Wamesit is derived from *wame*, "all" or "whole," and *auke*, "a place," with the letter *s* thrown in between the two syllables for the sake of euphony. The Indian village at this place undoubtedly received this name from the fact that it was a *large* village, the *place* where *all* the Indians collected together. This was literally true in the spring and summer, as the Pawtucket Falls, near by, was one of the most noted fishing-places in New England, where the Indians from far and near gathered together in April and May to catch and dry their year's stock of shad and salmon. Wamesit is embraced in the present town of Tewksbury, and the city of Lowell, in Middlesex County, Massachusetts.

The Indians in this neighborhood were sometimes called Pawtucket, from the falls in the Merrimac of that name. Pawtucket means the *forks*, being derived from the Indian word *pochatuk*, "a branch." The name seems, however, to have been applied by the English rather to all the Indians north of the Merrimac than to the particular tribe at the Pawtucket Falls. The Nashuas occupied the lands upon the Nashua, and the intervalles upon the Merrimac, opposite and below the mouth of that river. Nashua means the *river with a pebbly bottom*, a name which is said to have been peculiarly appropriate before art had deprived the stream of this distinctive beauty.

The Souhegans lived upon the Souhegan River, occupying the rich intervalles upon both banks of the Merrimac above and below the mouth of the Souhegan. Souhegan is a contraction of Souhekenash, an Indian noun in the plural number, meaning *worn-out lands*. These Indians were often called Natacooks, or Nacooks, from their occupying ground that was free from trees, or *cleared land*,—Natacook meaning a *clearing*.

The Namaoskeags resided at the falls in the Merrimac known at present by the name of Amoskeag, and lying mainly in the city of Manchester. This word, written variously Namaske, Namaoskeag, Naumkeag, and Naimkeak, means the *fishing-place*, from *namaos*, "a fish," and *auke*, "a place."

The Pennacooks occupied the rich intervalles at Pennacook now embraced in the towns of Bow, Concord, and Boscawen, in the county of Merrimac. They were thus called from *pennaqui*, "crooked," and *auke*, "a place;" the intervalles at Concord, which are extensive, being embraced within the bends of the Merrimac, which winds its way along in a very crooked manner.<sup>1</sup>

The Winnepesaukee occupied the lands in the vicinity of the lake of that name, one of their noted fishing-places being at the outlet of the Winnepesaukee, now known as the Weirs, parts of permanent Indian weirs having remained at that place long after the advent of the whites. Winnepesaukee is derived from *winne*, "beau-

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<sup>1</sup> It may be that Pennacook means the *ground-nut place*, in which case it would be derived from *penak*, "a ground-nut," and *auke*, "a place."

tiful," *nipe*, "water," *kees*, "high," and *auke*, "a place," meaning literally the *beautiful water of the high land*.

Of these several tribes the Pennacooks were the most powerful; and either from their superior civilization, arising from a long residence upon a fertile soil, or from having been for a long period under the rule of a wise chief, or perhaps from both causes united, they had become the head, as it were, of a powerful confederacy.

It is well known that the Winnepesaukee, Amoskeag, Souhegan, and Nashua tribes were completely subservient to the Pennacooks; while the Wamesits, with whom they were connected by constant intermarriage, were mainly under their control, acknowledged fealty to Passaconaway, and finally, with the other tribes upon the Merrimac, became merged with them, and ceased to be a distinct tribe in fact or name.

The Agawams were also intimately connected with the Pennacooks, acknowledged fealty to them, and doubtless were one of the earliest tribes to become merged with them, but they ceased to exist as a distinct tribe at so early a date that few particulars of their history have been preserved.

Besides the tribes in the valley of the Merrimac, the Pennacooks had control over most of the tribes from the Concord River, in Massachusetts, to the sources of the Connecticut,<sup>1</sup> and from the highlands between the Merrimac and Connecticut to the Kennebec, in Maine. It is known that the Wachusetts, from *wadchu* (a mountain) and *auke* (a place), near Wachusett Mountain, in Massachusetts; the Coosucks, from *cooash* (pines), upon the sources of the Connecticut River; the Pequaquaukes, from *pequaquis* (crooked) and *auke* (a place), upon the sources of the Saco, in Carroll County, New Hampshire, and Oxford County, Maine; the Ossipees, from *cooash* (pines) and *sipe* (a river), upon the Ossipee Lake and River, in Carroll County, New Hampshire, and York County, Maine; the Squamscotts, from *winne* (beautiful), *asquam* (water), and *auke* (a place), upon Exeter River, in Exeter, and Stratham, in Rockingham County; the Winnecowetts, from *winne* (beautiful), *cooash* (pines), and *auke* (a place), in the Hamptons in the same county; the Piscataquaukes, from *pos* (great), *attuck* (a deer), and *auke* (a place), upon the Piscataqua River, the boundary between New Hampshire and Maine; the Newichewannocks, from *nee* (my), *week* (a contraction of *weekwam*, a house), and *owannock* (come), upon one of the upper branches of the same river; the Sacos, from *sawa* (burnt), *coo* (pine), and *auke* (a place), upon the Saco River, in York County, Maine; and the Amariscoggins, from *namaos* (fish), *kees* (high), and *auke* (a place), upon the Androscoggin River, which rises in New Hampshire and empties into the Kennebec,—all acknowledged the power and control of the Pennacooks, and were members of the confederacy of which that powerful tribe was the head, and Passaconaway the leading sagamore or bashaba. These Indians from the interior were known among the tribes upon the sea-shore by the general name of Nipmucks, or *fresh-water Indians*. Nipmuck is derived from *nip* (still water) and *auke* (a place),

<sup>1</sup> Connecticut is derived from *quinne* (long), *attuck* (a deer), and *auke* (a place).

with the letter *m* thrown in for the sake of euphony. And, true to their name, the Nipmucks usually had their residence upon places of still water, the ponds and lakes and rivers of the interior.

But the Indians in the Merrimac Valley, although properly Nipmucks and living in distinct bands or tribes, were usually called by the English Pennacooks, from the fact that the position of the tribe at Pennacook, as the head of a powerful confederacy, brought its people in contact with the English on all occasions of moment, such as conferences and negotiations, and hence the English, meeting Pennacooks almost exclusively on such occasions, applied their name to the tribes generally inhabiting the Merrimac Valley. And in course of time, as the Indians became reduced in numbers by emigration, war, and contact with civilization, the smaller tribes united with the larger ones, till, in 1675, the Pennacooks were the only tribe in the Merrimac Valley, and held exclusive possession of it.

The Merrimac naturally was only a series of falls, rapids, and ripples from the Souhegan to the lower Pennacook Falls (now Garvin's). These afforded the most ample opportunity for fishing, and the name of Namaoskeag was doubtless applied to that section of the river and the adjacent country; but in course of time, as fish became less and less abundant, the name Namaoskeag came to be applied to the immediate neighborhood of the principal falls, now known as Amoskeag, where the fish mostly congregated.

At Namaoskeag, upon the bluff immediately east of the falls, was the main village or town occupied by the Indians, as is plainly shown by the abundance of arrow- and spear-heads, pieces of pottery, and other unmistakable evidences which are still to be seen and found there; while down the river to the Souhegan, wherever there were good fishing- or planting-grounds, were smaller settlements. Such settlements existed in Bedford, opposite Carthagena Island, on land of Hon. Thomas Chandler, and opposite the mouth of Cohas River. Vestiges still remain at the former place, as they did at the latter till the hand of improvement swept them away. But, as already stated, the main Indian village was at the "Falls." Mr. Eliot speaks of this "as a great fishing-place (*Namaské*) upon Merimak," which "belongeth to Papassaconnaway."

Here, prior to 1650, Passaconnaway had his principal residence, and was so anxious to have the Rev. Mr. Eliot come here and establish his community of Christian, or "Praying," Indians, as his proselytes were called, that he offered to furnish him with any amount of land he might want for that purpose. The old sagamore held out such inducements, and the place was of so much importance, that Eliot at one time had serious thoughts of establishing himself here; but the difficulty of transporting supplies, and the aversion of the natives in Massachusetts to going farther north, were so great that he thought "the Lord, by the Eye of Providence, seemed not to look thither," and he located himself at Natick.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Some make Natick to mean a *place of hills*; but we are inclined to think that *Natick* means a *clearing*, or place free from trees, from the Indian words *nete* (bare) and *tuke* (a place). Hence *Neddock* (a

There is no doubt that Mr. Eliot afterwards found opportunity to visit Namaoskeag, and to preach and establish a school there, as Gookin, in his account of the "Christian Indians," names "Naamikeke" as one of "the places where they (the Indians) met to worship God and keep the Sabbath, in which places there was at each a teacher, and schools for the youth at most of them." And as no other man established schools or preaching among the Indians of the interior save Mr. Eliot, it follows that he both preached and taught at Namaoskeag. So that Namaoskeag, now Manchester, not only has the honor of having been the scene of the philanthropic labors of "the Apostle Eliot," but also that of having established within its limits the *first* "preaching and school" that existed in the State north and west of Exeter, however remiss the white inhabitants of that region may have been in these particulars.

There was another noted fishing-place within the territory of the Pennacooks, where shad alone were caught, which was almost equally celebrated with those at Namaoskeag and Pawtucket. It was located at the outlet of Lake Winnepesaukee, and was known by the name of Ahquedaukenash, meaning literally *stopping-places or dams*, from *ahque* (to stop) and *auke* (a place). This word had for its plural Ahquedaukenash, hence, by contraction of the English, Ahquedauken, and again, by corruption, Aquedoctan, a name which was extended by the whites to the whole Winnepesaukee River. It is a curious fact in the history of the fisheries upon the Merrimac, that while alewives, shad, and salmon passed up the lower part of the Merrimac in company, yet most of the alewives went up the small rivulets before coming to the forks of the Merrimac at Franklin, while the salmon and shad parted company at the forks,—the former going up the Pemigewasset,<sup>1</sup> and the latter passing up the Winnepesaukee. This peculiarity was owing to the natures of those fish. The alewives were a small fish, and sought to deposit their spawn in small lakes or ponds which were easy of access, warm, and free from the larger fish that would destroy them and their progeny. The shad was a much larger fish, and in spawning sought large lakes where the water was warm and abundant; while the salmon, delighting in cold, swift water, sought only those rivers which were fed by springs or by rivulets from the ravines and gorges of the mountain-sides, and which, meandering through dense forests, rippling over pebbly bottoms, or rushing over rocks or precipices, formed those ripples, rapids, whirlpools, and falls which the salmon love, and those dark, deep, cool basins or eddies in which they deposit their spawn. Hence the fact that alewives were seldom found above the forks of the Merrimac, while the salmon held exclusive possession of the cool, rapid, dark Pemigewasset, and the shad appropriated the warm, clear waters of the Winnepesaukee, none of them trespassing upon the domain of the other. The Ahquedaukenash, then, of the

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cape in York County, Maine), and Naticook, or Nacook, the ancient name of Litchfield, the town upon the east side of the Merrimac, and joining Manchester, New Hampshire, on the south.

<sup>1</sup> *Pemigewasset* means, literally, *the crooked mountain-pine place*, from *pennaquis* (crooked), *wadchre* (a mountain), *cooash* (pines), and *auke* (a place). By contraction it became Penna-chu-ash-auke, and by corruption Pemigewasset.

Indians, and the Aquedauken and Aquedoctau of the English, were one and the same name, applied to the fishing-place of the Indians at the outlet of Lake Winnepesaukee, now known as "The Weirs." This was called Ahquedaukee, or the Weirs, from the fact that the dams or weirs at this place were *permanent* ones. The Winnepesaukee is not a variable river, and at the outlet of the lake the water for some distance passed over a hard pebbly bottom and did not average more than three feet in depth. This was an excellent place for Ahquedaukenash or dams, and could not fail of being duly improved by the Indians. Accordingly, as before suggested, they had here permanent weirs. Not being able to drive stakes or posts into the pebbly bottom of the river, they placed large rocks at convenient distances from each other in a zigzag line across the river. Against these they interwove their brushwood weirs, or strung their hempen nets, according to their ability. Such weirs were used in the spring and fall, both when the fish ran *up* and when they ran *down* the river. Such Ahquedaukenash were frequent upon this and other rivers, and the rocks thus placed in the river by the Indians remained in their position long after the settlement of the English in that neighborhood, and were used by them for a like purpose: hence the name of the Weirs, as continued at the present time.

The valley of the Connecticut in the northern part of Massachusetts and the southern parts of New Hampshire and Vermont was a kind of "debatable ground" betwixt the Mohawks and Pennacooks, between which tribes there was continual war. Few places in it, consequently, were occupied permanently by the Indians. At Bellows' Falls, and below, occasional parties of Indians were to be found, both of the Mohawks and of the Pennacooks; yet neither made permanent settlements there, for fear of the other, nor made much stop there, or in its neighborhood, unless they were in such force as to be regardless of an attack from the other.

On this account the upper Connecticut Valley affords few materials for Indian history. The Coos country, extending from Haverhill to the sources of the Connecticut, is an exception, as it was occupied by a band of Pennacooks, attracted there by its hunting- and fishing-grounds. These kept a kind of armed possession of that country for the protection and relief of the frequent parties which were passing and repassing from the various points upon the Merrimac to the Aresaguntacook<sup>1</sup> Indians, upon the river St. Lawrence, a tribe with which the Pennacooks ever maintained the most friendly relations.

With this tribe the Pennacooks were allied by frequent intermarriages; and with a band of this same tribe, located at the "Three Rivers," and known as the St. Francis, the remnants of the various New England tribes continued to unite, under French policy, till at length it became a powerful tribe, and proved an inexhaustible source of annoyance and hostility to the colonists of New England. In fact, from 1690 to 1760 most of the war-parties that visited the New England frontiers started from St. Francis as a rendezvous, or had pilots and leaders from that tribe, naturally so hostile to the English. It was during the period from 1630 to 1725 that the

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<sup>1</sup> Said to mean *the place of dried meat*.

Indians of the Merrimac Valley were in any degree formidable to the English colonists.

Having thus given a general account of the localities occupied by the Pennacooks or Nipmucks in the valley of the Merrimac, as well as of the several bands or tribes under their control, or connected with them, we shall follow out their history more particularly.

Passaconaway was at the head of the powerful Indian tribe, or virtual confederacy, of the Pennacooks, when the whites first settled in this country. His name is indicative of his warlike character,—Papisseconewa, as written by himself, meaning "The Child of the Bear."<sup>1</sup> We first hear of him in 1627 or 1628. Thomas Morton, "mine host of Maremount," as he writes himself in his "New English Canaan," thus speaks of him, being in this country at that time: "That Sachem or Sagamore is a Powah of greate estimation amongst all kind of Salvages, there hee is at their Revels (which is the time when a greate company of salvages meete from severall parts of the Country, in amity with their neighbours), hath advanced his honour in his feats or jugling tricks (as I may right tearme them), to the admiration of the spectators, whome hee endeavoured to perswade that hee would goe under water to the further side of a river to broade for any man to undertake with a breath, which thing hee performed by swimming over and deluding the company with casting a mist before their eies that see him enter in and come out; but no part of the way he has bin scene: likewise by our English in the heat of all summer, to make ice appeare in a bowle of faire water, first having the water set before him, hee hath begunne his incantation according to their usuall accustom, and before the same hath bin ended, a thick clowde has darkened the aire, on a sodane a thunder-clap hath bin heard that has amazed the natives; in an instant hee hath shewed a firm peece of ice to flote in the middest of the bowle in the presence of the vulgar people, which doubtless was done by the agility of Satan his consort." From which marvellous story we are to infer that to the character of a brave warrior Passaconaway added that of a clever juggler. In fact, he held his people in great awe of him, the Indians supposing him to have supernatural powers which gave him control over their destinies. It was said that he could make a dry leaf turn green, could cause water to burn and then turn to ice, and could take the rattlesnake in his hand with impunity.

With such reputed powers, his acknowledged ability as a warrior, and his wisdom as a sagamore, Passaconaway, as we have said, was the recognized head of the most powerful Indian tribe east of the Mohawks, and as such received the title of Bashaba, a title of much the same import as that of emperor.

Prior to 1629 the tract of land extending from the Piscataqua to the Merrimac westward, and from the line of Massachusetts thirty miles into the country northward, had been explored, and Mr. Edward Colcord, at the request of certain gentlemen of Massachusetts, had stipulated with Passaconaway, the sagamore of the Pennacooks, and with certain tributary chiefs, for its purchase. On the 17th day of

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<sup>1</sup> This name is derived from *papoeis*, a child, and *kunnaway*, a bear.

May, 1629, a deed was executed at Squamscut (now Exeter), with due form and ceremony, conveying the above tract to John Wheelwright and his associates for certain stipulated and valuable considerations. This deed was signed by Passaconaway, the sagamore of Pennacook, Runnawit, the chief of Pawtucket, Wahongnonawit, the chief of Swamscut, and Rowls, the chief of Newichawanack, and was witnessed by two Indians and some of the most respectable men of the plantations at Piscataqua and at Saco.

The transaction was one of importance. It shows that Passaconaway, as early as 1629, was not only the chief of the Pennacooks, but was also a sagamore at the head of a powerful confederacy, and that thus early he had the sagacity to see the superiority of the English and to wish to establish them as a barrier betwixt his people and their eastern enemies. The deed expressly acknowledges, on the part of the chiefs of Pawtucket, Squamscut, and Newichawanack, their being tributary to the sagamore of Pennacook, the seventh and last article stipulating that "every township within the aforesaid limits, or tract of land, that hereafter shall be settled, shall pay Passaconaway, *our chief sagamore that now is, and to his successors forever, if lawfully demanded*, one coat of trucking-cloth a year."

It has been suggested that the Pennacooks were an offshoot of one of the Southwestern New England tribes, and it is certain that they spoke the same language as the Massachusetts and Rhode Island Indians. Some feud may have driven the ancestors of Passaconaway to seek an asylum upon these meadows of the Merrimac, where he could find for himself and companions ready subsistence by taking game in the forests, fishing at the falls, and raising corn and other vegetables upon the intervals. And here we see the striking effect that the cultivation of Indian corn has upon Indians. At the present time the Indians of the West who plant corn are more civilized than their neighbors who live by hunting. They are less inclined to rove, and are more robust and intellectual. Planting, maturing, and gathering corn detain them longer in the same locality than any other occupation, and this detention makes them more social, more friendly and hospitable among themselves, and less inclined to a roving life. The result of this is that such tribes become more civilized, more numerous, and more powerful.

This position is true of the former state of the Pennacooks. They were a semi-agricultural tribe, and this fact, coupled with another, that they were for nearly a hundred years under the control of a wise and politic sagamore, accounts for their acknowledged superiority and power.

It may be that their power had been increasing with the increase of the tribe for centuries, but, as nothing is learned from tradition or otherwise of any sagamore of the Pennacooks prior to Passaconaway, it is fair to presume that the Pennacooks, as a tribe or nation, rose and fell with this sagacious, politic, and warlike chief. Nor is this a strange presumption. When we first hear of Passaconaway, in 1629, he had doubtless been at the head of his tribe for many years, long enough for a sagamore possessing his political and religious authority to have brought the number and power of his tribe to the height at which our fathers found it at that time. In

1629, Passaconaway was full one hundred years old, for Gookin, who spoke the language of the tribe, and was acquainted with their manners and customs, says that "he lived to a very great age, as I saw him alive at Pawtucket when he was about one hundred and twenty years old." This was written in 1675, and it reads as though the old chief were at that time dead. General Gookin probably saw him in 1648. Eliot visited Pawtucket in 1647, and again in 1648, and found the Pennacook chief there. As Gookin assisted Eliot in his labors, and often visited the Indians with him, it is probable that he saw Passaconaway at one of these visits. This would make the sagamore one hundred years old at the time of signing "The Wheelwright Deed," in 1629. Still, it is possible that Gookin is the man to whom Hubbard refers when he says that in 1660 "one much conversant with the Indians about Merrimac River" was invited to a dance, when Passaconaway made "his last and farewell speech to his children and people." If this be so, it would make Passaconaway twelve years younger in 1629 than he is made by other accounts. Be this as it may, in 1629 he was an "ancient Indian," and had doubtless been at the head of his tribe more than sixty years.

The Pennacooks must have numbered at this time from twelve hundred to fifteen hundred souls. Dudley mentioned, in 1631, that Passaconaway had "under his command four or five hundred men," plainly meaning warriors; and to allow the tribe to consist of three times the number of fighting-men is not an exaggerated estimate, when due account is taken of women and children, and old men and others unfit for duty. Two thousand would doubtless be a fair estimate for the tribe. These were scattered up and down the Merrimac, occupying the intervalles from the Pawtucket Falls, in Massachusetts, to Lake Winnepesaukee. Passaconaway and the chief men of the tribe resided at Pennacook, Amoskeag, and Naticook. Amoskeag was the place of their abode during the fishing-season, when the banks of the river were thronged, as is evident from the vast quantities of arrow-heads, pestles, pieces of pottery, and the large number of graves that have been discovered up and down the river, while in the planting-season the residence of the bashaba was at Pennacook and Naticook. In time of peace, Passaconaway had his principal summer residence upon the large island in the Merrimac, in Concord, known as Sewall's Island. This island contains some forty acres of excellent intervalle, and, being situated at the foot of the falls, where fish abounded, it was doubtless the favorite retreat of this powerful chief. In time of war he retired to his fort, which was at Pennacook. Major Waldron states, in a deposition made for the information of the General Court of Massachusetts, in 1665, that six years previous he visited the fort of the Indians at Pennacook, at the invitation of Passaconaway, and found there a large gathering of Indians. Tradition, well preserved, has located this fort upon one of the headlands either next north or next south of the intervalle known as "Sugar Ball," in Concord. From a personal examination of the headlands in that neighborhood, made within a short time, we have no doubt that the Pennacook fort occupied the headland next south of "Sugar Ball," and, in fact, there are still visible unmistakable signs that this is the locality. In this situation, secured

by nature and art, the bashaba could bid defiance to the Mohawks and others of his enemies. Directly west of the fort, and overlooked by it, were extensive planting-grounds, easy of access, and under cultivation. In fact, within the knowledge of the writer, the old "Indian corn-hills" have been plain to view at this place, never having been disturbed by the settlers, who found this part of the intervale cleared, and used it for pasturage until a few years ago. It is probable that soon after the occupation of Pennacook by the traders, in 1665, and the building of trading- and block-houses there, Passaconaway took up his residence mainly at the islands of Naticook. These romantic and lovely spots upon the bosom of the Merrimac, which were chosen as chief residences, though now shorn of most of their beauty and deprived of the grandeur that surrounded them then, still bear witness to the taste of the Pennacook bashaba.

Passaconaway saw the superiority of the English, and with his usual sagacity he perceived the entire hopelessness of the attempts of his people to subdue them. His policy was to make terms of peace with them, and it was in pursuance of this policy that he disposed of his lands to Wheelwright, reserving alone his right to fish and hunt. He hoped to make use of the English as a protection against his enemies, who were becoming a source of terror to his people since the plague had thinned them out.

The Tarrantines of the East and the Maquas of the West were making continual inroads upon the New England Indians, and the Pennacooks, like the Mohicans, were quite willing to secure the friendship and protection of the colonists. Yet in 1631 the prejudice of Dudley led him to denounce Passaconaway as a "witch," when the old sagamore was exerting himself to keep on terms of friendship with the colonists. In September of the following year he gave a striking evidence of the sincerity of his professions. Jenkins, of Cape Porpoise, had been murdered upon the territory of the old chief, while asleep in the wigwam of one of his tribe. Passaconaway anticipated the English in the arrest, and, though the murder was committed upon his extreme limits, he sent with prompt dispatch, had the murderer arrested, and delivered him to the English.

In 1642, upon suspicion that a conspiracy was forming among the Indians to crush the English, men were sent out to arrest some of the principal Indian chiefs. Forty men were dispatched at this time to secure Passaconaway, but he escaped them by reason of a storm. Wannalancet, his son, was not so fortunate. He was taken by the party, while his squaw escaped into the woods. But while they barbarously and insultingly led Wannalancet with a rope, he loosened it and attempted to make his escape. His captors fired several shots which barely missed him, and finally succeeded in recapturing him.

For this outrage the government of Massachusetts feared the just resentment of Passaconaway, and they sent Cutshamokin, whom they had arrested upon the same occasion and had discharged, to excuse the matter to the old chief, and to invite him to go to Boston and hold a conference with them. The answer of the old sagamore savors a good deal of an independent spirit, and had he been younger by a half-

century his reply might have been still more proud and haughty: "Tell the English," said he, "when they restore my son and his squaw, then will I talk with them." The answer was that of a man who felt that he had been deeply wronged. His haughty spirit must have chafed under such wrongs, and it is possible that, under the sting such outrages could not fail to inflict, he regretted the policy he had marked out for himself. That the affair made a deep impression upon his mind and led him to distrust the English, was plainly shown by his conduct to Mr. Eliot in 1647. The missionary had visited Pawtucket for the purpose of preaching to the natives. It was the fishing-season, and a vast multitude of Indians were present. Among them was Passaconaway, with two of his sons. The old chief, doubtless smarting under his wrongs, and thinking that a religion which tolerated such wrongs was not worthy his attention, refused to see Mr. Eliot, and retired immediately from the neighborhood, taking with him his sons, saying that "he was afraid the English would kill them."

In 1648, however, Mr. Eliot visited Pawtucket with better success, for, it being the fishing-season, he found Passaconaway there, and in a mood to hear his preaching. Mr. Eliot preached to the assembled Indians from Malachi i. 11. This verse he paraphrased thus: "From the rising of the sun to the going down of the same, thy name shall be great among the Indians; and in every place prayers shall be made to thy name, pure prayers, for thy name shall be great among the Indians." The Indians paid the most respectful attention, and after the discourse was closed asked many appropriate questions. After others had suggested questions and made remarks, Passaconaway arose amid the most profound attention, and announced his belief in the God of the English. "He remarked," says Mr. Eliot, in a letter of November 12, 1648, "that indeed he had never prayed unto God as yet, for he never had heard of God before as now he doth. And he said further that he did believe what I taught them to be true. And for his own part, he was purposed in his heart from thenceforth to pray unto God, and that hee would persuade all his sonnes to doe the same, pointing to two of them who were there present, and naming such as were absent."

The old sagamore was doubtless sincere in his change of religion, and continued in the Christian belief till his death. For, "long after," says Eliot, "he said to Captain Willard 'that he would be glad if I would come and live in some place thereabouts to teach them. . . . And that if any good ground or place that hee had would be acceptable to me, he would willingly let me have it.'"

Mr. Eliot, in a letter bearing date October 29, 1649, thus speaks: "I had and still have a great desire to go to a great fishing-place, Namaske, upon the Merrimac River, and because the Indians' way lieth beyond the great river, which we cannot pass with our horses, nor can we well go to it on this side of the river, unless we go by Nashaway, which is about and a bad way unbeaten, the Indians not using the way; I therefore hired a hardy man of Nashaway to beat out a way, and to mark trees, so that he may pilot me thither in the spring. And he hired Indians with him and did it, and in the way he passed through a great people called Sowahagen

Indians, some of which had heard me at Pawtucket and Nashua, and had carried home such tidings that they were generally stirred with a desire that I would come and teach them; and when they saw a man come to cut out the way for me they were very glad; and when he told that I intended to come that way next spring, they seemed to him to be full of joy, and made him very welcome." "But in the spring, when I should have gone, *I was not well*, it being a very sickly time, so that I saw the Lord prevented me of that journey. Yet, when I went to Pawtucket, another fishing-place, where from all parts they met together, thither came diverse of these Sowahagen and heard me teach." And in this same letter Mr. Eliot goes on to say that Passaconaway, the "Great Sachem" of all the tribes that dwelt in the valley of the Merrimac, "did exceeding earnestly and importunately invite me to come and live at his place, and teach them. He used many arguments. . . . This was one: that my coming once a year did them but little good, because they soon forgot what I had taught." He enforced his meaning thus: "You do as if one should come and throw a fine thing among us, and we should catch at it earnestly because it appears so beautiful, but cannot look at it to see what is within; there may be in it something or nothing, a stock, a stone, or precious treasure; but if it be opened, and we see what is valuable therein, then we think much of it. So you tell us of religion, and we like it very well at first sight, but we know not what is within; it may be excellent, or it may be nothing—we cannot tell; but if you will stay with us, and open it to us, and show us all within, we shall believe it to be as good as you say it is."

This comparison seems more like one from a civilized being than from a savage chief just embracing Christianity, and is one of those unmistakable marks in the life of Passaconaway that show him a man of eloquence and wisdom.

These extracts from Mr. Eliot's letters establish important facts, as follows. That the usual trail or path of the Indians from Sowahagen, Namaske, and places above, upon the Merrimac, to Pawtucket, was upon the east side of the Merrimac, and doubtless down Beaver Brook. That the first bridle-path from Nashua to Namaske was marked and beaten in 1648 for the accommodation of Mr. Eliot. That Eliot, before this date, had preached at Nashua, where the Sowahagen Indians had heard him. That a large body of Indians, known as Sowahagen Indians, lived upon the Merrimac, upon its west bank, above Nashua, and at and upon Sowahagen River. And, lastly, that Namaske, or Namaskeke, was upon the Merrimac above Sowahagen, and at the place now known as Namaskeke or Namaske, Amoskeag, and not in the neighborhood of Pawtucket Falls, as is erroneously claimed by some writers.

We hear nothing more of Passaconaway or his people till 1660. At that time, being of very great age, he was seen by an Englishman at Pawtucket, who was much conversant with the Indians upon the Merrimac. It is possible, as before suggested, that this Englishman was General Gookin.

There was a vast assemblage of the Indians at Pawtucket, and, borne down with age and cares, the old sagamore at a public feast made his farewell speech to his people. On such occasions the old sagamores relate the prominent incidents of their

lives in songs and speeches, and give advice to their people. It is highly probable that the fact had been announced to the confederate tribes that Passaconaway was about to make his farewell address to his people. The anticipated event called together an unusual assemblage. The chiefs were gathered from all the confederate tribes, eager to hear the last words of their "Great Sagamore," who, through his wisdom, his natural powers of eloquence, and his supposed knowledge of the mysteries of nature, possessed an unbounded influence over the Indians.

The occasion filled all with sorrow, in spite of Indian stoicism. Passaconaway was deeply affected, and his voice, though tremulous with age and emotion, was still musical and powerful,—a splendid remnant of that which, in the fulness and vigor of manhood, had soothed or excited the passions of assembled savages and moulded them to suit the purposes of the speaker.

"Hearken," said he, "to the words of your father. I am an old oak that has withstood the storms of more than a hundred winters. Leaves and branches have been stripped from me by the winds and frosts: my eyes are dim, my limbs totter, I must soon fall. But when young and sturdy, when no young man of the Pennacooks could bend my bow,—when my arrows would pierce a deer at a hundred yards, and I could bury my hatchet in a sapling to the eye,—no weekwam had so many furs, no pole so many scalp-locks, as Passaconaway's. Then I delighted in war. The whoop of the Pennacook was heard upon the Mohawk,—and no voice so loud as Passaconaway's. The scalps upon the pole of my weekwam told the story of Mohawk suffering.

"The English came; they seized our lands; I sat me down at Pennacook. They followed upon my footsteps; I made war upon them, but they fought with fire and thunder; my young men were swept down before me when no one was near them. I tried sorcery against them, but still they increased and prevailed over me and mine, and I gave place to them, and retired to my beautiful island of Naticook. I, that can make the dry leaf turn green and live again; I, that can take the rattlesnake in my palm as I would a worm, without harm; I, who had communion with the Great Spirit, dreaming and awaking; I am powerless before the pale-faces. The oak will soon break before the whirlwind; it shivers and shakes even now; soon its trunk will be prostrate; the ant and the worm will sport upon it! Then think, my children, of what I say. I commune with the Great Spirit. He whispers me now, 'Tell your people, Peace, peace is the only hope of your race. I have given fire and thunder to the pale-faces for weapons; I have made them plentier than the leaves of the forest, and still they shall *increase*. These meadows they shall turn with the plough; these forests shall fall by the axe; the pale-faces shall live upon your hunting-grounds and make their villages upon your fishing-places.' The Great Spirit says this, and it must be so. We are few and powerless before them. We must bend before the storm. The wind blows hard. The old oak trembles. Its branches are gone. Its sap is frozen. It bends. It falls. Peace, peace with the white men, is the command of the Great Spirit, and the wish—the last wish—of Passaconaway."

It has been supposed that Passaconaway died about this time, and our histories are silent about him after the time of the delivery of "his dying speech to his children." But this supposition is erroneous. Passaconaway was alive in 1663, and at the head of his tribe, so that his speech of 1660 can hardly be considered his "dying speech" without some stretch of the imagination. Captains Willard and Johnson, and others of the commission of 1652, were rewarded by grants of land near Dunstable, upon the Merrimac. In 1656 a grant of land was made to William Brenton, of Rhode Island, at Naticook, upon both sides of the Merrimac, including what is now Litchfield, and the part of Merrimac below Souhegan River, in consequence of his assistance in furnishing the colonial troops with horses in their expeditions against the Narragansetts and other Indians. The grant was known as "Brenton's Farms."

In 1659, October 10, Major Waldron petitioned the Legislature of Massachusetts for the grant of a township at Pennacook. In this year Waldron had visited Pennacook in person, at Passaconaway's invitation, and found him with a large gathering of Indians at the fort on Sugar Ball Hill. A personal view of the intervalles at this place, then under cultivation by the Indians, doubtless raised in the mind of Waldron the desire to possess so fine a spot. Passaconaway told him that Merrimac was the proper name of the river, and that Pennacook and Naticook were names of places upon it. Waldron's petition was received with favor, and a township was granted him and his associates at Pennacook.

Passaconaway was thus "hedged in" above and below by traders, and by those having grants from the government of Massachusetts. He had already been deprived of his planting-grounds at Naticook, where he had planted for a long while, and the Legislature had announced their intention to grant his lands at Pennacook whenever "so many should present to settle a plantation there." It seemed, therefore, that he soon would not have land enough to erect a wigwam upon, and on May 9, 1662, he presented the following petition to the Legislature:

"The Humble request of y'r petitioner is that this honerd Courte wolde pleas to grante vnto vs a parcell of land for o'r comfortable cituation; to be stated for o'r Injoyment, as also for the comfort of oth's after vs; as also that this honerd Court wold pleas to take into y'r serious and grave consideration the condition and also the requeste y'r pore Supliant and to a poynte two or three persons as a Committee to Ahthsum one or two Indians to vew and determine of some place and to Lay out the same, not further to trouble this honerd Assembly, humbly cravinge an expected answer this present sesion I remain y'r humble Servante

"PAPISSECONEWA."

The order of the Court upon this petition is as follows: "In answer to the petition of Papisseconneway, this Court judgeth it meete to grante to the saide Papisseconneway and his men or associates about Natticot, above Mr. Brenton's lands, where it is free, a mile and a half on either side of Merrimac River in breadth,

three miles on either side in length, provided he nor they do not alienate any part of this grant without leave and license from this Court, first obtained." Two persons were appointed surveyors to lay out this township for Passaconaway and his associates,—a duty which they executed promptly and faithfully, giving him an ample tract a mile and a half in depth along the Merrimac, together with two small islands in the river. One of the islands<sup>1</sup> Passaconaway had lived upon and planted a long time. They also allotted him "about forty acres, which joyneth their land to Souhegan River."

It thus appears that in less than twenty years from the time that Passaconaway first submitted himself to the colonists, and put himself under their protection, he and his tribe were literally reduced to beggary. The bashaba of the Merrimac Valley, and the rightful owner of all its broad lands, had become a "pore petitioner" for a plantation of pine plains, and did "earnestly request the Honerd Court to grant two small islands and ye patch of intervaile" to them,—receiving them, doubtless, with all due submission and thankfulness, if not humility! Old age, as well as contact with civilization, must have done its work upon the spirit of this haughty sagamore, who now so meekly asked his usurpers to grant him what was properly his own. For his sale at Exeter did not embrace "these two small islands or ye patch of intervaile;" and Massachusetts never pretended even a purchase from the Indians of the Merrimac Valley till after the date of this transaction.

Passaconaway had four sons, if no more, and probably two daughters. His oldest son, Nanamocomuck, was the sagamore of Wachuset, the section of country about Wachuset Mountain, in Massachusetts. Mr. Eliot saw him at Pawtucket in 1648. He at that time promised to become a praying Indian. He was inimical to the English, and removed to the Ameriscoggin country, in Maine. He was father of the afterwards noted chief Kaucamagus, or John Hodgkins. In a petition to "the Worshipful Richard Bellingham, Esq. Gov.," signed by Wannalancet and other Indians, they state that they sold a certain island to redeem an Indian out of "bondage whose name is Nanamocomuck, the eldest sonn of Passaconaway." This settles a much mooted question, and shows conclusively the name of Passaconaway's "eldest sonn."

The second son of Passaconaway, and his successor, was Wannalancet. We think Unawunquosett and Nonatomenut were the names of two other sons of Passaconaway, as their names are attached to the petition referred to above. The wife of Nabhow appears to have been the daughter of Passaconaway. Another daughter of his married Montowampate, the sagamore of Saugus, prior to 1628, and was separated from him in consequence of a difficulty betwixt him and her father.

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<sup>1</sup> These islands are now known as Reed's Islands, and it would be a tribute worthily bestowed upon a worthy man, should they be known hereafter as Passaconaway's Islands. In fact, the opposite lands, once the home of his tribe, would have a more appropriate and more euphonious name were they called Passaconaway rather than Litchfield; and the inhabitants of this town would display good taste should they follow the example of Sunnapée, and by Act of Legislature assume the appropriate and euphonious name of "Passaconaway."

## RHODE ISLAND INDIANS.

Three tribes claimed jurisdiction over the territory which now constitutes South-western Rhode Island,—the Niantics, the Pequots, and the Narragansetts. The former, a comparatively mild and peaceful tribe, were wellnigh crushed by the more warlike Pequots, and afterwards confederated with the Narragansetts, with whom as tributaries they ever after remained. The territory of the Niantics extended from the Pawcatuck River to Weccapang, on the coast, and back into the forests about thirty miles. This was the theatre of struggle with the Pequots, who succeeded in 1632 in extending their territory ten miles east of the Pawcatuck.

## THE NARRAGANSETTS.

This famous tribe, which anciently held jurisdiction over most of the present State of Rhode Island, were able in their palmy days, under Canonicus and Miantonomo, to call into the field nearly four thousand warriors. Within a distance of twenty miles they had twelve towns. Historians have treated the Narragansetts and the Niantics as one nation. After the "Great Swamp fight," in Kingston, in 1675, which broke the sway of the Narragansetts and nearly exterminated them, these tribes were consolidated. The territory of the Narragansetts included the islands in the bay, and a portion of Long Island. They were the most civilized and the most faithful to the English of all the New England tribes. They cultivated some of their land, and were skilful in making wampum, stone tobacco-pipes, and earthen vessels for domestic use. Their hospitality was a conspicuous trait.

Roger Williams says, "They had many strange relations of one Weetucks, a man that wrought great miracles among them, and walked upon the waters, &c., with some kind of broken resemblance to the Sonne of God." They believed that Kantantowit, their chief divinity, resided far away to the southwest, in the land of soft winds, summer warmth, perennial fruits, and prolific hunting-grounds. That he might reach this happy place was the Indian's highest hope. But the grossly wicked, it was believed, would forever wander in regions of coldness, barrenness, and darkness. The two great divinities among the Pequots were Kitchtan, the author of good, and Hobamocho, the author of evil. They held to a threefold nature in man,—the flesh, which at death returns to the earth; the pure spirit, which at death passes at once to the state of rewards; and a semi-animal soul, which lingers for a time with the body after the pure soul has left it.

The remnant of the Narragansetts are on their reservation in Charlestown, Rhode Island. Their aboriginal life has almost wholly disappeared, and something like civilization has taken its place. They have a church and a school-house, and a government of their own, subordinate, however, to the State government. In 1858 the tribe numbered only one hundred and thirty-eight souls, not one of whom was of pure blood.

## CONNECTICUT INDIANS.

The Pequots, who were almost wholly within the limits of Connecticut at the first settlement of the country, were the most warlike and powerful tribe east of the Hudson River. Though outnumbered by their immediate neighbors, the Narragansetts, with whom they were continually at war, and surpassed by them also in civilization, yet their bravery and ferocity in battle, their love of war, and their cruelty to captives, gave them the pre-eminence, and made the name of Pequot a word of terror to every Indian ear. They occupied the area now included in the towns of New London, Groton, and Stonington. When the English first came, Sassacus, the chief sachem of the Pequots, had his royal residence in a large fortress on a commanding hill in Groton, from whence he continually made hostile incursions into the surrounding country. Upon the Mystic River, eastward, not far from Stonington, he had a strong fort, and around him were seven hundred brave warriors. This stronghold was surprised May 26, 1637, and nearly the whole tribe was destroyed. Sassacus, with the small remnant of it, fled to the Mohawks, who slew the sachem and incorporated his warriors into their own body, and the dreaded Pequots disappeared from history.

Directly north of the Pequots lay the country of the Mohicans, the only tribe which, from first to last, proved friendly to the whites. It was a small tribe, probably a fractional portion of the Pequots, Uncas, its sachem, whose abilities gave the tribe subsequent importance in our history, being himself of Pequot origin. The small remnant of Pequots and Mohicans who took refuge in New York were, in 1857, removed to a poor reservation in Wisconsin. Barely one hundred survive.

By the English the aborigines of the Connecticut Valley were known as River Indians. The various tribes had, however, no bond of political connection, each being independent of all the others and governed by its own chief. In ancient Windsor alone, the largest centre of Indian population, there were no less than ten distinct sovereignties. They were also numerous in Hartford and Wethersfield. In East Hartford, upon the river bearing their name, the Podunks could muster two hundred warriors. The Mattabesetts were at Middletown, and the Wongungs at Chatham, on the opposite bank of the river. Lyme was the dwelling-place of the Nehantics, and East Haddam, then called Machemoodus, was occupied by a tribe whose supposed intercourse with evil spirits was in some way connected with the celebrated "Moodus noises."

West of the river the tribes were also numerous. The Quinnipiacks dwelt in New Haven. There were small tribes at East Haven, Guilford, and Branford. They were scattered along the Sound at Derby, Stratford, Norwalk, Stamford, and Greenwich, and especially at Milford. They were found as far west as Woodbury, New Hartford, and Simsbury, and "the pleasant banks of the Twakis, in Farmington," were inhabited by a warlike tribe, whose numbers, according to President Stiles, were greater than those of any other in the neighborhood of the Connecticut.

## ALLEGHANS.

The oldest tribe of the United States of which there is a distinct tradition were the Allegans, or Alleghans.<sup>1</sup> The term is perpetuated in the principal chain of mountains traversing the country. This tribe at a remote period had the seat of their power in the Ohio Valley and its confluent streams, which were the sites of their numerous towns and villages. They appear originally to have borne the name of Alli, or Alleg, and hence the names Talligewi and Allegewi. By adding to the radical of this word the particle *hany* or *ghany*,<sup>2</sup> meaning river, they described the principal scene of their residence,—namely, the Alleghany, or River of the Alleghans, now called Ohio. The name Ohio is of a far later period. It was given by the Iroquois after their conquest of the country in alliance with the Lenape, or ancient Delawares. The term was applied to the entire river, from its confluence with the Mississippi to its origin in the broad spurs of the Alleghanies in New York and Pennsylvania; and it is still so applied by the Iroquois people. The transparency and brightness of the waters of the Alleghany River, and the liveliness and force of its current, correspond strikingly with those of the Ohio, attesting the discrimination and propriety of the original designation; while the Monongahela, its southern fork, is a still, dark, and turbid stream.

The French, when they came to behold the Ohio<sup>3</sup> River, and to admire the enchanting vistas presented by its banks, as scene after scene opened up to them, like the scrolls of a beautiful panorama, literally translated the Iroquois name, and called it *La Belle Rivière*. For the possession of this country, blessed with a fertile soil, a genial climate, and a much-prized fauna and natural productions, great aboriginal wars had been waged ages before Columbus turned his prow towards the New World. From the traditions of the Lenape, given to the Moravian missionaries while the lamp of their traditionary history still threw out its flickering flames, the Alleghans appear to have been a strong and mighty people, capable of great exertions and doing wonders. There were giants among them. The Lenape came from the west. On reaching the Mississippi they found the Alleghans occupying its eastern borders. They also found the Iroquois, whom they call Uncle, seated north of them; and a long war ensued. This tribe allied themselves with the invaders. To defend them-

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<sup>1</sup> The *Irega* of the South Atlantic coasts are of a prior era; but the tradition, resting on a single authority, has not been examined. The same remark may be applied to the Utinas, Icosans, Savanucas, Pattieas, Wapoos, and some others of the Floridian regions, extending to the Mississippi, who constitute interesting themes of research.

<sup>2</sup> This inflection is written *hanna* in Susquehanna and Loyalhanna, and *hannock* in Rappahannock, but retains its original form of *ghany* in Youghioghany, the main fork of the Monongahela. These rivers all originate in the Alleghany range,—the eastern precincts of the territory of the ancient Alleghans.

<sup>3</sup> The true Indian sound is *o-he'o*, but, as the letter *i* in French orthography represents the English *e* long, it took this form of notation. The exclamatory transitive particle *io*, as heard in this word, and in Ontario, etc., when preceded by the interjection *Oh!* *shortly uttered*, may be translated "How beautiful a scene!"

selves, the Alleghans surrounded their villages with intrenchments, and built fortifications. This story is sustained, and enlarged in some particulars, by Iroquois tradition, in which the combination of the Northern against the Southern tribes is made to appear more extensive, and the power possessed by the latter in building forts and compelling labor is represented as very great. Both traditions agree that the Alleghan confederacy was finally defeated and driven down the Mississippi.

The rude vestiges on the banks of the Ohio and Mississippi sufficiently tell the story of the people who once dwelt here, and present as correct a picture of their arts and condition as the ruins of civilized nations do of theirs. A pipe of the *lapis ollaris*, or of serpentine; an awl, fish-hook, or needle of bone; a knife or dart of obsidian or flint; a discoidal stone, to be used in athletic amusements; a medal of sea-shell; a gorget of mica; an arm-band of native copper; a tumulus raised over the dead; a mound of sacrifice to the sun; a simple circumvallation, or a confused assemblage of ditches, mounds, and lines around a village; a ring-fort on a hill; a terraced platform of earth to sustain the sacred residence of the Indian priest and ogima,—these must be deemed evidences which accurately restore to the mind of the inquirer the arts of their authors. They answer, I am inclined to think, the oft-repeated inquiry, Who erected these earthworks? The only wonder is that, with such vigor of character as the traditions denote, the Alleghans had not done more in arts and refinements. The evidences of antique labors in the alluvial plains and valleys of the Scioto, Miami, and Muskingum, the Wabash, Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Illinois, denote that the ancient Alleghans, and their allies and confederates, cultivated the soil and were semi-agriculturists. These evidences have been traced, at late periods, to the fertile table-lands of Indiana and Michigan. The tribes lived in fixed towns, cultivating extensive fields of maize, and also, as denoted by recent discoveries, of some species of beans, vines, and esculents. It is not improbable that the Alleghans were the Mound-Builders.

#### DELAWARES.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century this tribe occupied the banks of a large river, flowing into the Atlantic, to which they applied the name of Lenapihittuk. This term is a compound of *Lenapi*, the name given to themselves, and *ittuk*, a geographical term which is equivalent to the English word "domain" or "territory," and is inclusive of the specific *sepu*, their name for a river. After the successful planting of a colony in Virginia, the coast became more subject to observation than at prior periods, by vessels bound to Jamestown with supplies. On one of these voyages, Lord De la Warre put in to the capes of the river, and hence the present name of both the river and the tribe.

The true meaning of the term *Lenapi* has been the subject of various interpretations. It appears to carry the same meaning as *Inaba*, "a male," in the other Algonkin dialects, and the word was probably used nationally, and with emphasis, in the sense of "men." We learn from their traditions that they had regarded themselves in past ages as holding an eminent position for antiquity, valor, and wisdom;

and this claim appears to have been recognized by the other tribes of this lineage, who applied to them the term Grandfather. To the Iroquois they applied the word Uncle, and this relation the Iroquois reciprocated with the term Nephew. The other tribes of Algonkin lineage the Delawares called Brother or Younger Brother. These names establish the ancient rank and influence of the tribes.

Most of the tribes are organized on the principle of emblematic totems. The Delawares originally consisted of three of these subdivisions,—namely, the turtle, or *unami*, the *minsi*, or wolf, and the *unalachigo*, or turkey. Their sachems, with the council of old men, regulated all their affairs. The French, who had little intercourse with them till they crossed the Alleghanies, called the whole nation *Loups*, or wolves, confounding them with the Mohicans of the Hudson, who appear in the formative tribal ages to have been descendants of the wolf totem. The turkey and turtle tribes occupied the country along the coast between the sea and the Kittatinny or Blue Mountains, their settlements extending as far east as the Hudson and west to the Potomac. The Monseys or wolf tribe, the most active and warlike of all, occupied the mountainous country between Kittatinny and the sources of the Susquehanna and the Delaware, kindling their council-fire at the Minisink Flats, on the Delaware River above the Water-Gap. A part of the tribe dwelt on the Susquehanna, and they had also a village and a peach-orchard at the Forks of the Delaware, where Nazareth is now situated. These three principal tribes were subdivided into numerous small clans. The Delawares, from all accounts, held a prominent place in Indian history. Their wars against the ancient tribes of the Ohio Valley, the great influence they possessed for so long a period among the Algonkin tribes along the Atlantic coasts, extending from the Nanticokes, on the Chesapeake, to the Hudson, and even into New England, the wisdom of their ancient chiefs and councilors, and the bravery of their warriors,—these are the themes of their ancient traditions. And these reminiscences of the Delawares' golden age appeared to rest upon their minds, at late periods, with more force in proportion as the tribe grew weak and lost power. Their ancient alliance with the Iroquois during the war against the Alleghans continued, we may infer, as long as they retained their military prowess and enterprise.

In the rise of the Iroquois power the Delawares lost their independence, and were forced to assume the name of women and forego the use of arms. We have no date for these mutations. Early in the seventeenth century the Dutch carried on a friendly traffic with them. They were kindly treated, in 1682, by William Penn. We hear of no Iroquois protests against their selling their lands at that time. It is probable that none had been made. The progress of the settlements, however, shows that in a few years such a power to control the Delawares was gained. A very striking evidence of this occurred during the negotiation of a treaty at Lancaster in 1744. The Iroquois, in the presence of the large assemblage of the tribes on this occasion, denied the right of the Delawares to alienate lands. Canassatego, an Iroquois chief, upbraided them in public council for some former act of that kind. Speaking in a strain of mixed irony and arrogance, he told them not to reply to his

words, but to leave the council in silence. He peremptorily ordered them to quit the section of country where they then resided, and to remove to the banks of the Susquehanna. Whatever may have been the state of submission in which the Delawares felt themselves to be to the confederate power of the Iroquois, it does not appear that the right to control them had been publicly exercised prior to this time. It was, however, with this proud nation but a word and a blow. They accordingly quitted forever the banks of their native Delaware, the scene of many memories, and the resting-place of the bones of their ancestors, and turned their faces towards the west. At the opening of the Revolution they shook off the Iroquois yoke, and a few years afterwards the Iroquois confessed at a public council that the Delawares were no longer women.

In 1756 we find them living at Shamokin, and at Wyalusing, on the Susquehanna,—positions in which they were threatened, on the one hand, by the intrusion of the white emigrant, and, on the other, harassed by the momentary dread of the Iroquois tomahawk. It was the misfortune of the Delawares that an impression prevailed in the English colonies that they were under French influence. This impression, whether well or ill founded, pervaded society in Southern New York to such a degree that in 1744 the Moravian mission at Shikomico, in Dutchess County, was broken up and transferred to Bethlehem, on the Susquehanna, which Count Zinzendorf, three years before, had chosen as the seat of his operations. The impression lost none of its force from an avowal, by the band at Wyalusing, of the principles of peace and non-resistance taught by the conscientious disciples of both Penn and Zinzendorf. This doctrine was embraced with great zeal by one of their speakers, called Papanhank, who, in 1756, made a journey of two hundred miles to Philadelphia, where he addressed an assemblage of moral persons, and concluded by kneeling down and making an impressive prayer.

Men who devoted themselves with simplicity of intention to one object did not probably make as much effort to disabuse the public mind on this head as would appear to have been desirable at the period. The country was engaged in an Indian war, which raged on the frontier from Quebec to New Orleans. Braddock had been defeated the year before. France was making a formidable effort to save her Indian empire, and England and America an equally formidable one to destroy it. It is certain that the suspicion of being friendly to the French followed the Delawares in their removal across the Alleghanies, and during their settlement, under the auspices of their teachers, on the waters of the Muskingum. Nor did their position here tend to remove it, but rather to strengthen it. Gnadenhütten became to the Delawares in heart, as it was in name, the Tents of Peace. They addressed themselves to agriculture and grazing. They were devoted to their teachers. They refused to join the warlike parties that passed through their towns on their forays of murder and plunder against the frontiers. It was not in their power to refuse these parties victuals, but they supplied them with no means of offence, and expressed their principles of peace, both as among the Indian tribes and the whites. But the impression grew stronger and stronger in the Ohio Valley that they were in communication

with the enemy. The borders of the new States were literally drenched in blood by marauding parties of Indians, who butchered the pioneers in their cabins and carried their children away into captivity.<sup>1</sup> And this impression against the Delawares finally led to the most tragic results.

Nor was it alone the frontiersmen who were excited. The Indian tribes, towards whom they had observed the policy of neutrality, were alike displeased. Counsels of peace to them were thrown away. They could neither understand nor tolerate them. They lived in war and plunder, and the result was that, after repeated threats, a Wyandot war-party suddenly appeared on the Muskingum and ordered the Delawares to Upper Sandusky. All excuses were vain. The party were inexorable. They killed many of the cattle and hogs, and, in 1781, removed the population of three towns, numbering between three and four hundred persons. After living at Sandusky a year, the Delawares were permitted to return to the banks of the Muskingum. The settlers on the Monongahela heard of this return with alarm. The British not having yet surrendered their northern posts on the Miami of the Lakes and at Detroit and Michilimackinac, and the Indians throughout that vast region continuing to manifest the deepest hostility, as shown by the fierce battles against Generals Harmar and St. Clair, the return of such a body of men, who had been, it seems, removed by the authority of the commanding officer at Detroit, looked like a hostile movement. Such it was not, as is now known, for the Moravian converts among the Delawares had been instructed in, and sincerely adopted, the principles of peace and non-resistance. Of all doctrines, these were the least understood by the hardy frontiersmen, who, through a long and bloody experience, had been led to look upon the Indian, when under the excitement of war, as a tiger in his thirst for blood, and alike destitute of mercy or sympathy. So much may be said in apology for the inhuman and unjustifiable massacre in 1782 of the unresisting Moravian Delawares, who evinced in their submissive deaths no little of the spirit of St. Stephen. This massacre wrought up the feelings of resentment of the Wyandots and other hostile tribes of the West, who were under the influence of the basest white counsellors, to the highest pitch of fury; and when, later in the same year, Colonel Crawford and his command were defeated on the plains of Sandusky by the Wyandots and their allies, they sacrificed that officer and his son-in-law at the stake in the presence of some of their renegade white counsellors.

The Delawares, with the Wyandots, Shawanoes, Miamis, and other Western tribes, who had been in arms on the frontiers, were parties to the general treaty of Greenville in 1795, and were admitted to the terms of peace. Friendly relations with the whites were further strengthened by the treaty of Fort Wayne in 1803, and that of Vincennes in 1804; and from the earliest of these dates the frontiers were relieved of their war-parties, and rested in a general peace with all the tribes till the

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<sup>1</sup> Between the years 1777 and 1779 not less than fourteen persons of the name of Schoolcraft (relations of the author) were killed by the Indians, in their houses or on their premises, in Clarke County, Virginia, by skulking war-parties. (De Hass's *Border Warfare*.)

primary movement made by Tecumseh in 1811-12. The idea of Indian supremacy in America, so strongly urged upon the tribes by Pontiac in 1763, when Great Britain was the impinging power, was revived by Tecumseh after the lapse of fifty years. But fifty years' decline had broken the spirit of the population, and had almost annihilated Indian nationality.

The Delawares have been regarded by some as an ancient tribe in the Ohio Valley. Their traditions denote, indeed, that they had in former ages crossed the Mississippi from the west, but their domiciliation there as a tribe was recent. Their first movement from the Delaware River towards the west appears to have been within fifty years of Penn's landing. We find by the manuscript journal of Conrad Weiser that he reported the number of Delawares in the Ohio Valley in 1748 at one hundred and sixty-five warriors, which, agreeably to the usual rate of computation, would give eight hundred souls. Going back from this date to the French tables of 1736, it appears that there were no Delawares in the West at that time. So that it is in a period of twelve years, from 1736 to 1748, that they must have arrived from the east of the Alleghanies. Yet within sixteen years from this time, Colonel Bouquet estimates them as capable of bringing five hundred warriors into the field,—a manifest exaggeration.

Once west of the Alleghanies, the Delawares, at least the body of the tribe, do not appear to have adhered with much tenacity to the excellent teachings they had received on the banks of the Delaware and the Susquehanna. The labors of the plough, the loom, and the anvil do not possess much attraction for a tribe where it has quit the precincts of civilization and come under the exciting influences of war and hunting. After a few years they took shelter on the Whitewater River of Indiana, but, finding themselves pressed by the intrusive feet of a rapidly gathering civilized population, ceded their lands there, and in 1829 went to Kansas. Thence they removed to the Indian Territory, their present home, where they have dwindled to a mere handful. In 1862 the Delawares enlisted one hundred and seventy-two men for the Union army, out of a population of two hundred males between the ages of eighteen and forty-five. They officered their own companies, and were good soldiers, tractable, sober, watchful, and obedient. By a treaty blunder, only eighty-one remain called Delawares, the residue of the tribe in the Indian Territory having been incorporated with the Cherokees. These latter show in their habits of dissipation and unthrift the debasing effects of the process of removal of which they have been the victims for two generations.

The history of the Delawares has little to distinguish it, in the principles of action, from that of the other tribes. The West had been regarded in their traditions as the paradise of hunters, and when they were disturbed by the footsteps of the white men they fled in that direction. Evidences that the pressure they felt in the East would follow them a long time in the West are found in the permission to settle in Upper Louisiana, granted by Governor Carondelet, on the 4th of January, 1793. In a treaty concluded at Fort Pitt in 1778 (the first treaty made by the United States with any Indian nation), they entered into relations of amity with the

United States, granted power to march armies through their country and procure supplies, in return for which it was stipulated that a fort should be built for the protection of their women and children against the hostile tribes. This was the origin of Fort McIntosh. This alliance was effected seven years before the Iroquois succumbed at the treaty of Fort Stanwix. How well the treaty was kept by the nation at large appears from the supplementary articles of the treaty of Fort McIntosh of 21st January, 1785, in which it is agreed by them that Kelelimand and other chiefs who had taken up the hatchet for the United States should participate in all the beneficent provisions of the treaty. Their good faith is further shown by the treaty of Fort Harmar of the 9th of January, 1789, in which they renew certain unfulfilled conditions of the prior treaty, and agree to deliver up all American prisoners in their hands. Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Pennsylvania, all are largely made up of the lands which by the treaty of Fort McIntosh were given to the Indians.

It will be sufficient to state the commencement of our intercourse with this tribe. To continue the record of these negotiations from era to era would only exhibit dry details of facts, similar in their general aspect to the changes in residence and mutations of time and place which have attended the transfer of most of the tribes from the Atlantic borders to the west of the Mississippi. There is much resemblance in the principles and general incidents of these removes. One generic truth applies to all. The tribes were perpetually at war or variance with one another. They had not elevation of mind enough to appreciate one another's motives, principles, sentiments, or character. The suspicion they had of their chiefs, priests, and warriors kept them in continual dread. They believed in witchcraft and necromancy, which could be exercised on all, present or absent. Treacherous themselves in point of fealty, they expected treachery from neighboring tribes. Good motives were ascribed to bad actions with a plausibility which would have done credit to a Talleyrand or a Metternich. Tarhe was burned at the stake under the accusation of witchcraft, but really to take him out of the way of Elkswattawa and Tecumseh.

The history of the tribes agreed also in this: each remove involved the loss of something in civilization which they had attained. By throwing them into new regions of wilderness it exposed them to new temptations in the line of hunting, and rivalry for distinction in the war-path. Thus, a considerable portion of the Delawares, when they had reached Missouri and the Indian territory west of it, went into Texas, where they have the reputation of being first-rate guides, hunters, woodsmen, and, if necessity call for it, warriors. All the tribes felt sensibly the effects of the failure of game on their lands, as they pursued their line of migration west, and would have suffered miserably had it not been for the increased demand for their refuse hunting-lands. Acres took the place of beaver-skins. But while this gave them, at least periodically, a plethora of means, it exposed them to the influence of indulgence. The Indian who had lost the industry of hunting had no other occupation. It was noble to hunt, but mean to labor. And when he found that his lands could be speedily turned into money, in the shape of annuities, he fell into the

snare of luxury. The hunter and nomadic Indian has but little idea of the value of money or silver coin; he appears to regard it as something to get rid of, and often deals it out lavishly to those who have little or no claim upon him. The number of the Delawares in 1850 was estimated at fifteen hundred. It has since that time greatly decreased.

#### BLACKFEET.

The Saskatchewan River of Lake Winnipeg rises in the Rocky Mountains in north latitude about 52°. Between its great southern and northern forks, in a fertile game country, are found the Pecaneaux, Blackfeet, and Blood Indians. These tribes constitute a group which is different from their neighbors, those on the lower parts of the river speaking a language akin to that of the Assiniboines, who are Dakotas, or of the Kenistenos, who are Algonkins. Traders and interpreters of the region pronounce it peculiar. Mackenzie informs us that their track of migration has been towards the northwest, and he expresses the opinion that they have a "language of their own." From a vocabulary exhibited to Mr. Gallatin, he was inclined to consider it as referable to the Algonkin family, and he has so classified it in his "Synopsis of Tribes."

However these tribes may differ from their neighbors and the rest of the Indian stocks, they agree with them in their hostility to one another, and in their continuous broils and disputes. These perpetually recurring disturbances finally led to a general feud, in which they separated into two parties, the one distinguished by the red or bloody flag, and the other, from reverence to a noted leader who had fallen, by the black flag. The younger and more warlike warriors generally ranged themselves under the red banner, the more elderly and sedate under the black ensign. After numerous skirmishes and endeavors to entrap each other, a great battle was finally fought, in which the party of the red flag triumphed. This led to a final separation. The party of the black flag fled towards the south. Continuing on in this direction, they reached the banks of the Missouri. This flight appears to have taken place in the autumn, after the prairies had been burned over, and when the black ashes of the grass and shrubbery colored their moccasins and leggings. In this plight they were first met by the Upsaroka or Crow Indians, who called them Blackfeet. The term was adopted by the Gros Ventres and the Mandans, and soon spread among all the tribes. They had extended their hunting- and war-parties to the head-waters of the river Maria's, and never proceeded farther east than Milk River, a stream falling into the Missouri on the west, about one hundred and fifty miles above the mouth of the Yellowstone.

By this flight they had found a new country, abounding in every requisite of Indian life. But they had not left behind them that spirit of internal dissension and discord which had produced the split on the Saskatchewan. A new feud arose among the Missouri Blackfeet, which resulted in another division of the tribe, under an ambitious leader called Piëgan, or the Pheasant. After several defeats, he was driven across the Missouri, and took shelter in the mountains. The three recognized

divisions of the tribe are, therefore, in the order of their organization, the Bloods, the Blackfeet, and the Piëgans. They suffered much from the ravages of smallpox, which swept through the Missouri Valley in 1837.

The character of the Blackfeet nation has been perhaps underrated on account of occurrences which took place in 1805, during the celebrated expedition of Lewis and Clarke. They are described by later observers as having more decision and fixity in their camp regulations, or laws and customs, than other tribes on the Missouri, but not as more cruel or blood-thirsty. Like all prairie tribes, they wander over the plains, following the buffalo, and having no permanent location. Priding themselves on great courage, they bring up their youths to follow in their footsteps. As soon as a young man is capable of drawing the bow he enlists under the wolf-skin banner of some ambitious chief, and takes his first lesson in war. To bring back the scalp of an enemy is the great object of ambition, and this alone settles the youth's position and character in the lodge circle and at the festive and council board. The tribe holds itself up as surpassing all others on the war-path. They disdain alliances with any of the other tribes, and bid defiance to them all. Their enemies on the Missouri are the Dakotas, the Gros Ventres, and the Crows. But they push their hostile excursions over the Rocky Mountains in quest of the Indian horses of Oregon, where they fight the Flatheads, the Pends d'Oreilles, and the Nez Percés. They endure the extremes of savage life with stoicism. They never complain under hunger or suffering. The prairie is their spontaneous garden. It yields them roots and medicines. They cultivate nothing. They have abundance of food when game is plenty, and starve when it is scarce. The only enterprise in which they engage, besides war and the chase, is horse-stealing; and this, too, is considered an honorable achievement, and a source of great distinction for the young, the brave, and the active. Human scalps are their glory, and the buffalo their reliance. They are the most perfect specimens of savage life found on the continent.

Accustomed from infancy to bear pain, they soon become superior to the dangers of fear: forest precepts and practices never cease to precede or follow one another; and however they may fail in their enterprises, they at once flatter themselves with the hope of better success in the future. They are as sly as a fox, possess the agility of a deer, the eyes of a lynx, and the unconquerable ferocity of a tiger.

They are generally well proportioned, tall, and straight, and there is seldom a deformed person among them. Their skin is of a reddish or copper color, their eyes large and black, their hair coal-black and straight and very seldom curly; they have very good teeth, and their breath is as pure as the air they inhale. The bones of the cheeks are a little high, particularly so in the women. The latter are not so tall as the European females, although there are often agreeable and pretty figures among them; they incline more towards fatness than does the other sex.

When the female seats herself, she places her limbs decently, both knees together, and turns her feet sideways; but that posture cramps her limbs, and is one reason that she walks badly, so that she seems to be lame. The men take little notice of domestic affairs: indolent from pride and custom, they not only leave the women to

do all the home work, but often send them after the meat of the game they have killed, although sometimes it may be at a great distance. The women place their children, as soon as born, on a piece of hooped board stuffed with grass. The child is laid on its back on a cradle of this kind, and enveloped with pieces of skin or cloth to keep it warm. This forest-cradle is tied with pieces of leather bands; to these the mother ties other straps to suspend the cradle from her head, or to hang it to the limb of a tree, while she does the necessary work of the lodge.

This tribe, which now numbers seven thousand five hundred, has a large reservation on the northern boundary of Montana, about seventy-five miles from Fort Benton. The severe punishment inflicted in 1870 by the military ("The Piëgan Massacre") broke down their hostility, and they have latterly shown an inclination for such pursuits as would prepare them for the change from hunting buffalo and other game to the cultivation of the soil. The inadequacy of the appropriation for their support compels them to continue to hunt, but each succeeding year finds an additional number employed in building and farming.

#### CHIPPEWAS.

This term is derived from Ojibwa, the cognomen of the tribe for themselves, whose meaning has not been satisfactorily explained. Mackenzie uses the term Jibwa as the equivalent of this term in his "Voyages." The name of the tribe is not to be found in the older writers. The French, who were the earliest to meet them in their tribal seat at the falls, or Sault de Ste. Marie, named them Saulteurs from this circumstance. They are referred to, with little difference in the orthography, in General Washington's report, in 1754, of his trip to Le Bœuf, on Lake Erie, but are first recognized among our treaty-tribes in the general treaty of Greenville, of 1795, in which, with the Ottawas, they ceded the island of Michilimackinac and certain dependencies conceded by them at former periods to the French.<sup>1</sup> The Chippewas are acknowledged by writers on American philology to speak one of the purest forms of the Algonkin, and may be regarded as identical with the Algonkin group in history, manners, and customs.

History is clear as to the unity of origin of the Algonkins and the Chippewas, while it fails to inform us when or why the latter term was adopted. The Nipissingos, also written Nipissiriniens, form the basis of both. This was a term applied to the people who lived on the banks of Lake Nepissing, at the source of French River. This lake, lying on summit-lands, occupies the line of the portage between Lake Huron and the great Ottawa River of the St. Lawrence, and was the channel of communication and the route for the transportation of merchandise from Montreal to the Great Lake basins, and to the uttermost regions of the sources of the Mississippi and the trading-posts of Hudson's Bay. It avoided altogether the hostile

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<sup>1</sup> This grant became the basis of the cession made by them at Sault Ste. Marie in the treaty of June 16, 1820. (Indian Treaties, p. 280.)

Iroquois country by the route of Niagara, and was at the same time much the nearest route.

In fixing on early points of movement of the Indian tribes of the North, it is of primary importance to refer to the period of 1649. It was in this year that the Iroquois finally succeeded in overthrowing the Wyandots, whom the French called Hurons, and driving them out of the lower St. Lawrence. The latter fled up the Ottawa to what is now known as Lake Huron. Here they finally settled, after having been pursued by the infuriated Iroquois to their refuge on the island of Michilimackinac, and even to the upper shores of Lake Superior. Their flight carried with them their allies the Atawawas or Atowas, and other Algonkin bands, who had been in close alliance with them.

A more particular reference to the events of this period, as detailed by missionary writers, may be made.

Le Jeune and the early writers of "Lettres Edifiantes" inform us that at the earliest known period there was a group of tribes living in the northern latitudes of the Great Lakes who called God Manito, the rest of their vocabulary answering to this test and showing them to be of one family or mother-stock. The most ancient point to which they refer as the place of their origin is the summit of Lake Nepissing, north of Lake Huron,—a summit which shed its waters easterly through the Ottawa River into the St. Lawrence, and southwardly through French River into Lake Huron. Long before Canada was settled this was the ancient Indian route of travel between the valley of the Lower St. Lawrence and the great area of the Upper Lakes. It was not only the shortest line, but it avoided the numerous cascades and rapids of the St. Lawrence above Montreal, which appeared so formidable to Cartier in 1534, as well as the portage at Niagara. Besides these great advantages in point of time and distance, it was entirely within the territory of the tribe; and although its course was broken by numerous rapids, these were easily overcome by short portages, which permitted the boatmen to transport their light canoes by hand. This was the route which the Indian trade from New France first took and long maintained, even from the period of Champlain down to the close of the supremacy of the Northwest Company, about 1820. After this time all the main supplies of goods and merchandise were shipped direct from England into Hudson's Bay.

To the people who were early found on this summit, and who had migrated down the Ottawa into the St. Lawrence Valley, occupying its north bank between Montreal and Quebec, the French at first applied the name Algonkin. This became a generic name for all the bands and tribes of the same language whom they subsequently discovered on the continent, however widely dispersed from their summit home, and by whatever tribal or local names they were called by themselves or by other tribes. The French, indeed, multiplied these local names by applying to each of the new-found bands a *nom de guerre*, so that they might lull the active suspicions of the natives by making no apparent reference to them in conversation.

To such of this people as had migrated down the French River to Lake Huron,

and along its north shores to the Mississaging or Big-Mouthed River, they gave the term of Mississagies. These at a later day migrated eastwardly to the head of Lake Ontario and the valley of the river Niagara below the Ridge, where, according to Indian tradition, they were in bonds of close alliance with the Iroquois, and aided them in exterminating the Wyandots from the territory in Canada, which is still occupied in part by the Mississagies.

To those of the Algonkin or Nipercinean type who had prior to the discovery proceeded northwest through the Straits of St. Mary into the basin of Lake Superior and to the countries north of it, they simply gave the name of Saulteur, or Falls-men. These three local tribes, that is to say, the Nipercineans, or Algonkins proper, the Mississagies, and the Saulteurs, or Ojibwas, were originally one and the same people. They spoke, and they still speak, the same language.

It would be easy to pursue this ethnographical chain, giving names, boundaries, and events which mark the multiplication of the numerous North American family of the Algonkin tribes. But it is unnecessary for the purpose in hand. It will be sufficient to say that the new names given by their enemies, often in derision, or assumed by themselves, contain no evidence whatever of their national genealogy. To a particular branch of those who distinguished themselves during their residence in the St. Lawrence Valley, and afterwards in Lake Huron, they applied the name of Traders, or Odawas, denoting a falling-off in the habits of the pure hunters and warriors, or a probable industrial trait, which is yet strikingly observable in the descendants of that band. To another, and one of the latest multiplications of the tribe, they gave the name of Pottawatomies, or Fire-Makers, that is to say, a people who are building their own council-fire, or setting up a separate government. To another they gave the name of Kenistenos, or Killers, on account of the sanguinary character of the war which they maintained northwest of Lake Superior. This people the French call Crees. Another branch, who subsisted on wild rice in the interior or rice-lake region, between Lakes Superior and Winnebago, they called Menomonies, or Wild-Rice Men. The bands north of Lake Nepissing, extending to Hudson's Bay and Lake Abbitibbi, they called People of the Swamps and Low Grounds, or Muskigoes. Others of the same latitude, but more westerly in longitude, they called Nopemings, or Inlanders, named by the French *Gens des terres*. The Saginaws are so called from Sauk-i-nong, Sauktown, from the Sauk tribe who lived in Michigan in the seventeenth century.

To a band of energetic warriors who went to Leech Lake, on the sources of the Mississippi, but who at a subsequent period plundered the boats of a leading trader while lying at the mouth of the Crow-Wing River, they gave the name of Mukkundwas, or Pillagers, literally Takers. This summary penalty was inflicted upon the trader for his temerity in disobeying the commanders of the fierce barbarians, who had forbidden him to sell arms and ammunition to their enemies the Sioux. All the local tribes above named, although dispersed at various and distant points, call themselves O-jib-was.

The Miamis, Weas, and Piankeshaws, the Sacs and Foxes, Kaskaskias, Peorias

and Kickapoos, the Shawnees, Munsees, Stockbridges, and Mohicans, together with several tribes not here named, constitute another class or, more properly, sub-genus of the Nipercinean or Algonkin type, the date of whose separation, however, from their present stock, whether that was the immediate Algonkin or the remoter Lenape branch, is shown by dialectic evidences to have been more remote; while at the same time the strong affinities of language, and its absolute agreement in grammatical forms, are not less certain proofs of a common origin.

It is seen from the text of Eliot's translation of the Bible into the Natick or Massachusetts language, in the year 1664, that the language he employs, as well as that of the Narragansett, as given in Roger Williams's key, is likewise of the Algonkin type; while the phrases embodied in the early history of Virginia, and the still-existing names of prominent streams of the Virginia coast, denote the ancient extension of this generic form of speech far along the Atlantic borders.

The parent language, varying as it progressed, appears to have been propagated from the south and southwest to the Virginia, the Chesapeake, and the Pennsylvania coast; and it was thence deflected off, multiplying in dialects exceedingly, towards the east and northeast, along the North Atlantic; and finally it extended northwest up the St. Lawrence Valley into the region of the Lakes. All the American tribes appear to have migrated tribally in small bodies, abiding for periods at a place until the pressure of population, want, or feuds pushed them farther,—a result which may be supposed to have given great scope for the multiplication of new tribes and the formation of new dialects, by which the parent language of each tribe was more and more shorn of its verbal integrity, while its grammar or plan of utterance essentially remained. This result is indicated by language.

These preliminary remarks denote the position, geographically and ethnologically, in which the modern Chippewas, or Algonkin Chippewas of Lake Superior, stand in relation to the other members of the general group, and their absolute identity of origin with the Nipercineans, or the old Algonkins of 1608, this being the assumed period of the discovery of Canada. The Chippewas of the Lakes occupy now the general district of country which was ascribed to the old Algonkins of the St. Lawrence, and to the Atawas and Nipercineans, or natives of Lake Nepissing. They formerly ranged over most of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, and were constantly at war with the Dakotas and other neighboring tribes. They sided with the British in the Revolution and in the war of 1812.

It was with this stock of people that the French formed an early and unbroken alliance. They ascribed to them in ancient periods a degree of progress superior to that of any other tribe inhabiting the northern latitudes. They learned their language, which they found easy and copious, and by the aid of which their traders and missionaries could penetrate to the farthest points in the early admired countries of the Illinois, the Lakes, and the farthest Mississippi. They call it *par excellence* the court language of the aborigines, and they spread abroad the praises of the people throughout Europe. Nor were these vain praises. The fur-trade, which immediately on the settlement of Canada started into activity, was by far the most lucrative

branch of their commerce; and they relied on the far-reaching and numerous group of the Algonkins not only as active hunters, but as their best and only efficient local allies in their wars against the English colonists and the Iroquois, the latter of whom carried desolation in 1687 to their very firesides at Montreal. The grasp with which the French took hold of the Algonkins was therefore a firm grasp, cemented by interest as well as friendship; and it was soon perpetuated by the more enduring ties of intermarriage with the native females.

In their wars with the British, the Ojibwas took active part with the French, and numbers of their warriors, headed by their chief Ma-mong-e-se-da, were present at the battle and fall of Quebec, where the two great captains Wolfe and Montcalm fell.

The Ojibwas also joined the league of their relative the great Ottawa chief Pontiac, and were mainly instrumental at the taking of Fort Mackinac, through the stratagem of playing ball for the amusement of the fated garrison.

Chippewa tradition relates that they came from the east. They call the north-west wind Ke-wa-din-oong, or the home-blowing wind. They claim to have descended a large stream and visited the ocean, where they first descried the signs of white men. They speak of old wars with the Mungwas and other tribes. They refer to Chegoimegon, on Lake Superior, and Poiwateeg, on the Straits of St. Mary's, as ancient sites and seats of central power. They represent themselves as having been under the government of a Mudjeekewis,—a magistrate ruling by descent of blood. Some traditions state that they kept an eternal fire burning at Chegoimegon. Formerly, they say, their language was spoken with greater purity, and their lives and manners were less barbarous. Relations and reminiscences of this kind are not, perhaps, peculiar to this tribe. The Lenape also spoke of a golden age in their history. The Iroquois trace themselves to Atahentsic, the queen of heaven. The Delawares dwell much on their ancient glories. The Chippewas trace the mother of Manabozho, their great mythological creation, to the moon. This is very different from the predatory Osages, who ascribe their origin to a humble shell. There are few tribes who do not attempt to solace themselves by reminiscences, which are some compensation to the mind for their loss of consequence in the circle of tribes, or the actual miseries by which they are surrounded.

In the traditionary emigration of the tribe from the east, a portion of them moved in the direction of the north of Lake Superior, and are now known as the Muskegoes and Sug-waun-dug-ah-win-ine-wug, or "Thick Woodsmen." Other portions of the tribe stopped at Sault Ste. Marie, one of the oldest towns mentioned in their traditions.

In the Straits of "Me-she-ni-mick-in-auk-ong," or "Great Turtle," they parted from their relations the Ottawa and Po-da-waud-um-ceg. With these two tribes, together with the O-dish-quag-um-ceg, or Algonkins, they to this day claim the closest affinity.

The Six Nations, whom they denominate Nod-o-way-se-wug, from Nod-o-way, "The Adder," appear to have been their most inveterate foes. Having been first

discovered by the whites, and armed with guns, this confederation succeeded in driving west the remnant of the Ojibwa tribes that had remained behind their main body, who were at this era already living on Lake Superior. With them went the Wyandot, Po-da-wand-um-ee, Ottawa, and O-dish-quag-umee.

The old men of the Ojibwas claim that before this took place the main body of their tribe had already found their way to Lake Superior, and were living at La Pointe.

Abandoning the periods of Indian cosmogony and fable, few of the tribes possess any historical or legendary records of real value. The Chippewa traditions, such as may be relied on, reach back about two hundred and fifty years. The Chippewas aver that their first knowledge of white men was of the French in Lower Canada, whose rule they regard with admiration. In 1824 they asserted that but seven generations had passed since the event. Their reminiscences are still fresh of the fall of Canada, of the great chief Montcalm, of the stand made by Pontiac to repel the British at Detroit, and of the massacre at old Fort Michilimackinac on the Peninsula. Among men who have successfully led them in battle, they mention Noka, Bianswah, and Waub-Ojeeg, or the White Fisher, under the last-named of whom they conquered the region of the St. Croix Valley, and defeated the Sauks, Foxes, and Sioux. Ondaigweos of Chegoimegon, and Shingabawassin of St. Mary's, were men of wisdom and benevolence, whose memory is respected.

It is the glory of their remote past, however, which is the favorite theme of Chippewa vanity and credulity.

The Chippewas are an active, well-developed, handsome race of men, usually above the medium height. The chiefs of the bands of St. Mary's, Lake Superior, and the Upper Mississippi are a manly, intelligent body of men, with a bold and independent air and gait, and possessing good powers of oratory. Stately and easy in their manners, they enter and leave a room without the least awkwardness or embarrassment. But for their very picturesque costume, with its frontlets, medals, and feathers, they might easily be taken for the grave elders and gentlemen of civilized society. Their marked repose of character and ease of manners cannot fail to strike the beholder; but it is still more remarkable to hear one of these noble men of nature, when he rises to speak, fall into a train of elevated remarks which would often do honor to a philosopher. At the same time that he is thus maintaining a pride of character in the council-chamber, his family, who perhaps occupy a wigwam on the shore, may be without a loaf of bread or a piece of meat to appease their hunger.

The traditionary account of the extermination of the Mundua tribe by the Chippewas, many hundred years ago, may be introduced here as throwing some light on the question concerning the lost tribe of Eries. According to this tradition, as related by a chieftain of Sandy Lake, there was at one time, living on the shores of a large lake, a grand and powerful tribe of people called Munduas. They were congregated in a single town, which was so large that one standing on a hill in the centre could not see the limits of it. The Munduas were fierce and warlike: their

hand was against every other tribe. Their prisoners they burned at the stake as offerings to their spirits. All the surrounding tribes lived in great fear of them, till their Ojibwa brethren called them to council, and sent the wampum of war to collect the warriors of many tribes together. A war-party was raised whose line of warriors extended as far as the eye could reach. They marched against the great town of the Munduas, and attacked it on all sides that were approachable by land. Though the numbers of their assailants were overwhelming, the Munduas had such confidence in their own prowess and numerical strength that on the first day of attack they sent only their boys to repel the invaders. The boys being driven in, on the second day they turned out their young men to fight their foes, while the rest of the town were feasting and dancing. Still, however, the Ojibwas and their allies gradually beat them back, till on the eve of the second day's fight the invaders found themselves in possession of half the great town. The third day dawned, and, the Munduas beginning to think it a serious affair, their old and tried warriors, "mighty men of valor," sang their war-song, put on their paints and ornaments of war, and sallied out to drive back the foe.

The struggle which ensued was one of the most desperate recorded in Indian tradition: the bravest warriors in America had met, one side fighting for vengeance and renown, the other for everything that is dear to man, even their very existence. The Munduas at last gave way, and, hotly pressed by their foes, men, women, and children threw themselves into the lake. At this juncture their aged chief (who was also a medicine-man), seeing the dead bodies of his bravest warriors covering the ground, called with a loud voice for the assistance of the Great Spirit. No answer being made to his prayer, he then invoked the evil spirits of earth and water, when suddenly there arose from the bosom of the lake a dark and heavy fog, which covered in folds of darkness the scene of the bloody fight.

The old chief gathered together the remnants of his slaughtered tribe, and, under cover of the evil spirits' fog, they left their town forever. For a day and a night they travelled onward, and were congratulating themselves on their escape, when a gale of wind that the medicine-men of the Ojibwas had caused the Great Spirit to raise dispersed the fog, and great was the surprise of the Munduas at finding themselves standing on a hill back of their devoted town, and in full view of their enemies. "It is the will of the Great Spirit that we should perish," exclaimed the aged chief, and once more they dragged their weary limbs in flight. They fled into a forest, where they buried their women and children in the ground, leaving them but a breathing-hole. The men then returned, and beguiled the pursuers by leading them in a different direction. A few escaped, who afterwards returned and dug up their women and children. This small remnant of the once powerful Munduas was the next year attacked by an Ojibwa war-party, taken prisoners, and incorporated into their tribe. Individuals are pointed out to this day as descended from them, who have the marten totem.

We will now relate events which happened a few years prior to the acquaintance of the Chippewas with the whites. The exact time, however, is uncertain.

One prominent reason why the Ojibwas chose to live on an island is evident: they wished for more security from their numerous foes. The Nodowa war-parties did not here reach them, as they came no farther than the Sault at the foot of the lake. But they had as powerful and inveterate enemies in the Odug-aum-eeg and the A-boin-ug, upon whose territory they were constantly encroaching.

The Odug-aum-eeg occupied a country towards the southwest, about the head-waters of the Wisconsin, Ontonagon, and Chippewa Rivers. The Sioux lived about the head-waters of the St. Croix, Mississippi, and St. Louis Rivers. Sandy Lake, Mille Lacs, and Yellow Lake were then the sites of their principal towns.

A tribe called O-man-ee is also spoken of as one of their earliest enemies. They are said to have lived at Mille Lacs in earthen houses, and to have been exterminated or driven off in a general battle.

The Ojibwas were most harassed by the Odug-aum-eeg and A-boin-ug, or Sioux and Foxes. The shores of Lake Superior were familiar to the war-parties of these two warlike tribes. At one time a war-party of Sioux found their way from the nearest point of the mainland to the island of La Pointe, and during the night two of their warriors crossed on a log a distance of two miles, and returned in a canoe with four scalps they had taken on the island.

On another occasion a party of four hundred Foxes floated down the Ontonagon in their small inland bark canoes. They landed in the night on the island of their foes, and early in the morning captured four women who had gone to gather wood. The revenge of the Ojibwas was quick and complete. A dense fog covered the lake, and, depending on this for eventual escape, the Foxes, intoxicated with their success, kept up a continual yelling and singing. Thus guided, the Ojibwas, many hundreds of whom had at the first sound hastily embarked in their large lake-canoes, silently and swiftly pursued them, keeping purposely in their wake, till they arrived opposite a line of steep rocky coast, a mile above the mouth of Montreal River, and eight leagues from La Pointe. Here they fell on the Foxes with great fury. Their own large canoes sat firmly in the water, while the small canoes of the Foxes were easily upset, and most of the marauding party were either drowned or dispatched in the water. This is the only naval engagement the old men of this tribe tell of.

At another time a party of Foxes fell on a camp of Ojibwas at Kah-puk-wa-ka while the men were out hunting. They captured two youths, having driven them into boggy ground. One of these prisoners was the son of a principal Ojibwa chief named Bi-ans-wah, belonging to the Ah-awh-wauk family. At the time the capture was made, the father of the young man was out on a hunt. Returning home, he heard the heart-rending news, and, knowing that his son's fate would be the stake, he immediately followed the trail of the returning captors. Arriving at one of their principal villages just as the Foxes were in the act of setting fire to the fagots with which they had surrounded their victim, he stepped boldly into the midst of his enemies, and offered to take the place of his son. "My son," said he, "has seen but a few winters; his feet have never trodden the war-path: but the hairs of my head are white, and over the graves of my relatives I have hung many scalps that I have

taken from the heads of your warriors." The old chief's offer was accepted: his son was released, and he himself was burnt at the stake with all the tortures that savage ingenuity could invent. The son returned to his people, and was afterwards known by his father's name, and became a noted man in his tribe.

The old chieftain's murder was terribly avenged by the Ojibwa tribe. A large war-party marched against the towns of the Foxes on the Chippewa River, and did not return until six villages of their enemies had been laid waste, and their inhabitants destroyed. After this event the Fox tribe retired from the country bordering on Lake Superior, and fell back on the Mississippi.

The war between the two tribes was bloody in the extreme, and was carried on with all the cruelty of savage warfare. Captives were burnt at the stake. This custom originated in the following manner. A noted warrior of the Ojibwas was once taken captive by his own nephew, a son of his sister, who had been captured by the Foxes and had married among them. The nephew, to show his adopted people his utter disregard of any tie of relationship with the Ojibwas, planted two stakes in the ground, and, taking his captive by the arm, tied his feet and hands to the stakes, remarking "that he wished to warm his uncle by a good fire." He then built up a large fire, and after roasting one side of his victim he turned the other to the blaze. When the naked body had been burnt to a blister, he untied him, and told him "to go home and tell the Ojibwas how the Foxes treated their uncles." The uncle recovered from his fire-wounds, and in a subsequent incursion succeeded in capturing his nephew. He took him to the village of the Ojibwas, where he tied him to a stake, and, taking a fresh elk-skin, on which a layer of fat had purposely been left, he placed it over a fire until it became one immense blaze, and then, throwing it over the naked shoulders of his nephew, remarked, "Nephew, when I was in your village you warmed me before a good fire; now I, in return, give you a mantle to warm your back." The elk-skin, covered with fat, burnt furiously, and, crisping, lighted around the body of his nephew a dreadful mantle that soon consumed him. This act was retaliated by the Foxes, and death by fire soon became customary with both tribes.

Soon after their lake-fight with this tribe, a war-party of Sioux, numbering one hundred and fifty men, found their way to the extreme point of Shag-ah-waum-ik, directly opposite the present town of La Pointe, and one mile distant. Here they lay in wait, and one morning attacked two young men who had gone to the point to look for ducks. The spot being covered in those days with sand-hills, the young men defended themselves till the village opposite became alarmed, and the Ojibwa warriors, quickly collecting, ran to the southern extremity of their town, embarked in their canoes at Gooseberry Creek, and paddled straight across to the little portage, a place where Shag-ah-waum-ik is but a few rods wide. Once the Ojibwas had gained possession of this spot, the Sioux would be entirely cut off from retreat. The van of both parties arrived there at the same moment, and a desperate fight ensued. The Sioux were driven back, however, and, being caught as it were in a trap, were cut to pieces. Two men only are said to have escaped. They swam into the lake, and, as their bodies were not found, it was supposed that they performed the almost

superhuman feat of swimming three or four miles in fresh water. The particles of bones still strewn over the whole point are said to be the remains of the slain warriors.

The encounters which are here briefly mentioned are related by the old men with great minuteness. As they took place before their intercourse with the whites, the Indians fought with their primitive weapons,—spears, bows and arrows, and war-clubs.

We now come to the period when the white man first became known to them. The traditionary story of this important event in their history is briefly as follows:

A principal man of the Medawin, named Ma-se-wa-pe-ga, dreamed a dream, in which he beheld spirits in the shape of men, but having white skins, and coverings on their heads. They approached him with a smile on their faces and with their hands extended.

This dream he told to the principal men of his tribe in a council and over a feast in honor of his dream-spirit. He informed them that the spirits he had seen in his dream resided in the east, and that he would go and find them.

For one year Ma-se-wa-pe-ga prepared for his journey. He made a strong canoe, and dried meat for his wappo, and, with only his wife as a companion, left La Pointe to go and find the spirits he had seen in his dream. He went down the Great Lake, and entered a river that flowed towards the rising of the sun. He passed through tribes of red men that spoke different languages.

At last, when the river had become wide and like a lake, he found on the banks, one night as he encamped, a hut built of logs, and the stumps of large trees that had been cut by other and sharper instruments than the rude axes of the Indians.

The signs thus discovered were apparently two winters old.

Much encouraged, Ma-se-wa-pe-ga continued his course down stream, and the next day came to another deserted log hut.

The third day he saw another log hut, from the chimney of which smoke arose. It was occupied by the white spirits of his dream, who came out and cordially welcomed him with a shake of the hand.

When he returned to his people he brought the presents he had received,—an axe, a knife, beads, and some scarlet cloth,—which he had carefully secured in his medicine-bag.

Collecting his people in council, he showed them the sacred presents of the white spirits.

The next season numbers followed Ma-se-wa-pe-ga on his second visit to the whites. They carried with them many beaver-skins, and returned with the firearms that henceforth made them the terror of their enemies.

From this time the dispersion of the tribe from La Pointe can be dated. The Indians say it occurred eight generations or “strings of lives” ago, which, estimating an Indian generation at thirty-five years, would make two hundred and eighty years.

This dispersion is said to have been owing to the following causes.

Poisoning was a common mode of revenging an injury, and it required but the

slightest cause for a person to draw down upon himself the displeasure of a medicine-man, and die of his poison. Instances have occurred where the poisoners were known to have dug up their victims and invited the relatives to a feast on the body. This horrid ceremony was got up in utter darkness, and, when the friends of the deceased had received their share of the feast, torches were suddenly lighted, and they became aware of the nature of the banquet. Fear of the poisoner's power and vengeance would constrain them to eat what was placed before them. This was a usual sacrificial feast to the spirit of the poison.

At this period the tribe lived in great awe of their medicine-men, the fear of whom has not even yet quite died away. It is also affirmed that it was customary to offer to their different *Me-da-we* spirits human sacrifices of one another and of their children. This sacrifice is said to have been made at the roots of a huge pine-tree which stood somewhere in the centre of the island, and which reared its branches far above other trees.

The virgin feast of human flesh, which we sometimes hear spoken of, and read of, was also in full practice; and there was an old woman alive at La Pointe a few years since who could tell tales on this head, from her own experience, that would make the blood run cold.

To such an extent were these evil practices carried that at last fear fell on the inhabitants of La Pointe; the weeping and wailing of *je-bi-ug*, or ghosts, was heard nightly resounding through their town, till finally they fled, and a general dispersion took place, which left their island entirely deserted.

It is worthy of mention that before traders made their residence on the island, none of the Indians, it is said, would dare to sleep overnight on the site of their old town, for fear of the *je-bi-ug*.

The first traders that built on the island, during the old French domination, found their gardens overgrown with many years' growth of trees, and it is comparatively lately that the band living on the opposite bay of Shag-ah-waun-ik returned to live on the island.

When hard pressed by their enemies, or in time of great famine, such a practice as the eating of human flesh might have been adopted to save life, as it occasionally is even at the present time among the Indians north of Lake Superior. This, together with the fact of their poisoning one another, might have given rise to the above story, and might have conduced in some measure to their dispersion, which I am inclined to believe took place naturally as they prevailed against their enemies and became possessed of a larger extent of country.

After this, being aware of the white man's presence on the continent, the next occurrence of importance was the taking of the Sioux village of Sandy Lake, on the Mississippi.

Bi-ans-wah, the young man whose father had died for him at the stake, became a fierce and inveterate enemy of the Sioux and Foxes, taking every opportunity, and indeed making it the business of his life, to revenge the death of his brave father. With a large band of his tribe he pushed on up the lake, and made a stand at Fond

du Lac (Wi-a-quah-ke-che-gum-e). At this point Bi-ans-wah collected a large war-party from the different villages of the Ojibwas on the lake-shore, at the head of which he proceeded up the St. Louis and successfully attacked the then large Sioux town of Sandy Lake. They destroyed numbers of their enemies, and drove them forever from the lake. Here Bi-ans-wah and his band eventually made their abiding-place and village. It is at this point that the Ojibwas, in their western conquests, first came on to the Mississippi. They made this their central point and rallying-place, where parties collected who marched against the Sioux and wrested from them Leech, Cass, Winnipeg, Mille Lacs, and Red Lakes. The different bands now living about the head-waters of the Mississippi radiated from this point.

Bi-ans-wah, besides his deeds in war, is noted as having put a stop to the inhuman custom of burning prisoners. This he effected by a treaty of peace with the Sioux, and though the peace was soon after broken, yet both parties mutually refrained from the practice. From this time prisoners were seldom taken, and those taken were never burnt.

Besides the large band that pushed their way to the head-waters of the great river, other bands left the lake-shore, and made their towns at Courtoreille, Lac du Flambeau, and on the St. Croix River, conquering the country as they advanced at the expense of much bloodshed.

One morning a party of young men, going out from the Bay of Shag-ah-waum-ik to spear fish through the ice in the early part of the winter, discovered smoke arising from the eastern extremity of the then unfrequented island of their old town, La Pointe. They proceeded thither, and in a rude cabin made of logs found two white men in the last stages of starvation. They had evidently been driven on the island by ice late in the fall, and had remained there for some time suffering the pangs of hunger. When discovered, they had been reduced to the extremity of roasting their cloth and blankets over the coals, and eating them as a last means of sustaining life.

The Indians carefully conveyed them to their village, and fed them with judicious kindness. One of them survived, and, after remaining with his hosts through the winter, returned to Quebec, whence he had come.

The above story is invariably given by the old men of La Pointe on being asked the question, "Who was the first white man that found the Indians at La Pointe after they were known to be on the continent?"

The events narrated happened seven "strings of lives" ago.

Of Fathers Marquette and Allouez, who, according to Mr. Bancroft's statement, found their way one hundred and eighty-two years ago to the Bay of Shag-ah-waum-ik and there opened a mission among a large band of Indians, there is no traditionary record, unless, indeed, they were the two men mentioned in the above story. An antique silver crucifix was, in 1847, found by an old woman in her garden, near La Pointe, where it had been ploughed up. This circumstance would seem to prove that the fearless and enterprising Jesuits had been of old about the spot.

The first white men who made a permanent residence among them were traders.

During the old French domination, a post was built on the island of La Pointe, at the mouth of a creek or slough between the present site of the American Fur Company's post and the Presbyterian mission. The buildings were surrounded by palisades of cedar, and cannon are said to have been mounted on them.

It had become customary during the French domination for the Ojibwas of Lake Superior to make yearly visits to Mackinac, Montreal, and even Quebec. They were well treated by the French, who even at this time had begun to intermarry with them, and had thus formed a link that made them ever after their fast friends.

After the conquest of Canada by the British, the different French trading-posts were dismantled, and but few of the old French traders and voyagers remained in Lake Superior. Among these they mention Ke-che-sub-ud-ese, or John Baptist Cadotte, who was in the vicinity at the taking of Fort Mackinac and the massacre of the garrison by the Ojibwas and Ottawas. It was this man's Indian wife who is said to have saved the life of Alexander Henry, the only Englishman that survived the massacre.<sup>1</sup>

Cadotte and his partner, Henry, were the first traders who came into the country of the Ojibwas after the fall of the French. They wintered two years at Na-ash-ib-ik-ong, a point of sand-rock in the Bay of Shag-ah-waum-ik, and for two years are said to have worked the mines of copper on the Ontonagon River.

Cadotte was the first permanent white settler on the Sault Ste. Marie, where he died at an advanced age, leaving a family of children and grandchildren, half-breeds, spread over the whole Ojibwa country.

It was about the period of the taking of Fort Mackinac that the last fight between the Ojibwas and Iroquois is said to have taken place. The Ste. Marie Indians probably know more of this occurrence than old Be-she-ke of La Pointe, who related it. As the story goes, a war-party of Ojibwas were collected to march into the Nod-o-wa country in search of scalps. Encamping a short distance below the rapids of Ste. Marie, they heard yelling, singing, and other noises on the river below them, and, sending out scouts, they soon learned that they proceeded from a party of Nod-o-ways bound on a war-excursion into their country. The enemy had also encamped, and were making merry on liquor stolen probably from white traders. The Ojibwas, waiting until they had drunk themselves asleep, fell on them, and nearly destroyed the whole party. The spot, from this circumstance, was named Point Iroquois. This is the last war-party that the Nodoways are said to have sent against the Lake Superior Ojibwas.

Some years afterwards a man arose among the Ojibwas of La Pointe who became a renowned war-leader, and successfully took up the quarrels of his tribe with the Sioux and Foxes. Waub-ojeeg, or White Fisher, of the reindeer totem, was the son of Ma-mong-e-se-da, the chief that led the Ojibwa warriors under Montcalm at the taking of Quebec. He was by blood partly of Sioux extraction, being related to

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<sup>1</sup> Besides Henry, two other Englishmen, named Solomons and Clark, escaped. One crept up a chimney, the other hid himself under a heap of corn. Two officers and ten men were also saved.

old Wabashaw, chief of a band of Men-da-wak-an-ton Sioux, living at the foot of Lake Pepin.

When arrived at the age of maturity he collected a war-party of three hundred warriors, and floated down the St. Croix River at their head, into the country of their enemies. At the mouth of Snake River they were to meet a party collected from Mille Lacs and Sandy Lake to join them on their war-excursion. Not finding the party as expected, Waub-ojeeg, confident in his numbers, pursued his way downstream, leaving marks by which the other party would be guided.

Arriving early in the morning at the head of the portage that leads around the Falls of St. Croix, the men had already lifted their light canoes on their heads to carry across the portage, when the scouts came in with news that a large body of Sioux and Foxes were landing at the foot of the portage. The Ojibwas put on their war-paints and ornaments, and in the middle of the portage they met their enemies, who were bound on the same errand as themselves. The combined Sioux and Fox warriors were much more numerous than the Ojibwas, so much so that it is said that the Foxes requested the Sioux to stand by and see how easily they could rout the Ojibwas. The Sioux therefore stood or sat on the rocks at a distance, quietly smoking their pipes. The fight is said to have been fierce and hardly contested. About noon the Foxes commenced to give ground, having lost some of their leading men. At last they turned and fairly fled, the Ojibwas after them. They would probably have been driven into the water and killed to a man, had not the Sioux, eager and fresh for a fight, raised their war-whoop and rushed to the rescue of their defeated allies. The Ojibwas resisted their new enemies manfully, and it was not till their ammunition had failed that they, in turn, showed their backs in flight. Few would have escaped to tell the sad tale of their defeat had not the party from Sandy Lake who were to have met them at Snake River arrived just at this juncture at the head of the portage. Seeing their friends driven over the rocks into the water, they jumped out of their canoes, and sixty warriors, fresh for the contest, withstood the onset of the Sioux and Foxes till their friends rallied again to the fight.

The allied Sioux and Foxes, being out of ammunition, are said to have fled in their turn. The slaughter was great. Many were driven over the steep rocks into the boiling rapids below, and every crevice in the rocks contained a dead or wounded warrior. From this time the Foxes retired south, and gave up the contest with their victorious enemies.

Waub-ojeeg, who commanded the Lake Superior bands in this battle, often afterwards led his warriors with great success against the Sioux, and became noted for his bravery and wisdom. His influence was that of a master-spirit over his whole tribe. He is one of those whom the Ojibwa of the present day names with pride.

Bi-ans-wah and Waub-ojeeg fought for their people and for conquests, Mamong-e-se-da for the French. Ondaigweos, another chief, contemporaneous with Waub-ojeeg, was noted for his peaceable disposition and his unwavering friendship for the whites. He was a chief of the Ah-awh-wauk stock, and had great influence with his people, who in those days were wild and untamable. They

required a strong hand to check their propensity for pillaging white traders, to whom Ondaigweos was as a guardian spirit. He was the grandfather of the late chief Be-she-ke of La Pointe.

We will now return to the northern wing of the tribe, who, under their chief Bi-ans-wah, had pushed their way to Sandy Lake. From this place, as we have said, they harassed the Sioux till they drove them from Leech, Cass, Winnipeg, Mille Lacs, and Red Lakes. The country surrounding these lakes, in every way adapted to their mode of living,—abounding in game, wild rice, maple to make sugar, and birch-bark for canoes,—was occupied by detached bands of the Ojibwas. They lived in fear and trembling, and at first located themselves for safety on islands in the different lakes.

From the time when they first conquered these places, now over a century ago, not a year has passed but their blood has been spilled in their defence; notwithstanding which they have held on, unyielding and tenacious, till they have compelled their enemies to retire west of the St. Peter's and Red River of the North, and south to the mouth of the St. Peter's.

Their hunts are made altogether on the hunting-grounds of the Sioux, and it was a common boast of their late war-chief, Hole-in-the-day, Bug-on-a-ke-shig, that had not the white man interfered, and at the treaty of Prairie-du-Chien drawn the lines between them, his people would now be dwelling at St. Peter's.

The bands now living around the head-waters of the Mississippi occupy a country embraced within the area of four hundred miles north and south, and two hundred east and west, from Mille Lacs to Pembina, and from Sandy Lake to the Red River of the North.

On the tract of country they occupy many spots are pointed out where the warriors of these two contending tribes have met in battle. More fights, massacres, and surprises are told of than would, if detailed, fill a large book. In this condensed account, however, we shall notice only their principal battles.

A few years after the smoke of the Ojibwa lodges had first arisen from Sandy Lake, one of their war-parties met a party of their enemies, the Sioux, on a point in Lake Winnipeg, where a considerable fight ensued, which resulted in the evacuation of the lake by the Sioux.

More than a century ago, as nearly as we can compute from Indian time, a party of about three hundred Sioux warriors ascended the Mississippi in their canoes, went up the Crow-Wing, made portages across to Leech Lake, and floated down the Mississippi through Lake Winnipeg, capturing and killing straggling Ojibwas as they went. They arrived at Sandy Lake, and attacked the village of the Ojibwas. The men being away on a war-excursion, the Sioux with ease killed and captured their women and children. The Ojibwa warriors, to the number of sixty, had left their fated village. On arriving at the confluence of the Mississippi, they discovered the traces of their enemies, who had gone up the Crow-Wing. Too late to return to the defence of their village, they lay in wait a short distance below the mouth of the Crow-Wing for the descent of the Sioux, digging hiding-holes on the high eastern

bank of the Mississippi, where the river makes a sudden curve and the whole force of the current flows under the bank. They had not waited long before the Sioux came floating down the stream in triumph, with many scalps and prisoners. They landed opposite the upper mouth of the Crow-Wing, to cook their morning meal, in plain view of their ambushed enemy.

The Ojibwas, fuming with rage, impatiently waited till their more numerous foes had again embarked, and came floating down almost directly under them. In the canoes of their enemies they recognized their wives and children, who had been taken captive, and let fly their bullets and arrows with unerring aim, picking out the most prominent figures and plumed heads of the Sioux. In the surprise and excitement which ensued, the prisoners purposely tipped over the canoes of their captors, and many escaped to the shore, from which their husbands, with dreadful yells, were dealing out the death-winged bullet and arrow among the enemy. Many Sioux were killed while they were within range of the Ojibwa missiles, and some were drowned in the deep current. The remainder, still more than doubly outnumbering their enemies, landed about half a mile below, where they tied their remaining captives to trees, and returned bravely to give battle to the Ojibwas and avenge the warriors they had lost.

The fight is said to have been waged with great fierceness for three days. The Ojibwas were saved from annihilation only by being posted on a hill where they had dug holes, whence they let fly their bullets and arrows on their more exposed enemies.

The ammunition of both parties is said to have failed in the earlier part of the fight, and, the Sioux digging counter-holes, the battle was waged with stones, knives, and war-clubs. The Sioux finally retreated, taking with them their remaining prisoners.

This battle nearly depopulated the flourishing village of Sandy Lake, but it was gradually replenished by families from the Great Lake, and forty years afterwards the band had regained their former numbers and consequence.

Once more, however, they came near being totally annihilated.

Headed by their chief, this band would, in the fall of the year, move their camps about Mille Lacs and Crow-Wing River to hunt the deer, bear, buffalo, and elk that abounded in those regions. While thus encamped in force, the Sioux never dared to attack them, though straggling parties and hunters were often set upon and never returned. One season, however, the Sioux mustered their warriors in force, and with four hundred men followed the return trail of the Ojibwas, and attacked them at their encampment at Sa-sub-a-gum-a, or Cross Lake, about thirty miles northeast from the mouth of Crow-Wing River.

A day before the attack a part of the camp had separated from the main body and moved off towards Mille Lacs; and early in the morning, before the attack was begun, a number of women had gone on ahead with loads to leave at the next camping-ground. The lives of all these were saved.

The camp numbered about twenty lodges, eight of which were long, containing

some twenty persons apiece, and the entire number of men, women, and children was probably between two and three hundred. It was located on a long point of land running out into the lake, and was approachable only by the ice on the lake. The scouts of the Sioux were discovered early in the morning, and the Ojibwas gained a short time to prepare for defence. The attack was bravely made by the Sioux in open day marching in a long line on the ice. Seeing their enemies thus advance, dancing and yelling, straight against their lodges, two of the bravest Ojibwa warriors (Bedud and She-sheeb) sallied forth and commenced the engagement. Their fellows followed their example, forming a barrier of their bodies on the ice for the shelter of the women and children. They sustained the unequal fight for a long time. Many lives were lost, for they had no shelter to protect them.

The remnant of the Ojibwa warriors at last retreated to their lodges, where they maintained the conflict a long time in defence of their families. In the area where they made this last stand, every lodge-pole, shrub, and tree was perforated with bullets. When the Sioux had silenced the last yell and gun of their enemies, they killed the women and children, save a few whom they took captive.

Soon after this second almost entire annihilation of the Sandy Lake band at Cross Lake, the Pillagers received a severe blow in the loss of a number of their bravest warriors in a hard fight with the Northern or Sisseton Sioux.

This band of Ojibwas had fearlessly pushed their way westward from Sandy Lake, in the footsteps of their retreating foe, till they came to Leech Lake. Finding this locality adapted to their mode of life, and for defence against the war-parties of the Sioux, they made it the site of their permanent rallying-point or village.

Of the numberless engagements in which the Pillagers have met the Sioux, a fight wherein they lost many of their bravest warriors furnishes a fair sample of the foolhardy spirit with which they were possessed, and which they retain to this day.

A party of forty of their best warriors left Leech Lake on an excursion against the Sioux. Arriving in the vicinity of Leaf Lake, the head-waters of Leaf River, which empties into the Crow-Wing, they heard the occasional report of guns in the direction of a distant hill. Early in the morning they approached the place where they expected to find the enemy. The Sioux had just broken camp, leaving their fires still burning. Their trail led in the direction of Leaf Lake, and, though it showed that their force was a large one, the Ojibwas unhesitatingly followed them.

In a wide, open prairie they discovered three of their enemies, about a quarter of a mile off, and, urged by one of their number, they immediately gave chase. The Sioux turned and fled, finding little difficulty in preserving the distance between them and their pursuers. Every now and then, indeed, they would stop on a hill for a moment and throw up their blankets in order to lure on the enemy. At last Leaf Lake was reached, when the Sioux led the chase around the sandy beach of the lake, and finally disappeared into a thickly-wooded ravine. Regardless of consequences, the foremost Pillagers rushed after them. On running up a hill, a sight burst on them that made them come to a sudden halt.

On a smooth prairie stood a camp of over three hundred Sioux lodges. The

inmates had been alarmed by the fugitives. Figures were running to and fro in wild disorder, and warriors were collecting at the beat of the drum. The poor Pillagers, out of breath, and in the centre of their enemies, who were supplied with horses, could do nothing but sell their lives as dearly as possible. This they determined to do, and, when half of their number had collected, they laid an ambush for the coming of their foes.

On the shores of the lake, near a ravine which led to the Sioux camp, was a low narrow piece of ground, covered with high grass. On one side was the lake, and on the other a watery marsh, which extended some distance inland. This pass the Ojibwas occupied, hiding in the tall grass; while their numbers kept increasing from the stragglers behind till nearly their whole party was collected.

The Sioux by this time had gathered their warriors and put on their war-ornaments, and they sallied out through the ravine in a dense body of painted warriors, whooping and yelling. At their head ran backwards and forwards a prominent figure, who held in his hand the war-flag of feathers, and on whose breast shone a large white medal. He wore a blue garnished coat, and, being a prominent mark, at the first fire of the ambushed Ojibwas he fell dead.

At the fall of their leader, the Sioux, regardless of the usual Indian mode of fighting, of dodging up and down and hiding behind trees, rushed on in a body to overwhelm their enemies. The bullets of the Pillagers mowed numbers of them down, but the survivors pressed on, grappled with their foe, and soon succeeded in silencing the firing and yelling. Some of the Pillagers threw themselves into the marsh, where they became a mark for their enemies' bullets; others retired from the pass into the woods, and from behind trees kept up the unequal fight. The last stragglers of their party had by this time arrived upon the scene of battle, among them he who had urged the party on to the mad pursuit of the three Sioux. He had heard the reproaches of his comrades in silence; and now, telling those that could to save themselves by flight, he rushed forward to attract the attention of the Sioux, in order to give his friends a chance for escape. The few that thus got off heard for a long time the repeated volleys fired at their devoted comrade, which were answered by his single gun and solitary Sas-sak-way, as for a time he maintained the unequal fight. At last the exultant yells of the Sioux told that they had killed their brave foe.

Not one-third of those forty warriors ever returned to Leech Lake. A few years since, the leaders, Kukunshawinin and Wenongay, were still alive, and it was the boast of the latter, when he struck the war-pole to relate his exploits, that in this fight he shot down seven Sioux and brought home their scalps. At this rate the slaughter among the Sisseton ranks must have been great.

In searching for the causes that have conduced to the great success of the Ojibwas over the warlike and numerous Sioux, it should not be forgotten that the former enjoyed a great advantage in the fact that the course of the streams whose headwaters they had secured by conquest flowed down to the haunts and villages of their enemies.

The Ojibwas respect the bravery of the Dakotas, and call them strong-hearted men. It is only by hard, incessant fighting, and much loss of life and blood, that the Ojibwas hold the position they now do as the conquering tribe.

Shortly after their first incursion to St. Peter's<sup>1</sup> under No-kay, the Ojibwas again collected a war-party of one hundred and twenty men, and, embarking in their canoes, floated down the Mississippi.

In floating down a river on a war-party, one canoe is always sent in advance, and scouts are sometimes sent ahead by land. This is to guard against ambush on the river-banks.

When the party had arrived near the mouth of Elk River, the scouts in the foremost canoe, close to the eastern bank of the Mississippi, heard Sioux talking and laughing on the bank immediately above them.

Turning their canoe round, they stole along the bank and escaped behind a point unseen by their enemies. Here they met the foremost canoes of their friends, and the alarm was quickly but silently spread from canoe to canoe. The fleet happened to be opposite an extensive bottom, thickly wooded. The Ojibwas sprang to land, and, pulling their canoes after them, rushed through the woods to attack their enemies.

They found them upon an open prairie, stretched out in a long line, equal in number to themselves. They were leisurely walking along, bent on a war-excursion. Being out of bullet-range from the wood, the Ojibwa warriors rushed on as if to a feast, "first come, first served." Their war-yell was answered by the Sioux, and bullet and arrow were returned for bullet and arrow.

For a short time the Sioux manfully withstood the eager onset of their enemies, but, seeing warrior after warrior emerge from the woods on a line of half a mile, they thought the Ojibwas many times outnumbered them, and under this impression they turned and fled. Occasionally they would stop to fire at their pursuers, and thus a running fight was kept up for upwards of three miles. At the mouth of Elk River the Sioux encountered a large party of their fellows who had come across the country from the St. Peter's River to join the war-party. With this addition they outnumbered the Ojibwas nearly double, and the chase was turned the other way. The Ojibwas fled up the banks of Elk River, and when tired of their long run they stopped in a fine grove of oak-trees, determined to make a stand.<sup>2</sup>

Here the fight was sustained for some time, the Ojibwas firing from the shelter of the trees, until the Sioux, finding they could not dislodge them in any other way, set fire to the dry prairie-grass. The Ojibwas again fled, and were at last driven on to an island, where, the Sioux not daring to molest them, the fight ended.

Short intervals of peace have occasionally occurred in the course of the bloody feud between these two tribes.

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<sup>1</sup> In the Ojibwa tongue this river is called *Osh-ke-bug-e-se-be* (New Leaf River).

<sup>2</sup> Through this place the main road up to the Mississippi now passes. The holes in the ground are still visible, and some contain particles of bones.

One was brought about by the chief Bi-ans-wah, who at this time proposed to the Sioux the discarding of their old custom of burning captives. This peace was broken by the Sioux about eighty years ago, and another short peace was effected between the two tribes in the following manner :

A large war-party of Sioux was discovered by the scouts of an Ojibwa camp on Platte River. The Ojibwas, fearing the result of an attack on account of their women and children, decided on a bold manœuvre. Should this fail, they were determined to fight to the last.

A flag was attached to a pole, and a brave warrior sallied out singly to meet the Sioux. He discovered them as they were stealing along to attack the camp. He shouted to them, and, as the whole party were preparing to rush towards him, he threw down his gun, and with his flag he fearlessly ran into their midst. He was caught in the arms of two stalwart warriors; many blows were aimed at him with war-clubs and knives, and he expected every moment to suffer death; but a tall Sioux took his part and defended him, warding off the blows that were aimed at his head. After the excitement in the Sioux ranks had in a measure subsided, one of their warriors stepped up, and, taking hold of the Ojibwa, offered to wrestle with him. The Sioux was easily thrown; getting up, he again took hold of his opponent, and was again prostrated. Then the discomfited Sioux lighted his pipe and smoked with him (the sign of peace). He gave him also as presents his pipe, gun, and clothing. On this the brave Ojibwa led the party to his camp, where the two hostile tribes saluted one another with firing of guns, etc. The pipe of peace was smoked, the pipe-dance danced, and they ate out of the same dish. The war-club for a little time was buried.

Nearly a century ago, bands of the Ojibwas from Sandy Lake, Leech, and Mille Lacs commenced to reside permanently on the Lower Mississippi at Gull Lake, Crow-Wing River, and down as far as Little Rock. These bands soon formed under one chief, and became known as the "Great River men." Their chief was Ke-che Ba-be-se-gun-dib-a, or Big Curly-Head.

About this time an event of importance in their history happened,—viz., the fight at Long Prairie. This fight occurred in the fall of the year, early in the present century. A party of one hundred and sixty warriors was collected by Ba-be-se-gun-dib-a, chief of the Mississippi men, and Esh-ke-bug-e-cosh, or Flat-Mouth, chief of the Pillagers.

At the head of their warriors they marched against the Sioux. In passing through Long Prairie (which was then Sioux country) they fell on a large trail of their enemies. Following it up, they discovered a camp of about forty of their lodges a short distance below the Pine Bend. Early in the morning this large camp was attacked by the Ojibwas. The whole party repeatedly fired into the lodges from a short distance, and before the Sioux warriors had recovered from their surprise many must have been killed. They at last sallied out to the number of sixty-six men, and resisted manfully. The battle lasted the whole day, until only seven of the Sioux survived to continue the fight, and they were apparently determined to

die on the spot. Miraculously they escaped the many missiles aimed at them, till the Ojibwas, being entirely out of ammunition, and fearing lest their foes would be reinforced from neighboring camps, retreated.

The loss of the Sioux in this attack was great, and probably equalled that which they had inflicted on the Ojibwas on a former occasion at Cross Lake. From this time the Sioux fell back from the woods to their western prairies, and, after receiving repeated blows from Bug-on-a-ke-shig, Song-uk-um-ig, and others, they eventually altogether evacuated that portion of their former country lying north of Sac River and south and east of Leaf River to the Mississippi.

Long Prairie is noted as having been on four different occasions wetted with the blood of the two hostile tribes, Crow-Wing three times, Elk River three times, Gull Lake twice, Sandy Lake thrice; and indeed every place of any note on the former border of the two tribes between Selkirk's settlement and the Wisconsin River has been freely baptized in blood.

We have now narrated the different events of importance connected with their wars in the history of the Upper Mississippi branch of the Ojibwa tribe to a comparatively recent period.

Before we relate events happening in the days of Strong Ground, or Song-uk-um-ig, and Hole-in-the-sky, or Bug-on-a-ke-shig,<sup>1</sup> we will mention a few names that have been noted in the history of this important portion of their tribe.

Bi-ans-wah may be called their pioneer to these regions. Here he laid the foundation of a dynasty or chieftaindom which has descended to his children, and the benefits of which they are reaping after him. His grandson, Ka-da-wá-be-da, became a noted chief of the Sandy Lake bands; not so much for prowess in war as for the great influence he exerted over his bands, to whom he was truly a father. He was a warm friend to the whites, and the traders of the country loved him. These were of the old Northwest, Astor, and other mining companies that at different times in his day sent clerks with goods to Sandy Lake and the Mississippi. Their presents to the hunters were given through the hands of Ka-da-wá-be-da. His wigwam was noted for its spaciousness and neatness. On his mat table he used the knives, forks, and dishes of the whites. He also kept a liquor-case, which was always well supplied, and from which he indulged sparingly. On his death-bed, at an advanced age, he requested that his body should not be buried in the ground, but that it should be hung up in the air on a scaffolding. His wishes being complied with, it became a custom of his family thus to dispose of their dead. His totem was the royal Ah-awh-wauk. One of his sons, Mong-o-zid, or Loon's-Foot, a well-known chief of the Lake Superior Indians, resided at Fond du Lac.

Another noted chief of the Mississippi bands flourished contemporaneously with Ka-da-wá-be-da. His name was Ke-che Ba-be-se-gun-dib-a (Big Curly-Head), and he was the chief of the lower and more hardy bands who followed close upon the

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<sup>1</sup> The war-song of this chief was addressed to his guardian spirit, seen through a hole in the sky.

retreating footsteps of the Sioux on the Mississippi. This chief is aptly spoken of as the vanguard or bulwark of his tribe. His is a name that will long be cherished in the memory of the Ojibwas. In the words of one of their principal men, "He was a father to our fathers, who looked on him as a parent; his lightest wish was quickly obeyed; his lodge was ever hung with meat; and the traders vied with one another who should treat him best; his hand was open, and when he had plenty our fathers wanted not." Three times he led his warriors with success against their enemies, each time his band returning with bloody knives and reeking scalps. Twice he was attacked in his hunting-camp by Sioux war-parties, and both times he, with his warriors, repulsed them.

Strong Ground and Hole-in-the-sky were in their youth his pipe-bearers, and they waited on him till the day of his death.

Song-uk-um-ig was as fine a specimen of an Indian as ever trod the soil of America. He was an honor-loving chief, not only by name, but by nature also. He was noted for his unflinching bravery, generosity, and firmness, the last of which is a rare quality among the Indians, not more than one out of ten of whom is possessed of any strength of character. To give an instance of his daring, on one occasion he fought singly, by the side of a mounted comrade, with seven Sioux, and drove them off with loss. His first fight was, when a mere boy, at Long Prairie battle. Again he was present at an attack of a Sioux camp at Poplar Grove, on Long Prairie, where the Ojibwas killed many of their foes. On another occasion he led a night-attack on a camp at Crow River.

At Round Prairie, also, he with an Ottawa cut off from a large Sioux camp three boys while they were sliding on the ice in plain view of their friends. At Fort Snelling he was the one who fearlessly went into the guard-house and led out four Sioux prisoners, armed with their knives, who had shot into their camp (as usual in time of peace) and killed four Ojibwas. These prisoners Song-uk-um-ig took out of the fort, and in the presence of the officers and garrison,<sup>1</sup> and a large assembly of Sioux, he bade them run for their lives from the bullets of the Ojibwas whose relatives they had killed.

The Chippewas, who established their council-fire and seat of government on the island at La Pointe Chegoimegon,—shortened in modern days to La Pointe,—had other enemies to encounter besides the Sioux. The Outagamis, or Foxes, who were also emigrants from the east, had settled in the valley of Fox River, and had extended to the series of lakes about the sources of the Wisconsin and Chippewa Rivers. Between the Outagamis and the Sioux a good understanding existed, which had been so cultivated that mutual aid was expected to be given in cases of emergency. Through this alliance the Chippewas were well received on their first appearance at Chegoimegon, for they are affiliated with the Foxes by language and early history. During this early period offices of civility were exchanged, and inter-marriages took place. The Chippewas were in fact seated on the borders of the

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<sup>1</sup> This was done by order of Colonel Snelling.—H. R. S.

Outagami lands, and the three tribes lived in a state of friendship. But when dissension arose between the Chippewas and Sioux, the Outagamis, agreeably to the reputation given them by the French, were found to be treacherous. They secretly sided with the Sioux against the Chippewas. A war between the Chippewas and the Foxes was the consequence, in the course of which the latter were driven from the rice-lakes and the intermediate hunting-grounds around Lac du Flambeau, and confined to the lower waters of the Wisconsin.

This war still existed when Waub-ojeeg came on the stage of action. He was born at Chegoimegon a few years prior to the capture of Quebec. Mamongizida, his father, was the ruling chief of that place by right of descent, bearing the totem of the Adik, or American reindeer. He had ever been, together with his tribe, firmly attached to the French. His family traditions affirmed that he had visited Montcalm at Quebec and carried a speech from him to his nation. For two years after the massacre at Michilimackinac, in 1763, there had been no trader allowed by the English to enter Lake Superior. Waub-ojeeg visited Sir William Johnson to request that traders might be allowed to come among them, and received from his hands a gorget and a belt of wampum.

The cause of the French fell with the capture of Quebec, while Waub-ojeeg was still bound in his Indian cradle, and he grew up to manhood with vivid ideas of the English supremacy. The British flag then waved triumphantly from the walls of Quebec to Michilimackinac and the country of the Illinois. As soon as he reached the threshold of his entrance to authority, he welcomed the English traders who came with their ventures of goods to Chegoimegon, or who pursued their way to the sources of the Mississippi.

Waub-ojeeg was early regarded as a successful leader of war-parties, and the nation looked to him to defend their borders against the Sioux, if not to extend them. During a period of twenty years, dating from about 1770, he was the governing spirit of his tribe. Both as a hunter and as a warrior he was unexcelled. His step had a lightness and energy which betokened great activity in the chase. He stood six feet six inches in his moccasins. He was spare and rather lightly built, but possessed a degree of strength, united to activity, which left him few competitors in Indian circles. He was seven times a leader against the Outagamis and the Sioux. He had received three wounds in battle,—one in his thigh, a second in his right shoulder, and a third in his right side and breast.

His parties were all made up of volunteers. The first consisted of forty men, the second of three hundred. The latter was made up from the entire southern coast of Lake Superior, extending to St. Mary's. It was the result of an elaborate effort, helped on by war-dances and assemblies. The party ascended the Muskigo or Mauvais River, crossing the portage, from its source into the Namakagon branch of the St. Croix, and thence proceeded down the main channel. They moved cautiously, and were six days in the descent before they found the enemy. The Sioux and their allies, the Outagamis, had determined at the same time on an expedition up the St. Croix against the Chippewas. Each side was profoundly ignorant of the other's

movements, and the scouts of both unwittingly encountered each other at the Falls of St. Croix. It was early in the morning, and a fog prevailed. The Foxes fired first. A skirmish ensued. Waub-ojeeg soon arrived with his whole party, and a general and bloody battle commenced. Neither party knew the other's strength, and both fought with desperation. At length the Sioux and Foxes, finding themselves outnumbered, fled. This battle decided the possession of the St. Croix Valley. The Chippewas ever afterwards claimed it to the head of the lake at its foot, and this limit was, with little question, yielded to them at the treaty of boundaries at Prairie du Chien in 1825.

The war-song which Waub-ojeeg composed for this expedition so impressed his countrymen that the words were preserved and handed down from mouth to mouth. John Johnston, Esq., an Irish gentleman, struck with its heroic strain, made the following version from these verbal traditions more than seventy years ago :

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

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

Our chiefs shall return no more, no more,  
 Our chiefs shall return no more—  
 Nor their brethren of war, who can show scar for scar,  
 Like women their fate shall deplore, deplore—  
 Like women their fate shall deplore.

Five winters in hunting we'll spend, we'll spend,  
 Five winters in hunting we'll spend—  
 Till our youth, grown to men, we'll to war lead again,  
 And our days like our fathers will end, will end—  
 And our days like our fathers will end.

Waub-ojeeg died in his family lodge, at Chegoimegon, surrounded by his children and relatives, in 1793.

Prominent among the mythological legends and lodge-tales of the Chippewas are the acts of Manabozho. He appears in a thousand forms, assuming as great a variety of character as did Mercury himself. For, while the theory always regards him as a god, he is often put to the lowest shifts of a man. Though he can transform birds and quadrupeds into men, he is often at desperate straits for a meal, and resorts to tricks of the lowest kind. But he has always his magic drum and rattles with him to raise up supernatural powers to help him out of his difficulties.

He has power to send the birds and beasts on all sorts of errands, yet will sometimes, as when they danced before him, snatch a fat duck or two to make a meal. He survived a general deluge of the earth, and afterwards recreated it by telling the beaver and muskrat to dive down after a little mud. Though often pinched by want during the story-telling season, the Indians are excessively amused by these grotesque stories.

The Chippewas are pre-eminently brave warriors, and expert woodsmen and foresters,—delighting in seclusion, forests, and mysticism, but finding their chief pleasure in the chase. They despise the arts of civilization, fixed industry, and letters. They have always regarded the use of the bow and arrow, war-club, and spear, as the noblest employment of man. War is pursued by the Northern Algonkins as the only avenue open to them which is capable of satisfying their thirst for glory. Their appetite for praise is strong, and they delight to win admiration for their hardihood in surmounting the dangers of the forest or the vicissitudes of climate. Wild adventures of the chase occupy a large space in their lodge reminiscences, mingled as the recitals usually are with tales of the supernatural and the developments of mysterious agencies. But it is success in war alone that fills the highest aspirations of the Chippewa mind. To hunt well and to fight well are the first and the last themes of their hopes and praises of the living and the dead.

Assuming these pursuits as the best guarantees of their happiness and independence, they have ever looked upon agricultural and mechanical labors as degrading. In all their history they have, till within a few years, steadily opposed the introduction of schools, as well as all plans of husbandry.

They have intuitively recognized that two states of society so antagonistical as the hunter and the civilized state could not long exist prosperously in juxtaposition. They have continually felt that the stronger or superior state would absorb and destroy the weaker or inferior one. "I wandered about," said a Chippewa chief to Mr. Schoolcraft in 1822, "after *you* first arrived at these falls, like a bird not knowing where to alight." "Let us drive these dogs in red clothing into the sea," said Pontiac, in 1763, in reference to the British colonies. "Throw away your fire-steels," said the Prophet of the Wabash in 1811, "and use the old method of making fire; put on skins for clothing, as our fathers did, if you would escape the anger of the Great Spirit." And these sentiments have been found more fresh and vigorous in the Northern tribes in proportion as they had felt less of the influences of frontier life, and occupied remoter positions in the great and unchanged wilderness.

The Ojibwa believes that his soul or shadow, after the death of the body, follows a wide beaten path which leads towards the west, and that it goes to a country where he shall enjoy everything that the Indian covets on earth,—game in abundance, dancing, and rejoicing. The soul enters a long lodge, in which are congregated all his relatives for generations past, who welcome him with gladness. To reach this land of joy and bliss he crosses a deep and rapid water.

In all their principal and oldest traditions and lodge tales, twelve brothers are spoken of: they are the sons of Ge-tub-e, a name nearly similar to Jacob. The

oldest of these brothers is called Mujekewis, and the youngest Wa-jeeg-e-wa-kon-ay, named after his coat of fisher's skins, by means of which he resisted the machinations of evil spirits. He was the beloved of his father and of the Great Spirit, and the wisest and most powerful of his twelve brothers. The tradition also in which originated the Ke-na-big-wusk ("snake-root"), which forms one of the four main branches of the Medawin, reminds us of the brazen serpent of Moses that saved the lives of the unbelieving Israelites. In the Indian tradition the serpent is made to show to man a root which saved the lives of a great town that was being depopulated by pestilence.

Of late years the Ojibwas have been progressing westward, and from their traditions it is evident that they had begun their migration before the white man landed in America. They were probably driven from the east by more powerful tribes, till they made their final stand, nearly three centuries ago, on Lake Superior. They set up their central town on an island in the lake (La Pointe), where they were first seen by the whites, who found them in the attitude of an encroaching and invading tribe, surrounded on all sides by enemies, whom they denominate Nodowaig, or Iroquois, Odugameeg, or Foxes, Aboinug, or Sioux, and Omameeg.

They date with certainty their first acquaintance with the whites nine generations ago, and they agree in stating that for a long time before this Moningwunakaun (La Pointe) had formed their central seat and town. Many of the chiefs and old men believe that here their ancestors have lived since "the world was new." It is only by a study of their varied and numerous traditions that they can be traced as coming from an easterly direction prior to their residence on the island of La Pointe. From these traditions we learn that they once were familiar with the great salt ocean, again that they once lived on a great river, and then on a great lake, where they exterminated a powerful tribe whom they call the Mundua, until at last we find them on Lake Superior.

#### PILLAGERS, OR MUKKUNDWAS.

This term is derived from a verb in the Chippewa language which implies taking openly, by an exercise of self-constituted authority, and as such the tribe rejoice in it. They went out originally from the ancient capital of the Chippewas at Chegoimegon, on Lake Superior. The whole tribe of this name have from early days been progressive towards the northwest. Their language denotes that the race had in early epochs dwelt on the shores of the Atlantic, and their own traditions confirm this view. But what changes of name they had undergone it is impossible to tell, as all the names of tribal divisions of the stock which have reached us seem modern. They are identical with the great Chippewa family.

They were found by the French in their discovery of the country at the central position of the large group of islands which occupy this commanding lake, about La Pointe Chegoimegon, on Lake Superior. This magnificent body of water, with its tributary rivers, affords them an opportunity for the display of their skill in canoe-craft and navigation, in which they have always excelled. The variety of fish in its

waters afforded a reliable resource at all seasons. The surrounding shores were celebrated for their abundance of the beaver and small furred animals, so much valued on the opening of the fur-trade of Canada, and were equally celebrated for the deer, elk, moose, and bear. It was here that the French established their first mission in the upper lakes, under D'Ablon, Marquette, and Marest. Their early traditions of conquest speak of celebrated men called Noka, Bi-ans-wah, and Waub-ojeeg. Under these the martial spirit of the tribe drove the Outagamis and the Sauks from the country at the source of the Ontonagon, Montreal, Wisconsin, and Chippewa; expelled the Sioux, or Naudowessie, from the Upper St. Croix and Rum Rivers, and carried them to Sandy Lake and Leech Lake, at the sources of the Mississippi River. The conquerors fixed themselves first centrally at Sandy Lake, and finally at Leech Lake, the largest of all the tributaries of the Upper Mississippi, and this has continued to be their location. It is this tribe and the Sandy Lake Chippewas that have been the most formidable enemies of the Sioux. These bands have often fought with Spartan valor. Better woodsmen and foresters than their enemies, they have often emerged from their forests in comparatively small parties, impelled by the spirit of hereditary revenge, and defeated their more numerous enemies. Even within recent times such leaders as Pugasainjigun and Hole-in-the-Day lead us to wonder at the effective vindication of their acts.

The principal seats of the Pillagers are at Leech Lake and at Otter-Tail Lake, the latter of which is the eastern source of Red River of Lake Winnipeg. They also have permanent villages at Lake Winnibeegish, and at the ancient Upper Red Cedar, or Cass Lake.

They number about twelve hundred souls, who occupy a country some four hundred miles in circumference, interspersed with innumerable lakes, well supplied with fish of different species. The white-fish and trout equal those of Lake Superior.

Their country has been well adapted to Indians living in the hunter state, but at this day they have nearly exterminated the furred animals, and they are obliged mostly to follow the chase in the hunting-grounds of the Sioux.

Formerly the Pillagers resided altogether at Leech Lake, but within a few years they have made a gradual advance westward. The Sioux have gradually receded westward, and they have followed them closely, taking possession of their deserted villages. An informant states that within a little more than a hundred years they have advanced from the shores of Lake Superior to their present position, a distance of three hundred miles.

The Pillagers, according to the accounts of their old men, separated from the main body of the tribe at the general council-fire on Lake Superior, before the settlement of Canada, and, ascending the St. Louis River, wrested Sandy Lake from the Dakotas, and drove them westward, taking possession of their country around the sources of the Mississippi.

The name by which they are at present known has its origin in the following circumstance, which they themselves relate :

The band, while encamped at the mouth of a small creek known to this day as

Pillage Creek, ten miles above the mouth of Crow-Wing River, were visited by a white trader who had entered the Mississippi and followed it a great distance with a canoe-load of goods to barter with them for furs. He arrived among them sick and unable to trade. His goods having been wetted by a rain, he ordered his men to untie the bales and spread them out to dry. The Indians, being on the point of holding a grand medicine-dance, were eager to trade, as on such occasions they spare no expense for finery. The goods spread out before their eyes were a temptation that they could not resist. A young man began the pillage by tearing off a breech-cloth, remarking at the same time that he had furs to pay the trader. Others followed his example, till it became a general scramble, and the sick man's goods were all taken from him. He left the inhospitable camp the next day, but died on his way down the river, at Sank Rapids.

From Indian accounts, this happened about the time of the first settlement of St. Louis by the French. About this time the fur company of Laclède, Maxan & Co. commenced operations, and it is not improbable that the trader here mentioned was sent up by them. According to another tradition, the goods had come from Canada, by way of Lake Superior, and Berti is given as the name of the unfortunate trader.

The Pillagers are a warlike people, and have always been the advanced bulwark of the Chippewas. Having been in the van, they have been in the very midst of the fire of the enemy, and stood the brunt of the war with the Sioux.

It would be impracticable to mention all their battles, surprises, and massacres during this feud, and only two or three notices of these incidents, of modern date, will be given.

Their late chief, called Gueule Plat by the French, Flat-Mouth, or Esh-ke-bug-e-cosh, distinguished himself in his younger days by heading a war-party of one hundred and sixty warriors who fell on a camp of fifty lodges of Sioux and destroyed all but six men. This happened at the northern end of Long Prairie, where the Winnebago Agency is now located. A severe fight occurred here, also, previous to the above, and during the lifetime of Flat-Mouth's father. Many men were killed on both sides, and the Sioux were driven off the prairie.

A brave warrior by the name of Black Duck, about the year 1800, raised a considerable war-party, and proceeded into the Sioux country about the head-waters of St. Peter's River. All of his party returned but forty tried warriors. With these he proceeded into the very midst of the Sioux country, and, falling on a large village, destroyed many lives, and would have killed all of the inhabitants had not a friendly Assiniboine warned them in their own language that a large village of Sioux was near by, and that the attacked party had sent for the warriors to come to their aid. On hearing this, and finding also that his ammunition was exhausted, Black Duck reluctantly retreated.

The Pillagers had not proceeded far, when, on traversing a wide prairie, clouds of dust from the scene of the massacre told them that their enemy was approaching. At this time, had they separated and each sought to escape, many might have returned home safe, but, preferring to meet death together, they seated themselves on

the prairie and began smoking their pipes, quietly awaiting the enemy. Three hundred mounted Sioux warriors dashed up and surrounded them. The struggle was with knives, tomahawks, and spears. It was short and bloody, only one Chippewa escaping to tell the tale. The loss of so many of their bravest warriors was a blow from which they did not recover for some time.

The great massacre of the Chippewas by the Sioux, in 1837, at Stillwater and Rum River, was caused by two Pillagers killing a Sioux for the sake of his scalp.

It will require time and strong influence to induce the Pillagers to live at peace with the Sioux. Nothing so much hurt Flat-Mouth's influence among his bands as his disposition for peace. In 1846 he signed a treaty of peace with the Sioux at La Pointe, through the importunity of the sub-agent, who gave him a flag and medal. For this act he was obliged to flee his country for his life, and remained away nearly two years. He never regained his former influence, and was afterwards careful to do nothing without the consent of his warriors.

The Pillagers speak the same language in pronunciation and idiom as the Chippewas of Lake Superior and the Mississippi, have the same customs, and in every respect but their name and their predatory habits are the same people. It is to be regretted that they were not included in the first treaties with those bands. At the treaty in 1837 at St. Peter's it was understood among themselves that they would sell as a nation and share alike in the annuities. With this understanding, Flat-Mouth was the first to sign that treaty, but, the matter being left to the Indians, selfishness and cupidity induced the Chippewas of Superior and Mississippi next year to deny the Pillagers a share in the annuity. This circumstance caused a temporary breach between them and their fellow-Chippewas; but a few years' intercourse with the government has led to harmony of interests, and all are now pursuing the same policy of improvement and industrial progress.

Within the remembrance of the old men, beaver were once plenty in the country they now occupy, and it was as easy in those days to trap a beaver as it is now to trap a muskrat. About seventy-five or eighty years ago, the beaver suddenly died; their dead bodies were found floating on lakes and ponds, and only a few living in running water escaped the beaver pestilence. At this day there are none found in the country.

Among the Pillagers all the old men, and many of the old women, are *medawin*, and practise medicine. There are a few, say seven, who are noted medicine-men, having passed through the eight grades of medawe, which makes them high priests, or initiators. They are deemed masters of their religion and medicine. As priests they have no recognized authority in the councils of the tribe. The older chiefs are priests at the same time.

Soon after the death of the great Shawano prophet, brother of Tecumseh, who caused such commotion among nearly all the Western and Northern tribes, a prophet arose among the Chippewas of Lake Superior, whose creed spread like wild-fire among the Pillagers. Flat-Mouth himself, who was more intelligent than the generality of his fellows, believed, and even acted as a messenger for the prophet to the

British Indians. The excitement, however, like that caused by the Shawano, soon died away, and the Indians returned to their old customs.

The Chippewas of Leech Lake, or the Robbers, as they are often called, live much on islands in the lake. Their country is the region of the lake. They have been settled there from time immemorial. If they absent themselves for weeks or months, they always return. In this respect they are not, perhaps, more nomadic than the whites, who travel for months and years about their affairs. The Chippewas and all Indians when they travel take with them their house, their household goods, and their family. But it is only for a limited time; they return to their own country as soon as they can.

#### MICHIGAMIES.

This term was applied by the French to several tribes and bands of Indians of the Algonkin lineage, who clustered around the borders of Lake Michigan. The lake itself takes its name from them, being a compound of two words signifying "great" and "lake." Of these, the once noted Mascotins, or Fire-Indians, have disappeared. Of the several bands of the Illinese, who dwelt around the head of the lake and extended along the banks of the Illinois River, the country has long been destitute of a trace, except in those works of defence of a nomadic and predatory people which are still observed in tumuli, ditches, fortified cliffs, and inaccessible defiles which they were expert to occupy. Such are the picturesque features of the so-called Staved Rock. Mount Joliet, though of artificial construction, possessed those features which would fit it for mound uses, and it was once doubtless occupied in this way. And the antiquary may take a melancholy pleasure in seeking out the site of the once celebrated works of French military occupation, of which Fort Crevecœur was the earliest on that stream. The human bone, the pipe, the stone axe and arrow-head, which are turned up almost every season by the plough, serve to recall the hunter-age of the country, and the history of a people who are exterminated, or have followed their favorite pursuits in regions better adapted to them. Though the Illinese have passed from their ancient haunts, some of their descendants are yet living in the Peorias and the Kaskaskias, west of the Mississippi. The Pous, or Pottawatomies, who once dwelt on the islands at the entrance into Green Bay, and who, being mixed with the Chippewas and Ottawas, once made Chicago the central point of their residence, or of their periodical gatherings, have also joined the colonized tribes west. The Miamis, dwelling on the St. Joseph in the earlier days of La Salle and the missionary fathers, retired to the Wabash so gradually and imperceptibly that history hardly takes any notice of the movement. Several bands of the Ottawas and Chippewas remain.

If the Indian tribes have not much history, they are not deficient in a species of imagination, and where there is little or no tradition they frequently cover the deficiency with a legend or an allegory. These tales do not often agree, as the narrator, having no sure basis of fact, usually attempted to supply by fancy what he could not obtain from memory.

The common opinion of the Chippewas is that the Indian tribes were created by the Great Spirit on the lands which they occupy. There is a discrepancy in the accounts. Some say that the Great Spirit created one man and one woman in the beginning, from whom all the Indians sprung. Others say God made one pair for each distinct tribe, and gave each a different language. The details of the latter legend are as follows. This continent is an immense island, and was once an extended plain. One large tree was created, from the seeds of which, carried by the winds, this plain was in time covered with trees. The first man and woman created were called Shah-wah-no, and were placed in the centre of the island. The family or tribe of the Oshah-wah-noes, or Oshah-wa-nög, still live in the south, and have always been held in the highest respect on account of their wise and peaceful character. The next pair created were named O-buh-ne-go. The exact location in which they were placed is not known. There are said to be bands of the Obunegos now living in Canada, some distance up the river Thames.

The next pair were called O-dah-wah, to whom was given the country their descendants still occupy, viz., the peninsula south of the Straits of Michilimackinac. The next pair were called O-jib-wa, and the country lying north of the Straits of Michilimackinac was given to them. Some of the Ojibwa bands occupy part of the O-dah-wah country south of the straits, given them by the Odahwahs to settle a difficulty which had arisen between the tribes. These bands occupy Grand Traverse Bay. There are tribes of which the Chippewas give no account, and with which they do not acknowledge any relationship, as the O-bwah-nug or Sioux, and the Nah-dah-waig or Iroquois.

Those Indians who hold that all the tribes are descended from one pair, say that God formed the man with red clay, and gave him life, and then formed the woman. He next made all manner of beasts and living animals for the use of the Indian, which would be food for him. The master of life and the Good Spirit saw that the Indian needed assistance in the chase, and the dog was given to him that he might bark and find game. The dog was not created here on earth, but was formed in heaven and sent down to aid the Indian in the chase; the master of life gave him power to scent, and spoke to him, saying, "You will do all that lies in your power to assist and be faithful to the Indian, and he will in return take good care of you, and you will increase and multiply exceedingly, but the Indian will have power to kill you and offer you up as a sacrifice; not that I need a sacrifice, but it will be habitual for him to do so."

Manabozho was called at this time, and directed to give names to all things living, and to trees and herbs, which were created for the use of the Indian. Corn first grew in heaven, and the Good Spirit commanded it to come upon earth, but, being a sentient being, it felt reluctant to do so, and the Good Spirit said to the corn, "Go down upon earth and do good to the Indian, and he will do good to you in return; the Indian will kill game of every description, and season you with all manner of meat; this will afford you an opportunity of eating the same food with the Indian, while you will be beneficial to him:" so corn came down from heaven to benefit the

Indian, and this is the reason why they esteem it, and are bound to take good care of it, and to nurture it, and not raise more than they actually require for their own consumption.

A whole town of the Miamis were severely punished for a disregard of this rule. They raised an immense crop, and hid it under ground, and packed a great quantity for immediate use in bags; but the crop was so great that many ears of corn were left on the stalks, and the Miami young men and boys grew regardless of it, so that they commenced playing with the shelled cobs, throwing them at one another, and finally they broke the ears on the stalks, and played with them in like manner as with the cobs. After this all the Miamis made preparations to quit their village in order to spend the winter where game was in abundance. They loaded their canoes with corn, and moved to their hunting-grounds and encamped. All the men who were capable of pursuing game went out to hunt, as deer seemed to abound. But when they returned in the evening they brought no game, and these hunting excursions were repeated from day to day with the same result.

An old man who had an only son said one evening to him, "My son, I feel hungry for meat and broth; try and get me some." The young man answered, "How can I get meat for you, when all the hunters of our village cannot kill any deer, although it is so abundant?" And, indeed, the elders of every family had begun to fear that they would starve to death, as their supply of meat was now exhausted. On the following day the hunters set out again, and the old man, rising earlier than usual, again requested his son to try to bring him in some meat; in the mean time, he added, he would request some of the men who were going to get corn, to bring in some for them. The young hunter started for the chase in obedience to his father's will. He walked all day, and saw numerous herds of deer, but could not kill any. He became faint, weak, and exhausted. Wandering he knew not whither, he suddenly emerged from the woods, and found himself on the borders of a fine wide stream. At some distance from him he saw smoke issuing from a small lodge, and on reaching it he peeped cautiously through the lodge door, saying within himself, "I will encamp here for the night, as I feel too weak and exhausted to return home; and, besides this, I have no venison to carry home to my aged father, who so anxiously expects some from me." He walked into the lodge, and discovered a very aged man lying on one side of it, with his back turned to the fire. The old man groaned, and, lifting up his head, turned and saw the young hunter. "Oh! my grandfather," ejaculated the young hunter, "I am benighted, faint, weak, and hungry; we, the people of our village, cannot kill any game, although it abounds in the plains and forests. Our people are nigh starving. We have eaten up all our corn, and our elders have sent off their young men this morning to our summer village to bring in supplies which they have hidden under ground."

The decrepit old man, who was a magician in disguise, replied, "My grandson, the Indians have afflicted me much, and reduced me to the condition you now see me in. Look to this side of the lodge and you will find a small kettle; take it, eat, and replenish yourself, and when you have satisfied your hunger I will speak to you."

The guest found the kettle, which was full of fine sweet corn, superior to any he had ever eaten. After his repast the old man again spoke and said, "Your people have wantonly abused me and reduced me to the state you now see me in; my backbone is broken in many places; it is the foolish young men and boys of your town that have done me this evil, for I am the Mondamin, or corn, that came down from heaven. They played and threw corn-cobs and corn-ears at one another, thus thinking lightly and contemptuously of me. This is why you experience bad luck and famine. I am the cause; you feel my just resentment, and thus your people are punished. This is an injury I do not experience from other Indians; those tribes who regard me are well at present. Have you no old men in your town to check their youths in such wanton and malicious sport? You are an eye-witness to my sufferings. This is the result of the cruel sport you have had with my body." The old man groaned and covered himself up.

The young hunter rose early in the morning, and on his return home killed a very large, fat porcupine, and presented it to his father, but did not relate anything concerning his adventure.

The party that was sent for corn, on arriving at the Miami town and opening their corn-repositories, were dismayed to find them all empty. They returned to their temporary homes exhausted and hungry, and they were so reduced that they could scarcely raise their voices to tell the sad tale.

The young visitor to the lodge of the corn-spirit then told his father the adventure he had had, and all that the old broken-backed man had said to him. Indians are very cautious, and do not now play with corn in the ear, and they are careful not to break the ears when gathering it. After the harvest is over, the corn returns to heaven, and the ears that are in good condition come back again the next spring upon earth if the Indian who raised such corn paid proper attention to it. Here ends the tale of Ogimawish, one of the old sages of the village of Grand Traverse Bay.

The Michigamies hold the Shawanoes in the highest respect, as their traditions are given by this band, and as it is believed that they had the original precedence among all the tribes. If any tribe has the right to call general councils, it should be they. They received from Shawnee, about seventy years ago, a message for a great council to be held on the Wabash, and gladly sent delegates to attend it.<sup>1</sup> They call the Obunegos Grandfather, but give no reason why. The Shawanoes are called Eldest Brother; the Odawas, Elder Brother; the Pedadumies, Brother. They say that these terms are descriptive of the relationship in which they have been placed to one another by the Great Spirit.

Each clan or family has a totem, which serves to keep up the line of descents. This is different in principle from the system of guardian spirits. Every individual, male and female, has one of the latter, no matter what the totem may be. Totemis are by descent,—guardian spirits by choice or experience. This experience is chiefly

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<sup>1</sup> This was evidently the call of the great Shawano prophet in 1812.

sought in fasts and dreams, a series of which are undertaken for this purpose at the age of puberty. The fast is undertaken to prepare the body for the dream. These dreams are continued until some beast or bird, or other animate object, appears, which is fixed on as the guardian spirit. It is believed that this spirit leads the man safely through the vicissitudes of life, preserves him in battle, and gives him success in the chase.

With the rest of the Algonkin tribes, they believe in magic, witchcraft, sorcery, and the power and influence of minor monedoes, as well as one great ruling good monedo and one great counteracting bad monedo. Like these tribes, too, they are under the direction of their forest-priests, medas, prophets, and medicine-men; for with them medicine is generally connected with necromancy, incantations, and songs. The ties of consanguinity are apparently upheld with a good deal of strength. Marriage is observed in a manner which is beneficial to the Indian state of society. Polygamy has been for years almost unknown in their villages. Children are loved, and wives, in general, well treated. The greatest evils known have resulted heretofore from intemperance, but this is greatly abated. The tribe has been under teachers since 1839. Schools are kept under the care of efficient instructors, by whom the children are brought forward in the elements of knowledge, civilization, and Christianity. Farming and some of the mechanic arts have been taught. They dress in some measure after the civilized costume, and wear hats and shoes. Their houses are small tenements of logs. They split rails, and put up their own fences. A limited number of the adults are united in the obligations of church-fellowship, under the care of a regular pastor. Temperance, industry, and morals thus go hand in hand, and, notwithstanding some adverse circumstances, their prospects are such as to inspire bright hopes for their advance.

Their present condition is as follows. For the Chippewas of Minnesota three reservations have been set apart,—the White Earth Reserve, containing thirty-six square miles of the best farming-land in Minnesota; the Red Lake Reserve, and the Leech Lake Reserve. The three thousand Indians at White Earth and Red Lake are practically self-supporting; nearly all at White Earth wear citizens' dress, live in houses, send their children to school, and lead a quiet, industrious life. The Red Lake Indians have for many years taken care of themselves, and are slowly and steadily advancing to the degree of civilization which the White Earth Indians were enabled to reach in a few years by liberal appropriations from Congress. The only hope for the Pillagers of Leech Lake lies in their removal to White Earth. A bill to effect this is now pending in the Senate of the United States. It also provides for the removal to White Earth of the Chippewas at White Oak Point, at Mille Lacs, and Snake River, all of whom are from close contact with the whites wretched, poverty-stricken, drunken, debauched, and diseased almost past hope.

The La Pointe Agency, at Bayfield, Wisconsin, opposite La Pointe, includes in its boundaries seven different reservations, four in Wisconsin and three in Minnesota, with a population of three thousand. The Red Cliff bands live in houses, dress

like whites, are prosperous, and in the judgment of their agent should be made citizens. The Red River bands, located in Ashland County, Wisconsin, are next to those of Red Cliff in the scale of civilization. They are gradually giving up their old habits, and their progress is steady and healthy. The Fond du Lac bands, located on a reservation about thirty-five miles from Duluth, St. Louis County, Minnesota, come next. The young people make their living by work in the woods, logging-camps, and saw-mills. The Lac Courte-Oreille bands occupy a reservation of sixty-nine thousand one hundred and thirty-six acres. Two hundred and five allotments of eighty acres each have been made to these Indians. The Grand Portage bands have fifty-one thousand eight hundred and forty acres in Cook County, Minnesota, and are next in rank. As their land is unfit for cultivation, the elder Indians hunt and fish, the young men earning a living by various labors. The Lac de Flambeau bands have sixty-nine thousand eight hundred and twenty-four acres in Lincoln County, Wisconsin, and the Bois Forte bands one hundred and seven thousand five hundred and nine acres one hundred and forty miles northwest of the agency, "out of reach and good for nothing." Few of these Indians live on the reserve: they have scattered over Northern Minnesota and into Canada. Those at Vermillion Lake are the most prosperous. The moral condition of the Indians of this agency has been decidedly improved, according to the latest report of their agent.

The ten thousand Chippewas and Ottawas of Michigan, at the Mackinac agency, are indigenous to the country, have adopted the dress and habits of the white man, and are making gratifying progress in farming, though a large number of the young men are employed in lumber-camps, mills, navigation, and various other industries. The schools are successful, and the Indians are becoming more and more impressed with the importance of education as a means of success in life. They have, with few exceptions, been allotted lands under treaty provisions, for which they have received patents, and are now entitled to all the privileges and benefits of citizens of the United States. The L'Anse band belong with the other bands of Chippewas of Lake Superior. Their reservation, of forty-eight thousand three hundred acres, is in the extreme northern part of the State, bordering on that lake. They depend for subsistence mostly upon hunting and fishing.

#### MASCOTINS.

The traditions of the Ottawas and Chippewas represent their tribes as coming into hostile collision at first, as a nation, with a people who appear to have been their predecessors on the lakes. They encountered them on the inner shores of the island of Portagunasee,<sup>1</sup> and on the narrow peninsula of Point Detour, Lake Huron (the western cape of the entrance into the Straits of St. Mary's), fought and defeated them at three several places, and drove them west. To this primitive people, who

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<sup>1</sup> Latterly known as Drummond Island.

appear to have ruled in the region about Michilimackinac, they gave the name of Mushkodains, or Little Prairie Indians. Chusco, an aged Ottawa jossakeed of Michilimackinac, invariably used the word in its diminutive and plural forms, namely, Mush-ko-dains-ug, that is to say, People of the Little Prairie. He spoke of them as the people whom the Algonkins drove off, and he invariably referred to them when questioned about ancient bones and caves in the region of Michilimackinac. They had magicians for their leaders. Their war-captain escaped, the tradition says, underground, in the battle at Point Detour. They fled on this occasion up the coast to Michilimackinac, and so by degrees along the eastern shores of Lake Michigan, whence traditions follow them as far south as the Washtenong, called Grand River by the French. These Mushkodains are represented by the Ottawas and Chippewas as powerful and subtle and excelling themselves in arts and necromancy. They deposited the human bones, Chusco said, found in caves at Michilimackinac. They are the authors of the trenches filled with human bones on Menissing or Round Island, in Lake Huron. The Ottawas attribute to them the small mounds and the old garden-beds in Grand River Valley and at other places, and, in short, point to them for whatever they cannot explain or account for in the antiquities of the country. Who these Little Prairie or Fire Indians were is uncertain. May not we regard them as the lost Mascotins of the early French writers? Were they not contemporary in the lakes with the Assigunaïgs, or Bone Indians, spoken of by the Western and Lake tribes?

No reasonable doubt can exist on this subject. They are names ever in the foreground of Algonkin history, and these people appear to have fought for the possession of the Lake country. By them the ancient ossuaries were probably constructed, and in Mr. Schoolcraft's judgment they were the nations who worked the ancient copper-mines on Lake Superior. They appear to have passed south by the present sites of Grand River and Chicago.

The similarity of the ground-form of the names for prairie and fire may have led to confusion in the minds of writers. *Mushcoosi* is grass or herbage in general. *Ishkoda* means fire. The only difference in the root-form is that between *ushko* and *ishko*.

Algonkin tradition, as given by the Ottawa chief Ke-wa-goosh-kum in 1821, represents the separation of the Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pottawatomies to have taken place in the vicinity of Michilimackinac. Chusco, the jossakeed above mentioned, who died in 1838, spoke of the Ottawas, with pardonable vanity, as the most valiant tribe in the war against the Prairians or Muskoda men. Ishquagonabi, chief of the Chippewas on Grand Traverse Bay, a man well versed in these traditions, speaks of the war as having been carried on by the Chippewas and Ottawas, and in this manner he accounts for the fact that villages of Chippewas and Ottawas alternate at this day on the eastern shores of Lake Michigan. Ossigunac, an Ottawa chief of note of Penetanguishene, says that the Ottawas went at first to live among the men called the Pottawatomies, about the southern shores or head of Lake Michigan; but the latter used bad medicine, and when complained of for their necromancy

they told the Ottawas they might go back towards the north if they did not like them : they had made a fire for themselves.<sup>1</sup>

The earlier French writers, when acquainted with the Hurons in Upper Canada, mention the Assistaeronons, which in the Huron tongue means Fire-Nation. They were at war with the Ottawas, or Cheveux-relevez, the latter being supported by the Neutral Nation. Sagard represents them as trading over a distance of five hundred leagues, and as dwelling nine or ten days' canoe-journey (about two hundred leagues) beyond the Ottawas. The latter are placed in Manitoulin at that epoch. Champlain, in his map of 1632, seems to place them south of Lake Huron, but this is not clear.

In 1659-60 a nation is mentioned under the name of Ontonagannha, or Fire-Nation, but the former epithet is an Iroquois term for those who did not speak their language. The first European who has recorded a visit to them is Father Claudius Allouez. He found the Mascotins on the Wisconsin River, and in the following year expressly states that they are the tribe formerly called by the Hurons Assistaeronons, or Fire-Nation. Whether Mascotins had the same meaning he does not state. Marquette, the next to visit them, speaks in doubt: "It may mean fire." Dablon subsequently treats this as an error, and gives "prairie" as the meaning of Mascotins. In this he is followed by Charlevoix, and confirmed by Schoolcraft. As to situation, Marquette, in 1673, found them mingled with Miamis and Kickapoos, on the headwaters of Fox River, near the portage. Hennepin places them, in 1680, with the Miamis and Foxes, on Winnebago Lake; though Membré, at the same time, places them with the Foxes on Melleoki (Milwaukee) River, about 43° N.

In 1712, Father Marest writes that a short time before the Mascotins had formed a settlement on the Ohio (Ouabache), but that it had greatly suffered from contagious disorders.

In the same year the upper Mascotins, together with the Kickapoos, joined the Foxes in their plot against the French; but they were surprised by the Ottawas and Pottawatomies, and one hundred and fifty were cut to pieces. They probably suffered still more in the ultimate defeat of that nation.

A few years later, in 1736, a list in the Paris Documents reckons the Wolf and Stag tribes of the Mascotins on Fox River at sixty men, but is silent as to any on the Ohio. In Sir William Johnson's list, 1764, in the same volume of the Documentary History, no allusion is made to them; but Bouquet, in 1764, puts them down at five hundred on Lake Michigan; and Hutchins, in 1768, includes them with other tribes in a pretty high estimate. This is the last mention of the Mascotins of Wisconsin. In June, 1765, Colonel Croghan was attacked near the Wabash by eighty Indians, chiefly Kickapoos and Mascotins.

Under the name of Meadow Indians, we next find the Mascotins mentioned in Colonel Clark's journal. During a council held by that officer at Cahokia, in 1777,

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<sup>1</sup> The word Pottawatomies means makers of fire,—a symbolic phrase by which is meant they who assume separate sovereignty by building a council-fire for themselves.

a party of this tribe attempted to cut him off by treachery, but were foiled, and Clark availed himself of their defeat to acquire a complete mastery over them. The last mention found of this part of the tribe is in 1779, when Dodge estimates the Mascotins on the Wabash, with the Piankeshaws and Vermilions, at eight hundred.

As will be seen, they seldom appear alone, but almost always in connection with their kindred, the Outagamies or Foxes, and the Kickapoos, and like them bear a character for treachery and deceit. The three tribes may in earlier days have formed the Fire-Nation, but, as Gallatin observes in the "*Archæologia Americana*," it is very doubtful whether the Mascotins were ever a distinct tribe. If they were not, the disappearance of the name will not be strange. The Mascotins in Illinois were mixed with the Kickapoos, and at last confounded with them. The latter alone are mentioned in late accounts, and yet seem to be in the same location as the Mascotins.

The upper section were, in all probability, similarly absorbed in the Foxes after the French war on that tribe.

#### SHAWNEES OR SHAWANOES.

This tribe,—the Chaouanons of the French,—a bold, roving, and adventurous body of men, at an early period occupied the Ohio Valley. Driven south by the Iroquois, they shared in the defeat of the Andastes, and about 1672 fled, some to the Lenape, others into the Carolinas and Florida, spreading northward as far as New York. Again encountering the Iroquois, they were driven to Ohio, where they were afterwards joined by the refugees from the Lenape. They joined Pontiac, exhibited the most determined bravery in the severe contest with the Virginians in the battle of Point Pleasant in 1774, fought under the English flag in 1776, and were brought to terms by General Wayne in 1794. They suffered severely during the civil war, their country being devastated by both armies.

At an early day the head of the Kentucky River became a favorite and important point of embarkation for Indians moving in predatory or hunting bands from the south to the north and west. The Shawnees, after their great defeat by the Cherokees, took that route, and this people always considered themselves to have claims to these attractive hunting-grounds, where the deer, the elk, the buffalo, and the bear abounded.

A discontented portion of the Shawnee tribe, from Virginia, broke off from the nation, which removed to the Scioto country, in Ohio, about the year 1730, and formed a town, known by the name of Lulbegrud, in what is now Clark County, about thirty miles east of Lexington, Kentucky. This tribe left this country about 1750, and went to East Tennessee, to the Cherokee Nation. Soon after they returned to Ohio and joined the rest of the nation, after spending a few years on the Ohio River, giving name to Shawnee Town, in the State of Illinois.

In 1832 they were settled on a fine reservation on the south side of the Kansas River, containing twenty-five hundred square miles. After forty years' residence here, they were forced to leave their well-cultivated farms and comfortable residences

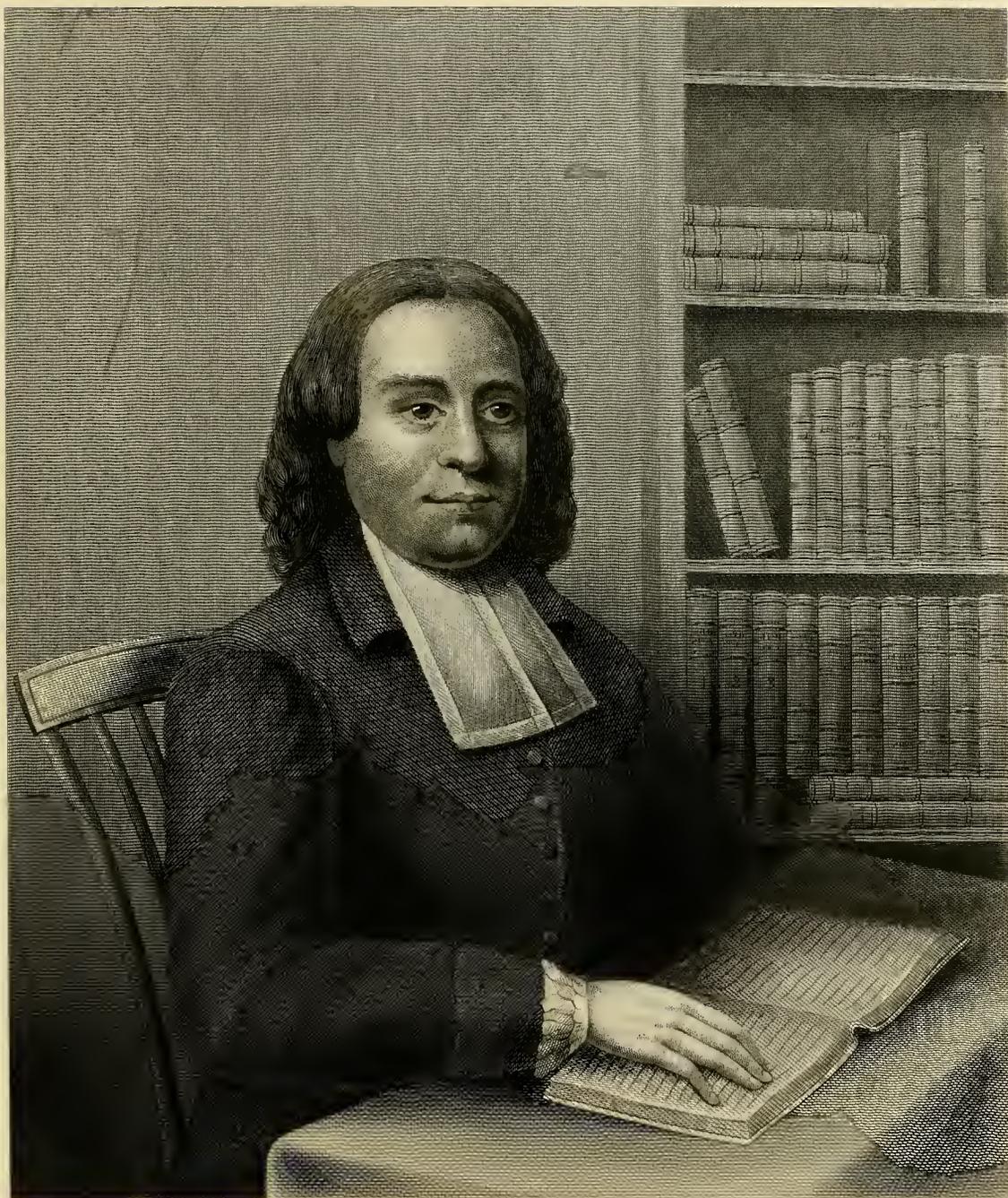
to make a new home for themselves in the Indian Territory. This is at the Quapaw Reservation, in the northeast corner of the Territory, one of the garden-spots of the United States. The Shawnees are orderly and temperate, punctual and honest in their dealings. They are proud of having one of the best manual-labor schools in the country, and their children are being rapidly educated and civilized. The great Tecumseh was a member of this tribe. Logan, whose pathetic speech has been made a classic by Jefferson, was by birth a Shawnee.

The "Absentee" Shawnees, numbering six hundred and sixty, separated about forty years ago from the main tribe, then located in Kansas, and settled in the Indian Territory, on the Pottawatomie Reservation, where they engaged in farming, and have since supported themselves without aid from the government.

#### BROTHERTONS.

This was a tribe which was formed in Western New York on the basis of Mohican emigrants who followed the Rev. Mr. Occum from Connecticut, and were joined by certain Nanticokes, etc. A grant of land was made to them by the Oneidas, who had previously received the Stockbridges from the banks of the Housatonic, in Massachusetts. Occum had visited England, and was instrumental in obtaining the large donations which served to organize Dartmouth College. His little colony was joined by other members of affiliated tribes, who in the end dropped their several dialects and assumed the English language alone. They migrated to Wisconsin after 1820, where they occupy one entire township of fertile land on the east banks of Winnebago Lake, Calumet County. They raise cattle and grain, and exhibit all the essential characteristics of a civilized community.

Rev. Samson Occum, a Mohican, the first pupil who, about the middle of the eighteenth century, attended Mr. Wheelock's school for Indian youth, at Lebanon, received there the rudiments of a good English education. He lived in Mr. Wheelock's family, and was confirmed in the principles of Christianity, which he had before embraced. He was baptized by the name of Samson, agreeably to the quaint taste of the Puritan clergy for names from the Old Testament, as if he were expected to pull down the strongholds of Satan. Evincing steady moral habits and assiduity in his studies and deportment, he was prepared to go out as a teacher and evangelist among his countrymen,—a labor which he first began in Suffolk County, on Long Island, where affiliated bands of this stock resided. He kept a school for the band at Montauk for some years. He was afterwards ordained by the Presbytery to preach the gospel, and became an efficient means of introducing Christianity to the Indian bands located at separate places in New England and New York. He was pronounced to be an excellent preacher in his native tongue, and judged to be peculiarly fitted to teach and edify his Indian brethren, who, when they beheld one of their own number, speaking their own language, and teaching the same truths which they had listened to doubtfully from the white man's lips, were disarmed of their opposition. He also preached to English congregations at New York, Boston,



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and other populous places, where he attracted attention, and he became instrumental in the general conversion of the Indian race.

Occum was the first Indian preacher who ever visited England. This visit occurred in parts of the years 1755–56, when he took passage for London, in company with the Rev. Mr. Whitaker, in order, by personal appeals, to solicit funds for the support of Mr. Wheelock's Indian school. The mission was eminently successful. The spectacle of a Mohican holding forth in a London chapel, with his peculiar physiognomy and manner, created a deep sensation, and he was listened to with the same curiosity in the interior towns. The result was a substantial contribution for Mr. Wheelock's school, and the creation of an interest in England in Western education, which is understood to have been one of the inducements that led to the granting of a royal charter for Dartmouth College, one of the fundamental endowments of which embraces the education of Indian youth.

“Occum was looked upon,” observes the historian Sparks, “as a wonder in England. Wherever he went, crowds gathered around him, and it has been the lot of few speakers to address audiences so large. A North American Indian in a pulpit, eloquently preaching the English tongue, was a phenomenon too nearly miraculous to pass unseen or unheard. It was said, moreover, that he exhibited in his person and character a practical example of what might be done with Indians when fairly brought under the influence of instruction. All this was highly favorable to the great ends of the mission, and in a few months a subscription was obtained and money paid to the amount of nearly ten thousand pounds. The king (George II.) gave two hundred pounds, and several gentlemen one hundred pounds each. The money was deposited in the hands of trustees in England, and drawn out as occasion required. With this addition to his resources, Dr. Wheelock began to think of enlarging the plan of his school, and removing nearer to the frontiers, both to diminish the expense of living and to be near the Indians. After examining several situations, he selected Hanover, then almost a wilderness, to which place he removed in 1770, cut away the trees, and erected the institution, which he called Dartmouth College, in honor of Lord Dartmouth, who had manifested great zeal and liberality in collecting the Indian fund in England.”

About 1786, Mr. Occum went to the country of the Oneidas, in Western New York, taking with him several Indians of kindred blood, who clung to him as their leader. He obtained a cession of fertile land from the Oneida tribe, which became a place of refuge of the Indians, chiefly of the Mohicans of the sea-coasts of New England, and a few Nanticokes, Narragansetts, and Pequots. Differences existing in their dialects, they agreed to drop the native language altogether and adopt the English, taking the name of Brothertons. Mr. Occum was their first pastor, and continued to devote himself to their interests till age incapacitated him, and younger laborers stepped in. During his old age he went to live with the Massachusetts Mohicans, who were settled at New Stockbridge, in the Oneida Creek Valley, where he died in July, 1792. His age, judging from the period of his life at which he probably went on the mission to England, was about sixty-six.

It is expressly stated by the New England clergy, to whom we are indebted for these notices, that his Christian and ministerial character was well approved, and that he was deemed to possess a peculiar fluency and aptness in teaching the Indians, over whom he exercised a happy influence. The foundation of the tribe of the Brothertons is a work due to his enterprise, foresight, and zeal. It is to his education and his knowledge, so far as it went, of English literature, that we must ascribe the wise advice to the Mohican refugees to drop their own and adopt the English language. For it is the result of the most obvious principles that it is easier to acquire a new language which has a literature, than to create a literature (and that by mere translations) for a barbarous language.

The practical working of this new plan of organization for an Indian community whose institutions had melted away before the power of civilization was excellent. The Brothertons continued to dwell together at their first location in Oneida County till they had well advanced in elementary education and the arts. At this period of their history they sent delegates to Wisconsin to procure a cession of territory from the indigenous Indians of Fox River of that State, on the borders of Winnebago Lake. Having disposed of their possessions in Oneida County, they in due time migrated to that location, where they now reside. By an Act of Congress the Brothertons of Wisconsin were admitted to all the rights of citizens of the United States. They were also admitted, by a State act, to the rights of citizens of Wisconsin. The problem of their triple emancipation from barbarism, idleness, and political disfranchisement is thus completely worked out, and worked out in a practical way, in which the experience and wisdom of Occum and his clerical teachers of the olden time had predicted it could only be done.<sup>1</sup>

#### CHEYENNES AND ARAPAHOES.

These tribes, to the number of about six thousand, occupy a large reservation in the western portion of the Indian Territory. While the Northern Cheyennes, under Little Chief, make no concessions to civilization, refusing even to permit their children to attend school, the Southern Cheyennes and the Arapahoes engage in every kind of remunerative labor. The Arapahoes have shown more interest and perseverance in farming than the Cheyennes.

The Arapahoes ("pricked or tattooed people") formerly roved over the central plains between the Platte and Arkansas Rivers. They are a part of the Atsina or Fall Indians, of the Blackfeet stock. They are warlike and predatory. With their friends the Cheyennes and the Sioux, they have continually warred upon the Utes. From time to time they have made raids upon the border white settlements. The Northern bands are on the Shoshone Reservation in Wyoming.

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<sup>1</sup> It is stated that the number of this tribe was two hundred and fifty in 1791; only five years after which it was reduced, probably by epidemic diseases, to one hundred and fifty. They have two churches. Their present population is sixteen hundred and ninety-two.

The Cheyennes were originally on the Cheyenne River, Dakota. Their first treaty with the United States was made at the mouth of the Teton River in 1825. Driven westward by the Dakotas, they were found by early explorers at the eastern base of the Black Hills. Subsequently a portion of them went south and joined the Arapahoes. The Cheyennes are a large, powerful, and athletic race, and are mentally superior to most of the tribes with whom, as with the whites, they have been constantly at war. War and the chase being their favorite pursuits, they make slow progress in civilization.

These two tribes have had a bitter—though by no means among the native race a singular—experience of the bad faith of the United States government. By the treaty of September 17, 1851, an annuity was to be paid them for fifty years, and they were to be “protected” in their new home. Without their consent, the Senate shortened the time to ten years, and, in order to “protect” them, they were removed to a much smaller reservation in Colorado by the treaty of February 18, 1861, at Fort Wise, with a similar guarantee of “quiet and peaceable possession.” No blacker page stains our history than the story of the Sand Creek massacre, which took place November 29, 1864. After the expenditure of thirty millions of dollars in the prosecution of a war which resulted from it, and which, in the language of the Peace Commission of 1867, was “dishonorable to the nation and disgraceful to those who originated it,” a treaty of peace was concluded at the camp on the Little Arkansas, October 14, 1865. The proviso to this treaty that no part of their reservation should be in Kansas, or upon any Indian reserve, was found to exclude them from the promised land, leaving them without a foot of territory. Under these circumstances their young braves commenced depredations on the mail-routes on the plains, and in the summer of 1867 a Cheyenne village of three hundred lodges was burnt by United States soldiers under General Hancock. The treaty of Medicine Lodge Creek, October 28, 1867, deprived them of their old hunting-grounds between the Platte and the Arkansas, and placed them in the Indian Territory. On October 27, 1868, Black Kettle and his entire band were killed by General Custer’s command at Antelope Hills on the Wichita River. A number of chiefs of these tribes visited New York and Boston in June, 1871. A vigorous campaign against the Southern Cheyennes was carried on in 1873–74 by General Miles, terminating in their surrender, March 6, 1874. In 1876 war was renewed with the Sioux and Northern Cheyennes, in the course of which occurred the massacre of General Custer’s entire command, and the destruction of a large Cheyenne village by Colonel Mackenzie, November 25, 1876. A portion of those who escaped surrendered in the following spring, and were sent to the Indian Territory, where, contrary to their wishes, they were placed on the reservation of the Southern Cheyennes, whom they detested. Three hundred of them, under Dull-Knife, escaped northward, but were pursued and captured, and taken back to the Indian Territory. Preferring death to this alternative, in the middle of winter the band fled from the post, and were hunted down and shot like wild beasts. A few women and children who survived were sent to the Dakotas.

## MIAMIS.

The Miamis, a warlike race, formerly numbered eight thousand. They were continually engaged in broils with their neighbors the Iroquois and the Sioux, and also with the French, in which they lost heavily, reducing themselves still further by subsequent wars against the United States, and by quarrels among themselves. Only a few of them now remain, and these are scattered over the Indian Territory and Kansas. In the latter State, in Linn and Miami Counties, they have a reservation of ten thousand two hundred and forty acres, the larger part of which is held in severalty by them. Much trouble has been given them by the aggressions of white settlers upon their lands. They have become greatly demoralized, and their school has been abandoned. They are native to Indiana, where three hundred and forty-five of them are now citizens. Most of the tribe removed to Kansas in 1846, and in twenty-four years were reduced in numbers from five hundred to ninety-two. In 1873 most of their Kansas lands were sold, and the tribe confederated with the Peorias in the Indian Territory.

In the Indian war in the West, which broke out in the early part of Washington's first term, the Miamis were the principal central power. With their confederates, they occupied the valleys of the Wabash and the Miami of the Lakes, and stretched like an impassable line between Lake Erie and the Lower Ohio, forming a complete bar to the settlement of the West. The outrages they committed, in connection with the Shawnees and Delawares, and the threatening aspect they assumed, led eventually to the invasion of their territory, at separate periods, by Colonel Harmar and General St. Clair. The defeat of both of these expeditions, in successive seasons, carried dismay and terror to the exposed frontiers. These defeats were essentially the work of the celebrated chief Little Turtle, a man of extraordinary energy, courage, and foresight. This chain to the advance of settlements was finally broken by the third Federal army, led by General Wayne, who defeated the combined enemy in a general battle at the Rapids of the Maumee, and brought the Indians to terms at the treaty of Greenville in 1795.

From this date, except during the war of 1812, when they again sided with England, the Miamis have remained at peace with the United States, finally realizing from the sale of their fertile lands on the banks of the Wabash ten thousand times as much as their furs could possibly have brought them. After the death of Little Turtle, who had been their counsellor, leader, and war-captain before and after the Revolution, the chieftainship, being in the female line, fell into the hands of Peshkewah, or the Lynx, a man better known on the frontiers as John B. Richardville. Inheriting French blood, of the *métif* caste, from the father's side, he was a man well adapted to conduct the affairs of the Miamis during this peculiar period. Exercising high powers as the governor of a numerous tribe who had a reputation for their warlike qualities, and with a strong feeling of self-interest, he secured the best terms in every negotiation, enriching greatly both his tribe and himself.

According to tradition, Peshkewah was born about 1761, on the St. Mary's River, Indiana, a few miles from Fort Wayne. This was the period of the Pontiac war in that locality, when the Western tribes followed the lead of the energetic and intrepid Algonkin in resisting the transfer of authority from the French to the English power. He was too young for any agency in this war, and the event has no further connection with the man than as it introduced him and his people to a new phase of history. A new era had now opened. France had lost Canada, and Great Britain had assumed the power which she has so long wielded among the Indian tribes. But France had left an influential element which could not be eliminated by a treaty. The French population had extensively intermarried with the Indian females, and the whole line of frontiers was composed almost entirely of this half-breed population. The Indian trade, that lever of power, was in their hands. They almost exclusively were acquainted with the Indian languages, and no negotiation could be accomplished without their aid. Thus England, from the fall of Quebec to the outbreak of the American Revolution, may be said to have worked on the frontiers with French hands. America has also been obliged to employ the same influence among the Indian population up to the present day. It was this condition of things that gave Peshkewah, and all of his class who were similarly situated, such influence on the frontiers.

Within a dozen years of that time the American Revolution broke out, and the colonists found the Western Indians as ready to take up the hatchet against them as they formerly were to fight against the English. In this feeling, common to his tribe as well as to others, Peshkewah naturally participated. Being only nineteen at the close of the Revolutionary War, he could have taken but little part in it. He assisted at Harmar's defeat in 1790.

Circumstances early brought young Peshkewah into notice. His mother being a chieftainess, he became the leading chief. His talents were those of the civilian rather than of the warrior. He was kind and humane to prisoners while the war lasted, and as soon as peace was restored he became a worthy citizen, and enjoyed the confidence of the whites to the fullest extent. He spoke both the French and English languages, as well as his native tongue, and for a long series of years his house, which was eligibly situated on the banks of the St. Mary's, about four miles from Fort Wayne, was known as the abode of hospitality, where friends and strangers alike were received with open hands.

To these generous qualities he united strict honesty, and a capacity for the transaction of business far above the ordinary class of aboriginal chiefs and rulers. In the negotiations with the United States government for the cession of the Miami lands, he was the leading spirit of his tribe, and, as we have already remarked, he invariably secured the best terms. These lands embraced the sources of the Wabash and the Miami of the Lakes, and they are not exceeded in point of fertility and beauty of scenery by any in the Western States.

Peshkewah is believed to have been, at the time of his death, the most wealthy man of the native race in America, the estimate of his property exceeding a million

of dollars. A large part of this was in the best selected lands, reserved out of the original cessions of his tribe, and other real estate. He died on the 13th of August, 1841, aged eighty, within a few miles of the place where he was born.

#### MENOMONIES.

The Menomonies, or Wild-Rice Men, were so named because they subsisted on wild rice, in the Rice Lake region, between Lakes Superior and Winnebago. They are settled on the Peoria Reservation, near the city of Shawano, Wisconsin, especially valuable for its pine forests, but of little value for cultivation. It was secured to them by treaty May 12, 1854, they ceding to the United States their land in the eastern part of the State. The tribe numbers about fifteen hundred, is advancing rapidly in agricultural and industrial pursuits, being largely engaged in lumbering, and takes an interest in the education of its children. The Menomonies joined the French in the war against the Fox Indians in 1712, and against the English up to 1763. In the Revolution and in the war of 1812 they sided with England. They were constantly at war with the Sioux.

#### OTTAWAS.

The Ottawas lived formerly on the northern shore of Lake Michigan. In 1650 they were driven by the Iroquois beyond the Mississippi, only to be forced back by the Dakotas. They then settled at Mackinaw, and allied themselves with the French. They sided with the English in 1776. In 1836 they sold their lands at Grand Traverse Bay and removed to Kansas. They are now a mere handful, residing on the Quapaw Reserve, in the Indian Territory, whence they removed from Franklin County, Kansas, in 1870. They are citizens, are temperate and industrious as a rule, possess good business qualifications, and are desirous of having their land allotted. A large number of Ottawas remain in Michigan with the Chipewas at the Mackinac Agency, and are, like them, well advanced in civilization, lands having been allotted them, and the rights and privileges of citizenship having been accorded them.

#### PAWNEES, QUAPAWS, ETC.

The Indians of the eight small tribes belonging to the Quapaw Agency, in the Indian Territory,—the Senecas, Shawnees, Quapaws, confederated Peorias, Kaskaskias, Piankeshaws, and Weas, and the Ottawas,—wear citizens' dress, are comfortably housed, have ample school facilities, and are virtually civilized. The Pawnees are slow to renounce their former habits, and few have as yet adopted civilized dress or exchanged their tepees for houses. In school matters they are more progressive than in farming: they have one hundred and twenty children in the boarding-school. This tribe, formerly on the Platte River, Nebraska, was engaged in almost constant warfare with the Dakotas. In 1823 their village was burned by the Delawares, and

they soon after suffered severely from smallpox. They removed to the Indian Territory in 1874.

The Kaws still rely on the government rations. The proximity of the Quapaw Reservation to the Kansas border proving highly injurious,—a large proportion of the Indians becoming dissipated and indolent,—they have removed to the agency of the Osages, with whom they have intermarried and properly belong. They number three hundred and ninety-seven, a diminution of one-half in twenty years. In their new locality they have made commendable improvement.

The confederated tribe of Otoes and Missouriias, numbering four hundred and thirty-four, were removed from Iowa and Missouri, and have a reserve of forty-three thousand acres in the valley of the Big Blue River, on the State line between Kansas and Nebraska. Although this is one of the finest tracts for agricultural purposes west of the Missouri River, these Indians have done little towards self-support, and cling to their old customs. Some of them, however, have opened farms and built themselves houses, and a school has been established. Their moral condition is in many respects far in advance of that of other tribes. There are no squaw-men among them, nor are there any known cases of illegitimacy.

The remnant of the Modoc Indians are on the Quapaw Reserve, and are rapidly improving their condition.

The Pottawatomie Reservation, fourteen miles north of Topeka, Kansas, of which the present "Diminished Reserve" of seventy-seven thousand three hundred and fifty-seven acres is a portion, was set apart by treaty in 1846. The soil is rich, and there are many fine farms on the Reserve. Only the Prairie band of Pottawatomies now remain in Kansas, many having removed to the Indian Territory. They have an ample school-fund, and an improvement-fund for the purchase of lumber and agricultural implements. They are honest and industrious, have learned to acquire property, have abandoned tribal relations, and are fast becoming civilized. These Indians were formerly settled on the lower peninsula of Michigan, and were driven into Wisconsin by the Iroquois. They were allies of the French against the Iroquois, and took part in Pontiac's war. They sided with the English in the wars of the Revolution and of 1812. By the terms of the treaty of February 21, 1867, many of the Pottawatomies have become citizens of the United States, and received patents for their lands. Those in the Indian Territory now number three hundred, and are located seventy miles southwest of the Sac and Fox Agency, on the Canadian River. They have on their reservation a day-school and a Catholic mission.

The Peorias, Kaskaskias, Weas, and Piankeshaws, who were confederated in 1854, now number one hundred and forty-six. They occupy a reservation of seventy-two thousand acres adjoining the Quapaw Reservation on the south and west. Under treaties made with these tribes in 1832, they removed to Kansas, whence they removed after the treaty of 1867 to their present reservation. They are generally intelligent, are well advanced in civilization, and are very successful in their agricultural operations.

## KICKAPOOS.

The first treaty with this tribe, then in Illinois, was in 1795. By the terms of the treaty of 1833 they were settled in Kansas. In 1854 they ceded all their Kansas lands to the United States, except one hundred and fifty thousand acres, which were reserved to them for a permanent home. They were in 1862 induced to make another treaty, by which individual homes were given to such as desired them, the adult males, heads of families, receiving patents in fee-simple for their land. A small tract was set apart to be held in common by such as preferred it. This tribe numbers but two hundred and thirty-four. Their reservation of twenty thousand two hundred and thirty-seven acres lies in Brown County, Kansas. It is well watered, and well adapted to agriculture and grazing. They have sixty-four farms enclosed and thoroughly cultivated. They are industrious and progressive, and since 1870 have had a good educational system. They are entirely satisfied with their present homes and with their treatment by the United States. During the rebellion, about one hundred, dissatisfied with the treaty of 1862, went to Mexico. Finding that they had been deceived, they attempted to return to the United States. Only a few succeeded in reaching the Kickapoo Agency. The others still remain in Mexico, whence their raids across the border have been frequent, and have been a sore affliction to the people of Texas.

## SACS AND FOXES.

The Sacs and Foxes of the Mississippi number at the present time four hundred and twenty-one. In 1846 they numbered two thousand four hundred and seventy-eight. They have a reservation of four hundred and eighty-three thousand three hundred and forty acres, adjoining the Creeks on the west, and between the North Fork of the Canadian River and the Red Fork of the Arkansas. They formerly occupied large tracts of country in Wisconsin, Iowa, and Missouri, whence they removed by virtue of treaty stipulations to a reservation in Kansas. By the terms of the treaties of 1859 and 1868, all their Kansas lands were ceded to the United States, and they received in lieu thereof their present reservation. Three hundred and seventeen of these Indians, after their removal to Kansas, returned to Iowa, and are now receiving their share of tribal funds. They bought four hundred and nineteen acres of land in Tama County, part of which they are cultivating. Seven hundred acres have since been purchased for them by government, and are held in trust for them by the Governor of Iowa. They are averse to schools, preferring to instruct their children in their own language, and have made some progress by that system of education.

The Sac and Fox tribe, once famous for prowess in war, are supposed to be as true a type of the native American Indian as there is in existence. Though averse to labor, some of them have fine farms and considerable stock. Most of them retain

the breech-cloth and blanket, and adhere to their old customs. The increased attendance on the manual-labor school shows a growing disposition on their part to pay more attention to education. The Mo-ko-ho-ko band, numbering one hundred and seventy-five, persistently refuse to remove to their reservation, and are now in Osage County, Kansas. A portion of the Sacs and Foxes of Missouri have been removed from Nebraska to the Indian Territory, but the larger part of them still remain on their old reservation.

The refusal of a portion of this tribe to remove from their home in the Rock River Valley to lands assigned them beyond the Mississippi, brought on the Black Hawk war. This hostile rising terminated speedily in their defeat by General Atkinson at the battle of the Bad Axe, August 2, 1832.

## KENISTENOS.

The word "Kenisteno" is derived from the Chippewa verb *nisau*, to kill. The people are an early offshoot of the Algonkin family, the language of which they speak, but with less purity and richness of inflection than the Chippewas. We are informed by Mackenzie that they are spread over a vast extent of country, and that their language is the same as that of the people who inhabit the coast of British America on the Atlantic, with the exception of the Esquimaux, and that it continues along the coast of Labrador and the Gulf and River St. Lawrence, to Montreal. The line then follows the Ottawa River to its source, and continues thence nearly west along the highlands which divide the waters that fall into Lake Superior and Hudson's Bay. It then proceeds till it strikes the middle part of the river Winnipeg, following that water through Lake Winnipeg to the mouth of the Saskatchewan; thence it accompanies the latter to Fort George, when the line, striking by the head of the Beaver River to the Elk River, runs along its banks to its discharge in the Lake of the Hills; from which it may be carried back east to the Isle à la Crosse, and so on to Churchill by the Missinippi. The whole of the tract between this line and Hudson's Bay and Straits (except that of the Esquimaux in the latter) may be said to be exclusively the country of the Kenistenos (or Knisteneaux). Some of them, indeed, have penetrated farther west and south, to the Red River, to the south of Lake Winnipeg, and the south branch of the Saskatchewan.

They are of moderate stature, well proportioned, and of great activity. Examples of deformity are seldom met with. Their complexion is of a copper color, and their hair is black, like that of all the natives of North America. It is cut in various forms, according to the fancy of the several tribes, and by some is left in the long lank flow of nature. They very generally extract their beards, and both sexes manifest a disposition to pluck the hair from every part of their body and limbs. Their eyes are black, keen, and penetrating, their countenances open and agreeable, and it is a principal object of their vanity to give every possible decoration to their persons. A material article in their toilet is vermilion, which they contrast with their native blue, white, and brown earths, to which charcoal is frequently added.

Their dress is at once simple and commodious. It consists of tight leggings, reaching almost to the hip; a strip of cloth or leather, called *assian*, about one foot wide and five feet long, whose ends are drawn inward and hang behind and before over a belt tied round the waist for that purpose; a close vest or shirt reaching down to the former garment, and cinctured with a broad strip of parchment fastened with thongs behind; and a cap for the head, consisting of a piece of fur, or a small skin, with the brush of the animal as a suspended ornament. A kind of robe is thrown occasionally over the whole of the dress, and serves both night and day. These articles, with the addition of shoes and mittens, constitute the variety of their apparel. The materials vary according to the season, and consist of dressed moose-skin, beaver prepared with the fur, or European woollens. The leather is neatly painted, and fancifully worked in some parts with porcupine-quills and moose-deer hair; the shirts and leggings are also adorned with fringe and tassels; nor are the shoes and mittens without their share of appropriate decoration, worked with a considerable degree of skill and taste. These habiliments are put on, however, as fancy or convenience suggests, and they will sometimes proceed to the chase in the severest frost covered only with the slightest of them. Their head-dresses are composed of the feathers of the swan, the eagle, and other birds. The teeth, horns, and claws of different animals are also the occasional ornaments of the head and neck. Their hair, however arranged, is always besmeared with grease. The making of every article of dress is a female occupation, and the women, though by no means inattentive to the decoration of their own persons, appear to have a still greater degree of pride in attending to the appearance of the men, whose faces are painted with more care than those of the women.

The dress of the women is formed of the same materials as that of the other sex, but is of a different make and arrangement. Their shoes are commonly plain, and their leggings gartered beneath the knee. Their coat, or body-covering, falls down to the middle of the leg, and is fastened over the shoulders with cords, a flap or cape turning down about eight inches both before and behind, and agreeably ornamented with quill-work and fringe; the bottom is also fringed, and fancifully painted as high as the knee. As it is very loose, it is enclosed round the waist with a stiff belt, decorated with tassels, and fastened behind. The arms are covered to the wrist with detached sleeves, which are sewed as far as the bend of the arm; thence they are drawn up to the neck, and the corners fall down behind as low as the waist. The cap, when they wear one, consists of a certain quantity of leather or cloth, sewed at one end, by which means it is kept on the head, and, hanging down the back, is fastened to the belt as well as under the chin. The upper garment is a robe like that worn by the men. Their hair is divided on the crown and tied behind, or sometimes fastened in large knots over the ears. They are fond of European articles, and prefer them to their own native commodities. Their ornaments consist of bracelets, rings, and similar articles. Some of the women tattoo three perpendicular lines, which are sometimes double,—one from the centre of the chin to the centre of the under lip, and one parallel on each side to the corner of the mouth.

“Of all the nations which I have seen on this continent,” says Mackenzie, “the Knisteneaux women are the most comely. Their figure is generally well proportioned, and the regularity of their features would be acknowledged by the more civilized people of Europe. Their complexion has less of that dark tinge which is common to savages who have less cleanly habits.”

These people are naturally mild and affable, as well as just in their dealings, not only among themselves, but with strangers. They are also generous and hospitable, and good-natured in the extreme, except when their nature is perverted by the influence of spirituous liquors. To their children they are indulgent to a fault. The father, though he assumes no command over them, is ever anxious to instruct them in all the preparatory qualifications for war and hunting; while the mother is equally attentive to her daughters, teaching them everything that is considered necessary to their character and situation. It does not appear that the husband makes any distinction between the children of his wife, though they may be the offspring of different fathers. The brand of illegitimacy is attached to those only who are born before their mothers have cohabited with any man by the title of husband.

Notwithstanding the assertions of travellers, it appears that chastity is looked upon by them as a virtue, and that fidelity is believed to be essential to the happiness of wedded life; and it sometimes happens that the infidelity of a wife is punished by the husband with the loss of her hair, her nose, or perhaps her life. But a temporary interchange of wives is not uncommon, and the offer of their wives' persons is considered a necessary part of the hospitality due to strangers.

When a man loses his wife, it is considered his duty to marry her sister, if she has one; or he may, if he pleases, have them both at the same time.

When a young man marries, he immediately goes to live with the father and mother of his wife, who treat him, nevertheless, as an entire stranger till after the birth of his first child; he then attaches himself more to them than to his own parents, and his wife no longer gives him any other denomination than that of the father of her child,—*ne nūbaim*.

War and the chase form the chief employment of the men. They also spear fish, but the management of the nets is left to the women. The females of this nation are in the same subordinate state as those of all other savage tribes, but the severity of their labor is much diminished by their situation on the banks of lakes and rivers, where they use canoes. In the winter, when the waters are frozen, they make their journeys, which are never of any great length, with sledges drawn by dogs. The women are at the same time subject to every kind of domestic drudgery; they dress the leather, make the clothes and shoes, weave the nets, collect wood, erect the tents, fetch water, and perform every culinary service; so that when the duties of maternal care are added, it will appear that the life of these women is an uninterrupted succession of toil and pain. This, indeed, is the sense they entertain of their own situation; and under the influence of that sentiment they are sometimes known to destroy their female children to save them from the miseries which they themselves have suffered. They also have a ready way, by the use of certain simples, of pro-

curing abortion, which they sometimes practise from hatred of the father or to save themselves the trouble that children occasion; and it is said that this unnatural act is repeated without any injury to the health of the women who perpetrate it.

The funeral rites begin, like all other solemn ceremonials, with smoking, and are concluded by a feast. The body is dressed in the best habiliments possessed by the deceased or his relations, and is then deposited in a grave lined with branches; some domestic utensils are placed on it, and a kind of canopy is erected over it. During this ceremony great lamentations are made, and if the departed person is very much regretted, the near relations cut off their hair, pierce the fleshy part of their thighs and arms with arrows, knives, etc., and blacken their faces with charcoal. If he has distinguished himself in war, the corpse is usually laid on a kind of scaffolding; and it is said that women, as in the East, have been known to sacrifice themselves to the manes of their husbands. The whole of the property belonging to the departed is destroyed, and the relations take in exchange for the wearing apparel any rags that will cover their nakedness. The feast bestowed on the occasion, which is, or at least used to be, repeated annually, is accompanied with eulogiums on the deceased, and is unattended with any acts of ferocity. On the tomb are carved or painted the symbols or totems of his tribe, which are taken from the different animals, birds, or reptiles of the country.

War is, however, the prime pursuit. Many are the motives which induce savages to engage in it,—as to prove their courage, to avenge the death of relations, or in consequence of some portentous dream. If the tribe feel themselves called upon to go to war, the elders convene the people in order to know the general opinion, and, if it is for war, the chief publishes his intention to smoke in the sacred stem at a certain period. Solemnity, meditation, and fasting are required as preparatory ceremonials. When the period has arrived, the chief enlarges on the causes which have called them together, and the necessity of the measures proposed on the occasion. He then invites those who are willing to follow him to smoke out of the sacred stem, the token of enrolment, and, if it should be the general opinion that assistance is necessary, others are invited, with great formality, to join them. Every individual who attends these meetings brings something with him as a sign of his warlike intention, or as an object of sacrifice: these are suspended from poles near the place of council after the assembly has adjourned.

They have frequent feasts, and particular circumstances never fail to produce them, such as a tedious illness, long fasting, etc. On these occasions it is usual for the person who means to give the entertainment to announce his design of opening the medicine-bag and smoking out of his sacred stem on a certain day. This declaration is considered a sacred vow that cannot be broken. There are also stated periods, such as the spring and autumn, when they engage in very long and solemn ceremonies. On these occasions dogs are offered as sacrifices, and those which are very fat and milk-white are preferred. They also make large offerings of their property, whatever it may be. The scene of these ceremonies is an open enclosure on the bank of a river or lake, and in the most conspicuous situation, in order that such as

are passing along or travelling may be induced to make their offerings. There is also a particular custom among them that on these occasions if any of the tribe, or even a stranger, should be passing by, and be in real want of anything that is displayed as an offering, he has a right to take it, so that he replaces it with some article he can spare, though it be of inferior value. But to take or touch anything *wantonly* is considered a sacrilegious act, and highly insulting to the great Master of Life (to use their own expression), who is the sacred object of their ceremonial devotion.

The scene of private sacrifice is the lodge of the person who performs it, prepared for that purpose by removing everything out of it, and spreading green branches in every part. The fire and ashes are also taken away. A new hearth is made of fresh earth, and another fire is lighted.<sup>1</sup> The owner of the dwelling remains alone in it, and he begins the ceremony by spreading a piece of new cloth, or a well-dressed moose-skin neatly painted, on which he opens his medicine-bag and exposes its various contents. The principal of these is a kind of household god, which is a small carved image about eight inches long. Its first covering is of down, over which a piece of birch bark is closely tied, and the whole is enveloped in several folds of red and blue cloth. This little figure is an object of the most pious veneration. The next article is his war-cap, which is decorated with the feathers and plumes of scarce birds, the fur of beavers, eagles' claws, etc. There is also suspended from it a quill or feather for every enemy whom the owner of it has slain in battle. The remaining contents of the bag are a piece of tobacco, several roots and simples which are in great estimation for their medicinal qualities, and an *opwagun*, or pipe. These articles being all exposed, and the pipe-stem placed upon two forks, as it must not touch the ground, the master of the lodge sends for the person he most esteems, who sits down opposite to him. The pipe is then filled and fixed to the stem. A pair of wooden pincers is provided to put the fire in the pipe, and a double-pointed pin to empty it of the remnant of tobacco which is not consumed. This arrangement being made, the men assemble, and sometimes the women are allowed to be humble spectators, while the most religious awe and solemnity pervade the whole. The Michiniwai, or assistant, takes up the pipe, lights it, and presents it to the officiating person, who receives it standing, and holds it between both his hands. He then turns himself to the east and draws a few whiffs, which he blows to that point. The same ceremony he observes to the other three quarters, with his eyes directed upwards during the whole of it. He holds the stem about the middle, between the three first fingers of both hands, and, raising them upon a line with his forehead, he swings it three times round from the east, with the sun, and, after pointing and balancing it in various directions, he reposes it on the forks.<sup>2</sup> He then makes a speech to explain the design of the meeting, and concludes with an acknowledgment for past mercies, and a prayer for the continuance of them, addressed to the

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<sup>1</sup> This was also done by the Indians in Mexico on receiving the new fire from the Aztec priests.

<sup>2</sup> This ceremony recalls Charlevoix's observations, in 1721, on the priest standing at sunrise in the door of the Temple of the Sun, at Natchez, making his genuflections with the pipe.

Master of Life. He then sits down, and the whole company declare their approbation and thanks by uttering the word *ho!* with an emphatic prolongation of the last letter. The Michiniwai then takes up the pipe and holds it to the mouth of the officiating person, who, after smoking three whiffs out of it, utters a short prayer, and then goes round with it, taking his course from east to west, to every person present, who individually says something to him on the occasion, and thus the pipe is generally smoked out. After turning it three or four times round his head, he drops it downwards, and replaces it in its original situation. He then returns the company thanks for their attendance, and wishes them, as well as the whole tribe, health and long life. These smoking rites precede every matter of great importance, with more or less ceremony, but always with equal solemnity.

If a chief is anxious to know the disposition of his people towards him, or if he wishes to settle any difference between them, he announces his intention of opening his medicine-bag and smoking in his sacred stem; and no man who entertains a grudge against any of the party thus assembled can smoke with the sacred stem, as that ceremony dissipates all differences, and is never violated. No one can avoid attending on these occasions; but a person may attend and be excused from assisting at the ceremonies by acknowledging that he has not undergone the necessary purification. If a contract is entered into and solemnized by the ceremony of smoking, it never fails of being faithfully fulfilled. If a person previous to his going a journey leaves the sacred stem as a pledge of his return, no consideration whatever will prevent him from executing his engagement.<sup>1</sup>

The chief, when he proposes to make a feast, sends quills or small pieces of wood as tokens of invitation to such as he wishes to partake of it. At the appointed time the guests arrive, each bringing a dish or platter and a knife, and take their seats on each side of the chief, who receives them sitting, according to their respective ages. The pipe is then lighted, and he makes an equal division of everything that is provided. While the company are enjoying their meal, the chief sings, and accompanies his song with the tambourine, or shishiquoi, or rattle. The guest who has first eaten his portion is considered as the most distinguished person. If there should be any who cannot finish the whole of their mess, they endeavor to prevail upon some of their friends to eat it for them, who are rewarded for their assistance with ammunition and tobacco. It is proper also to remark that at these feasts a small quantity of meat or drink is sacrificed before they begin to eat, by throwing it into the fire or on the earth.

These feasts differ according to circumstances. Sometimes each man's allowance is no more than he can dispatch in a couple of hours. At other times the quantity is sufficient to supply each of them with food for a week, though it must be devoured in a day. On these occasions it is very difficult to procure substitutes, and the whole must be eaten, whatever time it may require. At some of these entertainments there

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<sup>1</sup> It is, however, to be lamented that of late there is a relaxation of the duties originally attached to these festivals.

is a more rational arrangement, when the guests are allowed to carry home with them the superfluous part of their portions. Great care is always taken that the bones shall be burned, as it would be considered a profanation were the dogs permitted to touch them.

The public feasts are conducted in the same manner, but with some additional ceremony. Several chiefs officiate at them, and procure the necessary provisions, as well as prepare a proper place of reception for the numerous company. Here the guests discourse upon public topics, dilate upon the heroic deeds of their forefathers, and incite the rising generation to follow their example. The entertainment on these occasions consists of dried meats, as it would not be practicable to dress a sufficient quantity of fresh meat for so large an assembly, though the women and children are excluded.

The women, who are forbidden to enter the places sacred to these festivals, dance and sing around them, and sometimes beat time to the music within them, which forms an agreeable contrast.

With respect to the divisions of time, they compute the length of their journeys by the number of nights passed in performing them, and they divide the year by the succession of moons. In this calculation, however, they are not altogether correct, as they cannot account for the odd days. The names which they give to the moons are descriptive of the several seasons. They are, in their order, beginning with the month of May, called the frog moon, the moon when birds begin to lay their eggs, the moon when birds moult, the moon when birds begin to fly, the moon in which the moose casts its horns, the rutting moon, the hoar-frost moon, or ice moon, the whirlwind moon, the cold moon, the big moon, the eagle moon, and the goose moon.

Superstition holds its usual place with the Kenistenos. Among their various beliefs are those of a funereal phantom and the personality of the ignis-fatuus. They believe that the vapor which is seen to hover over moist and swampy places is the spirit of some person lately dead. They also fancy another spirit, which appears in the shape of a man upon the trees near the lodge of a person deceased whose property has not been interred with him. He is represented as bearing a gun in his hand, and it is believed that he does not return to his rest till the property that has been withheld from the grave has been sacrificed to the dead. If philosophy cannot protect the common masses in civilized life from similar fancies, we should not regard it as strange that the Indian tribes yield to such impressions.

#### APPALACHIANS.—THE FIVE CIVILIZED TRIBES.

The five civilized tribes of the Indian Territory—the Creeks, Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Seminoles—differ from all others in the fact that they have acquired a good degree of social culture, each has executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government constructed on the same plan as obtains in the States, and each tribal government has exclusive jurisdiction over its own territory in case all the inhabitants are citizens of the nation. The executive in each of these tribes

consists of a principal chief and an assistant. The former receives eight hundred dollars per annum, the latter six hundred dollars. The legislature consists of a senate and a council, which meet annually in November and hold sessions of thirty days. The judiciary consists of a supreme court of three judges, elected for terms of three years, one being chosen each year, three circuit judges, nine district judges, a prosecuting attorney or solicitor, and a sheriff for each district. The chiefs, members of both houses, circuit and district judges, and sheriffs, are elected by the people,—the chiefs for four years, members of senate and council for two years, circuit judges for four years, sheriffs and county judges for two years. The treasurer of each nation receives five hundred dollars per annum, and is elected for four years by joint vote of the senate and council. As there is no court with jurisdiction to try cases where an Indian is one party and a citizen of the United States or a corporation is the other, the agent is compelled to act as arbitrator. Each party agrees to abide by his decision, subject to appeal to the Indian Commissioner in cases involving large amounts.

As farmers these people compare favorably with the whites. They recovered slowly from the effects of the war of 1861–65, but they are now in a position, if not disturbed, to become a strong and wealthy people. Their only fear is that the United States will forget their national obligations and in some way deprive them of their lands. They are willing that the wild Indians from the plains shall be settled on their unoccupied lands, but they emphatically object to the settlement among them of the wild white men from the States. It is estimated that there are six thousand citizens of the United States living within the limits of the Union Agency who have no right there whatever.

Crime is no more frequent than in the adjoining States, and convictions by local authority are about as sure. Nine-tenths of the crime in the Territory is caused by whisky, which is introduced from the adjoining States.

The Methodist, Presbyterian, and Baptist denominations have missionaries here, some of whom have labored among the Indians for many years. Their influence has been very great. Many of the ordained ministers are Indians, and Sunday is well observed. The tribes have had half a century of missionary instruction, and a large number of them are members of the churches. The school system is that of the States. English is taught exclusively. Many of the children of the wealthy are sent East for education. There are also private schools with good attendance. There are several newspapers,—one printed at Tahlequah in the Cherokee tongue, and one at Caddo in the Creek or Choctaw language. Tahlequah is the capital of the Cherokee country. Caddo is the largest settlement in the Choctaw Nation. Muskogee, in the Creek country, and Tishomingo, in the Chickasaw country, are settlements of moderate size.

The Indian Territory is an extensive district, bounded north by Kansas, east by Missouri and Arkansas, south by Texas, and west by the one-hundredth meridian. It was designated by the Peace Commissioners in 1867 as one of two territories (the other being in the main the present Territory of Dakota) upon which might be concentrated the great body of all the Indians east of the Rocky Mountains.

## CHEROKEES.

The Cherokees originally inhabited Southwestern Virginia and South Carolina. They befriended Oglethorpe during his stay in Georgia, but kept up a constant warfare with his successors in authority until 1763. They took part with the British against the colonists in the Revolutionary War, in which they were severely punished and much reduced in number. Their first treaty with the United States dates from 1785. It secured to them extensive tracts lying within the limits of the present States of Georgia, Alabama, North Carolina, and Tennessee, guaranteed them protection, and accepted their allegiance to our government. This and several subsequent treaties were disregarded and disgracefully violated by the white settlers around them. The treaty recognizing the rights of that portion of the tribe which in 1809 had settled on the Arkansas River was made in 1817, and foreshadowed the policy of the removal of the others then east of the Mississippi. The Western Cherokees in 1828 exchanged the country about Dardanelle, Arkansas, for that which they now occupy west of that State.

The Eastern Cherokees early experienced the oppressive power of their white neighbors. From the beginning of the century they had been steadily advancing in civilization: they had begun the manufacture of cotton cloth in 1800, and soon all understood the use of the card and spinning-wheel; every family had its cultivated farm; the territory was districted, with a council-house, a judge, and a marshal in each district; a National Committee and Council had supreme authority in the nation; schools and printing-presses were flourishing; a system of jurisprudence was being perfected; and missions had been established, many Indians having professed Christianity. Before they were sufficiently civilized to cope with the whites, they were overrun. The State of Georgia distributed their lands by lot to the white citizens in 1835, and their houses, farms, etc., were at once taken possession of. The home of the late John Ross, for many years the able and honored chief of this nation, was thus appropriated, and on his return from a mission in behalf of his people he found himself a tolerated intruder in his own house and his own bed. In 1835 the treaty removing the tribe to the west of the Mississippi passed the United States Senate by one majority, in defiance of the remonstrances of a majority of the tribe, and the Cherokees were removed at the point of the bayonet by General Scott to their present location. The decisions of the Supreme Court were in favor of the Indians, but were disregarded by President Jackson.

Fierce dissensions rent the Cherokees for some years after this removal. A large party inimical to it bitterly hated those who, as they claimed, had wrongfully signed away the nation's lands. Several of these—influential men—were murdered. To such an extent was the feud carried that the United States was compelled to interfere, and in 1846, after long dissensions, a new treaty was made, which restored comparative harmony to the nation.

The Cherokees have had a written form of constitution, laws, etc., since 1828.

During the rebellion they suffered greatly, the tribe being fiercely divided, two regiments faithfully standing by the Union, and one going with the South. In no part of the country was the war waged with greater destruction of property or loss of life. Nearly one-fourth of the people died, either from wounds received in battle, or—as in the case of the women and children, large numbers of whom perished—from starvation. Terrible as was the war, it was in one respect a benefit to the Cherokees: it killed the old factions, and broke down the partition-wall of prejudice between the half-breeds and the full-bloods.

This nation is the largest in numbers and the most advanced in civilization of the "Five Civilized Tribes." About one-third of the tribe are of full blood and speak the native language; the remainder are of more or less mixed white and Indian blood, except about two thousand negroes, descendants of the slaves whom the Cherokees owned in Georgia. These negroes are on terms of equality with the Cherokees, except that they do not intermarry with them.

The Cherokees support themselves by agriculture and stock-raising. They own seven thousand eight hundred and sixty-one square miles, or five million thirty thousand three hundred and fifty-one acres, in the northeast corner of the Indian Territory. Three-fifths of this area is rocky and suitable only for timber or pasturage. According to the census of 1880, they number nineteen thousand seven hundred and twenty. These figures show an increase of about the same ratio as that of the States. The nation in 1881 expended sixty thousand eight hundred and three dollars for educational purposes. The public school system is good. The teachers are paid and books furnished from the school-fund of the nation. There are two large seminary buildings, also an orphan asylum. The inmates of the asylum, numbering one hundred and twenty, are clothed, fed, and educated by the nation from a fund set apart for that purpose. Their schools are taught in English, and a newspaper, ably edited by W. P. Boudinot, a Cherokee, is published weekly in the English and Cherokee languages. They have one hundred and nine schools and sixty-one churches, with native teachers and pastors.

In North and South Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee there are two thousand two hundred Cherokees, representing those averse to removal, and who elected to remain under the provisions contained in the twelfth article of the treaty of 1835. The government has no agent residing with these Indians. Their condition is represented to be deplorable. They were prosperous before the late rebellion, but suffered much during the war, and are now, from this and other causes, greatly impoverished.

#### CREEKS, OR MUSKOKIS.

The Creeks own five thousand and twenty-four square miles, or three million two hundred and fifteen thousand four hundred and ninety-five acres, in the central portion of the Indian Territory, and number fifteen thousand. In 1880 they spent twenty-eight thousand three hundred and fifty-six dollars for educational purposes. Besides their thirty-four public schools, they have two high schools. Tallahassee

Manual Labor School, under the care of the Presbyterian Board, with ninety-two students, and Asbury Manual Labor School, Methodist, with eighty-six students, are successful institutions. The sum of five thousand dollars has been appropriated by the council towards building a new mission school under the care of the Southern Baptists, and one of three thousand dollars towards the erection of a seminary for the freedmen of the nation. Though generally less advanced than the Cherokees, Choctaws, and Chickasaws, they are making rapid progress.

The following traditions of the origin, early history, and customs of the Creeks, or Muskokis, are from the lips of Se-ko-pe-chi (Perseverance), one of the oldest Creeks living in 1847 in their new location west of the Mississippi.

There is a general reluctance on the part of the Creeks to enter upon subjects of this character, owing in a measure to their superstitious notions, and more, perhaps, to their innate disposition to secrecy.

The admission of an inter-tribal rank in ancient days inferior to the ancient Lenni Lenape, and their concurrence in the general title of Grandfather, ascribed by the North Atlantic tribes to that important branch of the Algonkin stock, denote that their nationality is of more recent origin than had been supposed, and adds another proof to the many we have had before of the limited character of the Indian traditions, and the recent date of all their known tribal relations.

There is nothing in these reminiscences of Se-ko-pe-chi which can be employed to sustain an opinion that the Muskokis are in any wise to be deemed as having founded their nationality on pre-existing tribes of any known historical era who were semi-civilized.

The advance of the masses in this tribe in late years has not kept pace with that of the families of their chieftains. The authority of the latter, founded on ancient distinctions and on inheritance, appears to commend itself very generally to the respect and adherence of the common people.

The origin of the Alabama Indians, as handed down by oral tradition, is that they sprang out of the ground between the Cahawba and Alabama Rivers.

The Muskokis formerly called themselves Alabamians, but other tribes called them Oke-choy-atte (*life*). The earliest migration recollected, as handed down by oral tradition, is that they emigrated from the Cahawba and Alabama Rivers to the junction of the Tuscaloosa and Coosa Rivers. At the point formed by the junction of the Tuscaloosa and Coosa the tribe sojourned for the space of two years, after which their location was at the junction of the Coosa and Alabama Rivers, on the west side of what was subsequently the site of Fort Jackson. It is supposed that at this time they numbered fifty effective men. They claimed the country from Fort Jackson to New Orleans for their hunting-grounds. They are of the opinion that the Great Spirit brought them from the ground, and that they are the rightful owners of this soil. They first became acquainted with the use of fire-arms, clothing, etc., through the Spaniards. Ardent spirits have been in use among them beyond the recollection of the oldest citizens. Their first places of trade with the whites were Mobile and New Orleans. They believe that domestic animals were

introduced by the whites. They have no knowledge of their old lands having been occupied before them by the whites, or by a more civilized people than themselves, but they do believe that they were originally occupied by a people of whom they have no definite knowledge.

The only name they have for America is "the land of the red people." They have no oral tradition of any other name for it. In the reminiscences of their former condition they state that they enjoyed a greater degree of peace before the discovery of the continent by the whites than they did afterwards. They had no treaties, no alliances or leagues, previous to the discovery. They erected breastworks of a circular shape for the protection of their families. They pride themselves most upon killing their enemies, and memorialize these events by hieroglyphics and by various personal decorations. Their greatest source of grief was the death of a son, brother, father, or mother. They claim to have conquered a people who wended their way south, and assert that they themselves had never been conquered until their conflicts with the whites.

The present rulers of the nation consist of a first and a second chief, who, in connection with the town chiefs, administer the affairs of the nation in general council. Their principal chief, General Roly McIntosh, was of Scotch descent, and the second chief, Benjamin Marshall, was of Irish extraction. Both were friends of the white man. The former fought under General Andrew Jackson against the hostile Indians. The tribe at present is in a very prosperous condition, and rapidly increasing. The Creeks first commenced migrating to their new country west of the Mississippi in parties in 1828, between which period and 1837 the principal part of the migration took place. The causes which led to their removal to their present location were a treaty with the United States and an unwillingness to fall under the State laws of Georgia and Alabama. This feeling still exists among them. They have doubts about their being prepared to take part in deliberative assemblies.

The Southwestern tribes occupy different stages in civilization, some being almost wholly civilized, others partly so; others, again, retaining the wandering habits of their forefathers, may with propriety be termed hunter-tribes. All the Southwestern tribes speak different languages, except perhaps the Choctaws and Chickasaws and the Creeks and Seminoles, tribes whose languages have a strong affinity to one another, that of the Choctaws having a likeness to the Chickasaw tongue, while the Creek language resembles that of the Seminoles. The different tribes do not understand one another. There is no common interest among the people; for what would be to the advantage of the hunters would only induce the agriculturists to idle away their time and neglect their farms. Nor is there any commercial intercourse worth speaking of among them: in fact, there is little intercourse of any kind, if we except the traffic in stolen horses. Their opinions and customs in many respects are different: that which is regarded as a virtue by the civilized Indians is considered as a weakness by the hunters, and actions which are viewed as manly and heroic by the wandering tribes are looked upon as vices when practised among the semi-civilized.

The Muskokis speak six different dialects,—viz., Mus-ko-ki, Hitch-i-tee, Nau-chee, Eu-chee, Alabama, and Aquas-saw-tee. The Creeks, although speaking these different dialects, understand generally the received language of the nation, which is the Muskoki or Creek language, and consequently the business with the government requires but one interpreter.

The relationship which this tribe bears to the other tribes is that of Grandchild to the Delawares and Senecas. Their traditions assign them a medium position in the political scale of the tribes. Whether this relationship is sanctioned by the tradition of all other tribes is not known, but by some it is. Discordant pretensions to original rank and affinities of blood have never been set up among the Muskokis. They have no method by which blood affinities can be settled in cases of difficulty. The kindredship of the tribe is denoted by terms taken from the vocabulary of the family ties. The clans are made up of families, each clan adopting its own peculiar badge, such as crocodile, bear, bird, etc. It is supposed that these badges denote rank or relationship.

Major Caleb Swan, in his report to the Secretary of War in 1791, gave the following account of the origin, history, and customs of the Muskoki or Creek Indians, and the Seminoles :

“Tradition handed down from one generation to another has established a general belief among them (which may be true) that a long time ago some strange, wandering clans of Indians from the northwest found their way down to the present country of the Seminoles ; there, meeting with plenty of game, they settled themselves in the vicinity of the then powerful tribes of the Florida and Appalachian Indians ; and for some time they remained on a friendly footing with each other. The new-comers were styled Seminoles, signifying wanderers, or lost men.

“These wanderers from the north increased in numbers, and at length became so powerful a body as to excite the jealousy of their Appalachian neighbors. Wars ensued, and finally the Seminoles became masters of the country. The remnants of the Appalachians were totally destroyed by the Creeks in 1719.

“In process of time the game of the country was found insufficient to support their increasing numbers. Some clans and families emigrated northward, and took possession of the present district of the Cowetas : having established themselves there, other emigrations followed, and in time spread themselves eastward as far as the Ocmulgee River, and other waters of Georgia and South Carolina, and westward as far as the Tallapoosa and Coosa Rivers, which are the main branches of the Alabama. Here they were encountered by the Alabama nation, whom they afterwards conquered, and, by restoring to them their lands and river, gained their attachment, and they were incorporated with the Creek nation. The Creeks became famous for their abilities and warlike powers, and, being possessed of a well-watered country, were distinguished from their ancestors (the Seminoles of the low barren country) by the name of Creeks or Muscogies. The kind soil, pure water and air of their country being favorable to their constitutions as warriors, have perhaps contributed to give them a character superior to most of the nations that surround them.

“Their numbers have increased faster by the acquisition of foreign subjects than by the increase of the original stock. It appears long to have been a maxim of their policy to give equal liberty and protection to tribes conquered by themselves, as well as to those vanquished by others, although many individuals taken in war are slaves among them, and their children are called ‘of the slave race,’ and cannot arrive to much honorary distinction in the country on that account.

“The Alabamas and Coosades are said to be the first who adopted the ceremonies and customs of the Creeks and became part of the nation. The Natchez, or Sunset Indians, from the Mississippi, joined the Creeks about fifty years since, after being driven out of Louisiana, and added considerably to their confederative body. And now the Shawanese, called by them Sawanes, are joining them in large numbers every year, having already four towns on the Tallapoosa River that contain near three hundred war men, and more are soon expected.

“Soon after the settlement of South Carolina an intercourse and trade took place from Fort Moor, in that province, between the white people and the lower Creeks, which appears to have been the first communication they had with British subjects; before this they traded altogether with the French of Louisiana and the people of Pensacola and St. Mark’s. The upper Creeks continued to send all their skins to the French of Mobile for many years after the trade of the lower Creeks had been drawn into South Carolina.

“In 1732, when the colony of Georgia was founded by General Oglethorpe, he called eight tribes of the lower Creeks to a treaty in Savannah. He states the number of warriors in these tribes then to have been thirteen hundred. By the kind treatment and good management of Governor Oglethorpe, they soon became strongly attached to the British interest.

“The French of Louisiana, jealous of this step, immediately sent troops and agents among the upper Creeks, and erected a fort at Little Tallassie of fourteen guns. By establishing a post in the midst of them, they found means to attach them to the French people,—the Choctaws being before in their interest, as well as the Chickasaws and lower Cherokees. In 1739, General Oglethorpe called his allies (the lower Creeks) to a conference at the Cowetas, and attended in person. He renewed the former treaties, and confirmed them in their attachment to the British government. At this conference deputies attended from the Oakfusgies, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Cherokees. The Cherokees and Creeks afterwards joined the British in an expedition against the Spaniards at St. Augustine in the year 1742.

“It appears that after 1732 the affections of the upper and lower Creeks were divided between the French and English until the peace of 1763, when the Floridas were ceded to the English, and the French fort, ‘Allabamous,’ at Little Tallassie, was then abandoned. The British kept up a captain’s command at this fort for some years after the peace of 1763, but at that time, possessing all the country eastward and southward, to which the Indians were obliged to come to trade, the British withdrew their troops, and sent numbers of agents and commissaries among them, by which means they effectually attached them to the ‘great king over the water.’ By

pursuing the same policy with the Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Cherokees, they monopolized all the trade of these four great nations until the American Revolution; and indeed during the war of 1812-15, just as it had been ever since the peace of 1783, their trade was beneficial only to British subjects.

“Their strong prejudices in favor of the English nation are carefully kept alive by Tories and renegades of every sort, who are constantly among them; and their hatred of the Spaniards is equally evident and implacable.

“Their ruling passion seems to be war, and their mode of conducting it constitutes some part of their general government. And next they are devoted to hunting.

“Their beloved great man, Alexander McGillivray, who left Georgia in disgust about the year 1776 and attached himself to the upper Creeks, among whom he was born, by the advice of his father immediately set about placing himself at the head of the nation. His kindred and family connection in the country and his evident abilities soon gave him such influence among them that the British made him their commissary, with the rank and pay of lieutenant-colonel, under Colonel Brown, then superintendent.

“After the English had abandoned the nation, in 1782, this man found it necessary, in order to carry on the war with success against the Georgians, to undertake a reform in the policy of the nation, which had for a long time been divided by faction.

“He effected a total revolution in one of their most ancient customs by placing the warriors in all cases over the micos, or kings, who, though not active as warriors, were always considered as important counsellors. The micos resisted this measure for some time, and the struggle became at last so serious that the chief had one Sullivan and two others, partisans of the micos, put to death in the public squares. They were all three white men who had undertaken to lead the faction against him, but he finally crushed the insurgents and effected his purposes.

“The spirit of opposition still remained against him in the old Tallassie king, Opilth Mico, who, with his clan, pronounced McGillivray a boy and a usurper, taking steps that must be derogatory to his family and injurious to his influence; and under these circumstances he undertook to treat separately with the Georgians. The consequences were that his houses were burnt in his absence, and his corn and cattle destroyed. Notwithstanding, he remained refractory for a long time, as well as some of the most important people of the lower towns, until, finding the Georgians were hostile to them indiscriminately, and that a Mr. Alexander had killed twelve of their real friends (the Cussitahs), they dropped their internal disputes and united all their efforts, under the great chief, against the frontier settlers.

“There is but one institution in the nation that resembles civilization. It was introduced by McGillivray, and, although sometimes observed, is oftener dispensed with.

“If an Indian steals a horse, he is obliged by this law to return him, or another of equal value, and pay a fine of thirty chinks, or fifteen dollars; if he is unable to

do so, he may be tied and whipped thirty lashes by the injured party. But, as in other cases, the infliction of punishment depends at last on the superior force of the injured party.

“When the inhabitants of any particular town are notorious for horse-stealing, or have acted otherwise unadvisedly, the chief has the entire power of punishing them collectively by removing the white man from among them and depriving them of trade. This at once humbles them most effectually.

“Scarcely a day passes but complaints or accusations of some kind or other are laid before Mr. McGillivray by some Indian or white trader. His uniform method of proceeding is cautiously to hear the evidence of the parties, and never to decide on the case. By putting off the trial from one time to another, the parties at length forget their resentments, and often compromise the quarrel between themselves. It is good policy in the chief not to give decisions in the disputes of his people, for all his systems would not defend him against the effects of the resentment of the party against whom he might in justice be obliged to give an opinion. It is a maxim of his policy to give protection to outlaws, debtors, thieves, and murderers from all parts of the country, who have in consequence fled in great numbers from the hands of justice and found an asylum in the Creek nation. The whites living among the Indians (with very few exceptions) are the most abandoned wretches that can be found, perhaps, on this side of Botany Bay; there is scarcely a crime but some one of them has been guilty of. Most of the traders and all their hirelings and pack-horse-men are of the above description.”

The Creek war of 1812–14, successfully terminated by General Andrew Jackson, dealt a terrible blow to the prosperity of this tribe. Thousands of their warriors were slain, the greater part of their towns were destroyed, and the Creek nation, formerly so arrogant, was effectually humbled.

#### CHOCTAWS.

The Choctaws own ten thousand four hundred and fifty square miles, or six million six hundred and eighty-eight thousand acres, in the southeast corner of the Indian Territory. They number nearly sixteen thousand. In 1880 they paid thirty-one thousand seven hundred dollars for educational purposes, besides four thousand two hundred dollars for the education of students sent to colleges in the States. They have fifty-nine common schools and two seminaries,—“New Hope,” with fifty-one girls, and “Spencer Academy,” with sixty male students. The schools are in a flourishing condition.

Among the Choctaws there are three thousand negroes, descendants of their former slaves, whom the government in 1866 stipulated to remove and provide for. It has done neither, and the blacks are almost wholly destitute of school privileges. The tribe made its first treaty with the United States January 3, 1786, and its first cession of lands in 1802. In 1820 it expended ninety-six thousand dollars for schools, provided for the deaf and dumb, and appropriated fifty-four sections of land to be

sold for educational purposes. It had a code of written laws in 1826, and the first law passed by the Choctaw nation after it crossed the Mississippi was a liquor law similar to that long afterwards known as the "Maine Liquor Law." The Choctaws and Chickasaws originally inhabited the territory now embraced within the State of Mississippi.

## CHICKASAWS.

The Chickasaws are a progressive people, and have many wealthy citizens. They own seven thousand two hundred and sixty-seven square miles, or four million six hundred and fifty thousand nine hundred and eighty-five acres, adjoining the Choctaws on the west, and they number about six thousand. The nation expends fifty-eight thousand dollars a year for educational purposes, and in proportion to its numbers has more seminaries and more students in attendance than any other of the five civilized tribes. The Chickasaw Male Academy, the Bloomfield Female Seminary, the Wa-pa-mucka school, and the Orphan School are well managed and successful. The same trouble exists among the Chickasaws in regard to the status of the negro as among the Choctaws. There are a large number of white intruders upon their lands.

This tribe first entered into treaty with the United States January 10, 1786. They first ceded their lands in Mississippi in 1805, completed the cession at Pontotoc in 1832, and united in government with the Choctaws, who speak the same language and with whom they are intermixed, in 1837. The funds of the Chickasaws in the hands of the government, for lands ceded, are ample for the purposes of educating every member of the tribe, and of making the most liberal provision for their advancement in agriculture and the arts.

The Chickasaws say they originally came from the West, and that a part of their tribe remained there. When about to start eastward, they were provided with a large dog as a guard and a pole as guide. The dog would give them notice whenever an enemy was near at hand, and thus enable them to make their arrangements to receive the foe. The pole they would plant in the ground every night, and the next morning they would look at it, and go in the direction in which it leaned. They continued their journey in this way until they crossed the great Mississippi River. On the waters of the Alabama River, they arrived in the country about where Huntsville, Alabama, now is. There the pole was unsettled for several days, but finally it settled, and pointed in a southwest direction. They then started on that course, planting the pole every night, until they got to what is called the Chickasaw Old Fields, where the pole stood perfectly erect. All the people then came to the conclusion that this was the Promised Land, and there they accordingly remained until they emigrated to the lands west of the State of Arkansas, in 1837 and 1838.

While the pole was in an unsettled situation, a part of the tribe moved on east, and became mixed with the Creek Indians, but as soon as the majority of the tribe settled at the Old Fields they sent for this party, who answered that they were very tired, and would rest awhile where they were. This clan was called Cush-eh-tah.

They never joined the parent tribe, but they always remained friendly to it until they came in contact with the whites; then they became a separate nation.

In their tradition of travelling from the West to the East the Chickasaws have no recollection of crossing any large water-course except the Mississippi River. When they were travelling from the West to the Promised Land in the East they had enemies on all sides, and had to fight their way through, but they cannot give the names of the people they fought with while travelling.

They were informed when they left the West that they might look for whites; that the white men would come from the East; and the red men were to be on their guard, and to avoid the whites, lest the latter should bring all manner of vice among them.

They say that they believe in a Great Spirit, and that they were created by him; but they do not believe in any punishment after death; they believe that the spirit will leave the body as soon as they die, and that it will assume the shape of the body, and move about among the Chickasaws in great joy. When one of the Chickasaws dies, they put his finest clothing on him, with all his jewelry, beads, etc.; this, they say, is to give the dead a good appearance. The sick are frequently thus dressed before they die. They believe that the spirits of all the Chickasaws will go back to Mississippi, and join the spirits of those that have died there, and then all the spirits will return to the West before the world is destroyed by fire. They say that the world was once destroyed by water; that the water covered all the earth; that some made rafts to save themselves, but something like large white beavers would cut the strings of the rafts and drown the people. One family was saved, and two of every kind of animal. They believe that when the world is to be destroyed by fire it will rain down blood and oil.

When they are sick they send for a doctor, for they have several doctors among them. After looking at the sick person awhile, the family leave the patient and the doctor alone. The latter then commences singing and shaking a gourd over the patient. This is done not to cure, but to find out what is the disease. As the doctor sings his songs, he watches the patient closely, and finds out which song pleases. Then he determines what the disease is. He then uses herbs and roots, and resorts to steaming and conjuring. The doctor frequently recommends to have a large feast, which is called *Tonsh-pa-shoo-phah*. If the patient is tolerably well off, and remains sick for two or three weeks, they may have two or three *Tonsh-pa-shoo-phahs*. They eat, dance, and sing at a great rate at these feasts. The doctors say that it raises the courage of the sick, and weakens the evil spirit.

They say they got the first corn just after the flood; that a raven flew over them and dropped a part of an ear of corn, and they were told to plant it by the Great Spirit, and it grew up; that they worked in the soil around it with their fingers. They never had any kind of metallic tools. When they wanted logs or poles a certain length, they had to burn them; and they made heads for their arrows out of a white kind of flint-rock. They say that it has not been more than a hundred years since they first saw cattle, horses, and hogs.

After their settlement in Mississippi they had several wars, all defensive; they fought with the Choctaws, and came off victorious; with the Creeks, and killed several hundred of them, and drove the invaders off; with the Cherokees, Kickapoos, Osages, and several other tribes of Indians, all of whom they defeated.

A large number of French landed once at the Chickasaw Bluff, where Memphis (Tennessee) is now, and made an attack on the Chickasaws, but were driven off with great loss. At one time a large body of Creeks came to the Chickasaw country to kill them all, and take their country. The Chickasaws had received information of their approach, and built a fort, assisted by Captain David Smith and forty-five Tennesseans. The Creeks came, and but few returned to the Creek Nation to tell the sad tale of their slaughter.

The government of the Chickasaws, until they moved to the west of the Mississippi, had a king whom they called Minko; and there is a clan or family by that name that the king is taken from. The kingship is hereditary through the female line. At the time of their removal they had chiefs out of different families or clans.

The highest clan next to that called Minko is the Sho-wa. The next chief to the king is out of this clan. The next is Co-ish-to, and the second chief is out of this clan. The next is Oush-peh-ne. The next is Min-ne; and the lowest clan is called Hus-co-na. Runners and waiters are taken from this family. When the chiefs thought it necessary to hold a council, they would go to the king and request him to call a council. He would then send one of his runners out to inform the people that a council would be held at such a time and place. When they convened, the king would take his seat. The runners then placed each chief in his proper place. All the talking and business was done by the chiefs. If they passed a law, they informed the king of it. If he consented to it, it was a law; if he refused, the chiefs could nevertheless make it a law, provided every chief was in favor of it. If one chief refused to give his consent, the law was lost.

As to the large mounds that are in Mississippi, the Indians do not know whether they are natural or artificial. They say these mounds were there when the tribe first got to the country. The mounds are called "navels" by the Chickasaws. They thought that the Mississippi was the centre of the earth, and those mounds were as the navel of a man in the centre of his body.

#### SEMINOLES.

The Seminoles, whose attempted removal from Florida to the West, in 1835, occasioned the most troublesome and costly of the Indian wars in which our government has ever been engaged, own three hundred and twelve and one-half square miles, or two hundred thousand acres, in the Indian Territory, adjoining the Creeks on the west, and number two thousand six hundred and thirty-six. In 1880 they spent seven thousand five hundred dollars for educational purposes. They have six public schools and one boarding-school under the care of the Presbyterian Board.

They cultivate seventeen thousand acres, live in log houses, and own large stocks of cattle, horses, and swine. These people, whom it was the fashion at one time to call "reptiles" and "rattlesnakes," are making rapid strides to overtake their more advanced brethren, and in a few years they will be equal to, and in some respects even in advance of, the people of the adjoining States.

The Creeks sold lands to the United States on which to locate the Seminoles, but by some miscalculation they were located on lands which the Creeks had never sold, and on these the Seminoles have since made improvements. This circumstance is a source of great trouble between these tribes. A few Seminoles, supposed to number about three hundred, still remain in Florida. Little is known respecting them. Some of the tribe removed to its present location under the provisions of the treaties of 1832 and 1833.

#### NATCHEZ.

The Natchez Indians are of the Maya stock, and, with the Tensas, a kindred tribe, held a tract on the east bank of the Mississippi. According to their tradition, they came from the Southwest in consequence of wars with the ancient inhabitants. They were mild, friendly, and brave, though peaceable, but very dissolute. They used bows and arrows, dressed in buffalo robes, made feather robes for winter, and had garments for summer made of the bark of the mulberry and of flax. After the advent of French and English traders they rapidly declined. In 1716 Bienville compelled them to give up some murderers, and built a fort in their territory. A renewal of hostilities in 1722 caused him to burn one of their villages and compel them to punish the guilty. A general massacre of the French in their territories began November 28, 1729, in which the Choctaws and Chickasaws also engaged, and only a few French escaped. Attacked January 27, 1730, by Lesueur, with a large Choctaw force, eighty of the Natchez were killed, and many captives were recovered. In 1731, Governor Perrier fought them on Black River, west of the Mississippi, and captured a large number, including the Sun and other principal chiefs, who were taken to San Domingo and sold as slaves. The remnant of the tribe fled to the Chickasaws, but never reappeared as a distinct nation. They afterwards joined the Muskokis, and in 1835 were reduced to three hundred in number.

The Natchez Indians were first visited by La Salle in 1681-82. Tonty, his lieutenant, entering the great town of the Tensas, an allied people, gazed at it with astonishment. He had seen nothing like it in America. Large square dwellings, built of sun-baked mud mixed with stone, and arched over with a dome-shaped roof of canes, were placed in regular order around an open area. Two of them were larger and better than the rest; one was the lodge of the chief, the other was the temple or the house of the Sun. The Frenchmen repaired to the temple wherein were kept the bones of the departed chiefs. In construction it was much like the royal dwelling. Over it were rude wooden figures representing three eagles turned towards the east. A strong mud wall surrounded the temple, planted with stakes, on which were fixed the skulls of slain enemies sacrificed to the sun. There was a

structure in the middle, which Membré thinks was a kind of altar, and upon it burned a perpetual fire, fed with three logs laid end to end, and watched by two old men set apart to the sacred office.

Thus the Natchez, who were worshippers of the sun and took their cognomen from the name of that luminary, kept its symbol perpetually burning. Both Charlevoix and Du Pratz were eye-witnesses of this rite. The hereditary dignity of ruler, or Chief Sun, descended in the female line, and the laws of intermarriage were so regulated that the head chief's descendants were obliged to ally themselves with the lower classes of the tribe, a system by which all came to be identified and bound together in their political and religious ties and honors. The title of Sun was equivalent to that of Inca, or Emperor, and the chief exercised a more absolute power than appears to have been awarded to him in any other nation north of Mexico. The chief's despotic power and the national worship were kept up with an Oriental display, and with an Oriental use of the language of honor and ceremony, long after the French settled in the Mississippi Valley, and, indeed, up to the destruction of the tribe in 1731. "The Sun has eaten," proclaimed an official functionary daily before the Ruling Chief of the Sun, after his morning's repast, "and the rest of the earth may now eat."

Charlevoix, who visited the Natchez nation in 1721 and inspected their temple, pronounces the descriptions which had been given by prior writers of its ceremonies and appointments to have been greatly exaggerated. He observes that the worship of the sun had prevailed extensively among the tribes throughout the country, and that the old beliefs still remained, and says that the ceremonies of a perpetual fire, kept up in a particular building, had lingered with them to the time of his visit. He specifies the Mobilians, or Choctaw-Chickasaw tribes, as having taken their fires from this altar, and states that the greater part of the nations of Louisiana<sup>1</sup> formerly had their temples, as well as the Natchez. In their external appearance the Natchez differed in no wise from the other Indians of Canada and Louisiana. The daily rites he describes as follows: "Every morning, as soon as the sun appears, the Grand Chief stands at the door of his cabin, turns his face towards the east, and howls thrice, prostrating himself to the ground at the same time. A calumet is afterwards brought him, which is never used but upon this occasion; he smokes, and blows the smoke first towards the sun, and then towards the other three quarters of the world. He acknowledges no master but the sun, from whom he pretends he derives his origin."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Agreeably, of course, to its boundary in 1721, and not as at present, when it is contracted to a State of moderate dimensions. This distinction is overlooked in reference to the buffalo in Florida by the translator of De Soto's first letter.

<sup>2</sup> This ceremony of lifting their pipes slowly towards the sun, as if offering them to be smoked, he had before noticed at two interviews with the tribes he met at the mouth of the Desmoines or Moningwuna River, a tributary of the Upper Mississippi, about 42° north latitude. How perfectly does this agree with the ceremonies described, as before noted, by Mackenzie, among the Kenistenos, north of Lake Superior, in latitude 55° N.!

## CONGAREES OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

The most considerable streams in South Carolina, and especially those which, taking their rise in the Appalachian Mountains, traverse the State in their way to the ocean, receive their names from the Indian tribes which were found occupying their shores at the advent of the white man. The Catawba, rising in the mountains of North Carolina, on receiving the Wateree Creek becomes the Wateree River, and its valley was the favorite abode of the Catawba Indians. The Saluda and Broad, uniting at the town of Columbia, form the Congaree, and this, after its junction with the Wateree, becomes the Santee, which bears this name till it falls into the Atlantic. The Broad River was called by the Catawbas Eswau Huppeday, or Line River, because it was the established line between them and the Cherokees. Of the Congarees, who gave their name to the river which is formed by the confluence of the Saluda and Broad, little is historically known. The earliest European voyager who travelled through the country and has left behind him any account of the tribes occupying it was John Lawson, afterwards Surveyor-General of North Carolina. He left Charleston on Saturday, December 28, 1700, in a canoe, and, threading the bays and creeks of the coast, entered the Santee on the Friday following. He soon afterwards encountered a party of the Sewee Indians, who have given their name to Sewee Bay, near the mouth of that river, and whom he represents as having been formerly a large nation, but at that time much diminished in numbers by intemperance, by the ravages of the smallpox, and by a disaster at sea which reduced still more the remnant of this people. Under the mistaken idea that England was not far from the coast, they fitted out a large fleet of canoes laden with skins and furs for the purpose of traffic, and embarked all their able-bodied men, leaving the old, impotent, and those under age, at home. Many of them were lost in a storm, and the remainder were taken by an English vessel, whose captain sold them as slaves in the West India Islands. After passing the settlement of the French Huguenots, which he describes as already a thriving community, he visited the "Seretees or Santees" (Zantees), some of whose customs he describes in passing.

After travelling about seventy-five miles, a journey which occupied about five days, Lawson reached the town of the Congarees. This he describes as consisting of some dozen houses, though the tribe had straggling plantations up and down the country. He found them occupying the river-bottoms, having "curious dry marshes and savannas" near. They had large stores of "chinkapin-nuts," kept in large baskets for use, and hickory-nuts, "which they beat between two great stones, then sift them, and so thicken their venison-broth therewith," the small shells precipitating to the bottom of the pot, while the kernel, in the form of flour, mixes with the liquor. "Both these nuts made into meal make a curious soup." When he arrived among them he found the women engaged in some game which, though he looked on for two hours, he could not understand. "Their arithmetic was kept with a heap of Indian grain." He represents these Indians as kind and affable to the English,

the queen being very kind, giving him what rarities her cabin afforded, such as "loblolly," made with Indian corn and dried peaches. The existence of the peach among them he elsewhere adduces as evidence of the Eastern origin of the Indian tribes. One of the finest varieties of this fruit in Carolina is to-day commonly known as the "Indian peach," a variety not met with at the North. The Sewee or Carolina bean, known throughout the United States, bears the name of the Sewee Indians. The red- or cow-pea, one of the most useful crops of the South, Lawson partook of among the Indians. Indian corn and tobacco we have received from the native tribes, just as we have received various other vegetables which our gardens yield from the Africans among us,—among the latter, the egg-plant, the okra or gumbo, and Guinea corn. "These Congarees have abundance of cranes or storks in their savannas. They take them before they can fly, and breed them as tame and familiar as a dung-hill fowl. They had a tame crane at one of their cabins nearly six feet in height, his head being round, with a shining natural crimson hue, which they all have." In another place he says of the cranes, "They are above five feet high when extended. Their quills are excellent for pens; their flesh makes the best broth, yet it is hard to digest. They are easily bred, and are excellent in a garden to destroy frogs, worms, and other vermin." He extols the beauty of the Congarees: "These are a very comely sort of Indians, there being a strange difference in the proportion and beauty of these heathen. The women here are as handsome as most I have met withal, there being several fine-figured brunettes among them." Their hospitality is applauded. "When their play was ended, the king or Casseta's wife invited us into her cabin. (The men of the tribe were absent on a hunting expedition.) The Indian kings always entertain travellers, either English or Indian, taking it as a great affront if they pass by their cabins and take up their quarters at any other Indian's house. The queen set victuals before us, which good compliment they use generally as soon as you come under their roof." Again: "The queen got us a good breakfast before we left here." The following instance of medical practice occurred as an accompaniment: "She had a young child which was much afflicted with the colic, for which distemper she infused a root in water, which was held in a gourd; this she took into her mouth and spurted it into the infant's, which gave it ease." "After we had eaten, we set out with our new guide for the Wateree Indians."

The Congarees are represented as a people inconsiderable in number. "These Indians are a small people, having lost much of their former numbers by intestine broils, but most by the smallpox, which hath often visited them, sweeping away whole towns, occasioned by the immoderate government [improper treatment] of themselves in their sickness. Nor do I know any savages that have traded with the English but what have been great losers by this distemper." Putting the "Wateree and Chickaree Indians" in comparison, he says, "This nation is more populous than the Congarees and their neighbors,<sup>1</sup> yet understand not one another's speech."

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<sup>1</sup> He reached them at a distance of thirty-eight miles.

But the Waterees on their part were despised by the Waxhaws as a "poor sort of Indians," and among these last they found more style and a higher manner of living.

The next notice we find of the Congarees is fourteen or fifteen years later. In 1715, to the great vexation of the inhabitants of Carolina, the Congarees, the Catawbas, and the Cherokees united with the Yamassees in a war of extermination against the colonists. The conspiracy embraced every tribe from Florida to the Cape Fear. The southern division of the Indian force consisted of about six thousand bowmen; the northern, among whom were the Congarees, of between six hundred and one thousand. The massacre of Pocatligo was perpetrated by the southern division; the church of stone was burnt, and all the inhabitants south of Charleston either fled for refuge to that city, or were miserably slain by the cruel enemy, such as had no friends among the Indians being subjected to the fiercest tortures. The northern division, among whom were the Congarees, advanced beyond Goose Creek on the way to Charleston, and murdered the family of John Hearne. During this expedition, Captain Thomas Barker, who opposed them with a company of about ninety mounted militia, fell into an ambuscade, and, with several of his men, was slain; and in the Goose Creek settlement, seventy white men and forty negroes, who had hastily entrenched themselves, rashly agreeing to terms of peace, admitted the Indians within their breastwork, and were by them inhumanly butchered. After the Yamassee war was brought to a close by Governor Craven, the Congarees seem to have confined themselves to their ancient haunts. In 1722, some eight years after, a fort or garrison was in existence among them to protect the settlements below from hostile incursion. In 1730-33, Thomas Brown had taken up his abode near this fort as an Indian trader. He had, perhaps, been preceded by others in the capacity of travelling merchants. At what time the Congarees disappeared from their ancient haunts is not accurately known. Grants were made in Amelia township, laid out on the southern side of the Congaree, as early as 1735, and in the township of Saxe Gotha, north of Amelia, in 1737. In 1735, Thomas Brown, Indian trader at Congaree, Old Fort, purchased of the Waterees the lands between the Santee (Congaree) and Wateree as far up as the Catawba Fording-Place. About this time, then, we may suppose they began to change their residence. What became of them history does not inform us, but they probably withdrew to the northwestern part of the State, and were merged in the great body of the Cherokees.

#### THE TRIBES OF THE PACIFIC SLOPE.

The Indians of the Pacific slope are divided into numerous small tribes, and are generally lower in the scale of humanity than those of the interior. In Northern California, Oregon, and Washington Territory they subsisted chiefly upon the salmon before government undertook their support. Those on the California coast were peaceable and inclined to be friendly to the whites when settlements were first established among them. Along the Klamath and its tributaries, as well as on the



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Illman & Sons

CLEANING GRASS SEED

San Joaquin Valley California





Drawn by J. C. M. Rao

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Eng<sup>d</sup> by J. C. M. Rao

TRANSPORTING WATER AND GRASS SEED.

Valley of San Joaquin, California



Trinity, Mad River, Eel River, and lining the entire coast from Point St. George to below Mendocino, they were very numerous.

A marked distinction existed between the Indians living on the coast and those inhabiting the mountains, the former being indolent and improvident, while the latter possessed more of the bravery, cunning, and superstition peculiar to the savages of the Northwest. They associated but little with those on the coast, and seldom intermarried, seeming to consider themselves a superior class. They killed an abundance of game with their bows and arrows, and caught immense quantities of salmon, which they smoked or dried for winter use. In respect of food, deerskin clothing, and comfortable houses they were well provided. Those Indians living on the coast, at the mouths of the rivers, and around Humboldt Bay, subsisted principally upon mussels and fish, or an occasional stranded whale, gathering also roots, seeds, and berries. They had comparatively comfortable houses, and lazily basked in the sun or indulged in the favorite pastime of gambling, while the squaws did all the drudgery.

The Indians living on the banks of a river, though composed of different bands having neither ethnic nor tribal affinity, generally take the name of the stream. It is a remarkable fact that a separate and distinct language is spoken by the Indians on these different rivers, or on nearly all of them. Those on the Klamath speak a different language from those on the Trinity, one of its tributaries. The fact of this entire want of unity, or of a recognized head, rendered it exceedingly difficult to treat with these Indians, or successfully to colonize them on reservations. When placed together they did not harmonize, retaining their petty divisions and distrust of one another. Though naturally indolent and degraded, they are not devoid of a certain kind of intelligence. They are superstitious in the extreme, seeming to derive more of the little moral restraint they exhibit from this source than from any other.

#### CALIFORNIA TRIBES.

Among the numerous families or stocks of Indians found in California are the Shoshones, represented by the Payute (Pi-Ute) and Kanonya (Spanish, Coahuila), the latter of whom prevail from the Cabezon Mountains and San Bernardino Valley to the Pacific coast; the Yumas, of whom the Digueno and Comoyei are around San Diego, along the coast, on New River, etc.; Mutsun, designating a family of dialects extending from the environs of San Juan Bautista, California, northwest to the Bay of San Francisco and the Straits of Carquinez, reaching probably to the San Joaquin River on the east, and identical with the language called Runsien; Yoycut, a tribe in the Kern and Tulare basins, and on the middle course of the San Joaquin River, consolidated in 1860 into one coherent body by their chief Pascual; Meewoc, the largest tribe in population and extent, reaching from the snow-line of the Sierra Nevada to the San Joaquin River, and from the Cosumnes to the Fresno; Meidoo, a merry, dance-loving race, formerly extending from the Sacramento River to the snow-line, and from Big Chico Creek to Bear River; Winton, a timid, superstitious, and

grossly sensual race, settled on both sides of Upper Sacramento and Upper Trinity Rivers, found also on the lower course of Pitt River; the Yukás, a revengeful people, conspicuous by very large heads placed on smallish bodies: they originally dwelt in Round Valley, east of Upper Eel River; Pomo, a populous, unoffending race, settled along the coast, on Clear Lake, and on the heads of Eel and Russian Rivers, a portion of whom are now on the Round Valley Reservation; Eurok, a tribe on the Klamath River, from its mouth up to the Great Bend, at the influx of the Trinity River; Cahrok, a tribe extending along Klamath River from Bluff Creek to Indian Creek, a distance of eighty miles; Shasta, a tribe which, becoming involved in the Rogue River war, was at its close removed from its old home in the Shasta and Scott Valleys, and is now on the Siletz and Grande Ronde Reserves in Oregon; the Pitt River, a poor and abject-looking race on Upper Pitt River and its side-creeks; Klamath, inhabiting the table-land between the Sacramento and California River basin, the central part of which now forms their reservation; and the Tinné family, of which are the Hoopa, a populous, warlike, and compact tribe on the Trinity, who formerly kept the surrounding tribes in submission; the Rogue River, who speak a language replete with guttural and croaking sounds; and the Umpquas, who live in and around Alsea, a sub-agency on the sea-coast.

The chief reliance of the California Indians, summer and winter, is on seeds. The females construct, with great ingenuity, baskets of willow or osier for gathering and cleaning these seeds and for transporting them to their lodges.

#### MISSION INDIANS.

The Mission Indians of California are composed of the following tribes, viz., Seranos, Digenos, San Luis Rey, Coahuilas, and Owongos. They number about three thousand, and their settlements are scattered over portions of San Bernardino and San Diego Counties, and chiefly in the mountain and desert districts embraced in a range hundreds of miles in extent.

The first of the Jesuit missions, from which they received their name, was established at San Diego in 1769. In 1804 there were nine missions at different points between San Diego and San Francisco. The emissaries of the priests gradually brought the natives under control, and gathered them in settlements around the missions, instructing them in agriculture and civilized life. In 1826 there were twenty-one missions and a population of twenty-five thousand, having large possessions in cattle and grain. The tide of gold emigration and trade, in 1849, dispossessed them of their lands, made them homeless wanderers, and introduced a course of extermination, their condition becoming yearly more deplorable. As a class the Mission Indians are industrious, sustaining themselves by cultivating their little fields, or by laboring for ranchmen in their vicinity. During the sheep-shearing season their services are greatly in demand, as they are especially skilled in this kind of labor.

Besides the Mission, Hoopa Valley, Round Valley, and Tule River Agencies,

where nearly all wear citizens' dress, there are the Klamaths and other Indians, to the number of six thousand, scattered through different counties in the State, and upon whom civilization has as yet exerted no beneficial influence. Of the Hoopa Valley Reservation, containing over one hundred thousand acres, nearly all is still in the possession of the settlers, who have never been paid for their improvements. Only twelve hundred acres of this land are cultivated by the Indians, none of whom subsist by the chase, all the able-bodied men being required to work. The practice of seeking their "medicine-men" in case of sickness is gradually dying out. Of the Tule River Reservation, in Tulare County, containing forty-eight thousand five hundred and fifty-one acres, not more than two hundred and fifty can be utilized for farming purposes. It is a rough, mountainous district, too rugged and rocky even for grazing. Only one hundred and sixty of the six hundred and ten Tule and Tejon Indians, for whom it was designed, can live on it, the remainder residing in Tulare and adjoining counties. All these Indians wear citizens' dress, the women generally making their own clothing; and they are gradually improving their condition. There is one school in operation at the Tule River farm, with an attendance of thirty-seven scholars.

The Indians belonging to the Round Valley Reservation are the Konkau, Little Lake, Pitt River, Potter Valley, Redwood, Wailakki, and Yuki tribes. The reservation contains one hundred and two thousand one hundred and eighteen acres of very fertile land in Mendocino County. More than five thousand Indians fall under the care of this agency. None of these Indians subsist by the chase, more produce being raised from the land than is needed for their subsistence, and the surplus proceeds are used for the purchase of stock and improvements. They have a school which is well attended, and expect soon to have a boarding- and manual-labor school in operation. These Indians are uniformly quiet and peaceable, notwithstanding they are much disturbed by white trespassers.

The disbandment of the Jesuit missions of California, and the dispersion of the population which had been thus brought under instruction, have rendered it impracticable to distinguish the various grades of the aboriginal population. When the Americans succeeded to the occupancy of California, the sites and buildings of these missions existed all along the coast from San Diego to San Francisco; but they appeared to have been long abandoned as centres of teaching the natives. Lieutenant A. W. Whipple, U.S.A., who passed through the bands on the line of survey between San Diego and the coast opposite the mouth of the Gila, found the Digenos. He laid stress on the fact of the tribe's having been formerly organized in a Spanish mission; and they still spoke many Spanish words, and gave some evidence of improved manners, though without much industrial energy or moral character. But before reaching the Colorado he entered the territories of the Cushans or Yumas, who are the merest barbarians. "Warriors dye their faces jet-black, with a strip of red from the forehead down the nose and across the chin. Women and young men usually paint with red, and ornament their chins with dots or stripes of blue or black; around their eyes are circles of black." There were also encoun-

tered on this part of the route other bands, and he pronounces those living near the mouth of the Gila "a desperate set of rascals."

In the manners and customs of the tribes living in the circle of country around San Diego we perceive nothing that lifts them above the darkest superstitions of the most degraded hunter-tribes of other latitudes. "In their religious ceremonial dances," says an observer on the spot, "they differ much. While in some tribes all unite to celebrate them, in others men alone are allowed to dance, while the women assist in singing." Of their dances the most celebrated are the dance of the hawk-feast, the dance of peace and plenty, the dance of victory, the dance of puberty, and the dance of deprecation. These are all considered religious, and apart from dances of mere amusement.

The dance of deprecation is performed when any person of the tribe falls sick unaccountably. All believe such illness to be the work of witches, or rather of wizards; for among them males are more liable than females to be accused of occult practices. On occasion of the dance in question all the members of the tribe assemble, bringing with them each an offering of the products of their gathering. The whole is deposited in a basket, and the dance begins. Significant words are sung by the women, the children, and the old, while generally the warriors alone dance, to time kept in their ordinary way, by arrows used as castanets. This is kept up till a late hour, when the priest rises and presents the offering, waving it high from right to left, and shouting at each wave, the tribe responding by a deep groan. During this part of the ceremony no other noise is heard, but all is deep and respectful attention. At last the dance breaks up, and all disperse. The offering is prepared and cooked on the following day, and in the night the inefficient old men of the tribe alone meet and eat it. Here the ceremony ends, and they believe that the evil genius has been appeased.

On the first proof of womanhood in the maiden a great ceremonial feast comes off. The girl is covered up in the earth, and the ground beaten, so that a profuse sweat succeeds, and this is kept up for twenty-four hours. During this interval she is withdrawn and washed three or four times, and re-embedded. Dancing is kept up the whole time by the women, and the ceremony ends by all joining in a big feast given by the parents of the girl.

One of their most remarkable superstitions is shown in the fact of their not eating the flesh of large game. This arises from their belief that into the bodies of all large animals the souls of certain generations, long since past, have entered. It is not the metempsychosis of Pythagoras, but one of their own, since they always say it is a people long since passed away whose souls have been thus translated. It is probable that the superstition once extended to all large animals; but the Mission Indians being fed entirely on beef, and their robberies consisting mostly of herds of horses, the superstition has been removed from the domestic animals, except the hog. This animal was kept in the Missions for its lard, and was difficult to steal in quantity: hence the continued prohibition of its flesh among them. These prohibitions are set aside in case of the old and inefficient men of the tribes, who are

allowed to eat anything and everything that comes in their way. A white man at first finds it difficult to believe in their good faith in this regard, but a couple of proofs may be adduced. On one occasion a half-Indian wished to amuse himself at the expense of the devout. He prepared a dish of bear-meat for them, and said it was beef, and all ate heartily of it. When the trick was made known to them, they were seized with retchings, which ended only with the removal of the cause. A term of reproach from a wild tribe to those more tamed is, "They eat venison!"

On an eclipse all is consternation. The people congregate and sing,—to appease the evil spirits, as some say, to frighten them, according to others. They believe that the devils are eating up the sun or the moon, and they do not cease their singing until the eclipsed luminary comes forth in its wonted splendor.

The Mission Indians have suffered great losses from epidemic diseases since their first intercourse with the whites, and these diseases have exterminated whole tribes.

The introduction of the smallpox they attribute to the Hudson Bay Company: the disease was very fatal to them in the year 1839. The fever and ague, which also proves fatal to many every year, they say was never known among them until the year 1830, when an American captain by the name of Dominis arrived at Astoria in a vessel from the Sandwich Islands. These, and sundry other bodily complaints of modern date to which they are subject, they attribute altogether to the whites, whom they seem to look upon as having the power to communicate these diseases to them. Hence one cause of their avowed hostility to the whites.

TOTONIC TRIBES OF SOUTHERN OREGON, 1850.

Names of Bands.	No. of Men.	No. of Women.	Male Children.	Female Children.	Total.	No. of Villages.	Chiefs.	Location.
Nasomah .....	18	20	10	11	59	1	Clemma (John)	Coquille River.
Chokreletan.....	30	40	18	17	95	1	Chettakos.....	Coquille Forks.
Qnahtomah .....	53	45	22	23	133	3	Hahulteah.....	Flores Creek.
Saquaacha .....	50	.....	.....	.....	50	.....	.....	Elk River.
Cosulhentan.....	9	9	6	3	27	1	Chatalhakeah...	Port Orford.
Yuquache.....	24	41	18	19	102	1	Ahehessee.....	Yuqua Creek.
Yah Shutes.....	39	45	24	12	120	2	Calwawesit.....	Rogue River.
Chetlessentan.....	16	15	11	9	51	1	Enetus.....	Pistol River.
Whistanatin .....	18	20	12	10	60	1	Nelyctahneska..	Whale's Head.
Cheattee.....	117	18	22	19	176	1	Tohushaqueos...	Chet Ko.
Tototen .....	39	47	22	12	120	1	Talmanctesa ....	Six miles above the mouth of Rogue River.
Sisticoosta.....	53	61	23	16	153	1	Yaehamsee .....	Above the big bend of Rogue River.
Maquelnoten.....	32	58	17	17	124	1	Tallialtus.....	Fourteen miles above mouth of Rogue River.
Total.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1290	.....	.....	.....

On the settlement of Oregon, the most considerable of the Indian tribes spread over that portion of the country were those stretching north of Klamath River, of California, and the northern boundary-line of that State, up the Pacific coast. They

consisted of thirteen bands, bearing separate names, the most considerable and prominent of which were the four bands clustering about the confluence of the river, which, from their bad faith in trade, had been called by the early French traders Coquille (or Rogue) River. These four bands bore the names Nasoma, Chokreletan, Yah Shutes, and Tototens, and, as the whole group of these sea-coast tribes speak dialects of the same language, they may be grouped together under the name of Totonic. About the year 1850 they were united in a league for defensive purposes, at the head of which was a chief of some note, called Chal Nah, and the combination of tribes, it is affirmed, bore the name of Tototen.

The principal wars in this region have been with these Tototens, whose numbers have rapidly declined, partly owing to internal discords, and partly through hostilities with the settlers. The names and numbers of the bands, with their principal chiefs and residences, are embraced in the above table.

#### OREGON TRIBES.

The five agencies in Oregon contain a population of about five thousand Indians. Besides these there are some eight hundred roving on the Columbia River, on the eastern side of the Coast Range. Those at the Grande Ronde Agency were placed here in 1856, and are remnants of the numerous and once powerful tribes which formerly occupied the Willamette and Rogue River Valleys. With the extinction of tribal relations among them, and the removal of the different families to the lands allotted them in severalty in 1877, the bitterness of feeling and jealousies once existing among them have been removed, and they are, as a rule, industriously engaged in agricultural pursuits with creditable progress. All now live in houses, wear civilized costume, and have adopted many of the habits of the whites. The great majority are earning their own support by farming and stock-raising. The Klamath Reservation contains one million and fifty-six thousand acres, in the extreme southern portion of the State. Though not well adapted to agriculture, it is a good grazing country. No more industrious or enterprising tribe can be found than the Klamaths. Had they an agricultural country, they would soon be self-supporting. They have a population of one thousand. The Modoc tribe were joint occupants of this agency with the Klamaths, but the overbearing disposition of the latter forced a portion of them to leave, and brought on the Modoc war of 1872-73. Those who took no part in the war are at Yamax Station, on the Klamath Reservation, under chief Schonshin, brother of the man who was executed with Captain Jack.

The Siletz Reservation borders on the Pacific Ocean, and contains two hundred and forty-six thousand acres, of which only twenty-three thousand, on or near the Siletz River, are tillable. These Indians, numbering about eleven hundred, are the remnants of fifteen different tribes, formerly scattered along the coast in small villages, each governed by its own chief, and generally hostile to the others, having nothing in common with them but hatred of the whites. These tribes were placed

here at the conclusion of what is known as the "Rogue River war," in 1855, in which they were the principal actors, and separate treaties have been made with them. Some of these treaties were in part confirmed and complied with by the United States, but most of them were wholly disregarded, and for sixteen years the Indians were kept as prisoners, and subsisted upon a scanty sum annually doled out by Congress. The earnest efforts recently made for their improvement have been very successful. They now have a local government, modelled after that of Oregon. Many already have their farms well fenced and stocked, with good comfortable dwellings and out-houses erected thereon. Besides a day-school, they have a boarding-school recently established.

About one-fourth of the Umatilla Reservation, in Northeastern Oregon, containing three hundred and twenty-six thousand five hundred and fifty-one acres, is mountainous and covered with timber. The remainder is well adapted to agriculture and grazing. The Indians are of the Walla-Walla, Cayuse, and Umatilla tribes, and number one thousand. Nearly all are self-supporting, a small number subsisting by root-gathering, hunting, fishing, etc. There is a steady improvement in this respect, and the Indians are slowly adopting civilized customs. Their revenue is mainly derived from stock-raising. They own about twenty-six thousand head, mostly horses. They are the wealthiest of the tribes on the Pacific slope. Their children show great aptitude for learning.

Eight miles south of the Warm Springs River is the agency that derives its name from the hot springs in its vicinity, whose waters possess valuable medicinal qualities. The Indians of this agency are widely and favorably known. They consist of five distinct tribes,—Wascoes, Warm Springs, Tenninoes, John Days, and Pi-Utes, five hundred and fifty-eight in all. The Pi-Utes were brought here in October, 1879, from Vancouver Barracks, where they had been held prisoners of war. Nearly all these Indians wear citizens' dress, and all, except the Pi-Utes, are self-sustaining. They are making constant progress; they have a boarding- and day-school with a large attendance, and have greatly improved in morals, polygamy, gambling, and drunkenness being far less common among them than formerly.

#### TRIBES OF WASHINGTON TERRITORY.

There are seven agencies in Washington Territory,—Colville, Neah Bay, Nisqually, Quinaielt, S'Kokomish, Tulalip, and Yakima,—in which citizens' dress is worn by nearly all the Indians. Including the Pi-Utes and the Bannocks, who left the Malheur Agency at the outbreak of the Bannock war in 1878, the population of the Yakima Reservation, in the southern part of the Territory, containing seven hundred and eighty-three thousand three hundred and sixty acres, is thirty-nine hundred. Remote from contact with the whites, it is the model agency of the Pacific slope. These Indians are extensively engaged in agriculture and stock-raising, and own twelve thousand horses. They manifest an increasing desire to learn and practise the arts of civilized life, to accumulate property, to increase the

area of cultivated land, and to acquire comfortable homes and other adjuncts of civilization. They have erected a church capable of seating seven hundred people, and have two schools in successful operation, the Manual-Labor School having proved of incalculable benefit to them. The Neah Bay Indians live almost entirely by fishing and seal-hunting, and are not inclined to cultivate the ground. They have an industrial boarding-school, and are gradually renouncing their old habits. Their reserve, in the extreme northwest point of the Territory, is mostly rough and mountainous, and unfit for cultivation. The Nisqually Agency embraces the Puyallup, Nisqually, Squaxin, and Chehalis Reservations, in the northwestern part of the Territory, and seven bands not on reservations, numbering in all about fifteen hundred. The Nisquallies and Puyallups have churches, schools, and other evidences of progress and improvement. The Squaxins and Chehalis are in a non-progressive or even declining condition.

At the Quinaielt Agency the agent reports that in 1880 he could perceive a marked change for the better in conforming to civilized habits. The S'Kokomish tribe have for six years past resided on lands allotted to them in severalty, have cleared small farms, built comfortable houses, and acquired the substantial comforts of civilized life. Their children all attend school, and their young men are learning trades.

The Tulalip Agency consists of five reservations, covering an area of eighty-three square miles, and containing a population of two thousand eight hundred and ninety-eight Indians. Most of these have discarded their former habits and adopted the customs of civilization. There are six schools in this agency, two of them boarding-schools managed by the Sisters of Charity. Nearly all the Indians of this agency are Roman Catholics. There are nearly four thousand Indians on the Yakima Reservation, who are daily improving in thrift and industry, and manifest an increasing desire for the acquisition of the comforts of life, and for the relinquishment of their old ways, that they may become more closely assimilated to the whites around them.

The Colville Reservation, in the northeastern portion of the Territory, established in 1872, contains two million eight hundred thousand acres, and a population of three thousand five hundred and three. The Cœur d'Alenes (four hundred and fifty) are on this reserve, the Lakes, Okanagans, and San Poels (nine hundred and eighty-three) are on the Colville Reserve, and the Met-hows (three hundred and fifteen) are on the Columbia Reserve. Six hundred and seventy Colvilles are settled on the east side of the Columbia River. The Spokans (six hundred and eighty-five) are living along the Spokan River, and the Pend d'Oreilles (four hundred) are principally upon Callispel Lake. These Indians, especially the Cœur d'Alenes, are making satisfactory progress in agricultural pursuits. They have no assistance from the government other than the support of a boarding-school of twenty-five scholars, which is in charge of the Sisters of Charity. The boarding-school at Colville is also in charge of the Sisters, whose labors are highly salutary and praiseworthy.

## DAKOTAS, OR SIOUX.

Dr. Thomas S. Williamson, of Ohio, who spent several years among the Dakotas of the Mississippi, settles definitely the ancient locality of a portion of the river tribes of the Dakota stock at Mille Lacs, the source of Rum River, in Minnesota; and this is apparently the ancient location of the "Issati" of Hennepin, a fact which restores full credibility to an important part of that intrepid missionary's narrative. It is known that the Dakotas have for more than two centuries been receding before the fierce and warlike forest clans of the Algonkians, whom the French were the first to supply with fire-arms.

"They have resided," says Dr. Williamson, "near the confluence of the Mississippi and St. Peter's for at least two hundred years. They say they were residing in this neighborhood before the Assiniboines separated from them, and that when their ancestors came to that country it was inhabited by Indians of other tribes, who left the country when they came into it. They say that their ancestors before they came to the Mississippi lived at Mille Lacs, which they call Isantamde (Knife Lake). From their having resided at that place probably comes the name Isanyati (dwelling at the knife), by which the Dakotas of the Missouri call those who live on the Mississippi and St. Peter's. Their traditions all show that they came from the northeast and are moving to the southwest. Their country extended from the Mississippi to the Black Hills. Its eastern portion is now the State of Minnesota. They were almost without agriculture, and depended upon fish, game, and wild rice. Their proper name, Dakota, signifies *allied* or *leagued together*, and is equivalent to our name United, as applied to the States, and all who are not Dakotas, or allies, are considered enemies, and it is deemed glorious to kill one of them, though descended from the Dakota family; as the similarity of language shows to be the case with not only Assiniboines, but the Winnebagoes, Iowas, Omahaws, Osages, and Quapaws. They were called by the Algonkians Nadonessieux (enemies), shortened by the French to Sioux.

"There are three grand divisions of the Dakotas: 1. The Isanyati (Santees), who resided on or near the waters of the Mississippi and St. Peter's, and most of whom plant some corn. These are subdivided into the Mde-wahantonwan, Warpetonwan (Wahpeton), Sisitonwan (Sisseton), and Warpekute, and altogether are between five thousand and six thousand souls. Within the memory of persons still living, these all lived near the Mississippi and St. Peter's, within narrower space than they now occupy, their eastern limit being about the Falls of St. Croix, the northern limit not far beyond the Falls of St. Anthony, and the western not far from the mouth of Blue Earth River.

"2d. The Ihanktonwan (Yankton), of which the Hunkpatidan and Ihantonwanna are subdivisions. Tonwan signifies 'to dwell,' or 'dwelling.' Ihanktonwan signifies 'inhabiting the end or extremity,' and probably was given them from their having formerly dwelt at the head-waters or extremities of the Mississippi or St.

Peter's, in which country they dwelt at the commencement of this century. They at present [1855] range over the immense prairies between St. Peter's and Red River of Lake Winnipeg on the northeast and the Missouri on the southwest, often crossing the latter stream. A few of them planted on an island in Lake Traverse, and a few on the Missouri, but most of them depended for a subsistence entirely on the buffalo. Their numbers are variously estimated at from four thousand to eight thousand, or even more. Their dialect differs considerably from those of the other divisions, and, like their location, seems to be intermediate between them.

“3d. The Titonwan (Tetons) constitute the last grand division of the Dakotas, and are said to be more numerous than both the others. They are divided into many bands. It is said that none of them plant, and but few of them are found to the northeast of the Missouri. In the Titonwan dialect the sounds of *l* and *g* hard are both very common. In the other dialects the former is never heard, and the latter only at the end of words.”

The Dakotas acknowledge seven nations or divisions, of which the seventh, the Tetons, was subdivided into eight bands. They are now organized into twelve bands, known as Isaunties, or Santees, Yanktons, Yanktonnais, Sissetons, Ogalallas, Brulés, Uncapapas, Blackfeet, Dakotas, Ohenonpas, Minikanyes (Minneconjous), Sans Arcs, and Itazipcos. Isaunties is a generic term used by the Western Dakotas to designate their kindred on the Mississippi; and Tetons is another employed by the latter to describe the former. They also speak of their confederacy as the Seven Council-Fires, from their seven political divisions.

Our diplomatic relations with the Sioux began in the year 1815. The treaty of Prairie du Chien, in 1825, defined the boundaries between the Chippewas and the Sioux, and it was hoped that their incessant feuds might be brought to an end. Fighting, however, went on as before, white traders suffering as much as the Indians themselves. Subsequent treaties have been made with them as follows: at Prairie du Chien, in 1830, ceding land between the Mississippi and Des Moines Rivers; another, in 1836, ceding to the State of Missouri a long, narrow belt of country on the Missouri River; at Washington, in 1837, ceding all their land east of the Mississippi River; and in 1841, ceding thirty-five million acres on the west side of that river, “the garden-spot of the Mississippi Valley, larger than the State of New York, and fertile beyond description.” In its transactions with the government this tribe has been tricked and cheated on all sides,—promised a home in spring and ordered off before harvest. The people have been in a starving condition much of the time, liable at any moment to have bodies of United States soldiers swoop down on them and punish whole bands for depredations committed by a handful, perhaps, of a totally distinct band, and the whole nation has been bandied about from civil authority to military; and yet the Ogalalla band, which has been moved eight times since 1863, has made the most decided advance towards civilization of any Indian community since that date. By the treaty of Fort Laramie, in 1851, the boundaries with the Western tribes were settled, and the United States were by payment of an annuity of fifty thousand dollars for fifty years entitled to establish roads and military posts

within their limits. The United States Senate virtually annulled this treaty by limiting the annuity to fifteen years, and hostilities broke out in 1854. In 1855, General Harney destroyed a peaceful Sioux village, killing eighty-six men, women, and children. The "Powder River" war of 1866-68 resulted from the attempt to open to travel the route to the gold-fields of Montana through the especial buffalo range of the Sioux. In the course of it the massacre of Colonel Fetterman and his entire command occurred. The result of the Sioux war of 1862 in Minnesota was their removal from that State to Dakota, where they were placed upon reservations. Ordered in 1875 by General Sheridan, in violation of their treaty stipulations, to abandon their hunting-grounds and come into their reservation, the Sioux, disregarding the order, were attacked in the following spring, and the village of Crazy Horse was destroyed. On June 25, 1876, at the Little Big Horn, General Custer and his entire command were destroyed by Sitting Bull and his warriors, who subsequently made their way into the British possessions. This hostile force surrendered to Major Brotherton at Fort Buford, July 10, 1881.

The Sioux are at present the most numerous and powerful tribe in North America. They are of fine physique, are endowed with great personal courage, and are skilful warriors. Though backward in adopting civilization, their intellectual powers compare favorably with those of other tribes. They have long been a terror to their white and Indian neighbors. They number thirty-two thousand two hundred and eighty-six, gathered at eleven agencies,—nine in Dakota, one in Montana, and one in Nebraska. At Santee, Sisseton, and Devil's Lake Agencies, the point of self-support is nearly reached. They are located in severalty, live in houses, wear citizens' dress, send their children to school, and own farming implements and stock. About three-fourths of the Sioux at the Yankton Agency have made equal progress in adopting the customs of civilized life.

At Cheyenne River, Crow Creek, Standing Rock, and Lower Brulé Agencies, progress was seriously retarded by the Sioux war of 1877; but the erection of seven hundred and eighteen houses, the selection of individual farms, the breaking of six hundred acres, and the raising of forty-one thousand bushels of wheat and corn and twelve thousand bushels of vegetables by these Indians in the year 1880, show them to be advancing with the remainder of the Sioux nation. The four thousand seven hundred and thirteen Yanktonnais Sioux at Fort Peck, with the Northern Sioux who deserted Sitting Bull's camp and attached themselves to this agency, are the only Sioux who now engage in hunting to any extent. They are wild blanket-Indians, who have only recently made their first advance towards civilization.

During the winter of 1878 the Ogalalla and Brulé Sioux, under chiefs Red Cloud and Spotted Tail, removed from the Missouri River to their reserve, where they are opening farms and building houses. They have engaged enthusiastically in freighting, and are locating their houses at wide distances from one another, instead of crowding together in one central camp or village. They are orderly and peaceful, and a fairer record could not reasonably be expected from fourteen thousand wild,

restless Indians, who, during the Sitting Bull campaign in 1876-77, furnished the largest number of recruits for the hostile force.

Red Cloud, head chief of the Sioux, was born at the Forks of the Platte in 1820. He was made a chief for bravery in battle, and rose to be head chief in 1850. He is said to have been in eighty-seven engagements, and has frequently been wounded. He is six feet and six inches in height, possesses wonderful sagacity and eloquence, and is skilful in the use of the tomahawk, rifle, and bow and arrow. He was in the battle with Fetterman's command at Fort Phil Kearney, and visited President Grant in December, 1866. Spotted Tail, another leading chief of the Sioux, was shot at the Rosebud Agency, August 1, 1881, by Crow Dog, chief of the Indian police. Perceiving the uselessness of fighting the white man, he managed to keep peace with them while preserving his popularity with his tribe by appearing to hate and oppose the whites upon all occasions. His sagacity and adroitness are shown by the following anecdote. In an interview with the President at the White House, after the latter had been addressed by all the other chiefs standing, Spotted Tail called for a chair, seated himself near the President, and talked with him with easy familiarity, as with an equal.

The Santee Sioux left Minnesota about 1862, and, after several removals, settled on the southwest bank of the Missouri River, in Knox County, Nebraska. Each established a separate home for himself and family, and the tribe eventually became self-supporting. They have abandoned tribal relations, and, instead of the old chiefs who held office for life, they now annually elect by ballot councillors who hold their office for two years. Their reservation is twelve miles wide, and from twelve to eighteen miles long. On it are two industrial boarding-school buildings, frame dwelling-houses, a grist-mill, a steam saw-mill, etc. The insecurity of land titles on the reservation caused the removal of a portion of the Indians to Flandreau, Dakota, on the Sioux River, one hundred and forty miles north of Santee, where they have taken up homesteads of from forty to three hundred and twenty acres, of each of which they are the legal owners.

Catlin, the artist who contributed so largely to our knowledge of the American Indian, and who spent some time among the Sioux, says of them, "There is no tribe on the continent of finer-looking men, and few tribes who are better or more comfortably clad and supplied with the necessaries of life. . . . I have travelled several years among these people, and I have not had my scalp taken, nor a blow struck me, nor has my property been stolen, to my knowledge, to the value of a shilling, and that in a country where no man is punishable by law for the crime of stealing."

The badge or name of a Sioux village is generally taken from the position or place in which it is situated, as in the following instances, viz.: *Wi-atta-che-chah*, or Bad; *Ohah-hans-hah*, situated on a long reach of the river; *Hamine-chan*, from the mountain of rocks above Lake Pepin; *Wahk-paton*, from being where there is a large quantity of foliage; *Kah-po-sia*, from the following incident: some Indians, having gone on a hunting tour, took up their burdens, which were said to be heavy, walked off lightly, and made long marches; this gave rise to the name *Kah-po-sia*,

which means "light." All those that use the same roots for medicines constitute a clan. These clans, into which both sexes are initiated through the great medicine-dance, are numerous, and each has its secret badge. Constant feuds are kept up between them, at the expense of much bloodshed, each clan attributing superior power to the other, and believing that it can cause the death of any person, however remote from it he may dwell.

The chieftainship is of modern date, having arisen since the Indians first became acquainted with the whites. The first Sioux that was ever made a chief among the Dakotas was Waubashaw, and this was done by the British. Since that time chieftainship has been hereditary. There are small bands existing that have no recognized chiefs. The females have nothing to do with the chieftainship. There is no particular ceremony to instal a man chief, except that the father before he dies may tell the band that he leaves his son to take his place, and the son generally presents himself to the Indian agent, the principal soldier speaking for him, saying to the agent, "Our former chief has left this his son to be our chief." This is about all of the ceremony. The chiefs have but little power. If an Indian wishes to do mischief, the only way in which a chief can influence him is to give him something, or pay him, to desist from his evil intentions. The chief has no authority to act for the tribe. If he should attempt to do so, he would be severely beaten, perhaps even killed, at some future time. The office is not of much consequence, for the chiefs have no salary, and are obliged to seek a livelihood in the same way that a common Indian does. A chief is not better dressed than the rest of the Indians, and often not so well. The band of which an Indian is chief is almost always of a kin totem, and his kindred help to sustain his authority.

The democratic principle is implanted rather deeply in the Indians in general. They all wish to govern and not to be governed. Every Indian thinks he has a right to do as he pleases, and that no one is better than himself; and he will fight before he will give up what he thinks right. No votes are cast in their assemblies. All business is done by the majority of the band assembling and consulting one another. Some one will set up for or against a motion, and the action that appears the best is adopted by general consent. The voice of the chief is not considered decisive until a majority of the band have had a voice, and then the chief has to be governed according to that voice. Councils are generally opened by some chief. When the subject under discussion concerns the soldiers, or "braves," the first or principal soldier is authorized to speak or act as orator for the party assembled. There is generally some remark made about the weather, as an omen that the Great Spirit favors or opposes their wishes. Questions of a grave character, such as their relations with the white people, are deliberated upon by all interested; but cases of revenge are acted on precipitately. Decisions made by a delegation are considered lawful and binding, but the acts of a single chief are binding only upon his own village. In cases of murder, the parties aggrieved generally seek revenge themselves, although instances occur where a murderer is put to death by the authority of the council.

## ASSINIBOINES.

The Assiniboines constitute a separate branch of the Dakota or Sioux nation, who are settled on the plains west of Red River of Hudson Bay. The name is Ojibwa. It is formed from *ossin*, a stone, and *bwoin*, a Dakota. The latter being a derivative from the term for a roasting-spit, the first member of the present word converts it into stone-roasters,—that is to say, roasters by hot stones; a practice in their forest cookery. They are usually called, with less discriminative attention to the etymology, Stone-Sioux, the word Sioux being the French term for Dakota. They are called by the main body of the Dakotas themselves, from whom they broke off at an early time, Hoha, or Rebels. Their own name for themselves is not known. Since their separation the Dakotas have regarded them as enemies. The word Assiniboine is variously spelled by different writers,—the chief variations consisting in the substitution of *p* for *b*, and of *l* for *n*.

The separation of the tribe from the Dakotas occurred at a time unknown, but previous to the period of European discovery. They are mentioned in 1669 by Father Marquette, writing from the ancient mission of Chegoimegon, on Lake Superior. Mackenzie, in his account of the fur trade, locates them where the most recent notices still leave them,—on the Assiniboine or Red River, and the open plains west of its recipient, Lake Winnipeg. They speak a dialect of the Dakota. After a geographical separation of more than two hundred years, their dialects are mutually intelligible with entire facility.

The Assiniboines are at peace with the Chippewas and the Knisteneaux. They occupy a position next to the latter on the great plains which extend west to the banks of the Missouri. On these grass plains they hunt the buffalo and trap wolves. The flesh of the former which is not wanted for immediate use they make into pemmican, which is done by pounding the dried meat and mixing it with fat. In this state it is closely packed in bags of skin. Their clothing is made from buffalo-skins. The flesh of wolves they never eat, but procure a tallow from their fat which is useful in dressing skins. Their traffic consists of dressed buffalo-skins and pemmican, which they exchange for arms, ammunition, cutlery, tobacco, and ardent spirits. They do not hunt the beaver, and consequently do not trench on the hunting-grounds of the Chippewas, Algonkins, and Knisteneaux near them, which tends to preserve their alliance.

Mackenzie estimates the number of the Assiniboines at five hundred families. Lewis and Clarke reckon them at sixteen hundred warriors. In Major Long's Second Expedition they are reported, on imperfect data, at twenty-eight thousand. Mr. Gallatin, in his "Synopsis of the Indian Tribes of North America," estimates them with more precision, in 1836, at six thousand souls. The forty-ninth degree of north latitude, extended from the Lake of the Woods, bisects their hunting-grounds, leaving, it is believed, the larger part of the nation within the boundaries of Canada.

## MANDANS.

The Mandans, according to a tradition which they communicated in 1805, had a subterraneous origin. They were shut out from the light of heaven, and dwelt together near an underground lake. A grape-vine, which extended its adventurous roots far into the earth, gave them the first intimation of the light that gladdened the face of the world above them. By means of this vine one-half of the tribe climbed up to the surface, and were delighted with the light and air, wild fruits, and game. The other half were left in their dark prison-house, owing to the bulk and weight of an old woman, who, by her corpulency, tore down the vine and prevented any more of the tribe from ascending.

The religion of the Mandans consists in a belief in one great presiding good spirit, who is observant of their destinies. Each individual selects for himself some animal or other object of personal devotion. This animal, or other object, becomes his protector and intercessor with the Great Spirit. To please and propitiate this animal, every attention is bestowed. Success in war, as in hunting and planting, is sought through this intercessor, who is ever regarded as a guardian spirit. The rites of this guardian-worship are generally secret, and the favor sought is through magic, or through the skill of the supplicant in simples and medicines. Every operation of the laws of nature which is not palpable to the senses is deemed mysterious and supernatural. By the ignorant Canadians who were first brought into contact with the tribe this unseen action was called "a medicine." The Indians readily adopted this erroneous phrase, and they are now disposed to look upon every mysterious phenomenon as medical in its nature.

Information given to General William Clarke, in his expedition up the Missouri, would indicate that the Mandans have suffered greater vicissitudes of fortune than most of the American tribes. About a century ago they were settled on both banks of the Missouri, some fifteen hundred miles above its mouth. They were then living in nine villages, surrounded by circular walls of earth. The ruins of one of the old villages, observed in 1804, covered nearly eight acres. Two of these villages were on the east and seven on the west side of the Missouri. The Mandans were first discovered and made known to the whites, who settled in the region indicated, in 1772. They appear to have been bitterly hostile to the Dakotas or Sioux and Assiniboines, who, from the earliest traditionary times, waged fierce war against them. Finding themselves sorely pressed by this war, and having experienced the wasting inroads of smallpox, the two eastern villages united into one, and the people migrated up the river to a point opposite the Arickarees, fourteen hundred and thirty miles above its mouth. The same causes soon pressed upon the seven western villages, reducing them to five. Their inhabitants also afterwards migrated in a body, and joined their relatives in the Arickaree country, where they settled themselves in two large villages. Here they dwelt for a time, still subject to the fierce attacks of their enemies; then, deeming the position unfavorable, they removed higher up the river and took possession of a

precipitous and easily defensible point of land formed by a bend of the Missouri, where they constituted one compact village in 1776. The eastern Mandans had settled in two villages, but, finding the attacks of the Sioux hard to be resisted, they united also in one village. The two divisions of Mandan villages were still separated by the Missouri River, but seated directly opposite each other, and about three miles apart.

The position is estimated to be sixteen hundred miles from the junction of the Missouri with the Mississippi. There they were visited by Lewis and Clarke on the 27th of October, 1804. This was a memorable and auspicious event in their history, as the intrepid American explorers determined to pass their first winter in this vicinity. They built Fort Mandan a few miles distant, on a heavily-wooded piece of bottom-land, which yielded trees of sufficient size for erecting quarters for themselves and the men. They immediately opened an intercourse with the Mandans, and established a friendship with them, which was strengthened by the incidents of a winter's residence. Captain Clarke on one occasion marched out with a body of men to defend them against a murderous attack of the Sioux, and by this act of friendship secured their highest respect and gave them a practical assurance of his fidelity. In accordance with the policy of the government, he counselled them against the fatal policy of those wars which had reduced their population from nine to two villages and threatened them with extinction. He recognized Poscopsahe, or Black Wild Cat, as their first chief, and Kagonamok as their second chief, with their subordinates, and distributed medals and flags in accordance with these recognitions. Poscopsahe responded to his advice, proposing a general peace among the prairie tribes, and admitted the good influences that must flow from this expedition through their country. The expedition remained some five months at Fort Mandan, and made a very favorable impression upon this tribe.

No estimate of the Mandan population is given by Lewis and Clarke. It is a point respecting which their chiefs seem to have been studiously silent. It is to be remarked that the whole aboriginal population of the United States have at all periods of their history manifested a strong repugnance to be numbered.

Surrounded as the Mandans were by active enemies, and doomed, as they appear to be, to extinction, they might have resisted their course of depopulation a long period, had it not been for the recurrence of smallpox among them in the summer of 1837. This pestilence swept off one-half of the prairie tribes, and the Mandan population was reduced in a few days to less than one-sixteenth of its previous number. One of the reports of the disaster reduced the survivors to thirty-one, another to one hundred and twenty-five, another to one hundred and forty-five. They were compelled to abandon their villages, now rendered pestilential. The survivors at first fled to the Minnetarees, and afterwards established a small village a few miles above the old site of Fort Mandan. By the report of Colonel D. D. Mitchell, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, dated in 1852, the number of the Mandans was shown to be three hundred and eighty-five.

They live at present in a permanent village with the Arickarees and Gros Ven-

tres near Fort Berthold, Dakota, on the Missouri. They have a civilization of their own, are agriculturists, and have houses made of wood.

The origin of the Mandans is a subject on which there has been great diversity of opinion. In 1804-05, during the ascent of Lewis and Clarke's expedition, there lived four miles below the Mandan village, at a place called Mahaha, on a high plain at the mouth of Knife River, the remnant of a tribe called Ahahways, or "people who dwell on a hill." They were called by the French *Souliers Noirs*, or Black Shoes, and by the Mandans *Wattasoons*. This people, though regarded as a distinct tribe, appear to have been in many respects closely kindred to the Mandans. They dwelt near them, at lower points of the Missouri, and were driven off, along with the Mandans, by the Siouxs and Assiniboines, by whom the greater part of them were put to death. They coincide with them in their religious beliefs, and in their manners and customs, and were always on good terms with them and with their allies, the *Minnetarees*. It is affirmed of the *Wattasoons* that they claim to have once been a part of the *Upsaroka* or *Crow* nation, whom they still acknowledge as relations. They understand the language of the *Minnetarees*, their near neighbors and friends, and it is presumed that they are affiliated to the latter.

#### MINNETAREES AND ARICKAREES.

The *Minnetarees* were found in their present position by Lewis and Clarke. They formerly occupied three small villages at the mouth of the Knife River. They are the *Gros Ventres* and *Ponch* Indians of the French, and the *Big Bellies* and *Fall* Indians of the *Hudson Bay* traders. The accounts given to these explorers put them at six hundred warriors, or three thousand souls, on the Missouri, in 1804. Mandan tradition asserts that the *Minnetarees* came out of the water to the east and settled near them, when they occupied their position at the nine villages; that they were a numerous people, and settled themselves on the southern banks of the Missouri. While thus seated, a feud arose among them, and a separation took place; two bands of them went into the plains, under separate leaders, and were known by the name of *Crow* and *Paunch* Indians. The other bands moved up the Missouri concurrently with themselves to their present position. In these migrations the *Minnetarees* and *Mandans* had the same friends and the same enemies.

This tradition the *Minnetarees* themselves do not receive. True to the general Indian principle of local origin and independency, they assert that they grew out of the ground where they now live. They also assert that the *Metahartas*, or *Minnetarees* of the *Willows*, whose language is the same as theirs, with little variation, also came out of the plains and joined them,—a belief which confirms the Mandan tradition of their former dispersion while living near the nine villages.

Lewis and Clarke were informed that the *Minnetarees* were a part of the *Fall* Indians, who occupy the country between the Missouri, at Mandan, and the great *Saskatchewan* River of Canada; but there is little doubt that they are in reality a band of *Arapahoes* who seceded in 1815.

“The Minnetarees and Crows,” says Morgan, “who are subdivisions of an original nation, seem to form a connecting link between the Dakota and Missouri nations on the one hand, and the Gulf nations, namely, the Creeks, Choctaws, Seminoles, etc., on the other. Their dialects class them with the former, their system of consanguinity with the latter.”

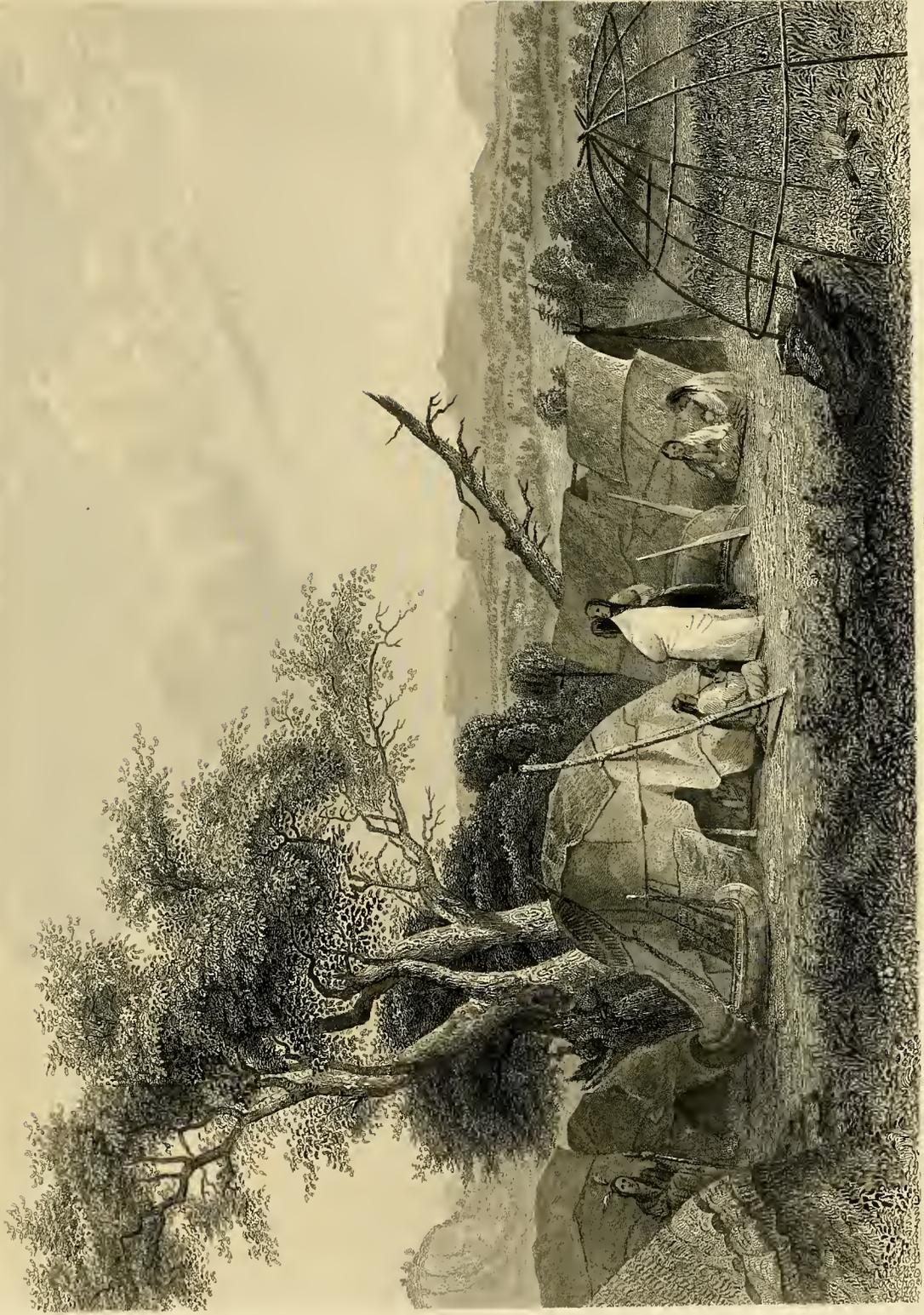
When the smallpox disappeared from the country, the once powerful nation of Mandans was reduced to one hundred and twenty-five souls, and the nation consisted mostly of women and children. The Arickarees (a neighboring and friendly tribe) moved in and took possession of the village. They were thus for the time being protected against their relentless enemies the Sioux. The Arickarees were originally in the Platte Valley, in Nebraska, with the Pawnees, to whom they were related. Within the present century they have made their way northward to their present location. They are believed to be a distinct tribe. As the Mandan children grew up and intermarried, the population rapidly increased,—so much so that in 1847 the remnants of the tribe gathered together and built a town or village for themselves, where they now reside on friendly terms with their neighbors, and are rapidly increasing in population.

The Mandans are a proud, high-spirited tribe, and could not bear the idea of losing their name and nationality by being amalgamated with the Arickarees or any other nation.

In their language, manners, customs, and mode of life they are altogether different from the Indians occupying that region of country, and, in fact, they differ from all other Indians on the continent of America.

Apart from their peculiar language and habits, there is a physical peculiarity. A large portion of the Mandans have gray hair, and blue or light brown eyes, with a Jewish cast of features. It is nothing uncommon to see children of both sexes, from five to six years of age, with hair perfectly gray. They are also much fairer than the prairie or mountain tribes, though this may be in some degree attributable to the fact of their living in dirt lodges, so that they are less exposed to the sun than the prairie tribes.

The number of Indians now at the Fort Berthold Agency is twelve hundred and fifty-two,—viz., Arickarees, six hundred and thirty-six; Gros Ventres, three hundred and sixty-four; Mandans, two hundred and fifty-two. They live in villages, in log houses with dirt roofs. These houses are built very close together, with no regularity of arrangement, the doors facing in every possible direction, with a considerable number of large earth-covered lodges having a hole in the top to let the light in, which also serves to let out the smoke from the fire. The soil they have to cultivate is thin, rough, and rocky, and such as would fail to give a white man, with all his superior intelligence and experience, a living. Nine-tenths of the land at this reservation is wholly unfit for cultivation. They have no treaty with the government, are now and have always been friendly to the whites, and are exceptionally known to the officers of the army and to frontiersmen as “good Indians.”





These Indians are still wedded to many of their old traditions. Scaffold-sepulture is practised to a considerable extent, but interment is becoming more common. The traditional sun-dance, with its attendant tortures, through which the candidate who aspires to be a "brave" must pass, is still practised among them. The medicine-man, once indispensable, is fast losing his occupation, and the Indians are with increasing frequency accepting the more rational treatment of the agency physician.

#### UPSAROKAS, OR CROWS.

The Upsaroka or Crow Indians, a branch of the Dakotas, numbering three thousand four hundred and seventy, occupy a reservation of eight million acres of excellent land in Southern Montana. This was their original range, and no part of the surrounding country was safe from their raids. They are a cowardly tribe, noted as marauders and horse-stealers. They were crafty enough to avoid open war with the whites, but would rob them on all occasions when opportunity offered. They are tall and athletic, and very dark. Intermarried with and included among them are Bannocks, Gros Ventres, Assiniboines, Piegans, Arapahoes, Blackfeet, and even their hereditary enemies the Sioux. Many of these were captured when infants, and adopted into the Crow tribe. The Crows have considerable property, owning, among other items, thirteen thousand mules and horses. They are essentially nomadic, and fond of the chase, which is their main dependence, as the government supplies them with only four months' rations. As a tribe they are notoriously improvident, knowing little of the value of money. Many of them wear articles of citizens' dress. Their principal amusements are dancing, singing, and horse-racing. They are an extremely light-hearted and contented people. Their progress in civilization is very small. They have but one school, with only nine scholars.

#### WINNEBAGOES.

The name of Puants, as the cognomen for an Indian tribe, first appears in the French missionary authors in 1669. The people on whom they bestowed it lived on Green Bay, of Wisconsin, and the bay itself was named after the tribe. By the Algonkins they were called Wee-ni-bee-gog, a term which has long been anglicized under the form of Winnebagoes. The original is founded on two Algonkin words, namely, *weenud*, turbid or foul, and *nibeeg*, the plural form for water. The words Winnipeg and Winnepeag, names for Northern lakes, mean simply turbid water. It is found that both the lakes thus named have a stratum of whitish muddy clay at their bottoms, which is disturbed by high winds, giving the water a whitish hue and imparting to it more or less turbidity. The termination *o*, in the word Winnebago, stands in the place of the accusative, and renders the term personal.

The tribe calls itself Hochungara, which is said to mean Trout nation, and sometimes Horoji, or Fish-eaters. They appear to have formerly exercised considerable influence among the surrounding tribes. Their language shows them to belong to the

great Dakota stock of the West, and they were found in the van of that group of families or tribes, being the only one of its number that had crossed the Mississippi below Minnesota in its progress eastward.

The Winnebagoes are men of good stature and dignified bearing, and have the characteristic straight black hair, black, glistening eyes, and red skins of the Indian race. They maintained the position of a tribe of independent feelings and national pride during all the earlier periods of our acquaintance with them.

The claim of the Hochungaras to the possession of considerable mental capacity is sustained by the cranial admeasurements made some years ago at the Academy of Natural Sciences at Philadelphia. In these examinations their crania were shown to have an average internal capacity of eighty-nine cubic inches, and a facial angle of seventy-nine degrees.

How long they had maintained their position at Green Bay before the arrival of the French we know not. But they had receded from it towards the West before the visit of Carver, in 1766, who found them on Fox River. Father Allouez says that it was a tradition in his days that they had been almost destroyed, about 1640, by the Illinois. They have kept on good terms, within the period of history, with the Sacs and Foxes, the once noted and erratic Mascotins, the Menomonies, Ottawas, Chippewas, and Pottawatomies,—a fact which denotes a wise and considerate policy on the part of their chiefs. Their own traditions, and accounts gathered from some of the tribes on the Missouri River, would indicate that from this tribe sprang the Iowas, Missouris, Otoes, and Omahaws. These Indians call the Winnebagoes elder brothers.

The earliest Winnebago traditions relate to their residence at Red Banks, on the east shore of Green Bay, where they traded with the French. They have a tradition that they once built a fort, an event which appears to have made a general impression on the tribe, and which may without improbability be connected with the archæological remains of an ancient work at Aztalan, Wisconsin, on Rock River.

The Wisconsin, Rock, and Wolf Rivers, flowing from a central height east, west, and south, gave them the advantage of descending on their enemies at will. The French found them in league with the Menomonies, and these two tribes gave shelter to the flying Sacs and Foxes when they were finally expelled from Lower Michigan. This flight was not completed at the commencement of Pontiac's war,—so late as the year 1760. With the French, notwithstanding the reception of these two fugitive tribes, they maintained friendly relations, and traded uninterruptedly. With the Chippewas, Ottawas, Pottawatomies, Kickapoos, Mascotins, and other tribes of the Algonkin group of families who surrounded their possessions north, east, and southeast, they also kept on general terms of friendship,—a point that required great address, as the Sacs and Foxes seemed to have cut loose from their ancient natural Algonkin affinities, and were perpetually making inroads on those tribes, particularly on the Chippewas of Lake Superior, whom they united with the Sionx in opposing. Tradition represents the Sacs and Foxes as having engaged in battles against the Chippewas at Lac Vieux Désert, Lac du Flambeau, and the Falls

of St. Croix and Francis River, on the Upper Mississippi. They were defeated, along with the Sioux, by the Chippewas under Waub-ojeeg, in a great battle at the Falls of St. Croix. For the Winnebagoes to preserve their relations with the French under these circumstances required skill and diplomacy; but in this they had the support of the great body of the Sioux, their relatives, who dwelt immediately west of them on the Mississippi.

On the fall of the French power in Canada, in 1760, the Winnebagoes were cautious about entering into intimate relations with Great Britain. But the French had left an element of great influence with the Western Indians, in the *métif* population, or the half-breeds, of mixed French and Indian blood. This power was conciliated by the English agents and officers, who thus mollified the Indian resentments, and finally gained the confidence of the aboriginal tribes.

The Winnebagoes were firm in their new fealty. They opened their country to English traders; and when the Americans rose, in 1776, to assert their independence, the Winnebagoes sided with the crown. In all local questions of jurisdiction, such as were discussed at Prairie du Chien, Green Bay, and Michilimackinac, they were arrayed, without a single exception, on the side of the British authorities.

When the question of fealty assumed a new vitality, in the war of 1812, the same preferences prevailed. They sided with the crown and flag of the red cross against the Americans. They helped to defeat Colonel Croghan at Michilimackinac, Colonel Dudley at the rapids of the Miami, and General Winchester at the river Raisin. They were brought into the field of action by Colonel Robert Dixon and Mr. Crawford, two prominent traders of leading influence, who then resided at Prairie du Chien and St. Peter's. They hovered, with the other hostile lake tribes, around the beleaguered garrison of Detroit, and helped to render the surrounding forests vocal with the war-whoop. And they returned, in 1815, like the other tribes, to their positions in the northwestern forests of Wisconsin, Upper Michigan, Iowa, and Illinois, rather chafallen, to reflect that they had not in reality been fighting for their own independence, but merely to assist one white power to sustain itself against another. This was acknowledged at a public conference at Drummond Island, in 1816, by the noted chief Waubashaw.

In 1811 they had listened to the false Shawnee prophet of the Wabash, Elkswat-tawa, and his more celebrated brother Tecumseh, who told them, along with the whole mass of the Western Indians, that the time had arrived for checking the Americans in their progress, and for regaining, under the British standard, their lost dominion in the West. They accordingly contributed auxiliaries in the war that ensued. They, like the other Indians, reduced their population thereby, lost every promised object, were wholly deserted or unrecognized in the treaty of Ghent, and returned to their homes gloomy and sour-minded. They showed some insolence in the years immediately following towards certain travellers in the Fox and Wisconsin Valleys. Hoo-choop, a stern chief at the outlet of Winnebago Lake, assumed to be the keeper of the Fox River Valley, and levied tribute, in some cases, for the privilege of ascent.

In the autumn of 1821, a young Winnebago, called Ke-taw-kah, killed Dr. Madison, of the United States army, under circumstances of great cruelty, and without the slightest provocation. The murderer was promptly arrested, tried, and executed. The act was disavowed by the nation, and led to no interruption of peaceful relations.

For some years after the war of 1812, in which the political hopes of all the tribes were wrecked, they were looked upon with distrust by travellers. But with the exception of the murder of Dr. Madison, and that of a man named Ulric, at Green Bay, they gave way to few passionate outbreaks, and preserved peaceful relations with the United States. All the lake tribes had been misled by the war of 1812, supposing that its result, through their adherence to the mother country, would be to restore to them their hunting-grounds west of the Alleghanies, or at least to set bounds to the encroachments of the Americans; and when the contrary result was made known to them, most of the tribes retired from the field of conflict to their native woods, as angry as a bear that has been robbed of her cubs.

The Winnebagoes were not, therefore, peculiar in their moodiness after this war. The history of their dealings with the American government is brief and definite. The first indication that they could not permanently remain in Wisconsin was perhaps given by the expedition to explore the country, in 1820. They gazed at that expedition silently, as if not understanding it. In 1822 they were visited by Rev. Jedediah Morse, who says, "They have five villages on the lake, and fourteen on Rock River. The country has abundance of springs, small lakes, ponds, and rivers; a rich soil, producing corn and all sorts of grain. The lakes abound with fine-flavored firm fish. The Indians are industrious, frugal, and temperate. They cultivate corn, potatoes, pumpkins, squashes, and beans, and are remarkably provident. They number five hundred and eighty souls." Their first treaty with the United States was signed June 3, 1816, about five months after the treaty of Ghent, in which they pledged themselves to peace, confirmed all prior grants to the British, French, and Spanish governments, and agreed to restore prisoners. On the 19th of August, 1825, and the 11th of August, 1827, they adjusted, at Prairie du Chien and Butte des Morts, with the other tribes and with the United States, their territorial boundaries, and also agreed upon treaties of peace and friendship. The lingering unfriendly feeling produced by the war of 1812 broke out at Prairie du Chien, on the Mississippi, in the summer of 1827, when they fired on a barge descending that stream, and committed other outrages. This led to the prompt movement of troops from St. Louis, who checked the outbreak; and Hoo-choop, their principal chief in East Wisconsin, with thirteen other principal men, signed the treaty of the 11th of August, 1827.

In the year 1828 the discovery of valuable lead-mines in their territory, north of Rock River, led the inhabitants of the frontiers of Illinois to pass over and commence mining operations in that quarter. This produced alarms and collisions on both sides, which were settled by the treaty of Green Bay, of August 12, 1828, by

which a temporary line of boundary was established, and twenty thousand dollars allowed the Indians for depredations made upon their territory.

On the 1st of August, 1829, they ceded a tract south of the Wisconsin River, including the mineral district, for the consideration of five hundred and forty thousand dollars, payable in coin, in thirty annual equal instalments. In addition, large appropriations were made for agricultural purposes, the introduction of smiths and agents, and the payment of claims.

In 1831-32 they unwisely connected themselves in a clandestine participation of some of the bands with the schemes of Black Hawk. The war with the Sacs and Foxes was waged exclusively on the Winnebago territory; at its close they ceded all their remaining land in Wisconsin lying south of the Wisconsin and Fox Rivers, and accepted in exchange for it a tract west of the Mississippi, in Iowa, called the Neutral Ground. The sum of two hundred and seventy thousand dollars, payable in coin, in twenty-seven annual payments of ten thousand dollars each, was granted to equalize the exchange of territory. By this treaty stipulations were made for the introduction of schools, the removal of shops and agencies, and their advance in agriculture and civilization. The treaty, which was concluded at Rock Island on the 15th of September, 1833, was of great benefit to the tribe, who prospered and increased in population under its execution.

One of the worst acts resulting from their connection with the Sac war, and one which stains their character by its atrocity, was the assassination of Mr. Pierre Pacquette, the interpreter at the agency, on the Wisconsin Portage. He was a man of Winnebago lineage, and was reputed to be one of the best friends and counsellors of the nation. More than one-fourth of the tribe was carried off by smallpox in 1836.

By a treaty concluded on the 1st of November, 1837, they agreed to remove to the Neutral Ground, the United States agreeing to transfer there the privileges for their civilization, and to establish manual-labor schools for their instruction.

On the 23d of October, 1839, Governor Lucas, of Iowa, reported that an exploring party of them had arrived in that Territory in the spring of that year, to the alarm of Keokuk, the head Fox chief, who complained of the movement and requested that they might be sent south of the Missouri. The Winnebagoes themselves disliked the removal, and could not be induced to go south. The commissioner, in his report of November 28, 1840, remarks that after some of the contiguous bands had passed over the Mississippi, the rest manifested so much aversion to quitting their old homes in Wisconsin that the task of inducing them to migrate was committed to General Atkinson, who eventually extended the time to the spring of 1841. Great efforts were required to overcome their reluctance. In September, 1840, the aged chief Karamanee, as well as Weenoshak and other chiefs, made speeches to the agent strenuously opposing it. At length the government determined to remove the agency, schools, and shops to Turkey River, and directed the next annuities to be paid there. The nation still clung, as with a death-grasp, to the hills and valleys of Wisconsin; but these steps were effective.

Mr. Lowry, their agent, remarked in 1842 that the depopulation from indulgence, drink, and disease, which had attended the removal, had been very great and demoralizing. He says that the number of children to each female in the tribe did not exceed the average of one, and that wretchedness and bloodshed were of so frequent occurrence as to have ceased to excite attention. Thirty-nine persons had perished in this way in a short time, and sometimes two or three were stabbed to death in a night.

Under this arrangement subsequent removals were made to the stipulated grounds in Iowa, till the whole tribe had migrated. During a period of ten or twelve years, while they occupied the Neutral Ground, they appear to have augmented in their numbers and means and improved in habits. There was a visible change in habits of cleanliness, and their opinions respecting the subject of labor underwent a marked change, so that the females were no longer expected or allowed alone to work in their fields.

On the 13th of October, 1846, in a treaty concluded with authorized delegates, the tribe ceded the "Neutral Ground," in Iowa, and agreed to accept an adequate tract of country north of the river St. Peter's, on the Upper Mississippi. By this treaty one hundred and ninety thousand dollars was to be paid them in various forms, of which sum the interest of eighty-five thousand dollars, at five per cent., was directed to be paid to them in annuities during a period of thirty years.

In conformity with this treaty, the tribe was removed to a tract on the Upper Mississippi, between the Watab and Crow-Wing Rivers; which tract was purchased from the Chippewas by the treaty of the 2d of August, 1847. The seat of the agency was established at Long Prairie River, where buildings and shops were put up for them, and extensive fields fenced in and ploughed by the farmers appointed to teach them agriculture. Some difficulties were encountered in inducing the entire tribe to concentrate on this position, and in overcoming the erratic habits of the tribe. Although in no way implicated in the Sioux outbreak in Minnesota in 1862, government was compelled by the popular outcry from that State to remove them. They were taken to the Crow Creek Agency, Dakota, whence, after great hardships and suffering, and to avoid starvation, they fled to the Omaha Reservation, in Eastern Nebraska, where, after six removes, they now are.

The earliest notice we have of the Winnebago population is one found at Paris, in a manuscript list of Indian tribes prepared by M. Chaurignerie in 1736. He puts the Puants or Winnebagoes at eighty warriors and seven hundred souls.

It is to be remembered in relation to these small numbers that Allouez had reported them to have been almost destroyed by the Illinois at a prior period. In the estimates published by Colonel Bouquet, in the narrative of his march west of the Alleghanies, in 1764, they are put down at seven hundred warriors,—an evident mistake. Pike, the first American author on the subject, estimates the entire Winnebago population in 1806 at two thousand. Their present population is fourteen hundred and twenty-nine. They have the reputation of being the most treacherous and cowardly of the Western tribes.

## OMAHAS.

The Omahas were formerly on the St. Peter's River, Minnesota, where they cultivated the soil. Reduced by smallpox, they abandoned their village, and wandered into Nebraska. After a succession of removals; they settled on their present reservation in Eastern Nebraska of about twenty square miles, where they are largely engaged in agriculture and to some extent in stock-raising, and are making good progress in civilization. They number eleven hundred and twenty, and have lands allotted to them in severalty.

## PONCAS.

The Poncas, originally of the Omaha tribe, were settled near the Red River of the North. Driven west by the Dakotas, they halted on the Ponca River, Dakota. In 1859 they ceded all their lands to the United States, receiving in return the promise of protection in the possession of a small tract reserved, and annuities for thirty years. They were then placed on a reservation at the mouth of the Niobrara, and had taken lands in severalty, when, in 1877, they were forced to give them up and remove to the Indian Territory. Here they suffered from disease and want, and in 1878 a portion of them made their way back to their old home. Public attention having been drawn to the wrong done these Indians, the Secretary of the Interior, while admitting that a serious mistake had been made, declared that he was unable to rectify it, and endeavored to prevail upon the Poncas to remain on the reservation. A satisfactory settlement was made August 18, 1881, when the Sioux, to whom the Ponca lands had been transferred, expressed their willingness to give them to the Poncas. When White Thunder, the successor of Spotted Tail, and spokesman of the Sioux, was asked by Secretary Kirkwood if the Sioux expected pay from the United States for these lands, he drew himself up proudly and replied, "No, my friend, that is not what I want. You told me yesterday that I ought to have pity upon these poor Poncas. If I have pity upon them, I am not going to take their money. We give them the land they need."

The story of the wrongs inflicted upon this tribe by the wretched mismanagement of the Indian Department, and of the patience and fortitude with which they have borne the miseries and hardships inflicted upon them, has been well and truly told in Mrs. Jackson's "A Century of Dishonor."

## IOWAS.

The Iowas are noticed in the earlier French accounts of the Mississippi Valley. It is doubtful whether they were known to the early Spanish adventurers who visited the lower part of that valley. The name "Ayennes," which appears in the narrative of Cabeça de Vaca's wanderings through Arkansas, after the unfortunate expedition of Narvaez, in 1527, may possibly be a reference to them. Their history,

along with that of the other tribes of the Great Prairie or Dakota group, assigns them an origin in the Southwest. The French usually called them Ayouas or Ajoues,—an orthography which very well represents the correct sound of the name.

In Alcedo's Spanish Geography, under the name of Ajoues, they are mentioned as a tribe of Louisiana, for whose government a garrison had been kept on the Missouri.

The Iowas are probably but a remnant of a once numerous and considerable nation, which has dwindled down to the present few, and these have lost much of their pure native character. As their numbers diminish before the whites, so also are their native characteristics destroyed. Indeed, they themselves complain that they are losing the great medicine of their fathers, that they do not now worship as they once did, and that much of their history and character is lost.

The earliest location to which their traditions assign them is at the junction of Rock River with the Mississippi. This was probably in or very near Winnebago territory, and the correctness of their narrative is confirmed by the traditions of several of the Missouri tribes. From this point they migrated down the Mississippi to the river Des Moines, and fixed themselves on its south fork. They next made an extraordinary migration, abandoning the Mississippi and all its upper tributaries, and ascending the Missouri to a point of land formed by a small stream, on its east shore, called by the Indians Fish Creek, which flows in from the direction of, and not far from, the celebrated Red Pipe Stone quarry, now in Pipe Stone County, Minnesota. They next descended the Missouri to the junction of the Nebraska or Great Platte River, and settled on the west bank, keeping the buffalo ranges on their west. They next migrated still lower down the Missouri, and fixed themselves on the head-waters of the Little Platte River.

From this location, when circumstances had rendered another change desirable, they returned to the Mississippi, and located themselves at the mouth of Salt River. They next ascended the Mississippi, and settled on its east bank, at the junction of a stream in the present area of Illinois. Their next migration carried them still higher on that shore, to the junction of another stream, which is very near their original starting-point. They receded again to the south and west, first fixing themselves on Salt River, above their prior site, and afterwards changing their location to its source. They then passed, evidently by land, to the higher forks of the river Chariton, of Missouri, and next descended that stream to near its mouth. The next two migrations of this tribe were to the west valley of the Grand River, and then to its forks. Still continuing their general migrations to the south and west, they chose the east bank of the Missouri, opposite the present site of Fort Leavenworth, and finally settled on the west bank of the Missouri, between the mouths of the Wolf and the Great Nemaha, where they now reside.

These migrations are deemed to be all of modern date, not exceeding the period to which well-known tradition could reach. Their traditions do not, it would seem, take them back to their probable ancient residence on the Lower and Upper Iowa Rivers and about the region of St. Anthony's Falls. The migrations were probably

determined by the facility of procuring food, for which they relied greatly on the deer, elk, and buffalo. As these animals are given to changes of locality, it is probable they carried the Indians with them. It is not likely that their locations were of long continuance at any one place. Marquette found them, in 1673, at the mouth of the Des Moines.

The Iowas first entered into treaty relations with the United States September 16, 1815. Their original right to the soil, with that of all the Western tribes, is fully acknowledged. They have ceded considerable portions of territory. The tribe gives name to one of the States of the Union, a territory of great beauty of surface and exuberant fertility, abounding in water-power, and possessing a fine climate. The language of the tribe is a well-marked dialect of the generic Dakota group.

The Iowas are among themselves, and also among the neighboring tribes, called "Pa-hu-cha," or "Dusty-nose." When they separated from the first Indian tribe, or family, to hunt game, their first location was near the mouth of a river, where there were large sand-bars, from which the wind blew quantities of sand or dust upon their faces, and on this account they were called Dusty-noses. In 1848, an old Iowa Indian gave the following account of his tribe: "About sixty-six years ago we lived on a river which runs from a lake to the Mississippi, from the east, and on the east side of that river. Our fathers and great-fathers lived there for a long time, as long as they could recollect. At that time we had about four hundred men fit to go to war, but we were then small to what we had been. Our fathers say that as long as they can recollect we have been diminishing. We owned all the land east of the Mississippi. Whatever ground we made tracks through, it was ours. Our fathers saw white men on the lakes about one hundred and twenty years ago, but we do not know where they came from. About the same time we first got guns. We were afraid of them at first; they seemed like the 'Great Spirit.' Our fathers also at the same time, for the first time, received iron axes, hoes, kettles, and woollen blankets. We, the old men of our nation, first saw white men between forty and fifty years ago, near the mouth of the Missouri."

The notion of their having descended from animals seems to prevail; and they say that all the tribes of Indians were originally one, and that to obtain subsistence they scattered in families, and in this way became distinct tribes. The place where they lived, when all in one tribe, was on an island, or at least across a large water, towards the east or sunrise. They crossed this water by skin canoes, and by swimming. How long they were in crossing, or whether the water was salt or fresh, they do not know. No event of antiquity worthy of note is remembered by them.

The Iowas, one hundred and seventy-six in number, occupy a small reservation in Northeastern Kansas and Southeastern Nebraska, contiguous to that of the Sac and Fox tribes, and containing about twenty-two thousand acres of fine farming and grazing land. They live in houses furnished with many of the comforts and conveniences of civilized life, have a school in successful operation, cultivate farms and orchards, and are self-supporting. They are temperate, frugal, and industrious. During the late rebellion they furnished a number of soldiers to the Union army.

## OSAGES.

The Osages were once among the most numerous and warlike nations on this continent, with a domain extending from the Gulf to the Missouri River, and from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains. They now own two thousand two hundred and ninety-seven square miles in the Indian Territory, west of the Cherokees and north of the Creek country. They number about two thousand. This small remnant is all that is left of a heroic race that once held sway over all this region, and which has been wasted by war and famine. They were allies of the French, but during the present century they have been steadfast in friendship to the Americans, notwithstanding the many and grievous wrongs inflicted upon them. Strange as it may seem, one great cause of their decline has been this very fidelity to their pledges. White men have stolen their horses, driven them from their homes, and inflicted upon them almost every form of outrage and wrong, unchecked by the government and unpunished. While government failed to afford them the protection it guaranteed them by treaty, their fidelity and submissiveness brought upon them the hostility of the wild tribes, who also stole their horses, and drove them from their hunting-grounds, depriving them of their only means of subsistence, and entailing upon them suffering, starvation, and death. Thus the exercise of the highest virtue placed this people between the upper and the nether millstone.

They are richly endowed by nature, physically and morally. Their Kansas Reservation, embracing eight million acres of valuable land, offered a strong temptation to land-grabbers, and in 1871 it was disposed of at one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre, and the tribe moved to its present reservation. Though a large number of them have been taught to read and write, they cling tenaciously to their old customs and religion, and wear the blanket. Their wealth consists in horses (of which they own not less than twelve thousand) and in cattle. The Quapaws, nearly two hundred in number, are with the Osages. They are semi-civilized, though too poor to dress as citizens. The Kaw (or Kansas) tribe removed to the Osage Agency in 1872. They are an offshoot from this tribe, and were driven from their former home in Missouri by the Dakotas. They number a little over three hundred, and are rapidly becoming civilized.

## IROQUOIS.

The Iroquois, or Six Nations, were the foremost among the aborigines of this continent in war, eloquence, and policy. This was owing in part to their geographical position, their political organization, and their system of totemship. Their confederacy of eight totemic clans dates back a century before the arrival of the Dutch. They had extensive fortifications, which Denonville, in 1687, and Frontenac, in 1696, levelled with the earth. They tilled the soil, raising an abundance of vegetables and immense fields of maize. They dwelt in well-constructed villages the

most of the time, and yet were more loose in the observance of social ties than the nomadic tribes of the North. They were more intelligent and less tractable than other tribes. Their coarse pottery and their spear- and arrow-heads of stone exhibit no superiority over those of many other tribes. Besides driving the Hurons from their native seats, they subdued the Lenape, the leading Algonkin tribe (about 1650), and expelled the Ottawas from the borders of the river Ottawa. Their conquests extended to every adjacent region, and their war-parties carried terror even to the walls of Quebec. Their losses were made up by their custom of adopting a portion of their captives as members of their tribes.

Of the several governments existing in America when it was discovered and settled, none had a system which was at all comparable for excellence and stability with the confederacy of the Iroquois. The tribes or cantons which originally composed it were affiliated, not very closely, perhaps, or permanently, by history; though having the same language. Arrested in their wanderings, they became fixed to the soil. They still pursued war and hunting; but the field for war was external, and they returned in triumph to their respective cantons and villages, where their families pursued agriculture. A fixity of location, as in the two celebrated instances of Mexico and Peru, was the first fruit-bearing point in their social and political advance. The next was the absolute independence of the cantons. Each canton was, in fact, a military federal republic, in the councils of which the warriors were the representatives, and they were bound together by a general cordon of cantons. Unanimity was urged in all public questions by every consideration of interest and honor. But it is very clear, as resulting from the absolute independence of the confederates, that each canton had a power very like that described by the Roman term *veto*; for it could dissent from the central proceedings without being called in question. Its quota of men was freely offered or refused. Contributions for a central government there were none. A high notion of military glory existed, but the voluntary principle supported all the common interests.

While Mexico and Peru are celebrated as world-renowned monarchies, exhibiting the highest efforts of the Indian mind in architecture, arts, and knowledge of the solar recessions, and of the literature of pictographic records, their people are believed to have fallen far short in power of thought and forecast, and in public spirit, to what we see exhibited at the same era, and for a century and a half later, in the Iroquois republic, a confederacy of bold tribes, which guaranteed to each nation, while conceding general power, a tribal or cantonal independence and sovereignty, and at the same time gave to each man and warrior his equal rights. This is in some sense a solution of the great political problem which has since been solved more completely by the American government, though not more perfectly, perhaps, so far as equal personal rights and a jealousy of hereditary and unjust privileges are concerned.

It is a memorable fact that the Iroquois were so strongly impressed with the wisdom of the working of their system of confederation that they publicly recommended a similar union to the British colonies. In the important conferences at

Lancaster, in 1744, Canassatego, a respected sachem, expressed this view to the commissioners of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland. "Our wise forefathers," he said, "established union and amity between the Five Nations. This has made us formidable. This has given us great weight and authority with our neighboring nations. We are a powerful confederacy, and by observing the same methods our wise forefathers have taken, you will acquire fresh strength and power. Therefore I counsel you, whatever befalls you, never to fall out with one another."

"The Five Nations," observes Colden, in 1747, "(as their name denotes,) consist of so many tribes or nations, joined together by a league or confederacy, like the United Provinces, and without any superiority of the one over the other. This union has continued so long that the Christians know nothing of the original of it. The people in it are known to the English under the names of Mohawks, Oneydoes, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Sennekas.

"Each of these nations is again divided into three tribes or families, who distinguish themselves by three different arms or ensigns,—the tortoise, the bear, and the wolf; and the sachems, or old men of these families, put this ensign or mark of their family to every public paper when they sign it.

"Each of these nations is an absolute republic by itself, and every castle in each nation makes an independent republic, and is governed in all public affairs by its own sachems or old men. The authority of these rulers is gained by, and consists wholly in, the opinion the rest of the nation have of their wisdom and integrity. They never execute their resolutions by force upon any of their people. Honor and esteem are their principal rewards, as shame and being despised their punishments. They have certain customs which they observe in their public transactions with other nations, and in their private affairs among themselves, which it is scandalous for any one among them not to observe; and these always draw after them either public or private resentment whenever they are broke. Their leaders and captains in like manner obtain their authority by the general opinion of their courage and conduct, and lose it by a failure in those virtues.

"Their great men, both sachems and captains, are generally poorer than the common people; for they affect to give away and distribute all the presents or plunder they get in their treaties or in war, so as to leave nothing to themselves. There is not a man in the magistracy of the Five Nations who has gained his office otherwise than by merit; there is not the least salary or any sort of profit annexed to any office, to tempt the covetous and sordid; but, on the contrary, every unworthy action is unavoidably attended with the forfeiture of their commission; for their authority is only the esteem of the people, and ceases the moment that esteem is lost. Here we see the natural origin of all power and authority among a free people, and whatever artificial power or sovereignty any man may have acquired by the laws and constitution of a country, his real power will be either much greater or less in proportion to the esteem the people have for him.

"The Five Nations think themselves by nature superior to the rest of mankind, and call themselves *Ongue-honwe*,—that is, men surpassing all others. This opinion,

which they take care to cultivate and instil into their children, gives them that courage which has been so terrible to all the nations of North America; and they have taken such care to impress the same opinion of their people on all their neighbors that they on all occasions yield the most submissive obedience to them. I have been told by old men in New England who remembered the time when the Mohawks made war on their Indians, that as soon as a single Mohawk was discovered in the country, their Indians raised a cry from hill to hill, a Mohawk! a Mohawk! upon which they all fled like sheep before wolves, without attempting to make the least resistance, whatever odds were on their side. The poor New England Indians immediately ran to the Christian houses, and the Mohawks often pursued them so closely that they entered along with them, and knocked their brains out in the presence of the people of the house; but if the family attempted to shut the door, they never tried to force it, and on no occasion did any injury to the Christians. All the nations round them have for many years entirely submitted to them, and pay a yearly tribute to them in wampum;<sup>1</sup> they dare neither make war nor peace without the consent of the Mohawks. Two old men commonly go about every year or two to receive this tribute; and I have often had opportunity to observe what anxiety the poor Indians were under while these two old men remained in that part of the country where I was.

“An old Mohawk sachem, in a poor blanket and a dirty shirt, may be seen issuing his orders with as arbitrary an authority as a Roman dictator. It is not for the sake of tribute, however, that they make war, but from the notions of glory which they have ever most strongly imprinted on their minds; and the farther they go to seek an enemy, the greater glory they think they gain. There cannot, I think, be a greater or a stronger instance than this, how much the sentiments impressed upon a people’s mind conduce to their grandeur, or one that more verifies a saying often to be met with, though but too little minded, that it is in the power of the rulers of a people to make them either great or little; for by inculcating only the notions of honor and virtue, or those of luxury and riches, the people in a little time will soon become such as their rulers desire. The Five Nations, in their love of liberty and of their country, in their bravery in battle, and their constancy in enduring torments, equal the fortitude of the most renowned Romans. I shall finish their general character by what an enemy, a Frenchman, says of them,—Monsieur De la Poterie, in his History of North America. ‘When we speak,’ says he, ‘of the Five Nations, in France, they are thought by a common mistake to be mere barbarians, always thirsting after human blood; but their true character is very different. They are, indeed, the fiercest and most formidable people in North

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<sup>1</sup> “Wampum is the current money among the Indians. It is of two sorts, white and purple; the white is worked out of the inside of the great periwinkle-shell into the form of a bead, and perforated to string on leather; the purple is worked out of the inside of the clam-shell; they are wove as broad as one’s hand, and about two feet long; these they call belts, and give and receive at their treaties as the seals of friendship; for lesser matters a single string is given. Every bead is of a known value, and a belt of a less number is made to equal one of a greater by so many as is wanting fastened to the belt by a string.”

America, and at the same time are as politic and judicious as well can be conceived; and this appears from the management of all the affairs which they transact, not only with the French and English, but likewise with almost all the Indian nations of this vast continent.'

"The matters of consequence which concern all their nations are transacted in a general meeting of sachems of each nation. These conventions are commonly held at Onondaga, which is nearly the centre of their country; but they have fixed on Albany for the place of treating with the British colonies. They strictly follow one maxim, formerly used by the Romans to increase their strength,—that is, they encourage the people of other nations to incorporate with them; and when they have subdued any people, after they have satiated their revenge by some cruel examples, they adopt the rest of their captives; who, if they behave well, become equally esteemed with their own people, so that some of their captives have afterwards become their greatest sachems and captains. The Tuskaroras, after the war they had with the people of Carolina, fled to the Five Nations, and are now incorporated with them; so that they now properly, indeed, consist of six nations, though they still retain the old name of the Five Nations among the English. The Cowetas, also, or Creek Indians, are in the same friendship with them. The Tuskaroras, since they came under the province of New York, behave themselves well, and remain peaceable and quiet; and by this may be seen the advantage of using the Indians well, and I believe if they were still better used (as there is room enough to do it) they would be proportionately useful to us."

One of their most remarkable customs, and that which has perplexed the whites most to understand, was their descent of chiefs. And it is this trait that, more fully than any other, marked their jealousy of a privileged class in their government. The chief, who was never any more than the exponent of the popular will of the warriors, had only a life-tenure. The office died with the man. The descent was strictly in the female line. It was not the wife, but the sister next in birth to the chief, who transmitted the chieftainship. Her eldest male issue was the presumptive chief of the band, but even this inheritance required the ratification of the popular voice, and it was necessary that a public council should yield their assent. Crown or badge of office there was none. The simple garb of his ancestors marked the incumbent. If any difference was perceivable, it was rather in the neglect of everything like decoration. Feathers of honor he might wear, if these were the rewards of his bravery. But they were the every-day right of the warrior, and not the honor of the rakowana, chief, or sachem. At every mutation by the death of a chief, the hereditary line was broken, and returned into the body of the tribes. There was, therefore, no tendency to the aristocratic feature of feudalism, but the utmost jealousy to guard against it. It was only in the totemic tie that the descent by blood-relationship was recognized and carried the witness in itself, and this was as strong in the female as in the male. Thus, a turtle totem denoted the brother or sister of a turtle family, a wolf totem of the wolf family, a bear totem of the bear family, etc. The appeal to the totem was a testimony unquestioned. This totemic tie was a point of

proud and stoical honor, and the pledge of a totem was a testimony never doubted, whether in the social circle or wigwam, the grand council, or in life's last extremity at the stake, and a warrior's totem was recorded by a representative device at the grave.

The history of the world shows that it is one of the tendencies of bravery to cause woman to be respected and to assume her proper rank and influence in society. This was strikingly manifested in the history of the Iroquois. They are the only tribes in America, North or South, so far as we have any accounts, who gave to woman a power in political deliberations. The Iroquois matrons had their representatives in the public councils, and they exercised a sort of veto power in the important question of the declaration of war. They had the right also to interpose in bringing about a peace. It did not compromise the war policy of the cantons if the body of the matrons expressed a decision in favor of peace. This was an extraordinary feature in a government organized on the war principle, and among a race which, both in the domestic circle and in the corn-field, laid heavy burdens on their females.

To such a pitch of power had the Iroquois confederacy reached on the discovery of what is now New York, in 1609, that there can be little doubt that if the arrival of the Europeans had been delayed a century later, the Five Nations would have absorbed all the tribes between the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the mouth of the Ohio. Such a process of extension was in rapid progress when they were first supplied with fire-arms by the Northern colonists; and as fire-arms were furnished them long before the Western tribes received such arms, the Iroquois supremacy was for a long time promoted by this circumstance.

In a map prefixed to Mr. Colden's History, published in 1747, the most southerly and westwardly points of the Iroquois influence are placed at the mouth of the Wabash, and along the eastern shores of Lake Michigan. In the elaborate map of Lewis Evans, published by Benjamin Franklin in 1755, the country subject to their sway is called "Aquanishuonig," and reaches from the Wabash to the St. Lawrence, including both sides of Lakes Erie and Ontario. It extends to the source of the Illinois and to the mouth of the Ohio, and tradition denotes that the Five Nations extended their warlike incursions even to the entrance of Lake Superior. Not that they had permanently conquered all this region, but they had rendered their name a terror to the tribes who lived far west as well as east of the Alleghanies. They drove the Eries from the Ohio Valley and the south shore of Lake Erie, together with their allies, the so-called Neuter Nation of Canada. They gave the Mississagies a location there, and reserved most of it as hunting-grounds. Not a village was suffered permanently to exist along the Ohio from the Monongahela to the Kentucky River, a territory which they ceded to Great Britain. They pushed their forays along the entire range of the Alleghany Mountains, through Pennsylvania, Maryland, West Virginia, and North Carolina, to Fort Hill, in South Carolina, the residence of the late Hon. John C. Calhoun, which was a Seneca station, waging the most inveterate war against the Catawbias and Cherokees. According to the tables of Mr. Jefferson, the kindred tribes, called Nottoways, Meherrins, and Totelos,

occupied the mountainous districts of Virginia; under the name of Tuscaroras they spread over the interior of North Carolina. The pride and arrogance with which they addressed the nations whom they had subjugated east of the mountains, particularly on the waters of the Susquehanna and Delaware, have no parallel in history. "Cousins," said Canassatego, addressing the once proud Lenni-Lenape, at the treaty of Lancaster, in 1744, "let this belt of wampum serve to chastise you. You ought to be taken by the hair of the head and shaken severely till you recover your senses and become sober. You don't know on what ground you stand, nor what you are doing. Our brother Onas's<sup>1</sup> cause is very just and plain, and his intentions are to preserve friendship. On the other hand, your cause is bad, and your hearts far from being upright. You are maliciously bent on breaking the chain of friendship with our brother Onas and his people. We have seen with our eyes a deed signed by nine of your ancestors, above fifty years ago, for this very land, and a release signed not many years since by some of yourselves and chiefs now living, to the number of fifteen or upwards. But how came you to take upon you to sell land at all? We conquered you; we made women of you! You know you are women, and can no more sell land than women; nor is it fit you should have the power of selling land, since you would abuse it. This land that you claim is gone through your guts! You have been furnished with clothes, meat, and drink by the goods paid you for it; and now you want it again, like children as you are! But what makes you sell land in the dark? Did you ever tell us that you had sold this land? Did we ever receive any part—even the value of a pipe-shank—from you for it? . . . You have told us a blind story! . . . You act a dishonest part, not only in this, but other matters. Your ears are ever open to slanderous reports about our brethren! You receive them with as much greediness as lewd women receive the embraces of bad men; and for all these reasons we charge you to remove instantly,—we don't give you the liberty to think about it. You are women; take the advice of a wise man, and remove immediately. You may return to the other side of the Delaware, where you came from. But we do not know whether, considering how you have demeaned yourselves, you will be permitted to live there; or whether you have not swallowed that land down your throats as well as the land on this side. We, therefore, assign you two places to go to, either to Wyoming or Shamokin; you may go to either of these places, and then we shall have you more under our own eye, and see how you behave. Don't deliberate; but remove away, and take this belt of wampum." This is the language of a conqueror flushed with success and conscious of power. The fact that the mandate was immediately obeyed is a sufficient proof of the existence of this power. The Delawares went to Shamokin.

After a pause, during which the speech was translated into the Iroquois and Delaware languages, Canassatego resumed his speech, and, taking a string of wampum in his hand, added further, "After our just reproof and absolute order to depart from the land, you are now to take notice of what we have further to say to you.

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<sup>1</sup> Governor Penn.

This string of wampum serves to forbid you, your children, and your grandchildren, to the latest posterity forever, meddling in land affairs; neither you, nor any who shall descend from you, are ever hereafter to presume to sell any land. For which purpose you are to preserve this string, in memory of what your uncles have this day given you in charge. We have some other business to transact with our brethren, and therefore depart the council, and consider what has been said to you."

Such reproachful language was not often heard in the Iroquois councils. It reminds one of the ironical speech of Garangula to the Governor-General of Canada on the failure of his vaunted expedition to the Onondaga country. They always deliberated with the utmost calmness, and uttered their opinions and sentiments with emphasis and gesture, but in language lofty and dignified. That they were sometimes pathetic is proved by the speech of the Cayuga chief Logan, the son of Shikellamus.

The Oneida sachem Skenandoah electrified the community, after a hundred years had cast their frosts around his majestic brow, by views of the tenure and destinies of life, which were not unworthy of the lips of Job.

For readiness to perceive the true position of the red race as civilization gathered around them, curtailed their hunting-grounds, and hemmed in their path in various ways,—for quickness of apprehension, breadth of forecast, and appositeness and sharpness of reply,—no other representative of the tribes of North America has equalled the Seneca orator Red Jacket, or Sagoyewatha. Many white people of enlarged and cultivated minds listened with admiration to his manly and eloquent orations.

Such were the Iroquois; and if this celebrated league had done nothing else to prove their capacities as thinking men, the instances cited would justify us in pronouncing them to present high qualities of mind.

One feature of their leagué resembles strongly the system of the United States. This is the principle of its extension. Every new canton which was added to the original Mohawk league augmented its strength and durability. When, after long experience of the working of the league, the five cantons admitted a sixth, in the Tuscaroras, they were still more formidable to the surrounding nations. This was in 1712. Eleven years afterwards, in a full council at Albany, they received the seventh nation, in the Necariages of Michilimackinac and Lake Huron, a people from whom they had been estranged since the first settlement of Lower Canada. They also received the Mississagies into their league, making the eighth nation. This was a people of five castles and eight hundred and fifty men. They were Algonkins, but faithfully adhered to the confederacy, and fought with them against their enemies to the end.<sup>1</sup> They first lived, according to Cusic, about the Niagara River, but moved north, occupying the region near the head of Lake Ontario, in Canada, where their descendants still live. The Iroquois also brought off and adopted the Totelos, from

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<sup>1</sup> The late Mr. Gallatin is wholly mistaken in classifying the Mississagies as Iroquois, as he does in the second volume of the American Ethnological Society's Transactions.

Meherrin River, in Virginia, and some other tribes of the Monahoac stock. If they had received into their confederacy, with equal rights, all the nations whom they conquered, they would have become a most powerful confederacy, stretching from the banks of the Mississippi to the St. Lawrence. This fact appears to have been perceived by Canassatego when he gave that remarkable piece of advice to the Colonial Commissioners at Lancaster, in July, 1744, recommending union and agreement among the colonies, and stating that this had been the cause of the Iroquois strength and power.

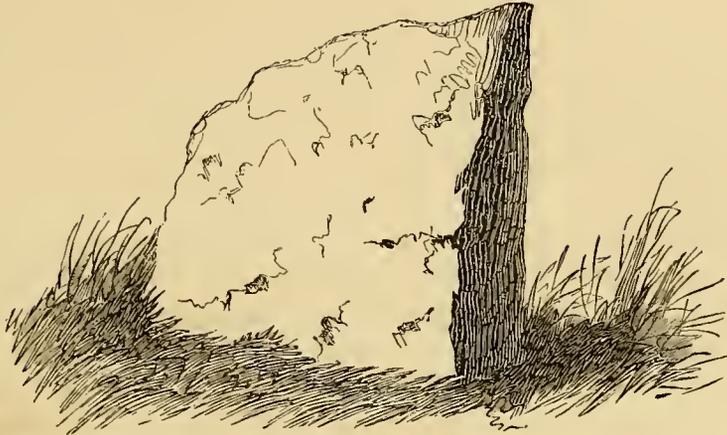
#### ONEIDAS.

The name of this tribe holds a prominent place in the aboriginal history of the country. Iroquois tradition regards them as one of the youngest members of their confederacy, but as far as the deeds of this noted confederacy are known, the Oneidas ever held a prominent rank. It is averred that an Oneida sage first suggested in council the plan of the confederacy, and the tribe has been noted down to modern days for a succession of wise counsellors and benevolent men. The name of Oneida is indicative of the origin of the tribe. They had lived at a prior period on the banks of Oneida Lake, at the confluence of Oneida Creek. They migrated from their first position up the beautiful and fertile valley of the Oneida to Kunalöa, the present site of the town of Oneida Castle, and subsequently to the elevated lands at the source of the stream. The sachems pitched their wigwams near a large crystal spring on these heights, in a small rural valley shaded profusely with butternut-trees. The site was sheltered from the eastern winds by the contiguous summit of an elevated hill. Its western borders afforded a range for hunting the deer and elk,—a range extending to the banks of the Susquehanna. Near this spring, resting on the grassy plain, stood an upright boulder of Silurian limestone, which is figured in the cut on the opposite page. This has sometimes been called by Europeans the Oneida Stone, but not correctly.

Some five or six hundred yards east of this secluded and romantic location the sheltering hill reaches its apex. On this elevated position they found an orbicular boulder of rock partly embedded in the soil, at which they built their council-fire while assembled around it to deliberate on their national affairs. This spot became the site of their beacon-fire when it was necessary to summon the tribe to war. For it was the apex of the summit-lands, and a light kindled here could be seen for a distance of forty miles. Oneida Lake is clearly visible from it, and the curling smoke of the fire kindled at that place was the rallying-sign.

The name of the tribe is derived from this council-fire and beacon-stone. The term *Oneö* in the Oneida language signifies simply a round stone, and is probably derived originally from the Iroquois *on*, a hill, its local and participial forms in *ta* and *aug* being dropped in usage. Nationality with our Indian tribes is dated from the period of their assuming to build a separate council-fire. Viewed under these striking circumstances in their history,—always present in the minds of the Oneidas,—the term carries the signification of the Tribe of the Light of the Council-Fire,

and Council-Stone. Actuated by the respect which is felt for the tribe, the people of Oneida County, New York, have within recent years transferred this monument of Oneida history from its ancient resting-place between the waters of the Mohawk and Susquehanna to an artificial mound prepared for its reception in the cemetery at Utica.



The Oneidas invariably maintained a high rank for the urbanity of their manners and the wisdom of their counsels. Brave in war, mild in peace, and hospitable under all circumstances, no visitor or wayfarer, white or red, ever entered their cabins without having his wants supplied and being kindly put on his track. Humanity thus appealed to quenched the spirit of vengeance, and it was only necessary for the weak to fall into their power to be assured of kindness and safety. During the course of our history they have uttered expressions which would not disgrace the lips of a Grecian sage, and as the claims of civilization became understood they have endorsed those claims in expressions which may be said to embody the very essence of Christianity. No maxim of antiquity excels in sublime simplicity or truthfulness the expressions of the venerable Skenandoah, uttered in view of his death, when the years of more than a century had passed over his head, and he waited in total blindness and calm submission for the hour of his recall from earthly scenes.

The French called this tribe *Oniouts*, and the Canadian authorities made early and strenuous efforts to bring them under their influence during the entire period of the Dutch rule and the early English epoch, up to the time when were built the military works at the mouth of Oswego River, on Lake Ontario, and at Fort Stanwix, near the source of the Mohawk. These early transactions are succinctly and consecutively described by Colden in his "History of the Five Nations." Antiquarian evidences of these efforts to exert jurisdiction over the country yet remain, or remained but a few years since. In 1812, Mr. Schoolcraft visited and examined remains of ancient works called the "French Fields," situated in the town of Lenox, but a few miles west of Oneida Castle.

The relations of the Oneidas with the European races were at first friendly, peaceable, and consistent. With the United Provinces of Holland, from the era of Hudson, in 1609, they were ever on terms of the closest amity. When Great Britain assumed the sovereignty, in 1664, the same close relations were continued. Trade was uninterrupted, and peace was faithfully preserved on both sides. Not a drop of English or Oneida blood was intentionally shed to disturb the long period of harmony, and when, more than a century later, the United States assumed the sovereignty, the Oneidas, true to a line of policy due to their ancient chiefs, sided with the insurgent colonists, and remained their allies throughout the contest. It is an honor to them to say that as a tribe they shared the respect and esteem of Washington, and that their noble sachems stood by him in the darkest and most perilous days of the Revolution.

All that marked the aboriginal state of the Oneida prosperity and power has passed away. Many of their number have taken shelter in the distant valleys of Wisconsin, and a portion of the tribe has joined the Iroquois settlements in Canada: in both positions, however, they are no longer hunters and warriors, but farmers, mechanics, and Christians. The remnant who linger in their beloved valley have almost entirely conformed to the high state of industry and morals around them. Their only ambition now is centred in the school, the church, the farm, and the workshop. Not a trace of paganism is left. Not a single member of their compact and industrial community is known who is not a temperate man. Education and industry have performed their usual offices, and the State of New York has within late years extended over them the shield of her protective laws and given them the benefits of her school system.

Few men have appeared among the aboriginal race who are as well entitled to respect as was the Oneida chief Skenandoah. Few men in the narrow sphere of Indian action have passed through such varied scenes, and still fewer have been spared to abide so many years on the earth, for he was reputed to be one hundred and ten years of age when he died. If he was so, he must have been born in the early part of the reign of Queen Anne, and he lived on to the close of Mr. Madison's Presidential term. In the Revolutionary contest he and his tribe joined the colonists, and rendered essential services to the American arms; while the Mohawks, and other members of the celebrated and powerful Iroquois league, cast in their lot with the cause of the mother-country, and, under the leadership of Brant, hung like a pestilence around the settlements of the frontiers.

Skenandoah early evinced the most active character as a hunter. Shrewd in the observation of the habits of animals, and skilful to track them in the forest, his agility was compared to that of the deer, and this is the idea embraced in the name of *Skenandoah*. In person he was tall, brawny, erect, and dignified. His countenance was rather light for an Indian, his eye was gray, his lips very pleasing and expressive, his voice sonorous, and his whole air noble and commanding. In his youth he had been a brave and intrepid warrior. In his riper years he was one of the ablest of counsellors. He possessed a strong and vigorous mind. He never gave

way to violent passion. He calmly weighed every subject that was presented to him, and generally preserved a blandness of manner, which, without lowering his dignity, was very captivating.

According to tradition, he was born of Oneida parentage, at Conestoga, in the quasi-military colony which the Iroquois confederacy maintained on the banks of the Susquehanna for the purpose of surveillance over the Southern tribes. It is believed that he left this stream and returned to the Oneida tribe at Oneida Castle, in New York, after the tragical events which mark the history of Conestoga. At Oneida Castle we hear of him as a ruling chief. In this capacity he was from an early date recognized among the delegates and ambassadors of his tribe at official convocations. In 1755 he assisted in making a treaty at Albany. Like most of his tribe, he had after the conclusion of the ceremonies indulged freely in the use of ardent spirits, and he found himself in the streets on the following morning stripped of every ornament and of all his clothing. His pride revolted at this degradation. He saw in the clearest light the evils which threatened his tribe from this destructive practice, and he resolved from that moment never more to indulge in strong drink. This resolution he firmly kept for more than half a century to the day of his death, and this was doubtless one of the leading causes of his advancement among the counselors of his tribe.

Skenandoah possessed a strong sense of justice, and exerted himself to control the wild young men, who in those days sometimes committed depredations on the property of the frontier settlers. First in the line of early settlements that had begun to stretch from the Mohawk beyond the present site of Utica, were Whites-town, Middle Settlement, and Clinton, on the Oriskany. At the latter place a party of young, lawless, and hungry Oneidas killed a cow in the woods, the flesh of which they ate, and carefully buried the bones, hoping thus to hide all trace of the act. The frontiersmen of those days were, however, but little behind the Indians in the knowledge of signs. The iniquity was soon found out, and was reported to Skenandoah at Oneida Castle. It was confessed by the guilty parties, and the chief, who had some cattle, offered one of them to make restitution. Among his herd was a fine milch cow, by which he set great store. This was the animal pitched upon by the Clinton men. The chief heard their decision with dismay. But he refrained from giving any expression to his regret, merely saying, "Oh, you acute people, you are, indeed, excellent judges of cattle."

The following was related by the chief himself to Mr. Williams.<sup>1</sup>

"In 1758, the Chevalier de Belstrié headed a party of French and Indians, three hundred strong, from Oswegatchie, to attack Herkimer, on the Mohawk River. It so happened that one of the Oneida Indians, who was then on a hunt, fell in with a Caughnawahga, who disclosed to him the object of the expedition and advised him to alarm the Oneidas and the people of Herkimer. The Oneida immediately fled to his canton with the intelligence. But in the council held on the occasion no one

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<sup>1</sup> Rev. Eleazar Williams (the reputed Louis XVII.).

would volunteer to go to Herkimer, as it was supposed that between the two places the country was already infested by the enemy's scouts. But Skenandoah volunteered, and without delay was on his way through the pathless wilderness. Being a 'swift runner,' as was said by one of his contemporaries, he reached the place of his destination in a short time. On his arrival, he informed the proper persons of the alarming news which had reached the Oneidas, and that he had come on purpose to communicate the same to the people of Herkimer. But, unfortunately, the intelligence was discredited by many, though the few particular friends Skenandoah had among those Germans adhered to his advice. These moved immediately down the river for safety. As for the rest, who gave but partial credit to his report, they made little preparation for self-defence, and fell a sacrifice to their incredulity and apathy."

The Oneida Indians had ever since they were known to the whites held a high reputation. Speaking one of the softest of the Iroquois dialects, the Oneidas were also men of greater amenity of manners than others of that fierce republic, which had achieved its power alone by war. They were noted not less for their friendly manners than for the wisdom of their counsels. And they ever held a prominent place in the councils of the confederacy. Skenandoah was pre-eminently a just representative of the nation. When the English determined to establish Fort Stanwix in the Oneida dominions, the measure had his assent. In every point of view it was one of public benefit, for, while it gave his people the means of regulating the abuses of the fur trade, it interposed a check to the predatory parties of French and Indians, who for so many years had poured down upon the country, making the Mohawk Valley literally a field of blood.

When the contest arose between the colonies and the mother-country, Skenandoah's long habits of association with the English, and his own personal feelings, would have naturally kept him on the side of the crown, had not other views of life and duty made impressions on his mind. He was naturally a benevolent man, and as his years advanced, and war and the chase presented less vivid attractions to him, he was pleased to see the increasing attention paid by his tribe to the cultivation of fields and the raising of cattle. No other influence had so direct a tendency to develop this disposition as the instructions given by Mr. Samuel Kirkland, who lived in the Oneida country as a teacher and missionary. Mr. Kirkland's mission to the Oneidas was undertaken in 1764. Oneida Castle, the ancient seat of the Oneidas, is some five-and-thirty miles west of Herkimer, which was at that time the outermost of the frontier white settlements, and the only road to it was by the winding Indian paths that led through the deep forest which then covered the whole country.

One of the peculiar hardships of missionary enterprises at that day was the scant means of sustenance. Like other cantons of the Iroquois, the Oneidas raised Indian corn, but often not in sufficient quantities to last over till the new crop came. Kirkland counselled them to rely more on agriculture. The chief at once acknowledged the excellence of the advice, and the people began to enlarge their fields and to cultivate esculent vegetables. In the end Skenandoah embraced Christianity. To gain

Skenandoah was, in fact, to gain the Oneida tribe, and he adhered to Christian tenets and forms with stability, and continued steadfastly to honor his profession till he descended to the grave.

The willing attention which Skenandoah gave to moral instruction appeared to prepare the way for the enlargement of his mind on other subjects. It is known that Mr. Kirkland was a personal friend of Washington, and he often conveyed to the Indians Washington's advice with regard to the conduct of their national affairs. Washington desired the Indians to maintain neutrality in the contest, and to adopt the ordinary means which civilized nations employ to secure comfort and happiness. It has always been one of the hardest and most unsuccessful of tasks to repress the insatiate passion of the Indian for war, for war seems to most of the aboriginal races the only path to honorable distinction. The Mohawks, who had been the peculiar recipients of royal favor at Johnson Hall, rushed eagerly into the contest, supporting the royal cause. The Senecas, who covered the country from the lake at Geneva, the ancient Canadagia, to the banks of the Niagara, followed them. The Cayugas, the Onondagas, and a portion of the Tuscaroras adopted the same policy. All the Western tribes, in fact, took up the tomahawk on the royalist side. Tribes who had lived in war for uncounted generations, and who had sucked in the love of warfare with their mothers' milk, listened coldly to all counsels of peace, and could hardly fail to suspect that the ardor of Washington's pacific advice arose in part from the weakness of his position, hedged in as he was on one side by the armies and fleets of one of the most powerful of nations, and on the other by their own numerous and formidable countrymen.

Skenandoah was not led astray by any such impression. The accuracy with which he was furnished with intelligence respecting the causes and progress of the contest, placed him in a position to judge calmly and correctly. From the beginning he espoused the American cause. When the struggle assumed, perhaps, its most disheartening aspect, in 1777, the Oneidas offered the struggling colonies two hundred and fifty men. These men were not accepted for service in the field, but were employed, under the conduct of Skenandoah and a chief called Lewis, as scouts and messengers. As such they were useful during the war, and rendered signal service in observing the progress of the enemy from Canada, under Sir John Johnson, previous to the seizure of Fort Stanwix.

In the winter of 1780, Skenandoah and two others undertook a long and tedious journey to Niagara, with the ostensible purpose of relieving the sufferings of those Oneidas who were prisoners at that place, and they were bearers of a friendly letter from the Oneida chiefs to the commandant of Niagara. Mr. Dean, the United States interpreter, has stated that this journey was undertaken by the advice of Governor Clinton, General Schuyler, and the commandant at Fort Stanwix, who supplied them with necessaries for the journey. Although the nature of their mission was not discovered, yet they were suspected of being spies, and in consequence were held as prisoners at Niagara. They were confined there three months in irons, but were released from their confinement after having made a promise to the commandant of

the post to remain with the British during the war; to which promise two among them, of whom Skenandoah was one, adhered strictly, not returning to their nation until after the peace, in 1782. To carry out the original design of their visit to that post, one of the three, with the approbation of his two friends, said he would attempt to return to his tribe, and go to Albany with the intelligence he had obtained of the enemy's strength and position,—points which had been examined with an Indian's eye. "There is no honor or justice in this kind of war," said Skenandoah. "We are unjustly detained as prisoners. We came here, so far as the British knew, on a friendly mission; but they took us for enemies without any information concerning us, and they have treated us as such. Let us carry out our original plan."

Skenandoah's person was tall and brawny, but well made; his countenance was intelligent, and strongly expressed the native dignity of an Indian chief. He possessed a strong and vigorous mind, and, though terrible as a tornado in war, he was bland and mild in peace. With the cunning of the fox, the hungry perseverance of the wolf, and the agility of the mountain-cat, he watched and repelled the Canadian invasions. His vigilance once preserved from massacre the inhabitants of the infant settlement at German Flats, and among the Indian tribes he was distinguished by the appellation of "the white man's friend."

So strong was the attachment of the Indian chief to Mr. Kirkland that he obtained from the Kirkland family a promise that he should be buried near his spiritual father (whom he survived several years), in order that, as he said, "he might cling to the skirts of his garments, and go up with him at the great resurrection." When he died, March 11, 1816, aged one hundred and ten years, his remains were conveyed to Clinton, where a funeral service was held in the church, after which his body was deposited as he had desired. A monument has been erected to the chief at Hamilton College.

In his old age visits of honor were frequently made to him. It was on one of these occasions, when his visitors were gathered before him, and the thoughts of other days came strongly upon him, that he uttered these words:

"I am an aged hemlock. The winds of a hundred winters have whistled through my branches. I am dead at the top. The generation to which I belonged have run their course and left me. Why I live, the Great Good Spirit only knows. Pray to my Jesus that I may have patience to await my appointed time to die."

#### ONONDAGAS.<sup>1</sup>

Iroquois history, like that of many nations of far higher pretensions to wisdom and glory, begins in an obscure period of mythical deities, giants, monsters, and nondescripts. The Indian cosmogonies are not a whit behind those of early Greece

<sup>1</sup> The term *aga*, in the Iroquois, signifies place or locality, and is the equivalent of the English terminations in *by*, *burg*, *field*, *ham*, etc. *On*, in compound words, denotes a hill; its duplication gives intensity. In this manner the expression Onondaga (*i.e.*, place of hills) has its origin.

for extravagance and incongruity. Beginning their historic narrative (like the old nations who lived about the Mediterranean) by the acknowledgment of a First Great Cause, and recognizing in their history the occurrence of a general deluge, the Iroquois take into the councils of their god Owayneo a great antagonistical power called Klunéólux, and a multitude of lesser demoniac agencies, and they soon get the creation under the influence of conflicting spirits of a character such as the Evil One alone could have inspired. Their fabulous accounts of the origin of things are very noteworthy, but are rendered uninteresting by the clumsiness of their narration. The Arabs themselves do not exceed the aboriginal Americans in their wild tales of necromantic transformations. The actors slip themselves into the shape of beasts and birds, reptiles and insects, dancing feathers, sunbeams, trees, and stones; and as for sorcery and magic medicine, Nineveh and Babylon could not exceed the pretended powers of the Iroquois priests, prophets, wabenoës, and medas. Atahentsic, the Iroquois affirm, is a goddess in heaven. To see her six of the original men ascended to the celestial regions. The ruler of the skies, having discovered the amour, cast her headlong to the water, which then filled the abyss where the earth now is. She was received on the back of a turtle, which rapidly extended itself and grew to the dimensions of the earth. On the earth she fixed her abode, and here she was delivered of male twins, of whom one was called Youskika, the other Thonitsanon. The two typified the conflicting powers of good and evil. Youskika, the elder of these, finally killed the younger. Soon after Atahentsic resigned the government of the earth into the hands of the murderer. Atahentsic is regarded in a symbolical sense as being the same as the moon, and Youskika is identical with the sun.

The origin of the Iroquois the traditions ascribe to a place in the vicinity of Oswego, and from thence they dispersed over New York. Canassatego, a venerable chief, speaking of the times of old, used the following words:

“When our good Owayneo raised Akanishioyeny out of the waters, he said to his brethren, ‘How fine a country is this! I will make red men, the best of men, to enjoy it.’ Then with handfuls of red seeds, like the eggs of flies, did he strew the fertile fields of Onondaga. Little worms came out of the seeds and penetrated the earth, when the spirits who had never yet seen the light entered into and united with them. Maneto watered the earth with his rain, the sun warmed it, the worms with the spirits in them grew, putting forth little arms and legs, and moved the light earth that covered them. After nine moons they came forth perfect boys and girls. Owayneo covered them with his mantle of warm, purple cloud, and nourished them with milk from his fingers’ ends. Nine summers did he nurse them, and nine summers more did he instruct them how to live. In the mean time he had made for their use trees, plants, and animals of various kinds. Akanishioyeny was covered with woods and filled with creatures. Then he assembled his children together and said, ‘Ye are five nations, for ye sprang each from a different handful of the seed I sowed, but ye are all brethren: and I am your father, for I made you all: I have nursed and brought you up.

“‘Mohawks, I have made you bold and valiant; and see, I give you corn for your food. Oneidas, I have made you patient of pain and hunger; the nuts and fruits of the trees are yours. Senecas, I have made you industrious and active; beans do I give you for your nourishment. Cayugas, I have made you strong, friendly, and generous; ground-nuts and every root shall refresh you. Onondagas, I have made you wise, just, and eloquent; squashes and grapes have I given you to eat, and tobacco to smoke in council. The beasts, birds, and fishes I have given to you all in common.

“‘As I have loved and taken care of you, so do you love and take care of one another. Communicate freely to each other the good things I have given you, and learn to imitate each other’s virtues. I have made you the best people in the world, and I give you the best country. You will defend it from the invasions of other nations, from the children of other gods, and keep possession of it for yourselves, while the sun and moon give light, and the waters run in the rivers. This you shall do if you observe my words. Spirits! I am now about to leave you. The bodies I have given you will in time grow old and wear out, so that you will be weary of them; or from various accidents they may become unfit for your habitation, and you will leave them. I cannot remain here always to give you new ones. I have great affairs to mind in distant places, and I cannot again so long attend to the nursing of children. I have enabled you, therefore, among yourselves to produce new bodies to supply the place of old ones, that every one of you, when he parts with his old habitation, may in due time find a new one, and never wander longer than he chooses under the earth, deprived of the light of the sun. Nourish and instruct your children as I have nourished and instructed you. Be just to all men, and kind to strangers that come among you. So shall ye be happy, and be loved by all, and I myself will sometimes visit and assist you.’”

The Onondagas early attracted notice for their expertness in the chase, and their bravery and enterprise in war. They were also celebrated for the wisdom of their counsellors, and the eloquence of their speakers. The name of Garangula will long be remembered for the eloquence of his words and the keen irony of his satire addressed to an unsuccessful French invader of his country. No person in their early history, however, appears to have received so much of the applause of the tribe as Atotarho. He was not only a hunter and warrior of great renown, but he had a reputation for sorcery and necromancy which made him the dread of his enemies. When the question arose of placing a permanent presiding officer over the deliberations of the general confederacy, the position was offered to him. The Mohawks, who appear from the first to have been the foremost of the five tribes in a military point of view, sent a delegation of their chiefs to Atotarho to announce the choice. They found him, after a search in the forest, sitting in an open space smoking his pipe. His body was surrounded and defended, such was his power of sorcery, by a throng of serpents, which darted out their tongues towards the intrusive delegates, who nevertheless stood before him with unmoved composure, armed with bows and arrows and spears. Their heads were crowned with the flowing white plumes of the heron, and



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ATTAHUO, THE FIRST IRONHOLO, RULED



their necks and breasts ornamented with warlike insignia. Atotarho accepted the trust, and his name, like that of Cæsar, became in after-times the title of the chief officer, although the title implied nothing like imperial dignity, for the Iroquois government was always strongly federative and representative. According to the annalist Cusic, there were thirteen successors to this title before the era of Columbus, —a circumstance which may be named without attaching much value to the chronology of that writer.

The first attempt of the French of Canada to explore the Onondaga country and obtain a footing in it was made in 1653. Le Moine gives us the details of the expedition. The war with the Eries was then being hotly waged, and that tribe was finally conquered, as we learn from other sources, and the Eries were either killed or expelled from the country the next year. This visit of the French was followed in after-years by the establishment of a mission and a French colony in the country of the Onondagas. A chief named Karrakonta appears to have been the principal person who extended an invitation to the French to establish this mission. The chapel and fort were located within the present limits of the township of De Witt, and the limits of the colony extended southerly from that point across the elevated lands to the site of Pompey, New York. It does not appear that either the mission or the colony existed in a state of prosperity more than a few years. The native priesthood opposed the introduction of principles which conflicted so directly with their own. Tradition asserts that the entire settlement was, in 1666, secretly risen upon, and that every colonist was massacred and the torch applied to all the houses in one night. The Onondaga tribe now numbers about six hundred, residing principally upon the Onondaga Reserve. The St. Regis Indians, also Iroquois, number seven hundred and eighty-five. Of the Oneidas and Cayugas few remain.

When the Onondaga country came to be explored, surveyed, and settled, after the close of the Revolutionary War, much interest and curiosity were excited by finding, together with relics of Indian art, antiquities which betokened a prior period of civilization. Such interest ceased as soon as the narrative of the French missionary labors became accessible to American readers.

The New York Indians reside upon eight reservations; they number five thousand two hundred and seventy-five, one-half of them Senecas. They are slowly increasing in number, and are steadily progressing in farming enterprise and in civilization. For over twenty years the State has provided school-houses, school-books, teachers, furniture and apparatus for the education of Indian children, nearly all of whom above the age of twelve can read and write. There are thirty-one schools, with an attendance of twelve hundred and thirty-one scholars out of fourteen hundred and seventy-one children of school age. Some of the teachers are Indians, who are fully as competent as their white associates. The Oneidas, whose lands were partitioned in fee to the heads of families in 1843, are prosperous farmers, and are now citizens of the United States. Some fourteen hundred and ninety-two members of this tribe, constituting its larger portion, have a reservation of sixty thousand eight hundred acres near Green Bay, Wisconsin. The Cornplanter Reservation was

partitioned in fee among the Senecas in 1871. These allotments have imparted additional incentives to industry, as is shown by the improved and now prosperous condition of the people. The Seneca Nation, residing upon the Alleghany and Cattaraugus Reservations, which formerly belonged to Massachusetts, receive an income of about ten thousand dollars per year from leases of certain lands in the Alleghany Reserve. The Tuscaroras, numbering four hundred and twenty-five, own in fee a small reserve of six thousand and forty-nine acres, near Niagara Falls. The title is held in common, but their land, except that covered with timber, has been practically partitioned to heads of families for many years, and these families now have permanent homes. Most of their reservation was purchased about 1804 with money arising from the sale of their lands in North Carolina. They are good farmers, temperate, industrious, and thrifty, take a deep interest in education, and are the only one of the six tribes of New York who have not received money annuities either from the State or the United States.

About seven hundred of the Mohawks reside on the Grand River, near Brantford, Canada, and the residue, about three hundred, live on the Bay of Quinte. They have made considerable advance in husbandry and the mechanic arts, and are believed to be slowly increasing in numbers. They have always been noted for their indomitable pride, pluming themselves upon the fact of their having been the head of the famous league of the Iroquois. This pride has stood in the way of their progress. The more tractable Chippewas of Canada, turning their backs upon the past, bid fair to outstrip their ancient enemies, the Iroquois, in the race of civilization.

#### WYANDOT-HURONS.

The Wyandots or Hurons, a once numerous and powerful tribe of Iroquois, located for many years in Northwestern Ohio, were, until the end of the last century, driven alternately east and west by the Six Nations and Sioux. They were placed on a reservation in Kansas in 1832, and in 1855 many became citizens. A small remnant of this tribe, numbering two hundred and fifty, have twenty-one thousand seven hundred and six acres in the Quapaw Reservation, Indian Territory, most of it suitable only for grazing. They are engaged in farming and cattle-raising, and have sixty-four children at the Mission School. The Hurons, alone among the Indian tribes, held it disgraceful to turn from the face of an enemy when the fortunes of the fight were adverse.

The expulsion of the Wyandot-Huron tribe from the valley of the St. Lawrence by the fury of the Iroquois, in 1649, is one of the most important events in the history of the Northern Indians. Their villages were destroyed and their people slaughtered. Some fled to Canada (their descendants are still at Lorette, near Quebec), others were incorporated with the Iroquois, and others still subsequently settled at Detroit. This expulsion thus brought a part of that ancient tribe into the basin of Lake Huron, which derives its name from their residence upon some of its principal islands. Michilimackinac, with its mural cliffs and rocky barriers, offered an

eligible retreat to the fugitive tribes, while its fertile calcareous soil offered them the means of cultivating extensive gardens. The vestiges of decomposed limestone strata cover large areas of the island's interior, which is well sheltered and has an elevated position above the waters of the lake. But from this strong position the Hurons were eventually driven by the war-canoes of the conquering Six Nations. They were then compelled to flee to the western shore of Lake Superior.

While this tribe had their council-fire on the island (which bore the name of Ticonderoga in their dialect), Kondiaronk (the rat), sometimes called Adario, was the leading chief and counsellor in their transactions. He was an able, brave, and politic chief, possessing an uncommon degree of energy and decision of character, united to a keen foresight. Much of what is known of the Wyandot history might be narrated in connection with a sketch of his life, but of this we must restrict ourselves to a mere outline.

The Wyandots having been dispossessed of their ancient possessions on the St. Lawrence by their relatives, the Six Nations, on account of their alliance with the French, and the hostilities of the Six Nations having been continued against the French settlements, it became the policy of the Wyandots to avail themselves of this hostility and keep up this irritation, in order to draw the vengeance of the French against the Iroquois. French they were at heart when expelled from the St. Lawrence, and French they exhibited themselves in policy; and accordingly it was their object to keep the English from participating in the fur-trade of the Northwest. In the attempted execution of both these designs Adario took an active part.

In 1688 the English of the province of New York resolved to avail themselves of a recent alliance between the two crowns, and to attempt a participation in the fur-trade of the upper lakes. They persuaded the Iroquois to set free a number of Wyandot captives, who were induced to guide them across the lakes, so as to open an intercourse with the Northwestern Indians. Owing to the high price and scarcity of goods, this plan was well received by Adario and his people, and also by the Ottawas and Pottawatomies, but the enterprise nevertheless failed. Major Gregory, who led the party, was intercepted by a large body of French from Mackinac, and the whole party was captured, and their goods distributed gratuitously to the Indians. The Lake Indians, who had covertly countenanced this attempt, were thrown back entirely on the French trade, and were henceforth subjected to suspicions which made them uneasy in their councils, and they became anxious to do away with the mistrust entertained of their fidelity by the French. In order to prove his fidelity, Adario marched a party of one hundred men from Mackinac against the Iroquois. When he stopped at Fort Cadarackui to get intelligence which might guide him, the commandant informed Adario that the Governor of Canada, Denonville, was in hopes of concluding a peace with the Six Nations, and expected their ambassadors at Montreal in a few days. He therefore advised the chief to return. Should such a peace take place, Adario feared that it would leave the Iroquois free to push the war against his nation, which had already been driven from the banks of the St. Lawrence to Lake Huron. He dissembled his fears, however, before the

commandant, and left the fort, not for the purpose of returning home, but to waylay the Iroquois delegates at a portage on the river where he knew they must pass. He did not wait over four or five days, when the deputies arrived, guarded by forty young warriors, who were all surprised, and either killed or taken prisoners. His next object was to shift the blame of the act on the Governor of Canada, by whom, he told his prisoners, he had been informed of their intention to pass this way. The Iroquois were much surprised at this apparent act of perfidy on the part of the French, and they assured Adario that they were truly and indeed on a mission of peace. Adario affected rage against Denonville, declaring that he would some time be revenged on the French for making him a tool, and for committing so horrid a treachery. Then looking steadfastly on the prisoners, among whom was Dekanefora, the head chief of the Onondaga tribe, "Go," said he, "my brothers: I untie your bonds, and send you home again, although our nations be at war. The French governor has made me commit so black an action that I shall never be easy after it until the Five Nations have taken full revenge." The ambassadors were so fully persuaded of the truth of his declarations that they replied in the most friendly terms, and said the way was open to their concluding a peace. He then dismissed his prisoners with presents of arms, powder, and ball, keeping but a single man (an adopted Shawnee) to supply the place of the only man he had lost in the engagement. Thus by one bold effort he rekindled the fire of discord between the French and their enemies at the moment it was about to expire, and at the same time laid the foundation of a peace with his own nation. Adario delivered his Shawnee prisoner to the French on reaching Mackinac, who, in order to keep up the old enmity between the Wyandots and the Five Nations, ordered the Shawnee to be shot. On this Adario called up an Iroquois prisoner who was a witness of this scene, and who had long been detained among them, and told him to escape to his own country and give an account of the cruelty of the French, from whom it was not in his power to save a prisoner he had himself taken.

This trick increased the rage of the Five Nations to such a pitch that when Denonville sent a message to disown the act of Adario, the Indians put no faith in it, but burned for revenge. Nor was it long before the French felt the effects of their rage. On the 26th of July, 1688, they landed with twelve hundred men on the upper end of the island of Montreal, and carried destruction wherever they went. Houses were burned, plantations sacked, and men, women, and children massacred. About a thousand of the French inhabitants were killed, and twenty-six were carried away prisoners, most of whom were burned alive. In October of the same year the Iroquois renewed their incursions, sweeping over the lower part of the island. The consequences of these inroads were most disastrous to the French, who were thus reduced to the lowest point of despondency. They burned their two vessels on Cadarackui Lake, abandoned the fort, and returned to Montreal. The news spread far and wide among the Indians of the upper lakes, who, seeing the fortunes of the French on the wane, made treaties with the English, and thus opened the way for their commerce on the upper lakes.

Such were the consequences of a single enterprise, shrewdly planned and resolutely executed. The fame of its author spread abroad, and he was everywhere regarded as a man of address, courage, and abilities. From this time the ancient feud between the Wyandots and their kindred, the Five Nations, began to die out. A few years afterwards, the Wyandots settled on the Straits of Detroit, where, up to the close of the war of 1812-15, they exercised a commanding influence among the Lake tribes, acting as keepers of the general council-fire of the nations.

## ERIE OR NEUTRAL NATION.

Of the tribes who have figured in American history, and who have left their names on American territory, the fate of none has excited a deeper interest than that of the Eries, and they are perpetually brought to remembrance by the noble lake which bears their name. Charlevoix informs us that they were exterminated in 1655. Other authorities place the event in 1653. The territory occupied by them, according to these authors, was the valley of the Niagara River. On its right bank their limits extended nearly from Lake Ontario to Lake Erie, with an indefinite breadth towards the Genesee River. But on its left border they were found spreading to a short distance up Lake Erie, and eastwardly along the northern shore of Lake Ontario. According to the most moderate computation, they numbered twelve thousand souls, and had four thousand fighting-men. They are stated to have had twenty-eight villages, and twelve large towns or forts. The country they possessed was eminently fertile, yielding the usual articles of Indian production, and it abounded in all the game of its latitude. They were under the government of a queen called Yagowanea, otherwise called Gegosasa by the French and Senecas. In 1626, at the beginning of the great effort made by the French to civilize and Christianize the Indians, the Eries were visited, and the peculiarity for which they are most celebrated was first brought to notice.

This peculiarity was the fact of their neutrality between fierce and powerful contending nations. Hence they were called by the French the Neutral Nation. They spoke a dialect of the Iroquois. By one authority this is declared to have been a dialect of the Huron type of this language, while by another the closest relationship is stated to have been with the Seneca speech. The neutrality spoken of was established between these two warring parties and their respective allies,—or between the Wyandots and the Five Nations.

We have seen that the settlement of Canada by the French produced a split in the great Iroquois family, the Wyandots adhering to the Gallic side, and the Five Nations to the Dutch and English. In this feud of the Iroquois, the Algonkin tribes (or, as they were called by the confederates, Adirondacks), who had been at war with them aforetime, were glad to make allies of the French and Wyandots. The Eries occupied a position on the banks of the Niagara, geographically intermediate between the contending parties. They had already, from propinquity and from a certain community of habits, been induced to form a close alliance with an Algonkin tribe

dwelling on the west and north of Lake Ontario, called Mississagies. We have seen that they were nearly related to both the Wyandots and the Five Nations. Neutrality was their only salvation. It was a delicate position, and it required great wisdom to preserve the desired neutrality. Neuter nations, when the period for action arrives, are apt to offend both sides. It was certainly so with the Eries. They finally offended both Wyandots and Iroquois, but it was the latter who turned upon them with great fury and power and in a short and sanguinary war extinguished their nationality.

The veil that conceals their history is lifted in a curious, ill-digested, and obscure pamphlet of Indian traditions, written by a semi-educated Tuscarora, and printed in the ancient country of the Iroquois (Western New York) in 1825. According to this account, the war was caused by an act of perfidy. Yogowanea, the queen of the Eries, was in some respects another Zenobia. She is called the Mother of Nations. Her wampum and peace-pipe were held sacred. The central point of her power was a place called Kienuka, on the Niagara Ridge, and not very far from the present village of Tuscarora. Protected by the sanctity of her character and office as keeper of the symbolic house of peace, she had a contiguous edifice, where she received messengers and ambassadors from the Five Nations, Wyandots, Mississagies, and others. It is evident that her authority extended not only to the foot of Lake Erie, where the strongest fort, called Kaukathay, was seated, but across the Niagara River, and along the head of Lake Ontario, where an outrage occurred, which she caused summarily to be punished, but which led to the fatal breach of the peace. The circumstances were these. Two Canandaigua (Seneca) warriors had been received, and had begun to smoke the peace-pipe, when a deputation of Mississagies from the north of the Niagara was announced. The new-comers informed her that the two Seneca warriors had just returned from the assassination of the son of their principal Mississagie chief. They demanded the right of blood, and this demand was granted, in violation of the sanctity of the refuge which the Senecas had sought. The visitors were given up to the Mississagies and executed by them. Intelligence of this violation of the queen's office spread in every direction. The Iroquois tribes, who were the aggrieved party, flew instantly to arms. The queen despatched messengers to Onondaga to explain her position, and to Kaquatka (the modern Buffalo), where the principal commander of the Eries resided. She also sent messengers to form an alliance with a powerful savage tribe, called Waranakarana (probably the Andastes), who were encamped on the banks of Lake Erie. She went herself to Kaquatka, and raised a very large force, which proceeded rapidly towards the Genesee River.

The first battle took place at the Genesee River, between fifteen hundred Senecas under Shorikowani, and a large force of the Eries, who were defeated, leaving six hundred warriors slain on the field. Shorikowani, at the head of five thousand warriors, consisting of Onondagas and other Southern tribes, then attacked the Erie stronghold at Kaquatka. The place was bravely defended, and after the fall of the Seneca leader, who was killed by an arrow, the queen proposed terms of peace, which were accepted, and the Eries were left in full possession of the country. This first war

is said to have ended in 1634. The final war, which overwhelmed the Eries, and in which the whole Iroquois confederacy took part, lasted two years, and closed in 1655. Several severe battles were fought, the decisive struggle having taken place on Buffalo and Ten-Mile Creeks.

The result of the war might still have been doubtful against a people who were once estimated at twelve thousand fighting-men, had it not been for a pestilence which prevailed in the country near the Niagara, and swept off greater numbers than even the club or the arrow.

Seneca tradition affirms that after the defeat of the most westerly bodies of the Eries, on the shores of Lake Erie, the survivors made their way to the Alleghany River, down which they fled. Some of the French missionary authors distinctly state that portions of the tribe were incorporated with the Iroquois, and that the Eries constituted an element in the Iroquois missions, and indeed founded the mission of La Prairie, near the city of Quebec. Their council-fire was, in accordance with the threat of the Onondaga council, put out. Their name was obliterated from the number of tribes. The places where they once dwelt knew them no more. The once sacred peace-lodge of Yogowanea was demolished, and the tribe has no monument to carry its memory to distant ages except the name it has given to Lake Erie.

Researches among the ancient missionary authors supply a chain of testimony which was before incomplete, showing that the long-lost "Neuter Nation" of the French missionary fathers was indeed the Eries, whose history and fortunes we have sketched. It is not inconsistent with this view to believe that some fragmentary portions of the tribe, unwilling to submit to so severe a fate, fled to distant regions in the West and South, as is asserted by Evans and Jefferson. Certain it is, however, that wherever they went they were followed by the undying hatred of the Iroquois, and their name and lineage as a tribe are lost.

#### CATAWBAS.

Recent research denotes that the word Catawba is not of much antiquity, and cannot be relied on as a guide in the investigation of the early history of the tribe thus designated. It appears to have been bestowed, before the middle of the seventeenth century, by some tribe speaking the Algonkin language, in which the final syllables, *awba*, mean "male." The Catawbas possessed, from the earliest notices, a fixed character for indomitable courage and consummate art in forest life.

In an apparently authentic manuscript memoir of their traditions in the official archives of South Carolina, a copy of which is given farther on, they are stated to be a Northern tribe, having been driven, about 1650, under a very perilous state of their affairs, from the line of the Great Lakes, by their inveterate enemies the Connewangos. This statement may perhaps identify them with the Neutral Nation or Eries.

The Connewango River enters the Alleghany River on the north, from the Great Valley, and is the ultimate outlet of Chautauqua Lake, through which an important

ancient line of Indian navigation extended to Lake Erie. Chautauqua Lake draws its waters from a source within seven miles of the southern borders of Lake Erie. The Indians who occupied this region were Seneca Iroquois, and bore, it appears from this tradition, the local appellation of Connewangos. The Connewango is a copious stream, and is one of the true sources of the Ohio. The descendants of this branch of Senecas, who also occupied the Olean fork, constitute, in part, the modern band of Corn-Planter, and still live near Warren, Pennsylvania, on the Alleghany, but others live at Teonegono, or Coldspring, on the Seneca Reserve.

After the destruction and dispersion of the Neuter Nation, or the Eries, by the Iroquois, a more serious war, with a more considerable and a more remotely affiliated people, arose. The Andastes, or Guandostagues, occupied the area lying immediately west of the country of the Neuter Nation, comprising a tract between the Niagara River and Buffalo Creek, extending to the head-waters of the Alleghany.

The people in question were, it is believed, called Kahquas by the Senecas. It is inferable from Cusic, and from the French missionary authors, that the Andastes, or Kahquas, who were of remotely kindred blood, sympathized with the Eries and Attionandarons in their recent misfortunes, and gave them secret aid in the war. The Iroquois now turned upon the Kahquas with the uplifted tomahawk. A bloody and long-continued war ensued, which was not terminated till 1672,—full sixteen years from its commencement,—when the Kahquas also were subdued and expelled from the southern shore of Lake Erie. There is no local evidence now, except that presented by old ditches and embankments, and antiquarian relics, to show that these tribes ever inhabited the country.

The survivors of the tribe fled, and were pursued to the Alleghany River, where they took shelter on an island. Here, partly through the finesse of the Senecas, they were again defeated, and they finally fled down the Alleghany River, and have never since appeared in history.

It is precisely at this point that the Carolina tradition of the Catawbas picks up the history of that enigmatical people, who existed as an anomaly among the Southern Indians. Admitting their flight down the Alleghany River from Lake Erie, under the name already denoted, and the vindictiveness with which they were pursued by the Connewango Senecas, as events satisfactorily established by concurrent Indian traditions, it only remains to determine whether the Catawbas are descendants of the Attionandarons or Neuters, the Eries or Cat Nation, or the Andastes or Kahquas. The date (1650) of the tradition preserved in the Carolina manuscript agrees pretty well with the era of the subjugation of the Neuter Nation of Niagara and of the Eries of Lake Erie. According to one authority, the assault upon the main citadel of the Neuters took place in 1651, and all the authorities coincide in fixing on 1655 as the date of the termination of the war with the latter tribe. The war with the Kahquas began the next year, but their expulsion did not occur until after the lapse of sixteen or seventeen years. In the mean time, the remnants of the two first conquered nations fled, as this document states, at first to Virginia, and finally to the Carolinas.

## CAROLINA MANUSCRIPT RESPECTING THE ORIGIN OF THE CATAWBAS.

The Catawbas were a Canadian tribe. The Connewangos were their hereditary enemies, and, with the aid of the French, they seemed likely at last to overwhelm them. The Catawbas, judging correctly of their perilous condition, determined on a removal to the vicinity of the English settlements. They set out from their ancient homes about the year 1650, crossed the St. Lawrence, probably near Detroit, and bore for the head-waters of the Kentucky River. The Connewangos all the time kept in full pursuit. The fugitives, embarrassed with their women and children, and finding that their enemies would overtake them, chose a position near the sources of the Kentucky, and awaited the onset of their more powerful adversaries. Turning upon their pursuers, with the energy which desperation sometimes inspires, they inflicted upon them a terrible defeat. This little nation, after their great victory, without regard to policy, divided into two bands, one of which remained on the Kentucky River, which was called by the hunters the Catawba, and this band was in time absorbed into the great families of the Chickasaws and Choctaws. The other band settled in Botetourt County, Virginia, upon a stream afterwards called Catawba Creek. They remained there but a few years. Their hunters, pressing on to the south, discovered the Catawba River, in South Carolina (Eswau Tavora), and about the year 1660 the entire Virginia band came in a body to effect a permanent settlement on that stream. Tradition states that the Cherokees, who claimed to be the true aborigines of the country, considering the Catawbas as invaders of their soil and freehold, marched in great force to meet them at or near the Old Nation Ford, and a battle ensued between these two brave and determined peoples, which lasted nearly an entire day. In the early part of the engagement, the Catawbas, having fire-arms, gained a decided advantage, but in the latter part the Cherokees changed the fortune of the battle by superior numbers. It is said that the Cherokees lost eleven hundred men, and the Catawbas about one thousand. Victory hung in the balance, but the parties remained on the field, and it was expected the strife would be renewed on the following day. Early in the morning, however, the Cherokees sent a deputation to the Catawbas, lauding their bravery, saluting them as brothers, and offering them a settlement anywhere upon the northeast side of the river. Hostilities ceased, a permanent peace was agreed upon, and to preserve it Broad River was established as the dividing line southwestwardly, the intermediate country being declared neutral ground. Tradition holds that a pile of stones, monumental of the battle, was erected on the ground where it occurred. No account of this contest appears in any printed work from the time of Adair to that of Ramsay, or in any authentic manuscript. It is certain, however, that the Catawbas did settle on the northeast of the Catawba River, that they had fire-arms, that the country between the Broad River and the Catawba was occupied by neither nation and presented fewer marks of ownership than any other portion of the State, and that Broad River was called by the Catawbas Eswau Huppeday, or Line River. The two latter

circumstances indicate a treaty, and in all probability they were the result of a bloody contest and a drawn battle.

The division of the tribe after the Cherokee war will account for a large diminution of the numbers of the Catawba nation. They were scarcely settled in their new abode when they fell upon a band of the Waxhaws, who occupied the country about Waxhaw and Cane Creeks, in the county of Lancaster, South Carolina. There, it is said, after a noble resistance in their stronghold, the remains of which are still to be seen, the Waxhaws were cut off to a man. The Northern Indians, acting under French influence, occasionally hung upon the Catawba settlements, and carried on against them a sort of predatory and irregular warfare. A few warriors from time to time fell in these guerilla contests, which were kept up for many years. The hatred of the French towards the Catawbas may be judged of from the fact that, as late as 1753, the Canadian authorities determined to extirpate them, and that the Connewangos declared, in a great council at Albany which was held about this time, that they never would make friends with the Catawbas while the grass grew or the waters ran.

When Colonel Barnwell, about the year 1720, was sent against the Tuscaroras, who had broken up New-Berne, then just founded by the Baron De Graffenreid, upwards of one hundred Catawbas accompanied him. A few warriors fell in the prosecution of that admirably-conducted expedition. In the campaign against the Cherokees, during the governorship of H. W. Littleton, undertaken without cause, except the gratification of his excellency's heartless and guilty vanity, about one hundred Catawbas marched under the Colonial flag, and several fell in different skirmishes. This disgraceful campaign was unsuccessful, as it deserved to be. About 1753, Governor Dinwiddie sent a message to the Catawbas to induce them to unite their forces with the militia under the command of Colonel Washington. They promptly agreed to do so, but were restrained by the Carolina governor (Glen), who reminded them that peace was their true policy, as they were a little nation, so much had their ranks been thinned, even at that early day, by war. During an attack upon Sullivan's Island a full company of Catawbas, under the command of Colonel Thompson, participated in its defence. But, as the British general on Long Island entertained strange suspicions about the colonel's eighteen-pounder, the loss of the Catawbas was inconsiderable. A company of Catawbas marched under Colonel Williamson in his Cherokee expedition, during which a few of their number perished. The Catawbas were always ready to engage in the American service, and always acquitted themselves like brave soldiers. The nation was greatly reduced, in the early stage of the Revolution, by the smallpox. The Indians adopted a practice common to all the aboriginal tribes for the cure of this disease, of thoroughly steaming themselves and then plunging into the river. By reason of this malpractice hundreds of them died. Indeed, the woods were offensive with the dead bodies of the Indians, and dogs, wolves, and vultures were so busy for months in banqueting on them that they would scarcely retreat from their prey when approached by man. In fact, so greatly were the Catawbas thinned by this malady, that at the close of the

war, by the advice of their white friends, they invited the Cheraw Indians to come and form a union with them. The present nation is about equally composed of Catawbas and Cheraws. They have lived in great harmony. The Cheraws have retained a knowledge of their own language, but ordinarily use the Catawba.

Among the causes which tended to diminish the numbers of the Catawba nation, we have mentioned their wars and skirmishes on their own account, their adherence to the military fortunes of their white friends, and the ravages of the smallpox. Other causes were the intemperate use of ardent spirits; the loss of their game through the encroachments of the white hunters; the assassination of their great chief, King Hagler, by a few Shawnees, about 1760 (so important is the life of an individual sometimes to a whole people); the fact of their being encircled on every side by a much more powerful and energetic race, whereby a sense of inferiority and depression was kept up among them; and, above all, impolitic legislation, which gave them permission to lease their lands for long periods, a measure which entailed upon them a miserable subsistence, although it exempted them from labor.

In the year 1735 the nation had in reservation only thirty acres of their once large and fertile territory, not a foot of which was in cultivation. In his "History of South Carolina," Ramsay solemnly invokes the people of that State to cherish this small remnant of a noble race, always the friends of the Carolinians, and always ready to peril all for the safety of the whites. They never have shed a drop of American blood, nor stolen property to the value of a cent. They have lost everything but their honesty. Hagler was a great man, and the nation still speak of him with much reverence. He was succeeded by King Prow, or Frow, who reigned but a short time. On his death, General Newriver, who had gained a splendid victory on New River, in Virginia, over the Northern Indians, was called to rule over them, the tribe having determined, in imitation of their white brethren, to repudiate royalty. Newriver was succeeded by General Scott, and the latter by Colonel Ayres. Scott was a considerable man. The old set of Catawbas were a likely people; Major Cantry, for example, was a noble specimen of a man.

#### ATHABASCAS.

This name has been applied to a class of tribes who live to the north of the great Churchill River, and beyond the source of the North Fork of the Saskatchewan, their country extending westward to within about one hundred and fifty miles of the Pacific Ocean, and including most of Alaska and a large area in the Canadian dominion. Except the Esquimaux, along the coast of the Arctic Ocean, and the Loo-Choos, all the tribes within this wide boundary speak dialects of the same generic language. Without counting the Loo-Choos, the thirteen Athabascan tribes are estimated to number about twelve thousand souls. The grouping of these tribes at points of latitude north of the utmost line to which the Algonkin family has reached, forms a convenient basis for reference. The name is derived arbitrarily from Lake Athabasca, which is often called the Lake of the Hills. Surrounding

this lake, we find the tribe of the Chippewyans, a people so called by the Kenistenos and Chippewas because they were found to be clothed, in some ancient and traditional encounter, in a scanty garb made of the marten's or fisher's skin.<sup>1</sup> According to Sir John Franklin, they call themselves *Saw-cessaw-dinnah*, or Rising-sun-men; or, as the phrase seems to mean, People who face the rising sun. They number about four thousand souls, and speak a language of a peculiar character. This language forms the type of the group. The tribes who use it appear to have migrated from the west, since it is known from observations published by Mr. Harmon (*vide* Travels) that the Tucullies and some kindred tribes, among whom he sojourned in British Columbia, west of the Rocky Mountains, for several years, speak the Athabaskan language.

We are informed by Mackenzie that the territory occupied by the Chippewyans extends between the parallels of 60° and 65° north, and the meridians of 100° and 110° west. He affirms that the language is traceable directly to the head-waters of Peace River, the great Unjiga of the natives, and up that river and over its connecting portages west of the Rocky Mountains to the northern sources of the Columbia, which it follows down to latitude 42° 24', where it comes into the neighborhood of the Atnah or Chin nation. From this point he describes the language as diffusing itself towards the sea-coast, along which the country is possessed by a people who speak a dialect of the language, and who are consequently supposed to be of the Athabaskan stock. There can be little doubt of the prehistoric migrations of this race having been towards the east. A tribe of Athabascans is even known to live near the upper settlements on the Saskatchewan.<sup>2</sup>

It is not possible to form any just estimate of their numbers; but it is certain that they are by no means proportionate to the vast extent of their territories, a fact which may in some degree be attributed to the ravages of the smallpox throughout this part of the continent.

The notion which these people entertain of the creation is of a very singular nature. They believe that at the first the globe was one vast ocean, inhabited by no living creature except a mighty bird, whose eyes were fire, whose glances were lightning, and the clapping of whose wings was thunder. On his descent to the ocean, the earth instantly arose, and remained on the surface of the waters. This omnipotent bird then called forth all the variety of animals from the earth, except the Chippewyans, who were produced from a dog; and this circumstance occasions their aversion to the flesh of that animal, as well as to the people who eat it. The tradition proceeds to relate that the great bird, having finished his work, made an arrow which was to be preserved with great care and to remain untouched, but that the Chippewyans were wicked enough to carry it away, and the sacrilege so enraged the great bird that he has never since appeared.

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<sup>1</sup> From *ojéeg*, a fisher, and *wyan*, a skin.

<sup>2</sup> Analogies have been observed between this language and that of the Apaches of Arizona, who trace their origin to the north. The whole subject of the relationship of this Athabaskan race is more fully discussed in the section on the Alaskan tribes.

They have also a tradition among them that they originally came from another country, inhabited by very wicked people, and that they traversed a great lake, which was narrow, shallow, and full of islands, where they had suffered great misery, it being always winter, with ice and deep snow. At the Copper-Mine River, where they made the first land, the ground was covered with copper, over which a body of earth had since been collected to the depth of a man's height. They believe, also, that in ancient times their ancestors lived till their feet were worn out with walking, and their throats with eating. They describe a deluge, when the waters spread over the whole earth, except the highest mountains, on the tops of which they preserved themselves.

They believe that immediately after death they pass into another world, where they arrive at a large river, on which they embark in a stone canoe; that a gentle current bears them on to an extensive lake, in the centre of which is a beautiful island; and that in the vicinity of this delightful abode they receive that judgment for their conduct during life which determines their final state. If their good actions are declared to predominate, they are landed upon the island, where there is to be no end to their enjoyment of sensual pleasure and carnal gratification; but if their bad actions weigh down the balance, the stone canoe sinks at once, and leaves them up to their chins in the water, to behold and regret the reward enjoyed by the good, eternally struggling, with unavailing endeavors, to reach the blissful island from which they are excluded forever.

They have some faint notions of a transmigration of the soul; and if a child is born with teeth, they imagine that it bears a resemblance to some person who had lived to an advanced period, and that he has assumed a renovated life, with these extraordinary tokens of maturity.

The Chippewyans are sober, timorous, and vagrant, with a selfish disposition, which has sometimes created suspicions of their integrity. Their stature has nothing remarkable in it, and, though they are seldom corpulent, they are sometimes robust. Their complexion is swarthy, their features coarse, and their hair lank, but not always of a dingy black; nor have they universally the piercing eye which generally animates the Indian countenance. The women have a more agreeable aspect than the men, but their gait is awkward, a circumstance which arises from their being accustomed, nine months in the year, to travel on snow-shoes and drag sledges weighing from two to four hundred pounds. They are very submissive to their husbands, who have, however, occasional fits of jealousy and for very trifling causes treat them with such cruelty as sometimes to occasion their death. They are frequently objects of traffic, and the father possesses the right of disposing of his daughter.<sup>1</sup> The men in general extract their beards, though some of them are seen to prefer a bushy black beard to a smooth chin. They cut their hair in various forms, or leave it in a long, natural flow, according as caprice or fancy may suggest.

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<sup>1</sup> They do not, however, sell them as slaves, but as companions to those who are supposed to live more comfortably than themselves.

The women always wear it in great length, and some of them are very attentive to its arrangement. If they at any time appear despoiled of their tresses, it is to be esteemed a proof of the husband's jealousy, and is considered as a severer punishment than manual correction. Both sexes have blue or black bars, or from one to four straight lines, on their cheeks or foreheads, to denote the tribe to which they belong. These marks are either tattooed, or made by drawing beneath the skin a thread dipped in the necessary color.

There are no people more attentive to the comforts of their dress, or less anxious respecting its exterior appearance. In the winter it is composed of the skins of deer and fawns, dressed as fine as chamois leather, but tanned in the hair. In the summer their apparel is the same, except that it is prepared without the hair. Their shoes and leggings are sewed together, the latter covering both leg and thigh, and being supported by a belt, under which a small piece of leather is drawn to cover the private parts, and the ends of the leather fall down both before and behind. In their shoes they put the hair of the moose or reindeer, with additional pieces of leather as socks. The shirt or coat when girded round the waist reaches to the middle of the thighs, and the mittens are sewed to the sleeves or are suspended by strings from the shoulders. A ruff or tippet surrounds the neck, and the skin of the head of the deer forms a curious kind of cap. A robe made of several deer or fawn skins sewed together covers the whole. This dress is worn single or double, but always in the winter with the hair within and without. Thus arrayed, a Chippewyan will lie down on the ice in the middle of a lake and repose in comfort, though he will sometimes find it difficult in the morning to disencumber himself from the snow drifted on him during the night. If in his journeys he should be in want of provisions, he cuts a hole in the ice, when he seldom fails of taking some trout or pike, whose eyes he instantly scoops out and eats as a great delicacy, and if they should not be sufficient to satisfy his appetite he will make his meal of the fish in its raw state; but they prefer to cook their victuals when circumstances admit of the necessary preparation. When they are in that part of their country which does not produce a sufficient quantity of wood for fuel, they are reduced to the same exigency, though they generally dry their meat in the sun.<sup>1</sup>

The dress of the women differs from that of the men. Their leggings are tied

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<sup>1</sup> The provision called pemmican, on which the Chippewyans, as well as the other savages of this country, chiefly subsist in their journeys, is prepared in the following manner. The lean parts of the flesh of the larger animals are cut in thin slices, and are placed on a wooden grate over a slow fire, or exposed to the sun, and sometimes to the frost. These operations dry it, and in the dry state it is pounded between two stones; it will then keep, with care, for several years. If, however, it is kept in large quantities, it is apt to ferment in the spring of the year, when it must be exposed to the air, or it will soon decay. The inside fat, with that of the rump, which is much thicker in these wild animals than in our domestic ones, is melted down and mixed, in a boiling state, with the pounded meat in equal proportions; it is then put in baskets or bags, for convenience in carrying. Thus it becomes a nutritious food, and may be eaten without any further preparation, or with the addition of spice, salt, or any vegetable or farinaceous substance. A little time reconciles it to the palate. There is another sort made with the addition of marrow and dried berries, which is of a superior quality.

below the knee, and their coat or shift is wide, hanging down to the ankle, and being tucked up at pleasure by means of a belt which is fastened round the waist. Those who have children have these garments made very full about the shoulders, for when they are travelling they carry their infants upon their backs, next their skin, in which situation they are perfectly comfortable and in a position convenient to be suckled. Nor do they discontinue to give their milk to them till they have another child. A woman in childbed is by no means the object of the tender care and serious attention which she receives among civilized people. At this period no part of a woman's usual occupation is omitted; and this continual and regular exercise must contribute to the physical welfare of the mother.

Though the women are as much in the power of the men as other articles of their property, they are always consulted, and possess a very considerable influence in determining questions of traffic and other important concerns.

Plurality of wives is common among this people, and the ceremony of marriage is of a simple nature. The girl is betrothed at a very early period to some man whom the parents think able to support her; nor is the inclination of the woman considered. Whenever a separation takes place, it depends entirely upon the husband. There are particular skins which the women never touch, such as those of the bear and the wolf; and those animals the men are seldom known to kill.

The Chippewyans are not remarkable for their activity as hunters, a peculiarity which is owing to the ease with which they snare deer and spear fish; and since these occupations are not beyond the strength of their boys and old men, these classes participate in those labors which among their neighbors are confined to the women. They make war on the Esquimaux, who cannot resist their superior numbers, and when taken the Esquimaux are put to death, for it is a principle with the Chippewyans never to make prisoners. At the same time they tamely submit to the hostile Knisteneaux, a people who are not so numerous as themselves.

They do not affect that cold reserve at meeting, among either themselves or strangers, which is common with the Knisteneaux, but communicate at once all the information of which they are possessed. Nor are they, on the other hand, excitable like the Knisteneaux, who often pass quickly from an apparent torpor to a state of great activity. The Chippewyans are more uniform in their behavior and temper than many other Indians, but they are very persevering where their interest is concerned.

As these people are not addicted to the use of spirituous liquors, they have an uninterrupted command of their understanding, which is always directed to the advancement of their own interest; and this disposition, as may be readily imagined, sometimes occasions them to be charged with fraudulent practices. They will submit with patience to the severest treatment when they are conscious that they deserve it, but will never forget or forgive any wanton injury. They are, it would appear, the most peaceful tribe of Indians known in North America.

There are conjurers and high-priests among them, who certainly operate in an extraordinary manner on the imaginations of the people in the cure of disorders.

Their principal maladies are rheumatic pains, the flux, and consumption. The venereal complaint is very common : though its progress is slow, it gradually undermines the constitution, and brings on premature decay. They have recourse to superstition for curing diseases, and charms are their only remedies, except the bark of the willow, which is burned and reduced to powder and strewed upon fresh wounds and ulcers. They also use vapor-baths, or places contrived for promoting perspiration. Of the use of simples and plants they have no knowledge, nor can it be expected, as their country does not produce medicinal herbs.

Though they have so long enjoyed an intercourse with Europeans, their country is so barren that the natives cannot purchase many of the goods which might be introduced by such a communication, and they continue in a great measure their own inconvenient and awkward modes of taking their game, and of preparing it when taken. Sometimes they drive the deer into the small lakes, where they spear them, or force them into enclosures, where the bow and arrow are employed against them. Animals are also taken in snares made of skin. In the former instance the game is divided among those who have been engaged in the pursuit of it. In the latter it is considered private property ; nevertheless, any unsuccessful hunter passing by may take a deer so caught, leaving the head, skin, and saddle for the owner. Thus, though they have no regular government, as every man is lord in his own family, they are influenced more or less by certain principles which conduce to their general benefit.

In their quarrels with one another they very rarely proceed to a greater degree of violence than is occasioned by blows, wrestling, and pulling of the hair ; while their abusive language consists in applying the name of some offensive animal to the object of their displeasure, and adding the terms ugly, and *chiay*, or still-born.<sup>1</sup>

Their arms and domestic apparatus, in addition to the articles procured from Europeans, are spears, bows, and arrows. Their fishing-nets and lines are made of green deer-skin thongs. They have also nets for taking the beaver as he endeavors to escape from his lodge when it is broken open. The net is set in a particular manner for the purpose, and a man is employed to watch for the moment when he enters, or the beaver would soon cut his way through. When caught, the beaver is thrown upon the ice, where he remains as if he had no life in him.

The snow-shoes are of a very superior workmanship. The inner part of the frame is straight, the outer one is curved, and the shoe is pointed at both ends, with the end in front turned up. Snow-shoes are laced with great neatness with thongs made of deer-skin. The sledges are formed of thin slips of board, turned up also in front, and are highly polished with crooked knives, so that they may slide along with facility. Close-grained wood is the best for sledge-construction, but the Chipewyan sledges are made of the red or swamp spruce fir-tree.

Their amusements or recreations are but few. Their music is so inharmonious,

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<sup>1</sup> This name is also applied to the fœtus of an animal, when killed, which is considered as one of the greatest delicacies.

and their dancing so awkward, that they may well be supposed to be ashamed of both, for they very seldom practise either. They also shoot at marks, and play at the games common among Indians, but they much prefer sleeping to play, and the greater part of their time is passed in procuring food and resting from the toil necessary to obtain it.

They are of a querulous disposition, and are continually making complaints, which they express by a constant repetition of the word *eduiy*, "it is hard," in a whining and plaintive tone.

They are superstitious in the extreme, and almost every action of their lives, however trivial, is more or less influenced by some whimsical notion. They have no particular form of worship; but, as they believe in a good and an evil spirit, and in a peculiar state of future rewards and punishments, they cannot be devoid of religious impressions. At the same time they manifest, in common with the rest of their race, a decided unwillingness to make any communications on the subject.

#### ALASKA INDIANS.

These comprise two groups, the native tribes, mostly inhabiting the interior, and those on the coast, whom Mr. Dall<sup>1</sup> terms Orarians. The latter include the Innuits, or Esquimaux, the Aleutians, living west of the 160th degree of longitude and in the Aleutian Islands, and the Tuski, occupying the country west of the Chukchee Peninsula (in Asia), from Kolinchin Bay on the north to Anadyr Bay on the south. The cast of countenance of these people is slightly Mongolian: this is especially noticeable in the complexion and in the eyes. They are much more intelligent than the Indians of the interior, and are indeed in every respect superior to them.

In the other group or family there are two stocks,—the Thlinkets and the Tinneh. The former are confined to the coast, and the latter occupy the greater part of the interior. The Thlinkets include the Chinsyins, the Kygani or Haidahs, the true Thlinkets or so-called Koloches, and the Yakutats, or tribes which inhabit the vicinity of Behring Bay. The Ugalenses have also been referred by some writers to this stock.

The Tinneh stock includes a large number of North American tribes, extending from near the mouth of the Mackenzie River south to the borders of Mexico. The Apaches and Comanches belong to it. The tribes of this stock in the north extend westward nearly to the delta of the Yukon, and reach the coast at Cook Inlet and the mouth of the Copper River. Eastward they extend nearly to the mountains which divide the water-shed of Hudson Bay from that of the Mackenzie and Athabasca. They have been called Chippewyans (painted coats) from the shape of their parkies, and Athabascans from the district some of them inhabit, but their own national designation is Tinneh, meaning "people" in a collective sense.

They may be divided into three natural groups: the Eastern Tinneh, who form

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<sup>1</sup> W. H. Dall, "Alaska and its Resources," Boston, 1870.

their tribal name by the addition of "téna," an evident modification of the same word; the Kulchin, who principally occupy the valleys of the Yukon and its tributaries; and the Western Tinneh, who occupy the region west of the Yukon, and the banks of that river below Naklukahyet. They form their tribal designation by the addition of "tána," another modification of Tinneh. They are bounded everywhere on the coast by the Innuít territories. The total Indian population in 1870 numbered twenty-six thousand eight hundred and forty-three.

#### APACHES.

The elevated summits of New Mexico lying north of the Gila and west of the upper Rio Grande may be said to be rather infested than occupied by this predatory, powerful, and warlike nation. They are the most completely nomadic in their habits of any tribe in North America. They have no permanent towns or villages, but rove over large portions of New Mexico and Arizona in small bands in quest of subsistence and plunder. They are the dread of the contiguous Spanish settlements, from whose ranches they steal horses, cattle, and sheep. They fall upon the unwary travellers who are weak in numbers and unprotected, and for the sake of the booty often take life. They rely upon their bows and darts for everything to sustain life, and when this resource fails, as it often does, they wander about wretched and poor, without a morsel to eat, and with scarcely a shred of clothing to hide their nakedness. They have been almost constantly at war with the whites, and recently the band, under chief Victoria, infested the border settlements of New Mexico. They were placed upon reservations in 1858-59. From the time of the Gadsden purchase, in 1848, until 1861, they were friendly to the Americans, who for the next ten years tried to exterminate them, at an expense of from three to four millions per annum, with no appreciable result. One hundred and twenty-five friendly Apaches were massacred by a party of Mexicans and Indians while assembled near Camp Grant under the charge of United States officers, in April, 1871.

The Apaches speak a language the tones of which are difficult to be expressed by the English alphabet. It abounds equally with guttural, hissing, and indistinctly uttered mixed intonations. A full vocabulary of it has been obtained. It is very meagre in sounds, and in equivalents for English and Spanish words, and so deficient in grammar that the verbs appear to have no tenses. Deficient as it is, however, many of its sounds are peculiar, and denote it to be the parent language of the surrounding tribes. It abounds in the sound of *tz*, so common to the Shemitic languages, and in those of *zl*, *d*, and the rough *rr*, which are wanting in the languages of the old Atlantic tribes. It is assigned with confidence to the great Tinneh or Athabascan stock, being equally removed from the mountain genus of languages, from that of the Shoshones, and from the wide-spread Dakota languages of the Mississippi Valley. The traditions of the Apaches are that they came originally from the north, and they would appear to have migrated in past ages along the eastern base of the Rocky Mountains.

"The Apaches," observes Governor Lane, "the Navajoes, and the Lipans of Texas speak dialects of the same language. The Jicarillas (Hic-ah-rec-ahs), Mes-caleros, Tontos, and Coyoterros, are all bands of the Apaches, and I am induced to think the Garoterros (who handled Aubrey so roughly) are also an offshoot of the Apache tribe."

The traditions given to Dr. Ten Broeck by the Navajoes only go to prove a general uniformity of beliefs held by the Indian tribes from the Arctic circle to the Straits of Magellan. It is affirmed by these people that they originally dwelt in some concavity of the earth, from which they, with the quadrupeds, emerged to the surface. The introduction of the "horse" (only known to America about three centuries) into the tale of the flood, together with certain symbolic allusions to modern moral tenets, denotes that the web of this story has been woven from mixed materials, some of them furnished since the advent of the Spaniards in Mexico.

With regard to their history, Lieutenant-Colonel Eaton, U.S.A., was informed that they attribute their origin to the northeast, which, in their present position, agrees generally with the Apache traditions. In speaking of their manners and customs, he notices their practice of carrying a waving brand of fire, a custom which is mentioned in the narrative of Coronado as having been observed on the banks of the Colorado in 1542.

The history of the Apaches appears to be one of much interest, although it is in great part involved in obscurity. Their habitat at the earliest dates was the region lying between Sonora and Chihuahua. Their bounds did not at first reach to the banks of the Rio Gila, and when checked by the Spaniards for their depredations their warriors sheltered themselves in the Mimbres Mountains, or the Sierra Madre. They have for generations been retracing their track of migration from the north, and there seems to be little question that they were the destroyers of that semi-civilization of which there are ruins on the banks of the Gila.

The following observations on the history, manners, customs, and condition of this leading tribe of New Mexico, as they existed thirty years ago, are from Dr. Charlton Henry, U.S.A.

It would seem that the Apaches took very little part in the events which occurred at the period of the discovery and conquest of Mexico. This circumstance is the more readily explained when we view the geographical position of their country, and when we remember that they had less to do with Montezuma than other Indian tribes. However, it is probable, in view of the veneration they have until this day for the name of Montezuma, that they acknowledged and were under the sway of his powerful empire, and had attained a certain degree of civilization, because, according to their tradition, they were in his time living in peace and cultivating the land. The banks of the Del Norte, the Gila, and the Mimbres were covered with rich crops of corn, and their caravans, frequenting the principal towns of the empire of Montezuma, procured luxuries and food of every kind. But after the fall of Montezuma, when the great temple of the sun had been pillaged, and the cross of the Spaniard was everywhere displayed, their extreme rapacity for gold led

large and numerous parties towards the high and distant lands where the Apaches dwelt. While searching for gold, the Castilians met with these bands. At first the simple and pacific natives, allured by trifling presents and protestations of friendship, received the invaders graciously. But among the Spaniards were many priests of the Franciscan and Jesuitical orders, who, forwarding the conquests of the Church of Rome under cover of the Spanish sword, had already succeeded in planting the cross among the more pacific natives of the plains. But this method of introducing religion met with no success in the case of the Apaches. The holy doctrines of the cross were losing their force under this mode of treatment, and did not accord with the wild temper of the mountain tribes: therefore the priests were forced to retreat and discontinue their mission. They, however, established missions along the Rio Grande, from which the Apaches kept far aloof. Ere long a series of hostilities commenced between the mountain Apaches and those Indians who had settled on the plains in company with the Spaniards. The latter had by this time made settlements as far north as Santa Fé, a central post, from which further explorations were made and conquests extended. In the course of time the Spaniards had penetrated west to the coast of the Pacific, to which they gave the name of California, a region which some writers think was probably the Chersonesus Aurea of the ancients.

At the same time, their increasing rapacity for gold, and their exactions against the Indians, whom they kept in a state of servitude, raised ill feelings against them. The year 1688 brought about a revolution, in which the Apaches made common cause with the Pueblo Indians, for the purpose of driving the Spaniards out of the land; and as this revolution was kept secret until it broke out at once at every point, taking the Spaniards by surprise, the assailing party drove them out of New Mexico to the other side of El Paso del Norte, where the assailed made a stand. Soon reinforcements enabled the Spaniards to reconquer their lost ground, and bring again to submission at least the "Pueblos."

But much mischief had already been done. The missions had been destroyed, and their priests massacred. Most of the mines were in the hands of the insurgents, and any Spaniard who went towards them was massacred without pity. In this state of affairs the Spaniards gave up the Indians, and contented themselves with holding their own ground till more reinforcements should arrive. But, the prosperity of the mother-country being on a decline, matters remained *in statu quo* until the natives of Spanish blood, emboldened by their own increase, and smarting under the tyranny of the Spanish government, took up arms in turn, and with the help of the Indians (Pueblos mostly) in many instances overwhelmed the Spanish troops; and Mexican valor finally enabled Iturbide to complete the overthrow of the Spanish dominion, himself then assuming the supreme power.

Dissensions and pronunciamientos, however, soon threw the States of the North into fresh trouble. The Apaches frequently sided with one or other of the opposing parties, and often harassed both conjointly. The States of New Mexico, Chihuahua, and Sonora suffered much from their incessant inroads; and on both sides the most barbarous war was carried on. In those times the various Apache tribes had one

common chief of great valor. The latter was finally killed, some say, by the unexpected discharge of a cannon in the hands of an American, a trader with the Sonorians, others say, in a pitched battle between the Apaches and the people of the State of Sonora. His death caused dissensions among the Apache tribes, the various chiefs of each aspiring to the supreme command. Since then the Apaches have never been united in a common cause, but carry on war only in small marauding parties; and, though very treacherous and bloodthirsty, and often extremely annoying and even dangerous to small parties of whites, they cannot be looked upon as being a very formidable tribe.

The following are the different bands, according to Dr. Henry, with their respective chiefs, and the range of each: Jicarillas, under Chacon Rouge, who range about the Sacramento Mountains; Gila Apaches, Mangus Colorado, who range chiefly about the Gila River. A few smaller tribes, under Ponci, range up and down the valley of the Rio Mimbres.

The names of the different tribes for the most part have reference to their location. "Los Apaches Tontos" were so named by the Mexicans for their notorious imbecility, the word *tonto* meaning "idiot" in the Spanish language. The low development of the mental faculties of this tribe (which is very numerous) has been conjectured to have had its origin in the slight intercourse they have had with the whites. They formerly ranged about the head-springs of the Gila, and near the Sierra del Mogollon. This mountain seems to have been the head-quarters and stronghold of all the Apaches on the western side of the Rio Grande. They used to boast of being able within a few days, by means of signal-fires, to muster a force of five hundred warriors; and, as they had in this region "caches" full of mescal, with plenty of live-stock, they deemed the place impregnable.

Los Gileños, or Gila Apaches, ranged as far as the Rio San Francisco and the range of mountains of the same name. They are the best warriors of any Apache tribe.

Los Mimbrenos, who derive their name from the Sierra de los Mimbres and Rio de los Mimbres, near which were their hunting-grounds, had their range from the Sierra San Mateo on the north to the Sierra Florida on the south, the Sierra de los Burros lying to the west, and one of the spurs of the Mogollon to the east, on which latter is situated the old Mexican mine of Santa Rita del Cobre, in New Mexico, about fifty miles east from the Rio Gila, and ten miles westerly from the Rio Mimbres.

Los Apaches Mescaleros used to range from La Sierra de Guadalupe to La Sierra de San Andre north, and south to the Rio Pecos, and thence to the Rio Grande to the west,—which range includes mines of silver worked in former times by the Spaniards; "but these mines," says Henry, "have been in possession of the hostile Mescaleros since the revolution of 1688. The name borne by this tribe is derived from a certain plant called *mescal*, which being roasted in holes in the ground, covered over with hot stones, and reduced to a pulpy mass, is the principal food of the Apaches when hard pressed by their enemies, or from other causes."

The Lipans are an Apache tribe of considerable importance, and may be ranked next to the Comanches among the Indians of Texas. They have affinity with the Seraticks and the Mescaleros. They are more enterprising and warlike than the Comanches, who regard them with a respect in which fear is a chief ingredient. Their habits are very similar to those of the Comanches in some particulars, but they have made more progress towards civilization. Many of them speak the Spanish language, having formerly had much intercourse with the Mexicans. The Seraticks live on the Rio Grande above El Paso del Norte. Very little is known concerning them. The Mescaleros also inhabit the valley of the river Puerco (Pecos), a considerable eastern affluent of the Rio Grande. They are of dark complexion, peaceable in their habits, cultivate the ground, and raise stock, and have many horses and mules, also sheep, goats, and black cattle.

The Tonkawas are a separate tribe, having no traceable affinity to any other band of Indians in the country. They are nomadic, live on game, are extremely indolent, and in consequence often suffer severe privations. They have generally been friendly to the whites, though often suspected of having stolen horses from the frontier. A few of these accompanied our small army in the campaign against the Cherokees in 1839, and rendered good service.

The Wacoes, Tawacanies, Tow-e-ash, Aynics, San Pedros, Nabaduchoes, Nacadocheets, and Hitchies are small tribes or fragments of tribes. They have been long resident in Texas, and properly belong to it, but they are originally, the Hitchies excepted, of the Caddo stock. The Wacoes are the most considerable of these bands, amounting probably to one hundred and fifty warriors, it being understood that among Indians every adult male is a warrior. They are a stealthy, thieving, faithless race, and have done much mischief on our frontier. They live in a village on the Upper Brazos, and raise corn, beans, pumpkins, etc., usually spending the winter months in hunting. The other small parties, amounting to about fifty families each, live in villages on the waters of the Trinity and Neches, and cultivate the ground to a small extent.

The Hitchies, once a distinct and isolated tribe, have so intermarried with their neighbor bands that they have lost their identity and may be considered as merged into the common stock. The Caddoes formerly resided on the Red River of Louisiana, above Natchitoches and below the Great Raft, and were included in the jurisdiction of the Indian Agency stationed in 1819 at Natchitoches. They removed to Texas several years ago, and now claim to be Texas Indians.

The more barren and sandy portions of the Apache country abound in rattlesnakes of highly venomous character. The Apaches dread them, and believe that these serpents are possessed by evil spirits, or are the abode of the souls of evil men. From this it is to be inferred that the Apaches hold the doctrine of metempsychosis. Like many of the California Indians, they pay great respect to the bear, and will not kill one, or partake of bear's flesh; and they entertain the same opinion with regard to the hog as do some Asiatic tribes,—viz., that it is an unclean animal. They have a great respect for the eagle and the owl, and appear to think there are spirits of

divine origin connected with them. The same holds true with regard to any bird which is perfectly white.

Among the Apaches are found no ruins or mounds which might throw any light on their former history, or which might prove them to have once been civilized: still, there are ruins along the Rio Grande, the Gila, etc., which might be supposed to prove they formerly lived in villages. They say that during the time of Montezuma they had the skill to manufacture a kind of pottery, painted with different colors of imperishable hue, but that they have now entirely lost the art, together with that of building; and when asked now why they do not build houses, they reply they do not know how, and that those of their nation who did know are all dead. Some, however, give as a reason for not building that it is because they always move a camp when any one of their number dies. The calumet, or pipe of peace, is not now used by the Apaches: they use instead the corn-shuck cigarrito of the Mexicans. Their utensil for grinding breadstuff consists of two stones, one flat, with a concavity in the middle, the other round, fitting partly into the hollow of the flat stone.

Their arrows are long, sometimes pointed with flint, but usually with iron, and are feathered mostly with the plumes of the wild turkey, unless they can procure those of the eagle, which they are rarely able to do. The feather upon the arrow is bound down with fine sinew in threes instead of twos: in other words, the shaft is fledged on three sides, or with three feathers. The arrow-shaft is usually made of some pithy wood, generally that of a species of yucca.

Besides the iron-pointed arrows, these Indians use others, with the heads simply of wood hardened in the fire, for the purpose of killing small game. All Apaches are mounted on small ponies, descendants of the wild breed, and capable of great endurance. The women all ride astraddle. The Spanish bit is used, but often a simple cord of hair is passed between the horse's jaws and serves as a bridle. Panniers of wicker-work for holding provisions are generally carried on the horse by the women. The shells of the pearl-oyster, and a rough wooden image, are favorite ornaments with both sexes. They are also fond of beads and metal buttons. Their feet are protected by high buckskin moccasins with lengthened square toes, pierced at the sole near the end with holes to admit the air. The principal articles of clothing are made of coarse cotton, which they seem never to wash. Their quivers are usually made of deer-skin, and sometimes of the skin of the wild-cat.

The organization of the Apaches is much like that of some of the ancient tribes, the chiefs being the wealthiest men, the most warlike, the first in battle, the wisest in council; and the more popular take a wife, whom they buy from another tribe, giving in exchange horses, blankets, and trinkets of various kinds. A chief can have any number of wives he chooses, but one only is the favorite. She is admitted to his confidence, and superintends his household affairs; all the other wives are slaves to her; next come his peons, or slaves, and his wife's slaves, and the servants of his concubines; then the young men or warriors, who are often youths who have deserted other tribes on account of crimes and have fled to the protection of the chief of this tribe; then come the herdsmen, and so on.

The strength of a tribe or band ranges from one hundred to two hundred souls, and such a band can muster from twenty-five to fifty warriors, headed by a capitancillo, or capitán, under the command of the chief, who mostly remains at home, and very seldom leads in a foray, taking the field only in cases of emergency. This captain is often the oldest son of the chief, and assumes command of the tribe on the death of his father, and then he chooses a captain among his bravest warriors. A council of chiefs is assembled in case of undertaking a marauding expedition. Should the son of a chief prove unfit for the situation of captain from want of courage, energy, or otherwise, he soon finds himself deserted by all his warriors, who join a more expert captain or chieftain, leaving him (the former) at the head of a crowd of women and children. Many of the Apaches dress in the breech-clout only, but they are beginning now to imitate the Mexicans, the men wearing the serape or blanket pretty generally, while not a few wear the straw hat or sombrero. The women have a short petticoat, and wear their hair loose over the naked shoulders. The women in mourning for husbands killed in battle cut their hair off short. The younger children often go entirely nude. Those under the age of two years are carried by the mother in a kind of osier basket, in which the child is fastened in a standing posture. There is a cover over the head of the child, and the whole outfit much resembles the niche of a statue of a saint such as is seen at the corners of the streets of cities in Spain. When on a roving expedition, if on foot, the mother fastens this basket to a strap which depends from the forehead, while the basket is swung down the back as she walks in a stooping position. When the woman is on horseback, the basket is fastened to the saddle on one side.

The women color their faces with a kind of paint, black or red, or both of these colors, and the men daub vermilion on their faces all over evenly; when they are about to go to war they also grease their bodies. The captains of the bands wear a kind of helmet made of buckskin, ornamented with crow or turkey feathers. The Apaches wear no beards on their faces. They are naturally rather bare of this appendage, and they pull away by the roots whatever hair may present itself on any part of the body. The women do the same, but they allow the hair of their head to attain its full length. Their hair is very black and straight, much resembling horse-hair. In general, the shape of the head and body of the Apache appears to belong to the Asiatic type of the human family. Their behavior is grave and often passionate; they are naturally inclined to intemperance in strong drinks, though necessity often obliges them to adopt temperance,—a restraint which they seem to bear with great ease.

Promiscuous intercourse between the sexes seems to be common among the Apaches, although they are very jealous of their women. A wife found guilty of infidelity is mutilated by having her nose shaved off even with the face.

Their knowledge of medicine is very limited. They seem to be hydropaths mostly. They have not any fixed rates of barter. A great many of the Indians are addicted to falsehood. They believe in one God. They are very much given to frequent "fiestas," or feasts, on which occasions the females do the principal part of

the dancing. The women and children captured from the Mexicans they treat very cruelly. They have no respect for female virtue in the case of their enemies or captives. They do not scalp their enemies. They dread to have the body of one of their people, killed in fight, fall into the hands of their enemies, and make every effort to prevent it. Probably they bury their dead in caves, for their graves are not often found. They are fond of smoking, but do not chew tobacco. They practise the still-hunt mostly, except for antelopes, which they surround on horseback in large parties. Their lodges are built of light boughs and twigs. They never remain in one encampment long at a time, and have probably no knowledge of taking game by means of traps or snares. They are somewhat given to a monotonous kind of singing when idle, and are fond of cards, the use of which they learned from the Mexicans. When fighting, they keep their horses in rapid motion, and are never at rest in the saddle. Among articles which they use for food are the seeds of several species of weeds, as well as the cones of the piñon, and cedar-berries.

Since Dr. Henry's account was written, this tribe has been brought to a condition of partial dependence on and obedience to the United States government, and an Indian police organized from its own members has rendered remarkably efficient service. They are inclined to agriculture, and are now at work upon a school-building, from their desire to have their children educated. "With a reasonable amount of assistance and instruction," says the Indian Commissioner's Report of 1880, "the Apache can soon become self-supporting."

The Tonto Apaches, who are of the Yuma stock, are now collected in large numbers at the San Carlos Agency, in Arizona, together with the Mimbres and other smaller bands. They are cowardly and murderous, and formerly killed more pioneers in Northern Arizona than any other tribe. Prior to 1865 they were peaceable. From that year until 1871 they were on the war-path.

The Mescalero Apaches, numbering about twelve hundred, are established near Fort Stanton, in the eastern part of New Mexico, and range generally south of that point. Prior to 1864 they were on the Bosque Redondo Reservation. When the Navajoes, their enemies, were removed to that place, the Mescaleros fled, and for a time were hostile, but they have long been at peace. They have no treaty with the United States, but are in part subsisted by the government. They care little for farming or industrial pursuits, and have but a single school, with twenty-eight scholars.

The San Carlos, White Mountain (Coyotero), Tonto, Chiricahua, Southern and Ojo Caliente Apache, and Apache Yuma and Mohave, since 1875 have been located in the White Mountain Reservation, Arizona, containing three thousand nine hundred and fifty square miles. They number altogether four thousand eight hundred and seventy-eight. The Southern Apaches comprise two bands, the Mimbres and Mogollons, and number about twelve hundred. They are warlike, and generally hostile to the government. They were removed in 1871 from Southern New Mexico on account of their depredations upon the settlers there. The Jicarilla Apaches, seven hundred and fifty-two in number, are located at the Abiquiu Agency, New

Mexico. These Indians have no home, no work, no schools, no moral or religious training, and are greatly demoralized by whiskey, but are anxious for a reservation where they can cultivate land and make homes for themselves.

The Chiricahua Apaches, Cochise's tribe, were removed in 1876 from their reservation in Southeastern Arizona. They had been peaceable prior to this removal, when about four hundred of them refused to go, and, like Victoria's band, took the war-path, killing and plundering indiscriminately.

The Coyoteros (White Mountain), the largest and fiercest of the Apache tribes, number about two thousand, and were the perpetrators of the massacre of a part of General Carr's command at Camp Apache, August 31, 1881. Since its formation the San Carlos Agency has been four times reduced in area, twice in order to exclude mineral lands, and twice to deprive it of choice agricultural lands upon which white men had settled.

#### NAVAJOES.

The Navajoes are also Athabascans far removed from the main body. They have a fine reservation in the northern part of New Mexico and Arizona, set apart under the treaty of June 1, 1868, embracing about six thousand one hundred and twenty square miles. They number about twelve thousand.

Says Lieutenant-Colonel Eaton, U.S.A., writing in 1853,—

“They are a branch unquestionably of the great Apache tribe, the most enterprising and formidable of all the Indians in or near New Mexico. Their language is nearly the same as that of the Jicarilla Apaches, who live in the mountain-ridges east of the Rio del Norte. They cultivate the ground but to a limited extent, and not enough so as to restrain them from occasional depredations in winter upon the Pueblo and New Mexican settlements. They raise corn, pumpkins, and melons, and a little wheat. They make blankets, some of them pretty in color, of close texture, and of a very durable quality, though this art may have been acquired from the New Mexicans, or the Pueblo Indians. As warriors they certainly are not formidable, and they owe their existence and security to the rude and unfertile country to which they evidently have been driven by more powerful enemies. They owe much of their undeserved repute for prowess to the pusillanimity of the Mexicans, rather than to any particular bravery of their own. They do not live in houses built of stone, as has been repeatedly represented, but in caves, caverns, and fissures of the cliffs, or in the very rudest of huts, hastily constructed of branches of cedar-trees, and sometimes having flat stones for roofs. The raising of horses is carried on, but the horses are of the smallest and most indifferent kind. They never make butter or cheese, nor do they know what such things are. They certainly have no well-recognized government among themselves, being pre-eminently of the most democratic habits. The chiefs are simply men of influence by virtue of manliness of character or of wealth in horses or sheep, and are afraid to enforce a command or exert any control over their respective bands. They have, therefore, neither hereditary nor elective chiefs. The women do not labor as much as Indian women of other tribes,

but are very independent of menial duties, and leave their husbands upon the slightest pretext for dislike. A remarkable superstition seems to govern these Indians in their great unwillingness to make known their own Indian names, or those of their friends, and they are universally known by some Mexican name given to them on their visits to the settlements. They are notorious thieves, the women more so than the men. In the winter season they practise the habit of carrying a firebrand in the hand when travelling from place to place, like the Indians near the shores at the head of the Gulf of California, as related in Castañeda's narrative of Coronado's expedition. If jealous of their wives, they are apt to wreak their spleen and ill-will upon the first person whom they may chance to meet. Several of the chiefs are doctors, but the curative art with them does not go beyond singing with the patient, and other incantations. The welfare of the whole community is a matter which is never entertained by them, individually or collectively, their organization—if they have any—being the veriest rope of sand. Dishonesty is not held in check among them, for frequent cases occur of their stealing horses from each other without fear of punishment from the chiefs or from the nation at large. No such thing as industry is known among them, and a more lawless, worthless tribe is not to be found in any portion of the United States. Hospitality may to some small extent be observed among them, but it is as much as a white man's life is worth to be among them except as a trader, and then their interests lead them to treat him with good faith and kindness. Their country, though rude and wild, is readily accessible by very tolerable roads, even into the cañon of Chelle, their stronghold and main dependence. It is a gross error to describe these Indians as being 'the most civilized of all the wild Indians of North America.' So far from this, they are among the rudest, least intelligent, and least civilized of all the tribes. Some trifling improvement has resulted from their intercourse with the Mexico-Spanish population of the Del Norte, but it has not progressed to an extent worthy of particular remark."

A much more favorable account of the Navajoes is that furnished by Major E. Backus, U.S.A., who, writing at the same period, says,—

"There is probably no tribe of Indians within the limits of New Mexico which has so signally redressed its own wrongs, or inspired its inhabitants with so great a degree of terror, as the Navajoes. Having no permanent habitations, and being in possession of a hardy and active race of horses, they have usually been prepared to resent or inflict injuries, and to appropriate to their own use the property and persons of their neighbors the Mexicans. A bitter and mutual feeling of hatred has long existed between them, and many years of friendly intercourse will be requisite to efface the recollection of injuries inflicted and of wrongs unredressed.

"The Navajoes occupy a large extent of country directly west from Santa Fé, extending from near the Rio Grande on the east to the Colorado on the west, and from the land of the Utahs on the north to the Apaches on the south. It is nearly bisected by the Sierra de los Mimbres, and presents to the eye a succession of elevated mountain-peaks, of timbered table-lands, of dry and unproductive valleys, and of broken fields of lava. There is no considerable stream of water within their borders,

and those traced upon the maps as rivers are usually dry during three-fourths of the year. There are some excellent springs in the valleys and cañons of the mountains, but the water is soon absorbed by the thirsty and porous soil, after having flowed but a few hundred yards upon its surface.

“Before the period when New Mexico became an integral portion of the United States, little or nothing had been done towards subjugating the Navajoes. Their depredations upon the citizens of the upper Rio Grande became so frequent and formidable that in 1846 an expedition was fitted out against them by Colonel Doniphan, who marched into their country and met their principal men at a place known as the Ojo del Oso (‘Bear Spring’). A treaty was entered into, only to be violated on the part of the Navajoes as soon as the troops had retired. In the summer of 1849, Colonel Washington marched from Santa Fé, with a suitable force, for the Navajoe head-quarters, at the Cañon de Chelle. In a collision which ensued, one of the principal men, a rich Navajoe, was killed. A satisfactory treaty was finally entered into, and Colonel Washington returned to Santa Fé. The brutal murder of Chopaton by Mexicans, near Ciboletta, added to other offences against the Navajoes, soon rekindled former animosities, and the border was once more the scene of anarchy and confusion.

“Colonel Munroe, the new governor, made partial preparations in 1850 for prosecuting the war, but no decided movement was made against the Navajoes until August, 1851, when Colonel Sumner led his command into the heart of their country and constructed at Cañoncito Bonito a military post called Fort Defiance. Proceeding to the Cañon de Chelle with six companies of dragoons and a battery of artillery, he penetrated the cañon some twelve miles, but, finding it impracticable to bring the enemy to action, returned to Fort Defiance, and thence to Santa Fé. Several unimportant skirmishes took place in and near the cañon. While the troops were ascending, the Indians were on the top of its vertical walls at so great a height that their arrows, shot at the troops below, lost their force and fell horizontally upon the ground. The highest wall of this cañon rises one thousand feet above the plain.

“About October 20, 1851, forty Moqui Indians, headed by their governor, presented themselves at Fort Defiance, and requested an interview on the part of the Navajoes, who, they said, were desirous of living on terms of amity with the Americans. A favorable answer was returned, and on the 26th a formidable body of Navajoes, well mounted and armed with guns, lances, bows and arrows, presented themselves before the garrison and solicited an interview. It was at once granted, and resulted in an agreement on their part to cease from hostilities and depredations against the troops of the United States, the citizens of New Mexico, and the pueblas of Tunice and Moqui.”

Hostilities again broke out in 1859, but the Indians were brought under subjection by Colonel Kit Carson in 1864.

As a nation of Indians, the Navajoes do not deserve the character given them by the people of New Mexico. They are a fine, athletic race, and are industrious, intelligent, and warlike. Though not aggressive, they have frequently been at war with

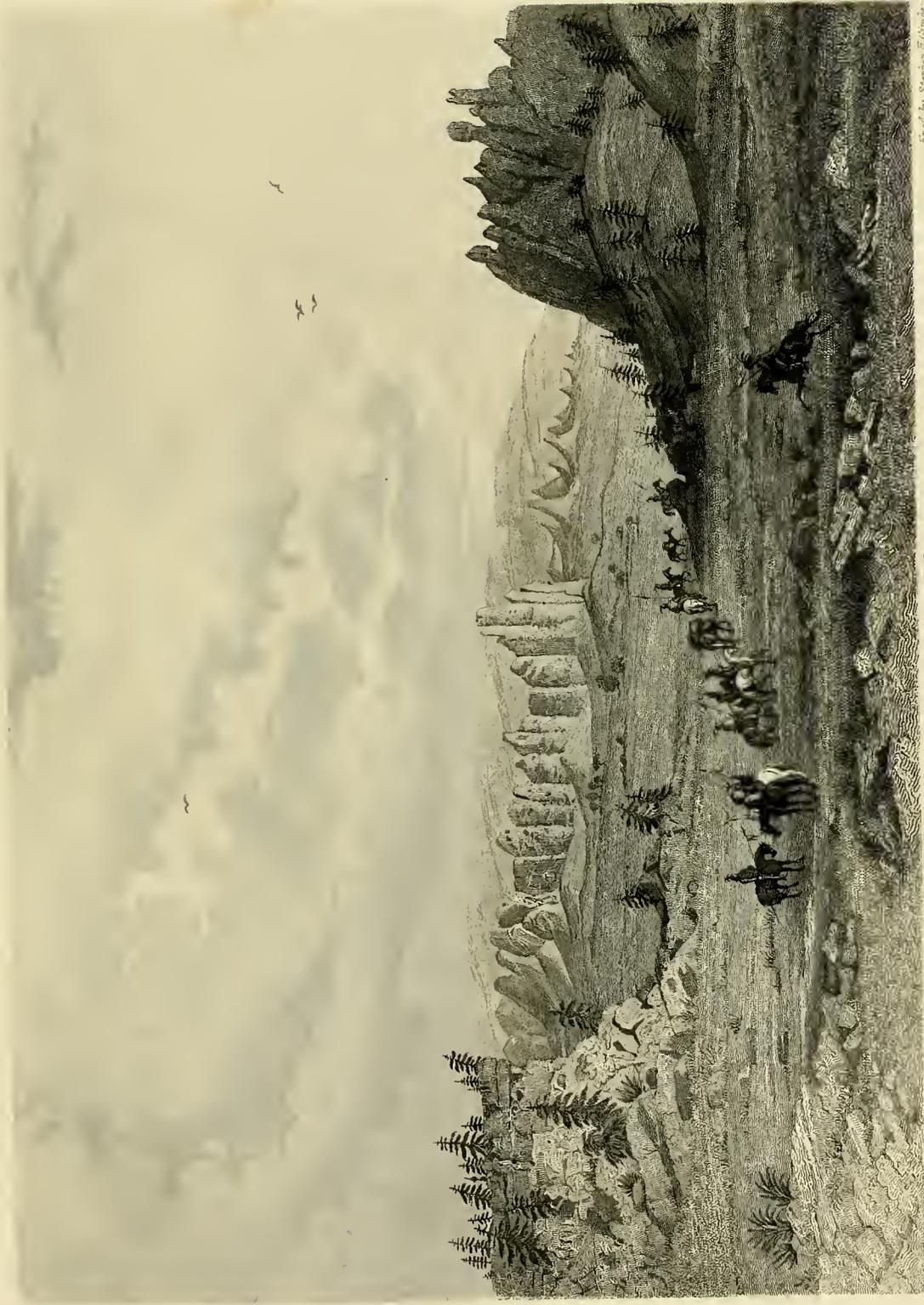


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Engr. by Steffen L. Gilmer

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Drawn by S. Eastman. U.S. Army. from a sketch by F. Baconus. Major. U.S.A.

NEAR FORT DEFENSE, NAVAJOE COUNTRY, NEW MEXICO.



the whites. From the period of their earliest history, the Mexicans have injured and oppressed them to the extent of their power, and because these Indians have redressed their own wrongs the Mexicans have represented them as a nation of thieves and assassins.

The government of the Navajoes seems to resemble more nearly the patriarchal than any other form. There are many rich men among them, whose possessions consist mainly of horses and sheep. Every drove and flock is necessarily attended by its herders. Hence every rich man has many dependants, and these dependants are obedient to his will in peace and in war. The only elective office among them is that of war-chief, and even that office expires with the occasion which created it. Every rich Navajoe may be considered the chief of his clan, or of his own dependants, and these clans are usually friendly with each other and make common cause against a common enemy. In addition to the clans referred to, there are many Navajoes who recognize no leader, and who live the lives of vagabonds, stealing indiscriminately, as occasion offers, from friends and foes. They are never trusted by the rich Navajoes, who are in perpetual dread of their depredations.

The habitual position of the Navajoe is on horseback, and few men can be found to equal him in the management of a horse. There are rich men among them, who have four or five hundred horses, of which many are worth from fifty to one hundred dollars each, and some few will command a still higher price. These Navajoe horses are active and hardy, having much endurance, and a fair amount of speed.

The Navajoes live much in the open air. Their lodges are exceedingly rude structures of sticks, about four or five feet high, with a triangular opening for ingress and egress. On the outside, against the sticks, are placed flat stones and earth, to cover the intervals and protect them from the weather. As often as they change their grazing-grounds, so often do they reoccupy and repair some deserted lodge; and, as their residence in it is to be but brief, the repairs and labor bestowed upon it are of the most meagre and trifling character. In the summer and winter these Indians are found in the southern portion of their country, where there is little snow, and where their animals can find good pasturage. Early in the spring they return to the *eienagas* and *mesas* of the north, where most of them remain during the summer.

Although missionaries were established among them in 1680, the Navajoes are considered a wild tribe, and do not profess the Christian religion. Like all nomadic tribes, they are imbued with superstitions which influence them in all their social and domestic relations.

A Navajoe girl is considered the property of her parents until she marries. Prior to her marriage, a contract is made between the father of the girl and the destined groom. The usual consideration paid is five or six horses. Twelve horses is considered an exorbitant price for a wife, and is paid only for one possessing unusual qualifications, such as beauty, industry, and skill in their feminine employments. A woman was once pointed out to me for whom fifteen horses had been paid. She had a tall, fine form, good features, and an agreeable and lady-like expression, with exceedingly quiet manners. Her face was also clean, in which respect it differed

from the faces of most of the Navajoe belles, who usually evince a cat-like antipathy to the use of water. When a Navajoe woman marries, she becomes free, and may leave her husband for sufficient cause. For this reason the women are treated more kindly than the squaws of the Northern tribes, and perform far less of laborious work than the Sioux or the Chippewa women, such labor being mostly performed by the poor dependants, both male and female. The females do not usually maintain an elevated character for chastity of sentiment or modesty of manners, a natural result from the nature of their marriage obligations, rather than a fault of the people themselves.

Like many other savage tribes, they are much addicted to gambling. Horse-racing is a frequent amusement, but their favorite game consists in throwing a lance or pole at a rolling hoop, in which they are said to exhibit much skill.

The Navajoes are not given to intoxication. Some of them have never tasted ardent spirits, and only those who have visited the Mexican settlements ask for it. They never fail to beg tobacco, which they smoke, like the Mexicans, in the corn-shuck.

In detailing the leading events of the introduction of a fort into the territory of the nation, in 1851, Colonel Backus observes that the Navajoes raise no cotton, and of course have no fabrics of this sort, while the Moquis, who cultivate the plant, make nothing but fabrics of the coarsest cloth. He represents many of the principal Navajoes as being rich in sheep, which they drive from valley to valley to find grass and water. But these men possess no houses, and they sleep, like the sheep they drive, on the grass and chips.

To these details of the state of art among the Navajoes and Moquis we add one or two suggestive facts. We have observed descriptions of the Navajoe dwelling denoting a higher social condition than this tribe has at present any claims to. Drawings of this kind of structure, made by persons on the spot, have been given. The drawing depicts a lodge of deflected poles, tied at the top in the Sioux manner, and forming a pentagon, or a many-sided figure, partly covered with flat stones,—a material evidently adopted from the scarcity of bark or wood in those bleak positions.

The Navajoes own forty thousand horses, seven hundred thousand sheep, and three hundred thousand goats. Of eight hundred thousand pounds of wool raised by them in 1880, at least one hundred thousand were made into blankets and clothing for their own use. They are natives of the country in which they now live.

#### SHOSHONE, OR SNAKE NATION.

The various tribes and bands of Indians of the Rocky Mountains south of latitude 43°, who are known under this general name, occupy an elevated area in the Utah basin, including the territory of the Great South Pass between the Mississippi Valley and the waters of the Columbia. Traces of the Shoshones in this latitude are first found in ascending the Sweetwater River of the North Fork of the Platte, or Nebraska. They spread over the sources of Green River, one of the highest



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NAVAJOE



northern branches of the Colorado of the West, along the summit south of the great Wind River chain of mountains, and thence westward, by the Bear River Valley, to and down the Snake River, or Lewis Fork of the Columbia. Under the name of Yampatick-ara, or Root-Eaters, and Bannocks, they occupy, with the Utahs, the vast elevated basin of the Great Salt Lake. The language is spoken by bands in the gold-mine region of the Sacramento. The Shoshones extend down the Snake River Valley, to and north of latitude  $44^{\circ}$ , but this is not the limit to which the nations speaking the Shoshone language, in its several dialects, have spread. Ethnologically, the people speaking it are one of the primary stocks of the Rocky Mountain chain. They are located immediately west of the wide-spreading tribes who speak the Dakota language, and south of the sanguinary Atsina-Algo, or Blood and Blackfeet race, in Wyoming, Idaho, and Northern Nevada. They are a passive and indolent rather than an aggressive or implacable race, though they are savages in the true sense of the word. The Yampatick-ara are represented as timid, degraded, and wretched, without arts, picking up a miserable subsistence from roots, and using other spontaneous means of subsistence in a barren region, often eating larvæ, not planting a seed, and wandering for food and shelter amid scenes often as rugged as those of the Alps or the steppes of the Uralian chain; yet a closer examination denotes that their timidity, degradation, and wretchedness are measurably the result of untoward circumstances, the improvement of which would raise them to the same rank as their more favored kindred and neighbors the Comanches, who at unknown periods of their history descended southeastwardly into the plains of Texas.

That the climate is not itself such as to repel an alpine industrial population is proved by the success of the Mormons. Portions of the Alps, and other highland or mountain areas of Europe, less favorable to human life, are the residence of a fixed population. The cereal grains are raised in abundance in the great area of the Salt Lake basin. Sheep, goats, and cattle thrive upon the rich bunch-grass of the sloping steppes, where the disintegrated volcanic detritus has produced a soil. The expansive power of frost is perpetually lowering those altitudes. The entire summit-region abounds in pure water, and has a healthful atmosphere, and a high summer temperature at noonday. Rains are not wanting, though they are perhaps too unfrequent, and there seems to be no insuperable obstacle to the formation of settlements at favorable points, where the comforts of life could be permanently relied on. The dryness of the atmosphere, which has been noticed as unfavorable to agriculture without irrigation, is not found, however, to prevent the growth of grass in auspicious locations. To a region thus adapted to pasturage and grazing, the existence in abundance of rock salt must prove an inestimable advantage.

Lewis and Clarke, to whom we are indebted for our first notice of this nation, found them, under the name of Shoshones, in the valley and at the source of the Jefferson Fork of the Missouri River, which rises in about latitude  $43^{\circ} 30'$ . Their old encampments, and the battle-grounds where they had been assailed and defeated by their enemies the Pawkees, or Minnetarees, were formerly to be found as far north as the mouth of the Jefferson, in latitude  $45^{\circ} 24'$ . This band, who numbered about

four hundred souls, were found to possess horses. The Shoshones formerly lived, according to their own recollections, in the plains, but had been driven by roving Indians of the Saskatchewan into the mountains, from which they then rarely sallied. This band was deemed a part of the great tribe of Snake Indians. They were found not only on the highest altitudes but also on both sides of the Rocky Mountains. On the west of the mountains they occupied the head-waters of the Lewis River, where they subsisted, in part, on salmon. The whole number of the nation speaking dialects of the Shoshone language was vaguely estimated at that date (1806), in the table of Indian population, at thirteen thousand six hundred. They were found scattered, under various names, over many degrees of latitude and longitude. When first found by Lewis and Clarke on the spurs of the Rocky Mountains, they employed the expression *Ah-hi-e!* to signify pleasure at the sight of a white man. Their name for a white man was, however, *Tabba-bone*.

“Their cold and rugged country,” observe the explorers, “inures them to fatigue; their long abstinence makes them support the dangers of mountain-warfare; and, worn down, as we saw them, by the want of sustenance, they yet had a fierce and adventurous look of courage. They suffer the extremes of want: for two-thirds of the year they are forced to live in the mountains, passing whole weeks without meat, and with nothing to eat but a few fish and roots. Nor can anything be imagined more wretched than their condition when the salmon is retiring, when roots are becoming scarce, and they have not yet acquired strength to hazard an encounter with their enemies. So insensible are they, however, to these calamities, that the Shoshones are not only cheerful, but even gay; and their character, which is more interesting than that of any Indians we have seen, has in it much of the dignity of misfortune. In their intercourse with strangers they are frank and communicative, in their dealings perfectly fair, and without dishonesty. With their liveliness of temper, they are fond of gaudy dresses, amusements, and games of hazard, and, like most Indians, delight in boasting of their martial exploits.”

Such is the account given of the most northerly tribe of this people. Of the tribes living south of them on the same high altitude of mountains, far less favorable accounts have been given. Mr. Hale, the ethnographer of the United States Exploring Expedition, takes but little notice of this leading nation of the mountains, their relations, languages, or population; which fact is probably owing to their remote and inaccessible position. Fremont came among those bands of the Shoshone stock who possess no horses, live chiefly on roots, and present the most depressed type of their condition. Accuracy in relation to our knowledge of the topography of those regions, and, incidentally, of the tribes inhabiting it, begins with the exploratory journeys of this officer. He ascended the mountains from the North Fork of the Nebraska or Platte, through the Sweetwater Valley, which carried him, by a gentle and almost imperceptible ascent, to the South Pass. Here, at an altitude of seven thousand feet above the sea, in longitude  $109^{\circ}$  and latitude a little north of  $42^{\circ}$ , he found himself among the Shoshones, of whom he had observed traces in the Sweetwater Valley. He had now advanced nine hundred miles from the mouth of the

Kansas. In his separate topographical sheet-maps, published in 1846, he inscribes the words "War-Ground of the Snakes and Sioux Indians" between the Red Buttes of the North Fork of the Platte and the junction of the Big Sandy Fork of the Green or Colorado of California. We are thus apprised of the fact that the Shoshones or Snakes had bands of the great Dakota family for their enemies at the eastern foot of the mountains. The distance between the extremes of the two points thus marked is one hundred and ninety-two miles.

Says Mr. J. H. Holman, the agent for Utah, in his report for 1853,—

"For years a large tribe of the Shoshones, who are sometimes called Snakes, inhabited the Upper Missouri. This tribe, in bands, each under some favorite chief, occupied the country upon the head-waters of the Arkansas, and the region extending as far as Fort Hall, Salmon River, etc. The Snakes were at war with all the various tribes by whom they were surrounded; and by these wars and the smallpox, which was very fatal among them, they were reduced in numbers, and split up into small bands. In the spring of 1822 a war broke out between them and the large and warlike tribe of the Crows, and the war continued for several years, when the Shoshones were finally driven from the country on the Upper Missouri. In past times a village of about one hundred and fifty lodges, from the south, under the chief Nat-che-to, existed on Bear River, some two hundred miles from the present location of Fort Hall. The Snakes had been in the neighborhood of the Spaniards, but had had but little intercourse with them, and, as is reported by traders, they had never seen a 'white man,' meaning an American. Their first meeting with Americans caused much surprise: they had, as they asserted, never seen a looking-glass, and were much astonished at seeing themselves reflected in the glass. They had no knowledge of the use of fire-arms, and would fall to the ground on hearing the report of a gun. Their only weapon was the bow and arrow. They would give a horse for a common butcher-knife. Falling out with the Spaniards, they set out to join the Bannocks, but finally took possession of the country about Fort Hall. Their most noted chief was the celebrated Snag. A few years subsequent to their coming to the Fort Hall region, several other bands of the Shoshones, under the chief Tana-kee, one of the best Indians ever known to the whites, came to the present Territory of Utah, and settled in Salt Lake Valley, extending their boundary to what is now called Cache Valley, which lies between Salt Lake and Fort Hall. These bands occupied Salt Lake Valley until they were driven out by the Mormons, the chief having been killed by a Mormon while walking through his farm. A portion of this band still reside in Cache Valley and on Bear River; some have joined the 'Diggers,' who live principally on the waters of the Humboldt and in the mountains bordering on Oregon. The Digger Indians, who may be called a tribe, are very numerous: they are the poorer class of all the tribes who formerly resided in this section of the country. When the Mormons and whites commenced their travel to California and Oregon, unfriendly feelings arose. The Indians were badly treated. The Mormons would frequently profess friendship, get them into their camps, shoot them down, take their horses, and by forced marches leave the Indians to seek revenge

on the first party of emigrants who travelled the road. The enmity between the whites and the Indians became general. Scarcely a train passed that was not robbed. Many were killed on both sides. The Indians, having no weapon but the bow, finding they could not compete with the rifle, determined to leave the country; those who had horses generally went, leaving only those who were too poor to travel. Thus the 'Diggers,' as they are called, are a band made up of the poorer and fragmentary classes of the Shoshones, the Utahs, the Bannocks, the Sosokos, and the Washano tribes. They used to live during the summer season on the Humboldt River and its tributaries, northwest of Salt Lake. They subsist principally on fish and roots. The roots somewhat resemble the potato, and are very nutritious and palatable. The Diggers roast them when in a green state, and dry large quantities for winter use. They are very destitute generally, having but few horses or fire-arms, and little clothing. It is thought that there were once abandoned white men among them, who induced them to depredate on parties of emigrants, and that the whites received the benefit of the spoils. The oldest traders, who have been longest acquainted with these various bands and tribes of Indians, report them as having been friendly until they were provoked and excited by the Mormons.

"About 1822 or 1823 the band of Shoshones who afterwards resided on the Sweet-water and Green Rivers and about Fort Bridger, consisting of some one hundred and fifty or two hundred lodges, settled and occupied the country from the North Platte to Bear River, under the chief Petti-Coat (a great medicine-man). This band was afterwards controlled by the celebrated warrior Wo-so-keek, a devoted friend to the whites, and his band frequently rendered service to distressed and suffering emigrants."

Dismissing from view the Comanches (who, owing probably to the possession of the horse and living on animal food, abundantly supplied by the buffalo, have acquired a distinct tribal standing for themselves), and regarding the Shoshones as mountaineers, who derive their best protection from their inaccessible position, it may be doubted whether a more impoverished, degraded, and abject Indian nation exists in North America. This character does not apply as fully to the Snake Indians proper, who occupy the upper part of the valley of the Shoshone or Lewis Fork of the Columbia. These latter tribes periodically subsist on salmon, coming up from the Pacific, which are abundantly taken at the falls, but at other seasons they have little to distinguish them from the mountain bands. The country they inhabit is for the most part volcanic, with dry and arid sand plains forming intervening tracts between the pinnacles of rock, which are unfavorable to the increase of large game, and yield but little game of any kind. As the Snakes have no agricultural industry, they are doomed to suffering and depopulation, like the mass of the Indians of Oregon. Even in the most favorable and healthy seasons, they have so little physical stamina that the prevalence of fevers, common east of the mountain, has been known to prostrate them with the power of a pestilence. The Snake tribe is ethnologically thus divided: Washakeeks or Green River Snakes, in Wyoming; Tookarikkah, or Salmon River Snakes (literally, mountain-sheep eaters), in Idaho

These two bands are genuine Snakes. Smaller bands are those of the Diggers, in Utah; Salmon-eaters, on Snake River, and the Root-digging Bannocks, or Pamasht, on Bois , Malheur, and Owyhee Rivers. Snakes of the Yahooshkin and Walpahpe bands were settled recently on the Klamath Reserve in Oregon.

Recent information of the Shoshones (using the term in a wide sense) depicts them as doomed to certain extinction, unless this doom be arrested by a resort to some fixed industry. Their country is devoid of the fur-bearing animals. The little resources they possess in fish and game are quickly wasted. Their habits and manners are soon corrupted, and the native vigor of the tribes is prostrated just at the time of year when their resources fail and they are required to begin a life of agricultural industry to save themselves from extinction. Perhaps their mountains and rocky shelters, the sparseness of population, and the immense area, doomed to perpetual sterility, may operate to lengthen out the period of these feeble and depressed but docile and friendly mountaineers.

Though mild and peaceful, they have been almost constantly involved in defensive war with their neighbors the Crows and Blackfeet on the north and with the Cheyennes and Arapahoes on the south. They are now collected in the Lemhi and Fort Hall Reservations, Idaho, and the Wind River Reservation, Wyoming. The latter was set apart for them by the treaty of 1868, and contains two million six hundred and eighty-eight thousand acres. Owing to these incursions, and to their indisposition to labor for a living, little progress has been made towards civilization by these Indians. The Shoshones of Idaho are not inclined to agriculture, and depend upon hunting and fishing for subsistence.

#### COMANCHES (KOMANTSUS).

In 1847, Hon. David G. Burnett furnished Mr. Schoolcraft the following information respecting this tribe:

The Comanches are the most numerous tribe of Indians in Texas. They are divided into three principal bands,—to wit, the Comanche, the Yamparack, and the Tenawa. The former are the ones with whom the whites have had most intercourse. They occupy the region between the Colorado of Texas and the Red River of Louisiana, ranging from the sources of the Colorado, including its western affluents, down to the Llano Bayou, and from the vicinity of the Pawnees, on the Red River, to the American settlements on that stream. They were once frequently at war with the Pawnees, and occasionally made a hostile incursion upon the Osages. The Yamparacks range the country north and west of the Comanches, and the Tenawas dwelt interior from the latter. They are essentially one people, speak the same language, and have the same peculiar habits and the same tribal interests. In 1819 the three bands consisted of ten thousand to twelve thousand souls, and could muster from two thousand to two thousand five hundred warriors.

The Comanches have no definite idea of their own origin. Their loose tradition is that their ancestors came from the North, but they have no precise conception of

the time when, or from what particular region. They are nomadic in their manner of life, their possessions consisting of horses and mules, which they steal, for the most part, from the Mexicans, who hold them in great dread. They have no knowledge of agriculture, but depend entirely on game for subsistence, and of old they relied chiefly on the buffalo, which once descended in large herds to their region on the approach of winter. During the summer months, when the buffalo returned to their northern pastures, these Indians were often exposed to suffering, and found it difficult to procure adequate sustenance; but they have a rare capacity for enduring hunger, and manifest great patience under its infliction. After long abstinence they eat voraciously, and without apparent inconvenience.

They have no traditions having the slightest probability which run farther back than the third generation. Their means of knowledge of the past are altogether oral, and their memories are unaided by monuments of any description. They have no songs, legends, or other mementos to perpetuate the illustrious deeds of their progenitors. In 1819 their principal chief, who was generally recognized as the head of the three bands, was called *Parrow-a-kifty*,—that is, Little Bear. He was a Tenawa, and was a brave, enterprising, and intelligent savage, much superior to his tribe in general. He was celebrated for his taciturnity and sedateness. It was said of him that he never laughed except in battle. His habitual taciturnity was not of that affected kind which is sometimes adopted among the more enlightened as a convenient substitute for and type of wisdom.

The authority of their chiefs is rather nominal than positive, more advisory than compulsive, and relies more upon personal influence than on investment into office. They have a number, altogether indefinite, of minor chiefs or captains, who lead their small predatory bands, and are selected for their known or pretended prowess in war. Any one who finds and avails himself of an opportunity for distinction in taking horses or scalps, may aspire to the honors of chieftaincy; and such a man is gradually inducted by a tacit popular consent to the chieftainship, no such thing as a formal election being known among them. They usually roam in small subdivisions, varying, according to the scarcity or abundance of game, from twenty to one hundred families, more or less; and to each of these parties there will be one or more captains or head men. If any internal social difficulty occurs, it is adjusted, if adjusted at all, by a council of the chiefs present, aided by the seniors of the lodges, whose arbitrament is usually, though not always, conclusive between the parties at variance; but there are not many private wrongs perpetrated among them, and family or personal feuds seldom arise. They live together in a degree of social harmony which contrasts strikingly with the domestic incidents of some communities that vaunt their enlightenment. The Comanches have no idea of the practical administration of justice, and maintain no organized and authoritative system of national polity. One captain will lead his willing followers to robbery and carnage, while another, and perhaps the big chief of all, will eschew the foray and profess friendship for the victims of the assault. Hence treaties made with these untutored savages are a mere nullity unless enforced by a sense of fear pervading the whole tribe; and it is some-

what difficult to impress this sentiment upon them, for they have a cherished conceit that they are the most powerful of nations.

They recognize no distinct rights of *meum et tuum*, except to personal property, and they hold the territory they occupy, and the game that pastures upon it, as common to all the tribe. They are usually very liberal in the distribution of their provisions, especially in a time of scarcity. Their horses and mules are kept with proper caution, in separate cavalcades. Enterprising individuals will sometimes own from one to three hundred head of mules and horses, mainly the spoils of war. These constitute their principal articles of exchange for the goods their convenience or fancy may require. They sell some buffalo robes, which are dressed, and sometimes painted with considerable taste, by the women. Prisoners of war belong to the captors, and may be sold or released at their will.

They are sufficiently astute in dealing, but are quite ignorant of the real value of many articles they purchase, and hence are liable to be egregiously imposed upon. A prompt delivery on both parts is the best mode to secure payment. When goods are delivered to them on credit, they are either gambled off, or distributed by donations to friends, in a few days; and then the improvident debtor "loves his horses," and lets them go with reluctance, if at all. An obstinate refusal to pay is difficult to overcome: payment has occasionally been compelled, but the combined influence of several of the most powerful chiefs in council was necessary to effect it.

The Comanches compute numbers by the fingers, decimals by one or both hands spread out, and the duplication of decimals by slapping both hands together to the number required. They keep no accounts in hieroglyphics or devices of any kind, but rely entirely upon memory, their commercial transactions being few and simple.

They have made but small advances in the use of medicines, and have no determinate knowledge of the pathology of diseases. They have a very potent and efficacious vegetable remedy for the bite of venomous reptiles. They are expert in curing gunshot wounds, and in the treatment of fractured limbs, which they bandage with neatness and good effect. They have no knowledge of the art of amputation, and if gangrene supervenes in any case it is remediless. They believe in divers amulets and other mystic influences, and have a custom of "singing for the sick," when a crowd assembles at the lodge of the sick person and makes all sorts of hideous noises, vocal and instrumental, the object of which is to scare away the disease. It is certainly better calculated to affright than to soothe. Their diet and all their habits are simple, and they are strangers to strong drink, or "fire-water," as they significantly call alcoholic liquors. They have no physicians, and have not much use for any, for there are few diseases prevalent among them. Fevers sometimes occur, but are not understood either in their pathology or their manner of cure: they are generally intermittent and of a very mild type. They have no professed practitioners in obstetrics. The smallpox was introduced among them in 1837, and swept off a great number. It prevailed but a short time, or the nation would have become extinct, for very few who contracted the disease survived its ravages. Their mode of treatment was calculated to increase the mortality. The patients were

strictly confined to their lodges, excluded from the air, and almost suffocated with heat. In many instances, while under the maddening influence of the disease, exasperated by a severe paroxysm of fever, they would rush to the water and plunge beneath it. The result was invariably fatal.

The Comanche costume is simple, though often variegated. It consists generally of a buffalo robe worn loosely around the person and covering the whole of the ankles. This is sometimes painted, or ornamented with beads on the skin side, or on both. They prefer a large mantle of scarlet or blue cloth, or one-half of each color, except in very cold weather, when the robe, the hair turned in, is more comfortable. The breech-cloth is usually of blue stroud, and descends to the knees. The leggings, made long, are of dressed deer-skin, or blue or scarlet cloth, garnished with a profusion of beads and other gewgaws. The head-dress is as various as their fancies can suggest and their means supply. Parrow-a-kifty's parade head-dress was a cap made of the scalp of a buffalo bull, with the horns attached in proper position. He ordinarily wore few ornaments. The young men, the exquisites of the tribe,—and no people, savage or civilized, are more addicted to the fanciful in dress,—bedaub their faces with paints of divers kinds and colors, red, black, and white predominating. These they obtain, for the most part, from the different minerals of their country, without chemical elaboration. Vermilion is much admired, but is generally too costly for habitual use. They sometimes load their heads with feathers, arranged in lofty plumes, or dangling in the air in pensile confusion, or woven into an immense hood. The hair is often besmeared with a dusky-reddish clay, and horse-hair, cow-tails, or any other analogous material is attached to the conglomerate mass until the huge compound cue will descend to the heels of the wearer. They wear arm-bands, from one to ten or more on each arm, made of brass wire about the size of a goose-quill; nose-pieces of shell, or bone, or silver; and ear-pendants of strung beads or anything they fancy and can procure. They know nothing of the origin of these customs of decoration, and have as little reason for them as the more civilized dandy has for his changeful fancies. When in their actual war-dress, the Comanches approach to absolute nudity. When about to attack an enemy, which they always do on horseback, they disrobe themselves of everything but the breech-cloth and moccasins. Their saddles are light, with high pommels and cantles, and they never encumber their horses with useless trappings.

The women are held in small estimation; they are "hewers of wood and drawers of water" for their indolent and supercilious lords. They pay much less attention to personal adornment than the men, and appear, in the degradation of their social condition, to have retained but little self-respect. They are disgustingly filthy in their persons, and seemingly as debased in their moral as in their physical constitution. They are decidedly more ferocious and cruel to prisoners than the men, among whom may sometimes be witnessed faint indications of a benevolent nature. It is an ancient custom to surrender a prisoner to the women for torture for the first three days of his arrival among them. These fiends stake out the unhappy victim by day,—that is, fasten him on his back to the ground, with his limbs stretched out by

cords and stakes. At evening he is released and taken to the dance, where he is placed in the centre of a living circle, formed by the dense mass of his tormentors, and made to dance and sing, while the furies of the inner line beat him with sticks and thongs of raw-hide, with great diligence and glee, until their own exertions induce fatigue, when he is remanded to his ground-prison to abide a series of small vexations during the coming day and a repetition of the fell orgies the ensuing night. At the expiration of the three days he is released from their custody, exempted from further annoyance, and taken to the lodge of his captor to enter upon his servitude. This course is not universal, however. Adult prisoners are sometimes deliberately put to death with protracted tortures, when the party taking them have suffered much loss of life in the foray. At such times these savages will eat a portion of the flesh of their victims, and so far they are liable to the charge of being cannibals. But they eat to gratify a spirit of revenge, and not to satiate a morbid appetite. Cannibalism, disgusting in all its phases, is with them a purely metaphysical passion. It is perhaps more abhorrent to a correct moral sense, though less loathsome, than that which results from mere brutal appetite. When boys or girls are captured, they are not subjected to any systematic punishment, but are immediately domiciliated in the family of the captor. If docile and tractable, they are seldom treated with excessive cruelty. They are employed in menial services, and occasionally, in process of time, are emancipated and marry into the tribe, when they become *de facto* Comanches.

Polygamy to an indefinite extent is permitted. One chief, Carno-san-tua, the son of America, a name of Mexican bestowment, had ten wives, all of whom seemed to live together in uninterrupted harmony, although one of them was evidently the favorite. Wives are divorced unceremoniously by the husbands, and sometimes marry again. Infidelity on the part of the wife is punished by cutting off the nose. The excision is made from the lower extremity of the cartilage diagonally to the lip. The women do all the menial work. They often accompany their husbands in hunting. The men kill the game, the women butcher and transport the meat, dress the skins, etc. Several women will sometimes accompany a war-party, when they act as hostlers and servitors generally. When in the enemy's country, and near the scene of intended assault, the party select some sequestered spot, in a dense thicket or chapparal, if possible, where they encamp, deposit their feeble horses and surplus baggage, with a few of the aged or inefficient warriors and the women as a camp-guard, while they sally out, usually by moonlight, in quest of prey. They war for spoils, and their favorite spoils are horses and mules. They often drive off several hundreds of these from a single Mexican ranch on one foray. The Comanches are not deficient in natural courage, and no people excel them in the art of horsemanship, and few, if any, in the use of the bow and the javelin, both of which weapons they handle with great dexterity on horseback. As foot-soldiers they are comparatively of little account, but they are never found on foot by an enemy, except by surprise. They use light shot-guns, having an aversion to the weight of the rifle. Experience has taught them to dread this formidable weapon in the hands of our

brave frontiersmen, and to this sentiment may be attributed much of their forbearance from hostilities. They are generally men of good stature, there being among them very few instances of diminutive size or personal deformity. They use a shield made of raw buffalo-hide contracted and hardened by an ingenious application to fire. It is oval or circular, about two feet in diameter, and is worn on the left arm. It will effectually arrest an arrow, but is not proof against a rifle-ball.

The geographical knowledge of the Comanches is confined within the small limits of their own actual observation. All beyond is, to their minds, obscure and doubtful, and an Indian's doubt is positive, unqualified disbelief. They are excessively incredulous of any facts in relation to other countries that conflict with their own experience. They have no settled, intelligible notion of the form or constitution of our planet, and none of the great planetary system. They know the north star, and are guided by it in their nocturnal journeys. They call it *karmeadtasheno*,—literally, “not-moving star.” They recognize the sun as the great fountain of heat, but of its nature, or of the motions of the heavenly bodies, they know nothing. They refer to the lapse of time by counting the colds and heats,—that is, the winters and summers; and although they pay much attention to the phases of the moon, the revolutions of that planet are too frequent and would soon involve too high numbers to constitute a means of computing the chronology of events that have taken place more than a year ago. For short periods, past or future, they count by moons, from full to full. The time of day they determine by the apparent position of the sun in the heavens.

The Comanche notions of religion are as crude, imperfect, and limited as their ideas of geography and astronomy. They believe in, or have some indefinite traditional idea of, the Great Spirit, but have no mode of worship, except that early in the morning a shield, such as they use in war, is elevated on the point of a javelin (the hilt in the ground), and invariably facing the east. They believe in witchcraft, and sometimes attribute their ailments to the magical influence of some subtle and malignant enemy. They held the Kitchies, a small and distinct tribe formerly residing on the waters of the Trinity River, in peculiar detestation, on account of their supposed powers of sorcery. They imagine that good men (and adroitness and daring in taking scalps or stealing horses are capital evidences of goodness) are translated at death to elysian hunting-grounds, where buffalo are always abundant and fat. The reverse of this maximum of Comanche felicity is assigned to the wicked. In order to facilitate the posthumous enjoyments of a deceased warrior, they sacrifice some of his best horses, and bury in his grave his favorite implements of the chase for his future use. They have no determinate idea of the locality of these imaginary hunting-grounds. They mourn for the dead systematically and periodically with great noise and vehemence; and on these occasions the female relatives of the deceased scarify their arms and legs with sharp flints until the blood trickles from a thousand pores. The duration of these lamentations depends on the quality and estimation of the deceased, varying from three to five or seven days, after which the curtain of oblivion seems to be drawn around the grave.

No order of priesthood, nor anything analogous to it, exists among them. If they

recognize any ecclesiastical authority whatever, it resides in their chiefs; but their religious sentiments are entirely too loose, vague, and inoperative to have produced any such institution. The elevation of the shield is the only act that affords the slightest indication of religious concernment, and it is doubtful if they have any opinions relative to future rewards and punishments that exercise any moral influence upon them. They have nothing like a system of mythology, neither do they entertain any religious myths of a traditionary or settled character.

Robert S. Neighbors, special agent to this tribe, communicated the following information respecting them to Mr. Schoolcraft:

“The Comanches know nothing positively of their own origin, and their traditions on this point are very vague and unsatisfactory. They believe they have always lived near the same country they now occupy, and they know of but one migration of their tribes; this took place many years since, when they travelled from the west, and met with what they term the ‘Mountain Spaniards,’ in the mountains of New Mexico. They lived with them many years, and the two peoples intermarried with each other. The first chief they recollect was named ‘Ish-shu-ku’ (Wolf-house): he was a great and wise chief. At the time he lived they resided in Mexico. From thence they visited the prairies for the purpose of hunting, and intermarried with the other tribes inhabiting those regions. These were the Wacos, Tah-wac-car-ros, Toriuash, and branches of the Pawnee tribes.

“They call themselves ‘Na-uni,’ which signifies ‘first alive,’ or ‘live people.’ They are called Comanche by the Mexicans, Nar-a-tah by the Wacos, Tah-wac-car-ros, etc., Par-too-ku by the Osages, and Sow-a-to by the Caddoes. When they came from the west there were no people living on the lands they now occupy. The first white people they saw were on the west side of the Rio Grande or Del Norte. They lived there at that time, and made a treaty with the white traders that they met. They got the first tobacco from the Wacos, who raised it themselves, but they are ignorant at what time this took place.

“They have an imperfect tradition that another race of people inhabited this country before them, and that there was a great flood of waters which covered the whole earth, and that the inhabitants, who they suppose were white and civilized, were metamorphosed into ‘white birds’ and flew away, by which means they saved themselves from being destroyed. After this, they believe, the Great Spirit made the Comanches on this continent.

“They have never heard of any animals except those which are generally known in this region; neither are they aware of anything connected with crossing the large waters. The first war they recollect was with the Lipans, a branch of the Apaches. They believe in and venerate several deities. They worship one Supreme Being, who they think inhabits a country above the sun. The sun, moon, and earth are their principal objects of worship,—the sun as the primary cause of all living things, the moon as the god of night, and the earth as our common mother. They believe that the will of the Great Spirit is supreme, that he dispenses good and evil at his will, also life and death.

“They use many charms, and are very superstitious. All charms are supposed to be derived from the Great Spirit, which they buy from their ‘medicine-men.’ They offer him many sacrifices. The first puff of smoke is offered to the Supreme, the second to the sun, the third to the earth, and, after these, to whatever they venerate. The first morsel of what they intend to eat is presented to the Great Spirit, and then buried in the ground. All their implements of war are made by, or undergo charms from, their priests or magicians, who practise charms for the purpose. Their shields are made in imitation of the sun, and before going to war they are stuck upon their lances facing the rising sun, and no person is permitted to handle or touch them except their owners. They believe that they were made by a secondary spirit, who was sent down to the earth by the Supreme. When he first made them, they were imperfect. The spirit returned to the Supreme, and told what he had made. He was then directed to return and complete his work by giving the beings he had created sense, and to instruct them how to live. He taught them how to make bows and arrows, and gave them horses, etc.

“They have no accounts: all their business transactions are simple trade and barter. They are ignorant of the elements of figures, even of a perpendicular stroke for 1, 11, etc. They make no grave-posts or monuments indicating the rank of a deceased person. There is little known of their medicines. So far as has been discovered, these are confined to simple roots and herbs. They trust chiefly to incantations made by the medicine-men, who also bleed in fevers by scarification on the part affected, but their principal treatment in diseases is starvation. They do not understand amputation, but bind up a broken limb with splints. Their litters for conveying the wounded or sick are composed simply of two poles, with skins stretched across them, and long enough to be supported by a horse in front and rear.

“The position of a chief is not hereditary, but the result of his own superior cunning, knowledge, or success in war, or some act or acts that rank him according to his merits. The subjects under discussion in council are at all times open to popular opinion, and the chiefs are the main exponents of it. The democratic principle is strongly implanted in the tribe. The chiefs consult principally the warrior class, and the weaker minds are wholly influenced by popular opinion. War-chiefs commit hostilities without consulting the other tribes. Any propositions or treaties proposed by the whites are discussed privately, and the answer given by the chief as the unanimous voice of the tribe. In deliberations in council they consult each other, and one addresses the meeting. The council is opened by passing the council-pipe from one to the other, and invoking the Deity to preside. It is conducted with great propriety, and closed in the same manner. There is one appointed as crier or messenger, whose duty it is to fill the pipe, etc. Questions of importance are deliberately considered, and considerable time frequently elapses before they are answered, but they are all decided on the principle of apparent unanimity. Capital punishments are rare, each party acting generally for himself, and avenging his own injuries. Each chief is ranked according to his popularity, and his rank is maintained on the same principle. A chief is deprived of his office by any misfortune, such as loss of

many men in battle, or even a signal defeat, or being taken prisoner, but never for any private act unconnected with the welfare of the whole tribe. They have no medals except those lately given them, and these are worn more as symbols of peace than as marks of distinction among themselves. The priesthood appear to exercise no influence in their general government, but, on war being declared, they exert their influence with the Deity. Any principal chief has a right to call a general council of his own tribe, and a council of all the tribes is called by the separate chiefs of each tribe. The principal chiefs have shown every disposition to advance in civilization, and only require the co-operation of the Americans to influence their followers in the same course.

“No individual action is considered as a crime, but every man acts for himself according to his own judgment, unless some superior power—for instance, that of a popular chief—should exercise authority over him. They believe that when they were created, the Great Spirit gave them the privilege of a free and unconstrained use of their individual faculties. They do not worship any Evil Spirit, and are not aware of its existence, attributing everything to the Great Spirit, whether it be good or evil. They use fire in all their religious observances and dances, or medicine-making.

“They believe in the immortality of the souls dwelling in their happy hunting-grounds, but have no definite idea of the transit from this life to another. The ties of consanguinity are very strong, not only with regard to their blood relations, but also with regard to relations by marriage, etc., who are considered as, and generally called, ‘brothers.’ Offences committed against any member are avenged by all, or by any member connected with the family. In this nation a hunter will generally supply a sufficiency of food and clothing for one family. The marriage state only continues during the pleasure of the parties, as a man claims the right to divorce himself whenever he chooses. Polygamy is practised to a great extent, some chiefs having more than ten wives, but inconstancy is the natural result of it, and this offence is frequently punished by cutting off the nose of the transgressor, and sometimes even by death; but more frequently the woman escapes unpunished, and the seducer is deprived of all his available property, which is yielded to the injured party, by custom, without resistance. The women perform all manual labor, war and hunting being all the occupation of the men. Jealousy is frequently a great cause of discord, but the husband exercises unbounded authority over the person of his wife. Their lodges are generally neat, and on the entrance of a stranger the owner of a lodge designates the route he shall pass, and the seat he shall occupy. Any infringement of this rule is liable to give offence.

“They are formal and suspicious to strangers, but hospitable and social to those they consider their friends. They have no regular meals, but eat when they feel hungry, each party helping himself, and joining in the meal without invitation or ceremony. The parents exercise full control in giving their daughters in marriage, they being generally purchased at a stipulated price by their suitors. There is no marriage ceremony of any description. They enter the marriage state at a very

early age, frequently before the age of puberty. The children are named from some circumstance in tender years, but the name is frequently changed in after-life on account of some act of importance. Whatever children are stolen from their enemies are incorporated in the family to whom they belong, and are treated like their own children, without distinction of color or nation. There is considerable respect shown by the younger branches of the community to the patriarchal chiefs of the tribe.

“When they make a sacred pledge or promise, they call upon the Great Spirit as their father, and the earth as their mother, to testify to the truth of their asseverations. Their talk in council is short, and oratorical powers are held in small esteem, but good judgment is in high estimation. The children are practised at a very early age in the use of the bow and arrow, but the chiefs and principal braves are accustomed to the use of the shot-gun and rifle, without dispensing with the bow and arrow, which are always carried and used in war. When a chieftain wishes to go to war, he declares his intentions, and the preliminaries are discussed at a war-dance. When the affair is agreed upon, a certain place is designated near the point of action, where to congregate at a specified time, to which place the chiefs repair, the warriors proceeding separately in small bands by various routes, in order, if discovered, to deceive the enemy as to the point of attack, and to procure subsistence, each party living on the produce of the chase, no provisions being carried for public use. They fight on horseback, with whatever arms they can procure, but their principal reliance is on the bow and arrow.

“They are the most expert riders in the world. Men are never taken prisoners by them in battle, but are killed and scalped in all cases. Women are sometimes made prisoners, in which case their chastity is uniformly violated.

“The Comanches have dances of various descriptions, and women are frequently admitted to them, but the women’s dances are entirely distinct from those of the men. They have contests in racing, and several games of chance. Their principal game is the same as in all the Northern bands, called ‘bullet,’ ‘button,’ etc., which consists in changing a bullet rapidly from one hand to the other, accompanied by a song to which they keep time with the motion of their arms, and the opposite party guessing which hand it is in. They sometimes stake all they possess on a single game.

“When pressed by hunger from scarcity of game, they subsist on their young horses and mules. The flesh of the young wild horse is considered a delicacy.

“Their common dress is the breech-cloth and moccasins, with a buffalo robe flung loosely over the shoulders, but some have now begun to imitate the more civilized tribes. They have a great variety of ornaments, many of which are of pure silver, principally fashioned into large brooches. Their decorations are derived from birds and shells, which are bartered to them by the traders. The feathers of the hawk and of the eagle are highly esteemed. They use several native dyes, produced from roots. Vermilion, indigo, and verdigris are sold them by the traders. They also paint with white and red clay on particular occasions. They are of a light character, with a gay cast of mind, and of rather fervid temperament. Their minds are susceptible

of a considerable degree of cultivation. Christianity has never been introduced among them. This tribe is subject to many trespassers, not only from the whites, but also from the neighboring tribes of Indians, who hunt through portions of their country, destroying great quantities of game.

“The scarcity of fire-arms, and their incomplete knowledge of such weapons, long rendered them unequal to contend with the frontier tribes, who had obtained experience from contact with the whites. Their burials are strictly private. When a man dies, his horses are generally killed and buried, and all his principal effects burnt,—the first to carry him to his paradise, and the latter for his use on his arrival there. They formerly also killed the favorite wife; but this custom has been done away with, from intercourse with the more civilized Indians.

“The death of a chief causes great tribulation to the tribe. On such an occasion they assemble without distinction, and bewail his death with extreme lamentation, until they receive from the relatives of the deceased sufficient presents to cause them to stop; for instance, if a man wants a favorite horse belonging to the brother of the deceased, he continues crying till he obtains it. When men are killed in battle, it is a cause of much greater lamentation than when they die a natural death, and a much greater number of mourners bewail the loss. The presents given by relatives are also much more valuable. The deceased is packed upon a horse as soon as he expires, and taken to the highest hill in the neighborhood, and buried privately, without any monument to note the place, as far as has been discovered. The wives of the deceased cut and gash themselves until exhausted by loss of blood, and frequently commit suicide from extreme grief on the occasion.”

The Comanches and Kiowas, with certain Apaches, confederated under present treaty stipulations, are now located upon a reservation secured to them by treaty in 1867, comprising three million five hundred and forty-nine thousand four hundred and forty acres, in the southwestern part of the Indian Territory, west of and adjoining the Chickasaw country. These wild tribes have recently moved up from Fort Sill to the Washita, and are settling down in small groups and by families, and opening up separate farms instead of cultivating one large body of land in common. In this way tribal relations are being modified, and the influence of chieftainship impaired. They have a school-building, which will accommodate two hundred pupils. There are about four thousand Indians on this reservation, most of them belonging to the two first-named tribes. They are much given to raiding into Texas, their wealth consisting in great part of horses and mules, many of which have been stolen from the citizens of that State.

These tribes have been frequently engaged in hostilities with the United States. The Comanches were defeated near the Washita village, October 1, 1858, and on May 13, 1859, in the Nescatunga Valley, by Major Van Dorn; a Kiowa village of one hundred and fifty lodges, on the Canadian, was destroyed by Colonel Carson in 1864; two hundred Apaches were killed, and many of their villages burned, in Arizona, by General Ord's command, in 1869; a band of friendly Apaches were massacred near Camp Grant on the morning of April 29, 1871; Maowi's band of Comanches was

defeated on McLellan's Creek, September 29, 1872, by Colonel Mackenzie; and Victoria's band of hostile Apaches was destroyed by the Mexican Colonel Terrasas in 1880.

#### UTAHS.

The Rocky Mountains have from time immemorial been the location of certain tribes of Indians, who appear at first to have sought shelter there from sanguinary hunter-tribes, roving over the plains or slopes on either side of the chain; or it may be that the mountain-tribes reached these eminences in search of the buffalo, which were wont to pass through the mountain-gorges at certain seasons of the year. Lewis and Clarke, who, in 1805, crossed the range between the sources of the Missouri and Columbia Rivers, found its summits in possession of the Shoshone group of tribes. These people, in their divisions, appear to have been progressive, at least from this point, towards the south; from about 42°, which is the verge of the Great Salt Lake basin, they have diverged towards the southwest into California, and towards the southeast into Texas, at the same time continuing the track southerly into New Mexico.

Two distinct tribes, speaking dialects of other languages, appear as intrusive, or, at least, to have shared with the Shoshone group this general position,—namely, the Upsarokas, or Crows, and the Utahs. The Upsarokas, according to some traditions, fled from the Missouri Valley during a time of extensive commotions of the tribes in that quarter. The Utahs appear to have been progressive from the south, where, from an early period, they have, with the Apache tribes, been residents of the elevated plains and geologically disturbed districts of New Mexico. The great Colorado River of the West has its principal origin and course through the Utah territories.

Of good, middle-sized stature, and much strength of muscle, the Utahs are predatory, voracious, and perfidious. They have long been the terror of the Spanish settlements of New Mexico, and have severely taxed the energies of the Americans to keep them within bounds. The use of the horse has doubled their power of depredation, and excited their energies and ambition. To kill and rob on foot is a far less exciting exploit for these Indians than to perform the same atrocities on horseback and fly to their recesses for safety; and this flight, too, leads through gulches and cañons which put cavalry at defiance.

From their mountain-fastnesses they made raids upon their hereditary enemies the Sioux, Cheyennes, and Arapahoes. With the whites they have nearly always been friendly, the outbreak in 1879 being almost the only instance on record to the contrary. The rapid settlement of Colorado has driven them westward and deprived them of the best part of their lands, and negotiations with them are now pending for the purchase of their lands in Colorado, and their removal thence.

Some of the more important bands of the Utahs are the Elk-Mountain Utahs, in Southeastern Utah; Pah-Vants, on Sevier Lake, southeast of Salt Lake; San Petes, on Sevier Lake, and in San Pete Valley; Tash Utahs, in Northern Arizona; Uintah Utahs, in Uintah Valley Reserve; Weber Utahs, northeast of Salt Lake; Yampa

Utahs, south of the Uintah Utahs. The Uintah Valley Reservation, of two million acres, in the northeastern corner of the Territory, comprises some of the best farming land in Utah, and is of sufficient extent to maintain all the Indians in the Territory. The Weber Utes, numbering about three hundred, live in the vicinity of Salt Lake City, and subsist by hunting, fishing, and begging. The Timpanagos, numbering about five hundred, live south of Salt Lake City by hunting and fishing. The San Petes, three hundred in number, south and east of the Timpanagos, subsist in the same manner. The Pah-Vants, twelve hundred in number, occupying the territory south of the Goships, hunt and fish and cultivate small patches of ground. The Elk-Mountain, Yampa, and other bands live in the eastern and southern parts of the Territory. They number over five thousand; they do not cultivate the soil, but subsist by hunting and fishing. They are warlike and migratory in their habits, carrying on a petty warfare much of the time with the Southern Indians. They have no treaties with the United States, and receive no annuities and but little assistance from the government.

## PAH-UTES.

These Indians, numbering about six thousand, inhabit the western part of Nevada. Two reservations have been set apart for them,—the Walker River and Pyramid Lake Reservations, containing each three hundred and twenty thousand acres. They are a peaceable, intelligent, agricultural people, all wearing citizens' dress, are generally sober, and possess little property except ponies. They live in tule houses in winter, and, while not complaining of their lot, are desirous that the government, which does so much for those who are far less deserving of its assistance, should aid them in their efforts to attain the blessings appertaining to a higher civilization. Those on the Walker River Reservation are cultivating small patches of ground. The Pyramid Lake Reservation affords, in addition, excellent fishing, and the surrounding settlements provide a ready market for the surplus catch. They have one school, with thirty scholars.

## PI-UTES.

The Pi-Utes, numbering two thousand five hundred, inhabit the southeastern part of Nevada. They have no reservation, nor any treaty with the United States, but roam at will, are very destitute, and obtain a living principally by pilfering from the whites, although a few are engaged in a small way in farming.

The following facts are derived from the report of Agent Holman in 1853:

To the south of the Shoshones, or White River, and on Green River and its tributaries, there once resided a large band of the Utah tribe, under the chief Birne (One-Eye),—about one hundred and fifty lodges. They lived on friendly terms with all the Indians, and were kindly disposed towards the whites, although they had once been accounted bad Indians. Being some one hundred miles from the emigrant route, they had but little intercourse with the whites, except the traders who visited their country.

There is a part of the Utah tribe who reside on the Elk Mountains, towards Taos, in New Mexico. This tribe is very large, and claims the country from the Elk Mountains, west and southwest of Salt Lake, to the Sierra Nevada. It is controlled by various chiefs, who command separate bands who are friendly towards each other, all being of the Utah tribe, though some are called Pi-Utahs. Some of these bands have been inclined to rob and murder the whites since the first settlement of Salt Lake Valley,—a disposition occasioned, it is said, by the forcible occupation and settlement of their land by the Mormons, against whom they make many grievous complaints.

Another band of Utahs, called the Uwinty Utahs (Uintah Utahs), were formerly under the chief Castel. They are descendants of a band whose chief was named Uwinty, from whom the band and the valley in which they reside take their designation. They number about one hundred lodges.

There were also other bands of these Utahs,—one under the celebrated chief Walker, the other under his brother, Saw-ry-ats. They resided in and about San Pete Valley, about one hundred and fifty miles from Salt Lake. They number one hundred and fifty or two hundred lodges. They were formerly much more powerful, but have been greatly reduced in numbers by the attacks of hostile tribes. Walker, although a prominent chief, with much influence in his tribe, was not considered a great warrior. His high standing was a consequence of his daring and ingenious thefts. He made annual visits to the Mexican territories south, and stole horses, sometimes hundreds in a drove. Upon one occasion he left the Mexican country with about three thousand, but was closely pursued, and driven so hard that half of his lot gave out, and were left. He got in safe with the remainder. Upon another occasion, after collecting a large drove, he was pursued by a strong force of Mexicans for several hundred miles. Being aware of the pursuit, he knew he must be overtaken or abandon his drove, as the animals were much fatigued, unless he could extricate himself by stratagem. Late in the evening he selected a point suitable for operations, and encamped. The Mexicans came in sight, and from the careless appearance of Walker's camp concluded that he was not aware of the pursuit, and, being fatigued themselves, they determined to rest for the night, and capture Walker and his party in the morning, as they considered it impossible for him to escape. Consequently they lay down to sleep, not dreaming that the eye of Walker was upon them. They had no sooner become quiet than Walker and his band surrounded their horses and quietly drove them to their own camp, when, putting all in motion, they were soon safe from their pursuers. In the morning the Mexicans found themselves on foot and unable longer to continue the pursuit, and had to retrace their steps as best they could, while Walker leisurely pursued his course homeward, with the addition of some one hundred fine horses to his band, and arrived in safety. He had been so successful in these thefts, and they had been so numerous, that the Mexican authorities offered a reward of five thousand dollars for his head. This, however, did not deter this mountain chief. Whenever he wanted horses he knew where to get them, and never failed to secure a good drove.

A very large band of Utahs and Navajoes, residing on the lower waters of Green and Grand Rivers, and extending to the Colorado, were long considered the most treacherous and bad Indians in the country. They raise considerable stock,—horses, cattle, and sheep; they manufacture very beautiful and serviceable blankets, and also cultivate corn, vegetables, etc.

Another large band of the Pi-Utahs reside south and southwest of Salt Lake, on and about Lake Sevier and Walker's River, and occupy the country as far as Carson River and the Sierra Nevada. They are in bands numbering from two hundred to four hundred, each under some favorite brave or chief, but all friendly, as if composing one united band.

There are several tribes or bands residing on Goose Creek, on the Humboldt and Carson Rivers, and in the mountains adjacent to these rivers. A large band of about five hundred, a mixture of Bannocks and Shoshones, under the chief Too-ke-mah (the Rabbit), of the Bannock tribe, used to claim the country about Goose Creek Mountain, Spring Valley, and west as far as the Humboldt, extending north some two hundred miles towards Fort Hall.

There are two bands of the "Diggers," as they are called, principally of the Shoshone tribe, who reside near the Humboldt River, and in the adjacent mountains. The first was once under the chief Ne-me-te-kah (Man-Eater), whose band numbers about five hundred. They occupied the country around the junction of the North and South Forks of the Humboldt. The other, numbering about four hundred and fifty, were under the chief Oh-bah-quah (Yellow-Skin). This band resided in the neighborhood of Stony Point, a place made noted from the frequent difficulties between the Indians and emigrants. Within the limits of the country claimed by this band, the celebrated Porter Rockwell, a Mormon, the same man who attempted to assassinate Governor Boggs, of Missouri, killed six of their number. There was a large party, mostly Mormons, returning to Salt Lake from California; Rockwell, seeing these Indians at a distance, called them into camp, professed towards them the greatest friendship, gave them provisions, and while they were eating he drew his revolver and killed the whole six. He took their horses and arms, and left the Indians lying on the plains. Many of the Mormon company, however, were much opposed to this brutal transaction. Upon another occasion, an Indian was killed while in the act of being persuaded to join a company of Mormons. While one of the company drew his attention by giving him a piece of tobacco, another shot him dead. They took his horse and arms, and left him lying there. These murders, and other deeds of cruelty and treachery, produced the difficulties which afterwards occurred with the emigrants on this whole route, all these Indians having been previously friendly to the whites.

Near the sink of the Humboldt there was a band, chiefly of the Bannock tribe, under the chief Te-ve-re-wena (the Long Man), numbering about six hundred.

In Carson Valley, and the country south, there are several bands of the Pi-Utah tribe, numbering six or seven hundred, under their favorite chiefs, and scattered over the country from the head of the valley to the sink of the river. It is a curious

fact that while the Carson River heads in the Sierra Nevada and runs eastward, the Humboldt River heads in the range of the Humboldt and Rocky Mountains and runs westward,—the sources of the two rivers being some fifty miles apart. It is this district that forms the Great Desert, the crossing of which caused so much suffering to California emigrants before the building of the Pacific Railroad.

#### BANNOCKS, OR ROOT-DIGGERS.

This name is applied to an Indian tribe formerly inhabiting a large extent of country west of the Rocky Mountains, now located at the Wind River Reservation, Wyoming. They were generally friendly to the whites, but in 1866 and again in 1878 they broke out into hostilities. The name was undoubtedly given to that portion of the Indians who live on the roots of the earth. This practice is common to all the Indians of California, as well as to those of the Great Basin west of the South Pass. With these tribes roots are, for the greater portion of the year, their main subsistence, and to procure them is the work of their females. Hundreds of women may be seen at one time, scattered over the hills, with heavy, cone-shaped baskets swung on their backs, and long sticks in their hands with which they dig. Thus they toil throughout the day in "root-digging" for their subsistence, while the men are lounging in the shade or engaged in some of their games. From day to day the women pursue this drudgery, and are mostly able to procure enough for present subsistence, and sometimes to lay up quantities for future use. With the early sun they ascend the hills, and continue diligently working until towards evening, when they return heavily laden with the fruits of their labor.

Of the roots used by the Indians for food, the pap-pa, or wild potato, is in many parts the most abundant. They also gather great quantities of berries of various kinds. The manzanito, or little apple, is most used by them. These, with pine-seeds, grass-seeds, and green clover, and, at times, small quantities of fish and small game, constitute the entire food of the Indians inhabiting the regions of the Sierra Nevada. "I have frequently," says Mr. Adam Johnston, "seen those of the San Joaquin Valley eating green clover with great avidity." This class of Indians, the Root-Diggers, are always found in warm places which produce quantities of such natural products of the earth as they make use of. Those of them who live in the mountains during the summer season descend into the valleys and dwell near the streams during the winter.

As a rule, the root-digging Indians are cowardly, treacherous, filthy, and indolent.

The manner of building lodges is much the same with all the tribes. In the northern and colder regions of the country they excavate the earth several feet deep to the size they wish the lodge. They then sink substantial poles into the ground around the edge of the excavation: these poles are bent over and drawn together at the top, forming a dome-like covering. This is then covered with earth to the thickness of several inches, and sometimes over one foot, a small aperture in the centre of

the top being left for the smoke to escape. Another small aperture on one side, of sufficient size to admit the body feet foremost, completes the structure. These lodges are intended for cold or wet weather; and they generally have others, more temporary, which they use in pleasant weather. In the valleys and warm regions they seldom erect such lodges, except their sweat-house, and *hung-ie*, or large house, for council, the dance, and gambling. All other lodges are but temporary, consisting of bushes or tule, constructed in conical shape, and appear as if intended for shade rather than for shelter or protection from the weather.

The females wear their hair short, and the males wear theirs quite long. The custom of tattooing is common among them. They have no particular figures or designs upon their persons, but the tattooing is generally on the chin, though sometimes on the wrist and arm. Tattooing has mostly been seen on the persons of women, and seems to be esteemed merely as an ornament, not apparently indicating rank or condition.

The Indians of California have no marriage ceremony. The women are sometimes sold by their parents for blankets, beads, or other consideration; but this is of rare occurrence. They are also sometimes taken in battle from other tribes, and appropriated by the chiefs or captains of the conquering tribe. An Indian may have as many wives as he can keep, but a woman cannot have a plurality of husbands, or men to whom she owes obedience. Sometimes conflicting claims arise between two or more men in regard to a woman. These are usually settled by the chiefs.

On the death of one of their people they give way to deep grief and mourning. The women black their chins, temples, ears, forehead, and hair with pitch or tar. Indeed, sometimes they black their entire head, face, and breasts down to the waist.

Their mourning is wild and impressive. "I have frequently," says Mr. Johnston, "been present at their funeral rites. On one occasion, Major Savage and myself were overtaken by night at an Indian rancho, or village, on the head-waters of the Chow-Chille River, where we were obliged to remain for the night. One of their females was at the point of death, though we were not aware of it when we lay down. Some time after midnight we were awakened by a single voice of lamentation in loud and mournful wail. These solitary notes were continued, at breathing intervals, for several hours. Then other voices broke in from time to time as the females joined in the mourning. On day breaking, I found the whole camp in great grief, jumping and howling in a most pitiful manner.

"After sunrise the body of the deceased was tied up in her blanket and rags which she possessed when living, and borne to a spot some hundred yards distant, where her funeral pyre was being raised. The entire camp followed, most of whom were crying and wailing greatly. The body was laid on the ground while the pyre was being built. This occupied considerable time, owing to the difficulty the Indians had in getting wood and bark for the purpose. During this time the mourning was kept up in loud and wild wailings. The females were blacked around their chin, temples, ears, and forehead, and jumped and cried as they uttered their wild lament. They often prostrated themselves upon the ground, and not unfrequently on the body of

the deceased. The pyre being finished, the body was placed upon it, with all her baskets, beads, and earthly effects. This done, the pyre was fired all around, and, as the blaze enveloped the body, the mourners, who had continued jumping and wailing, seemed to give way to unbounded grief. During this scene I observed the females as they jumped about pointing in several directions and ejaculating something I did not understand. On inquiry, I learned they were pointing towards places where they had been with the deceased in childhood,—gathering food, feasting, or on some other occasions of pleasure,—and they were crying, ‘no more yonder,’ ‘no more yonder,’ ‘no more yonder.’

“During the whole time from the death of the woman, there was one Indian who gave utterance to his sorrow in loud and broken strains. He was naked, as were most of the men, except a small girdle round the middle. As he half cried, half sung his sorrow, he would occasionally speak something distinctly, but without appearing to address himself particularly to the people, or any portion of them. I learned he was the speaker, or what might, perhaps, on this occasion be termed the priest, of the tribe. In the course of the ceremony, groups of Indians would occasionally gather around him. On one occasion I observed him drawing marks in the sand as he spoke. He said, ‘We are like these lines: to-day we are here, and can be seen; but death takes one away, and then another, as the winds wipe out these lines in the sand, until all are gone.’

“After death the name of the departed is never breathed among them. When death takes one away, the living suppose the name has gone also, and should not be spoken. I am told that when the name of a deceased person happens to be spoken among them, a shudder passes over all present instantly. They seem to know but little of the past of those living, and to endeavor to forget everything connected with the dead.”

#### WICHITAS.

The Wichita tribe formerly inhabited the mountain region of that name, tilling the ground, and exchanging the products of the soil, and the bows and arrows which they made, with the Indians of the plains, for mules, horses, and buffalo-robos. When the government sent a party of engineers to mark the western boundary of the country given to the Chickasaws, they guided and guarded them with great kindness. The result disclosed the fact that their village was in the Chickasaw country. Soon afterwards, their chiefs were induced, by the United States officers at Fort Arbuckle, to invite the Comanches to a peace-council to be held with the officers at the Wichita village. They succeeded in their mission; but no sooner had the Comanches, six hundred in number, reached the vicinity of the village, than they were surprised at daybreak by Major Van Dorn, with six companies of cavalry, many of them killed, and all their property taken or destroyed. Major Van Dorn, it is said, had not been apprised of the arrangement. To escape the vengeance of the Comanches for their supposed treachery, the unfortunate Wichitas fled from their homes and became wanderers. In 1854 they were placed by the government on the Brazos River, but



Engr. by J. C. H. Shaw

Drawn by Capt. S. Eastman, U.S.A. from a sketch by R. P. Kerr.

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PUEBLO OF THE NEW MEXICO



were driven thence by the Texans, and took refuge in the neighborhood of Fort Arbuckle. When the rebellion broke out, they abandoned their homes, following the troops north into Kansas. At its close, greatly reduced in numbers by starvation and disease, they returned to the vicinity of their old home, Rush Creek. The treaty of Medicine Lodge Creek having given their home to others, they have been placed upon an agency in the Indian Territory, with the Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches. "The affiliated bands belonging to this agency," says the Indian Commissioner's Report for 1880, "except the Caddoes and Delawares, continue to advance in industry and thrift. They wear citizens' dress, live in houses, cultivate the ground, and at times require but small issues of rations."

## KIOWAS.

The Kiowas, a wild, roving tribe of Shoshones, formerly ranged from the Platte to the Rio Grande, and about the Arkansas and Canadian Rivers, in the Indian Territory, Colorado, and New Mexico. In 1869 they were placed on a reservation in the Indian Territory, with the Comanches, Apaches, and other wild tribes. They are a brave but cruel and treacherous tribe. Up to June, 1871, with short intervals, they had made repeated raids on the settlers in Western Texas. Returning from one of these, their chief, Satanta, boasted of having captured a train and killed seven men, and, on his making application for rations, he was arrested at Fort Sill by order of General Sherman. While Satanta, with other prisoners, was being taken to Fort Richardson, he attempted to kill a soldier, and was shot. The effect of arresting some of the leading Kiowas and sending them to Texas for trial was most salutary, and since this tribe, the Comanches, Apaches, and other wild tribes have been removed to the Indian Territory, they have been to some extent brought under civilizing influences, and have determined never again to take up arms against the white man.

At the opening of hostilities in the Indian Territory, in 1874, full nine-tenths of the Kiowas at the agency were friendly, but at the time of the Wichita fight one-third of them fled, and were afterwards obliged to surrender as hostiles. Twenty-six leading Kiowa chiefs and braves, including Swan, and the noted raider Lone Wolf, were taken to Fort Marion, with a number of Cheyenne and Comanche captives. In 1875 the Kiowas sustained a severe loss in the death of Kicking Bird, who, though a young man, was their head chief. He had abandoned raiding some years before, had gained the reputation of loyalty to the government, and endeavored to promote the elevation of his people. His dying request to be buried after "the white man's way" was carefully complied with.

## PUEBLOS.

Scattered here and there over various parts of New Mexico and Arizona are found small towns or villages of semi-civilized Indians, denominated Pueblo Indians, these last all having to some extent acquired the language and many of the customs

and manners of the Mexican population of the country. They retain, however, most of the ancient rites, ceremonies, and customs of their progenitors, which are still sacredly observed among them. They were subdued by Coronado in 1540. Two years later they threw off the Spanish yoke, but were again conquered in 1597-98 by Oñate. In 1680 they again revolted, but without success. They became citizens of the United States in 1848. Five different dialects are spoken in the nineteen pueblos.

The records of New Mexico were destroyed by the natives in 1680, during the revolt, and again in 1870, when, to the disgrace of the nation, the acting governor of the Territory suffered its archives to be sold as waste paper.

The pueblos, the chief of which are Acoma, Isleta, Sandia, Taos, Laguna, Zuñi, and Moqui, are scattered at intervals throughout the country. These are at the present time the most populous, and the most noted for intelligence and for agricultural and pastoral habits. The inhabitants of these pueblos, though part of the great aboriginal race of the American continent, differ in many respects from the wild and marauding tribes, in having the habits, intelligence, and enterprise of a semi-civilized people, and in having been known as such from the period of the expedition of the first Spanish explorers from the city of Mexico in 1541-42, when they were found living in these towns. Through what means, or from what source, this progression towards civilization has proceeded, still remains, and probably ever will remain; shrouded in obscurity. It is probable that they are descendants of the Aztec population who occupied this country previous to its discovery by the Spaniards.

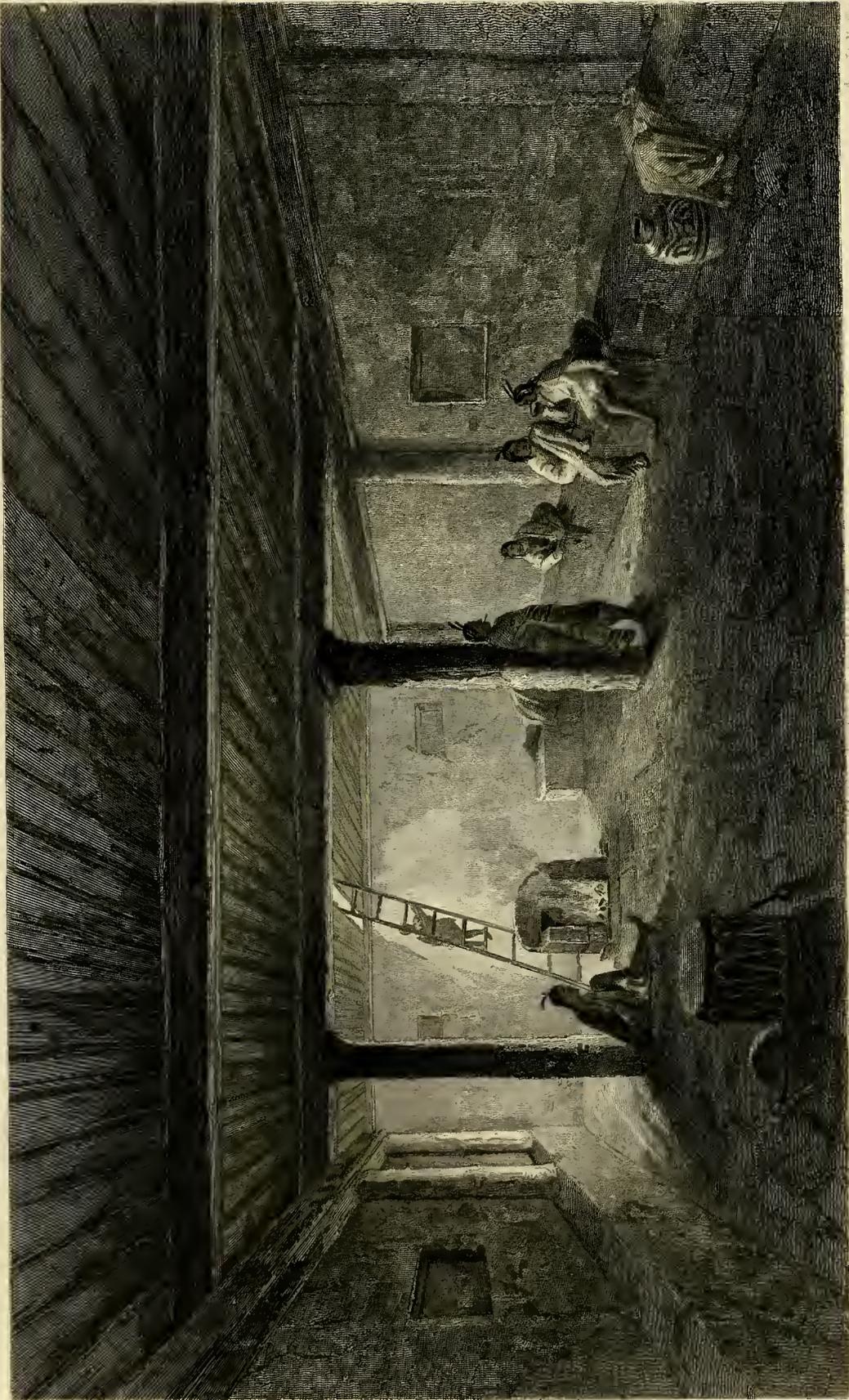
The traditional "seven cities of Cibola," of which Coronado was in search, have been located by recent investigators on the site of the Zuñi group of pueblos in the western part of New Mexico. Mr. A. F. Bandelier, in his "Report on the Ruins of the Pueblo of Pecos,"<sup>1</sup> has satisfactorily determined that "Tusayan," which lay to the left of Cibola, must be the Moqui group of pueblos in Eastern Arizona, and that the rock of Acuno, east of Cibola, must be the same as the pueblo of Acoma, "whose remarkable situation on the top of a high isolated rock has made it the most conspicuous object in New Mexico for nearly three centuries."

In a circle of sixty miles from Santa Fé there are to be found the ruins of over forty deserted towns, and similar ruins in other localities show that these Indians were once a powerful, industrious, and intelligent people. These are the remains of the ancient communal dwellings of the agricultural or village Indians, ancestors of the present race. The most interesting of these abandoned pueblos are those of Pecos, twenty-five miles east of Santa Fé; Ojo Caliente, near a hot spring in Rio Arriba County, New Mexico; and others in the Cañon de Chelle and in Peach Orchard Cañon.

Mr. Bandelier concludes that the ruin of Pecos is "probably the largest aboriginal structure of stone within the United States so far described." He estimates the number of compartments contained in it at five hundred and eighty-five, and believes

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<sup>1</sup> Papers of the Archæological Institute of America,—American Series.



INTERIOR OF AN PETIPA - NEW MEXICO

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W. H. WOODS

NEW YORK



that for size it will bear comparison with many of the ruins of Mexico and Central America. As there are no traces of steps, it is probable that the house was entered by means of ladders, as is still the custom in Zuñi and Moqui. Espejo, who visited the region in 1582, estimated the tribe at twenty-five thousand souls, inhabiting five towns. The pueblo of Pecos continued to be inhabited down to 1840, when the remnant of the tribe, dwindled to the number of five men, removed to the pueblo of Jemes, a tribe speaking the same language.

Mr. Bandelier identifies this ruined pueblo of Pecos with the village of Cicuyé, to which Coronado sent an expedition, under his lieutenant Alvarado, in 1540.

The population of the nineteen pueblos is nine thousand five hundred, in a territory containing one thousand three hundred and eighty square miles, of which Zuñi has three hundred and thirty-six. They are all self-supporting. The names of the pueblos are Acoma, San Juan, Picuris, San Felipe, Pecos, Cochiti, Taos, Santo Domingo, Santa Clara, Tesuque, San Ildefonso, Pojoaque, Zia, Sandia, Isleta, Nambe, Jemes, Laguna, Santa Ana, and Zuñi; and besides these there are seven Moqui pueblos in Arizona. Jemes, Laguna, and Zuñi have each a school.

Each village contains an *estufa* (place of worship), partly built under ground, and so enclosed that it cannot be entered without the consent of those in charge. It is constructed of adobes, the usual building-material. Many of their houses are from two to five stories high, and are entered by ladders reaching to the roof, from which admittance is obtained through a trap-door, a mode adopted for security from hostile attacks.

The high civilization secured to the Pueblos under the Spanish rule was maintained until after the establishment of Mexican independence, when, from want of government care and support, decay followed, and they measurably deteriorated down to the time when the authority of the United States was extended over them: still, they are a remarkable people, noted for their sobriety, industry, and docility. They have few wants, and are simple in their habits and moral in their lives.

These people have their own laws and forms of government, each town having its own, and all are nearly alike. Each has its governor, lieutenant-governor, cacique, fiscal, superintendent of irrigation, war-captain, lieutenants, and constables. These are elected annually, except the cacique, or high-priest, who holds office for life. In nearly all the villages there are Roman Catholic chapels, which are seldom used, as, notwithstanding the efforts made by that Church, the Pueblos still adhere to their native belief and ancient rites. They believe that Montezuma, their prophet, priest, and king, was born in Teguayo, one of their ancient pueblos, in 1480. Governor Arny was told by a venerable Indian that all the Pueblos in secret perform rites and ceremonies connected with the looked-for return of Montezuma.

The pueblo of Moqui, and its six neighboring pueblos, are at an easy distance from the main residence of the Navajoes. The following are the Navajoe names for these seven pueblos:

Ai-yah-kín-nee (Moqui), Tset-so-kít, Qset-so-kít-pee-tséc-lee, Kiu-ahs-dée, O-zí, Et-tah-kín-nee. These six all speak the same tongue,—a Shoshone variant. The

seventh, called Nah-shah-shai (Oreybe, or Haro), speaks a different language,—one of the true Pueblo tongues.

#### ZUÑIS.

The pueblo of Zuñi is situated in the western part of New Mexico, upon a small creek called Rio de Zuñi, having its source in the Ojo Pescado (fish spring), about sixteen miles to the eastward, and is near the eastern border of Arizona. The Zuñis number about sixteen hundred. In their own language, which is not spoken by the Indians of any other pueblo in New Mexico, they call themselves, as a tribe, Ah-shee-wai. Like all other Pueblo Indians, they wear their hair knotted behind and bound with parti-colored braid; but in front it is allowed to grow so as to cover the entire forehead, being cut off sharp and square at the line of the eyebrows. This last, they say, is to enable the Pueblos to distinguish one another from the wild Indians. Their only head-covering is a colored handkerchief, passed like a band from the forehead to the back of the head. These Indians physiognomically resemble in all respects those of the more northern Territories of the United States. They say they have inhabited their country since the world was made, that originally they, in common with the wild tribes, came from the west, and that as the world grew they became separated from one another, and the Navajoes, being separated the farthest, finally established themselves near the Pueblos. The Zuñis have many mean and disagreeable traits, being close and tricky in trade, inhospitable, and given to pilfering and lying. They have no substantial tradition of their origin, other than the trivial one just mentioned. They are governed by a cacique or head chief, who is also their chief priest. The succession is hereditary in the family of the cacique. A few miles to the southeast of Zuñi, on the mesa of Gallisteo, is what is called Old Zuñi; but there is no reliable evidence that it was ever the residence of the ancestors of the Zuñis. They have been living in their present villages since the time of the Spanish conquest.

The Zuñis are mild and peaceable. Their habits are regulated by the sun and moon, and by the changes in the seasons. They have a house where the cacique of the sun sits, and through a hole in the wall tells by the sun's rays shining in what time of the season it is. Especially does he watch when the sun travels his last day northward, and with dancing and joy they welcome his backward march. They are economical to the last degree, and are slowly improving in condition.

For many years these Indians were at war with the Navajoes, and in 1863 they held one hundred of the latter captive. Finding it too expensive to feed them, they decided to give them a chance for their lives and liberty. The streets and alleys of the town are very narrow, and egress from them is difficult, unless one is well acquainted with them. In the public square of the town the Zuñis placed the captive Navajoes, and bade them escape if they could. At each corner were placed two Zuñi warriors, armed with clubs and knives; and not one of the Navajoes got out of the town alive.



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PUEBLO OF LAGUNA NEW MEXICO

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## MOQUIS.

The Moqui Pueblos are in Arizona, and their reserve adjoins the Navajoe Reservation on the west. It has a population of one thousand seven hundred and ninety. The Moquis revolted against the Spaniards in 1680, and have since been independent. Their houses are built of stone set in mortar, and for security are perched upon the summits of almost inaccessible *mesas*. Their villages are Tayroah, Se-cho-ma-we, Jualpi, Me-shung-a-na-we, She-powl-a-we, and Shung-o-pa-we. Ten miles west of the latter is Oreybe, where dwells a distinct race, speaking a different language.

The Moquis are an agricultural people, but are very poor, as droughts are frequent and their lands are not susceptible of irrigation. The scarcity of water prevents stock-raising. They were formerly a numerous people, possessing large flocks and herds, of which they have been deprived by their more warlike neighbors the Navajoes. They are kind-hearted, hospitable, virtuous, and honest, but their isolated situation keeps them ignorant and superstitious. With the exception of the Oreybes, who speak the Tegua dialect, the Moquis belong to the Shoshone group.

The following description of the Moquis is taken from the diary of Father Francisco Garces, who in 1775 was ordered by the Spanish viceroy, Bucarali, to the Colorado River :

“At night I entered the Moqui, astonished at the sight of the many people on the roofs of the houses, looking at me as I passed with my mule in search of the corner of the preceding night, which, after making some turns, I found.

“In this town were two kinds of people, and two languages. The first is seen in the color and stature of the males and females, the second in their different manner of singing. Some are of a color clear and somewhat red, and are good-looking; and others are small, black, and ugly. When they go out of town they appear in clothing like Spaniards, wearing dressed skins, tight sleeves, pantaloons, boots and shoes. Their arms are ‘xavas’ and lances. In town they wear shoes, and sleeves of colored cotton (‘manta pinta’), and a black blanket of the sort they make. The women wear tunics as low as the ankle, without sleeves, and a black or white shawl over the head like a square mantilla,—the tunic, confined by a belt, usually of a variety of colors. They do not pounce or paint themselves, nor did I see beads on them, or ear-rings. The old women wear the hair in two braids, and the young women in a tuft over each ear, or altogether drawn to one side, taking much care of it.

“Notwithstanding that they did not favor me, I formed the idea that there were many good people among them, and that the bad were only those who governed. There might have been other reasons for this besides that of not wishing to be baptized, or of admitting Spaniards into their country; like that of knowing that I had come from the Tamajabs and from the Yumas, friends of their enemies, and consequently they held me as the spy of the Yavipais, Tejua, and Chemegnabas. They also knew that I came from and was a minister among the Pimas, with whom they were at war, as I had been told by the Indians of my mission; and because of this,

and the ruins which are found on the river Gila, I have suspected that anciently the Moquis extended as far as there. I asked some old Sabaipuris of my mission, many years ago, who had made those houses which were fallen down, and the earthenware that is found, broken, in various places on the river Gila; for neither the Pimas nor Apaches know how to make such. They answered me that the Moquis only know how to make those things; and they added that the neighboring Apaches are not related among themselves; that there are some much farther to the north, where they used to go, long since, to fight; but they had never been up into the plateau where these people lived. This information was confirmed, in that the Yavipais took out for me a bowl of earthen-ware, like the cups found in the house of Montezuma; and I asking them whence they had gotten it, they said that in the Moqui there is much of that ware. As I did not go into a house, I could not see any in them; but from below I saw on the azoteas some large colored pots. So likewise the Gila Pimas have told me that anciently the Apaches came from the house which is called of Montezuma, to give them battle; and it being certain that those whom we know for Apaches have no house or fixed habitation, I am inclined to think that they were the Moquinos who came to fight, the which were made war upon by the Pimas, who have ever been numerous and brave, and that they forsook these habitations of the river Gila, as they have that ruined town which I found before coming to Moqui, retiring to where they now live, in that advantageous position, defended as it is with so many precautions against every attack.

“Within the town there was no water, but on the side to the east I saw an abundant spring, with a descending stairs of stone, and curbing of the same. In my corner I rested that night, and my mule was taken by the Yavipais to the pen of the preceding day.”

#### YUMAS.

Of the Yuma group of Southern Arizona and Southern California, a portion of the Mohaves live at the Colorado River Agency; the Pimas, Maricopas, and Papagos are at the agency named for them; a large number of the various bands of Apaches and of the Mohaves are at the San Carlos Agency, in Arizona; while the Yumas, Cocopas, Hualapais, and others are not on reservations. The Mohaves at the Colorado River Agency number about four thousand, of whom only eight hundred and twenty-eight are on the reservation, the rest either roaming at large or being fed at other reservations. They are industrious and fond of agriculture, and skilful in raising their crops under the adverse circumstances of their location. They are willing and anxious to work, but make slow progress in civilization. The parents objecting to the education of their children, no schools have been established among them. The land of the Apaches is fertile in the valleys, and water is plenty from the mountain-streams. The squaws cultivate the soil, and the men hunt, fish, and fight. The Coyoteros had a famous chief, Cochise, reckoned the ablest and most vindictive Indian in Southern Arizona. His animosity was attributed to an ill-advised attempt to take him and his family prisoners with a view to holding them as hostages for the return

of property stolen by some other Indians. A reservation was set apart for them at Camp Goodwin in 1866, some fifteen hundred of them drawing rations there at one time. But on their refusing to deliver up some prisoners who were reported to have attacked a train, they became alarmed, and fled to the mountains, remaining hostile until 1871, when they were placed on their present reservation. The Aravapais, or Mohave Apaches, at this agency, were the bravest and most inveterate of our Indian foes in Arizona, and had more than once defeated our troops in action. The Hualapais, a brave and enterprising race, located on the eastern slope of the Black Mountains, live by the chase, and have little stock. For several years following 1866 they were hostile to the whites, who killed in that year their head chief, Wamba Yuba, on a mere suspicion that he had been concerned in the killing of a white man. They number about fifteen hundred.

The Indians of the Yuma stock are scattered along the borders of the Lower Colorado and its affluents the Gila River and the Bill Williams Fork. Their name is derived from one of the tribes,—the Yumas,—whom their neighbors frequently call Cuchans, or Ko-u-tchans. They number about two thousand, and inhabit the country near the mouth of the Colorado River. They gain a scanty subsistence by planting and wood-cutting. Scattered tribes are the Kómnos, and the Yavipais or Yampais, east of the Colorado River.

#### PAPAGOS.

These Indians, numbering about six thousand, are of the same class in some respects as the Pueblos of New Mexico, living in villages, cultivating the soil and raising stock for a support. They have no reservation, but inhabit the southeastern part of the Territory. Many of them have embraced Christianity, and they are generally well-behaved, quiet, and peaceable. They manifest a strong desire to have their children educated. They have no treaty relations with the United States, and receive no assistance from the government. They are industrious, and excel in the manufacture of mats and pottery.

#### PIMAS AND MARICOPAS.

The earliest Spanish accounts of the Pimas locate the tribe in the Gila Valley, very nearly in the position which they now occupy. This is about two hundred and forty miles above the present site of Fort Yuma, at the junction of the Gila and Colorado Rivers. Their association with the Coco Maricopas has produced a general concurrence in manners and customs, dress, and modes of living, the same kind of houses, and the same general policy; but the language is different, and the latter are an entirely distinct tribe, having, according to their own traditions, come to their present position from the west. Their union with the Pimas is recent. These tribes are said to have been in former years "Village" or "Pueblo" Indians. Missions were early established among them by the Spaniards, with good success.

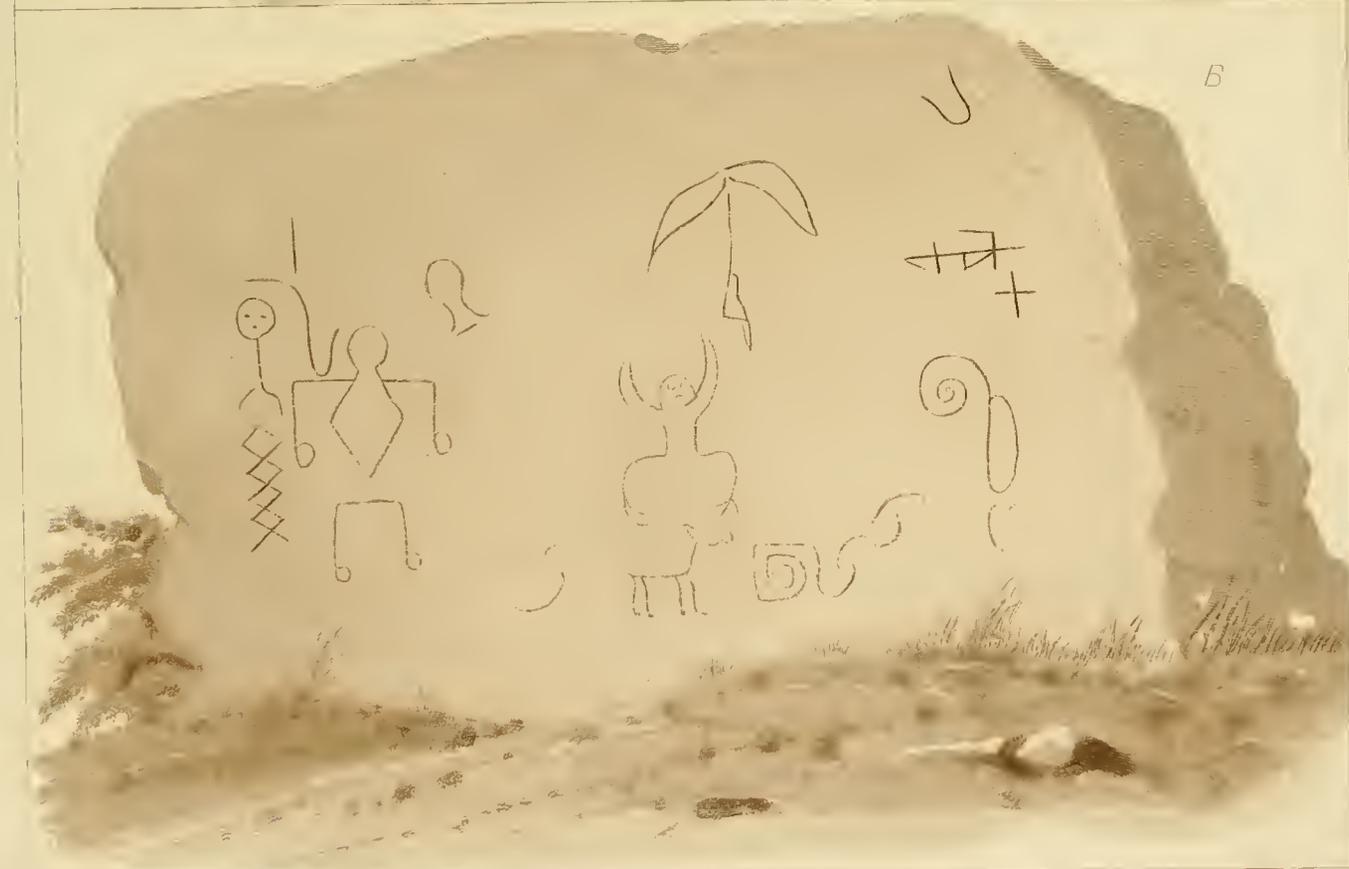
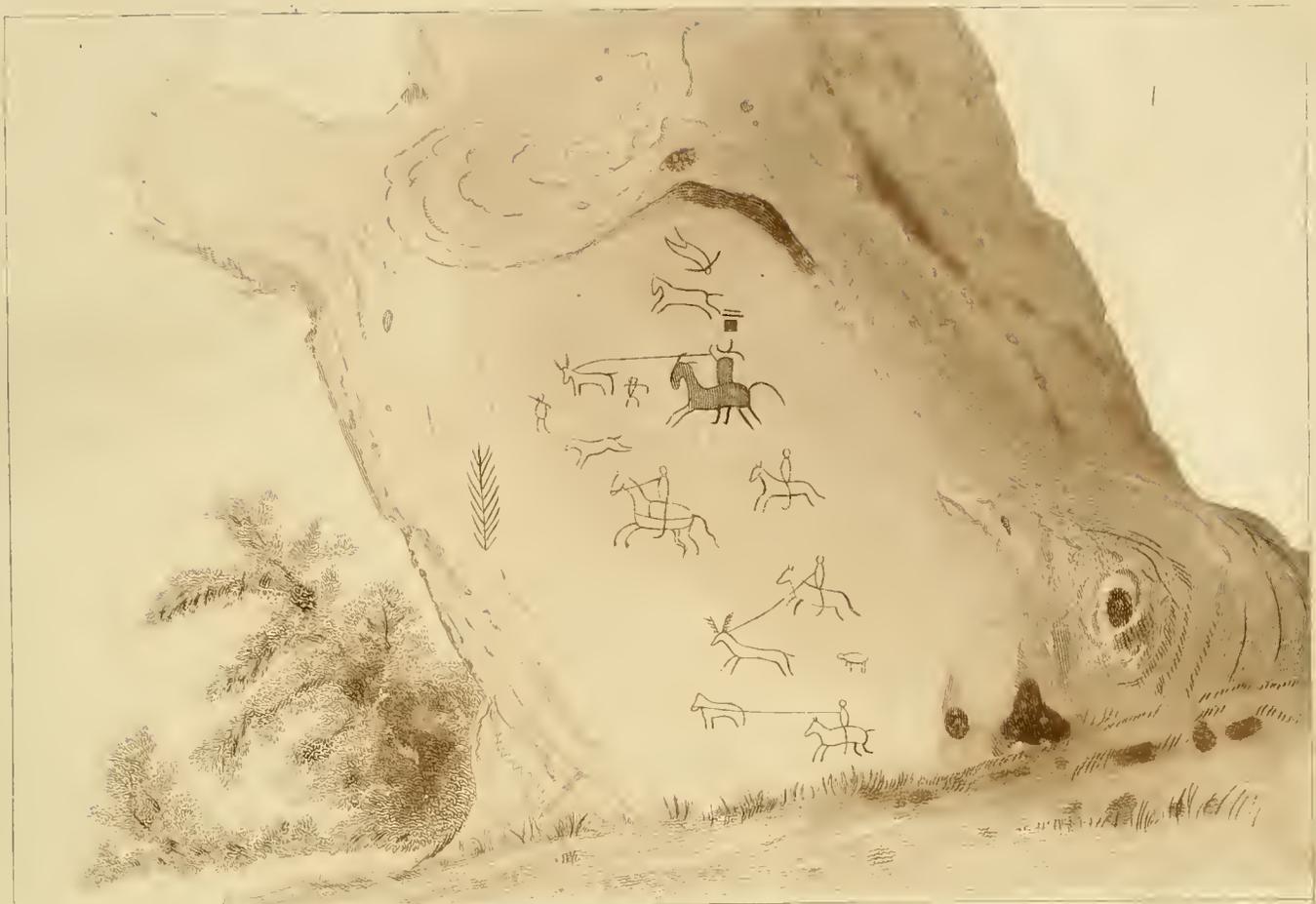
The Pimas assert that their ancestors migrated to their present position from the east, or, as they phrase it, the rising sun. Like most of the Indian tribes, mingling fable with fact, they assert that their first parent was caught up to heaven. After this, those of the tribe that remained on earth wandered west, and fixed their abode on the Gila.

The men and women of the Pimas and Coco Maricopas have the custom of wearing long hair reaching to their waists. They put it up in twists, and sometimes coil it around their heads; by others it is allowed to hang down the back. In front it is cut straight across the forehead, where it hangs in a thick mass and protects their eyes from the glare of the sun. The sexes practise this custom alike, the only perceptible difference being that the males wear their hair the longest. It grows very thick. They sometimes put it up as a turban, with a kind of clay, which serves to give permanency to the coil or folds of this species of tiara.

With respect to their history, it may be suggested that prior to the era of the Spaniards the country they now occupy was inhabited by the Navajoes or Moquis, who have passed north to their present position. The Pima language bears a close relationship to the various dialects of the Opata family, and to a number of languages spoken in the interior Mexican States.

The two tribes, numbering about five thousand, occupy a reservation of two hundred and forty-three square miles, set apart for them under the act of February 28, 1859, and located in the central part of the Territory, on the Gila River. They have always been peaceful and loyal to the government, are considerably advanced in a rude form of civilization, are industrious farmers, and are nearly self-sustaining. They are greatly interested in the education of their children, and have two schools in successful operation. They produce the best wheat in the Territory. They wear citizens' dress and live in houses. They are brave and enterprising, and have frequently accompanied our troops as scouts and guides.

The Maricopas, of whom there are but about five hundred, are among the best and most useful of all the tribes.



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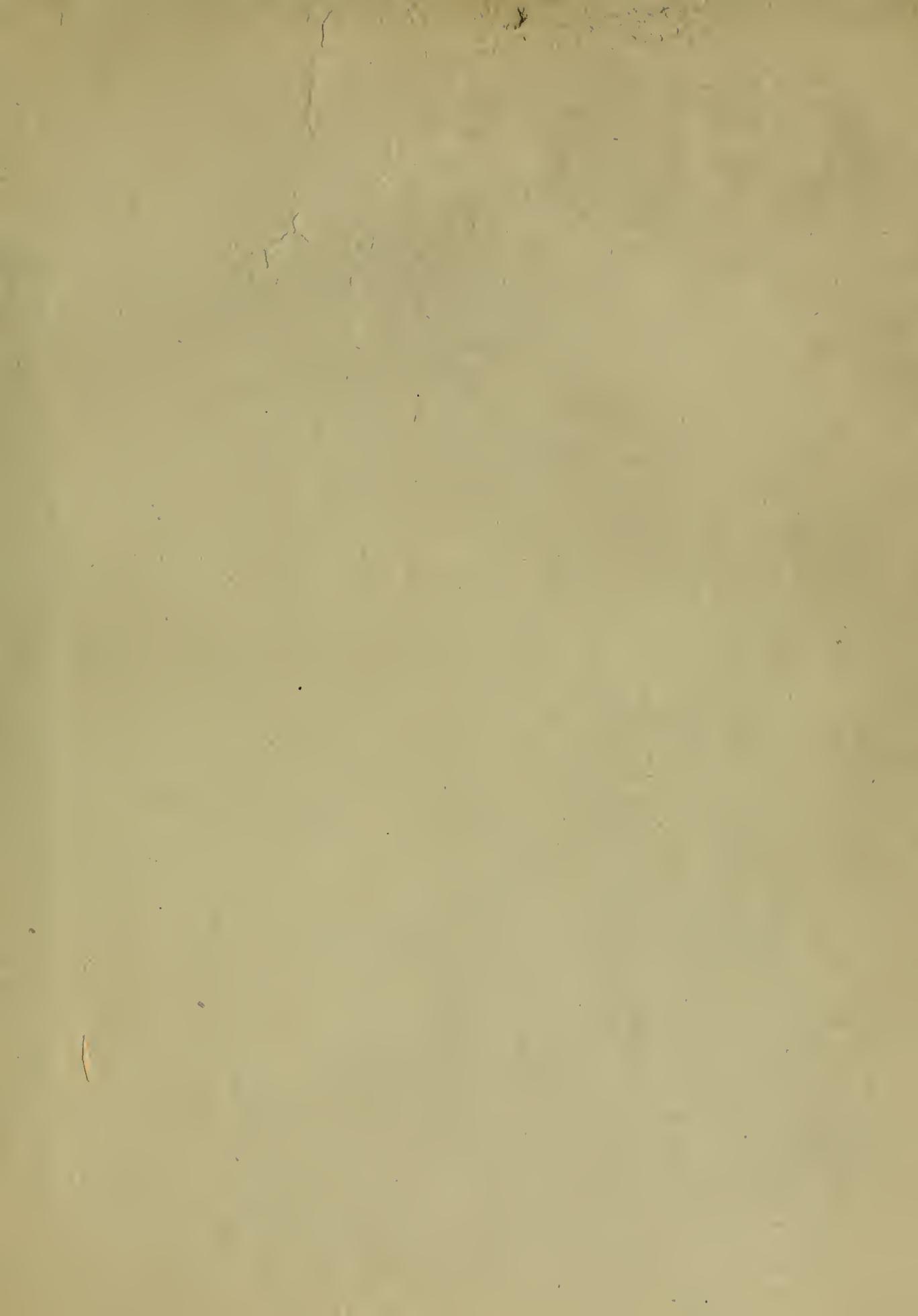




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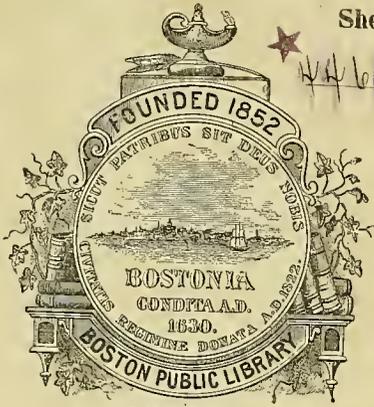






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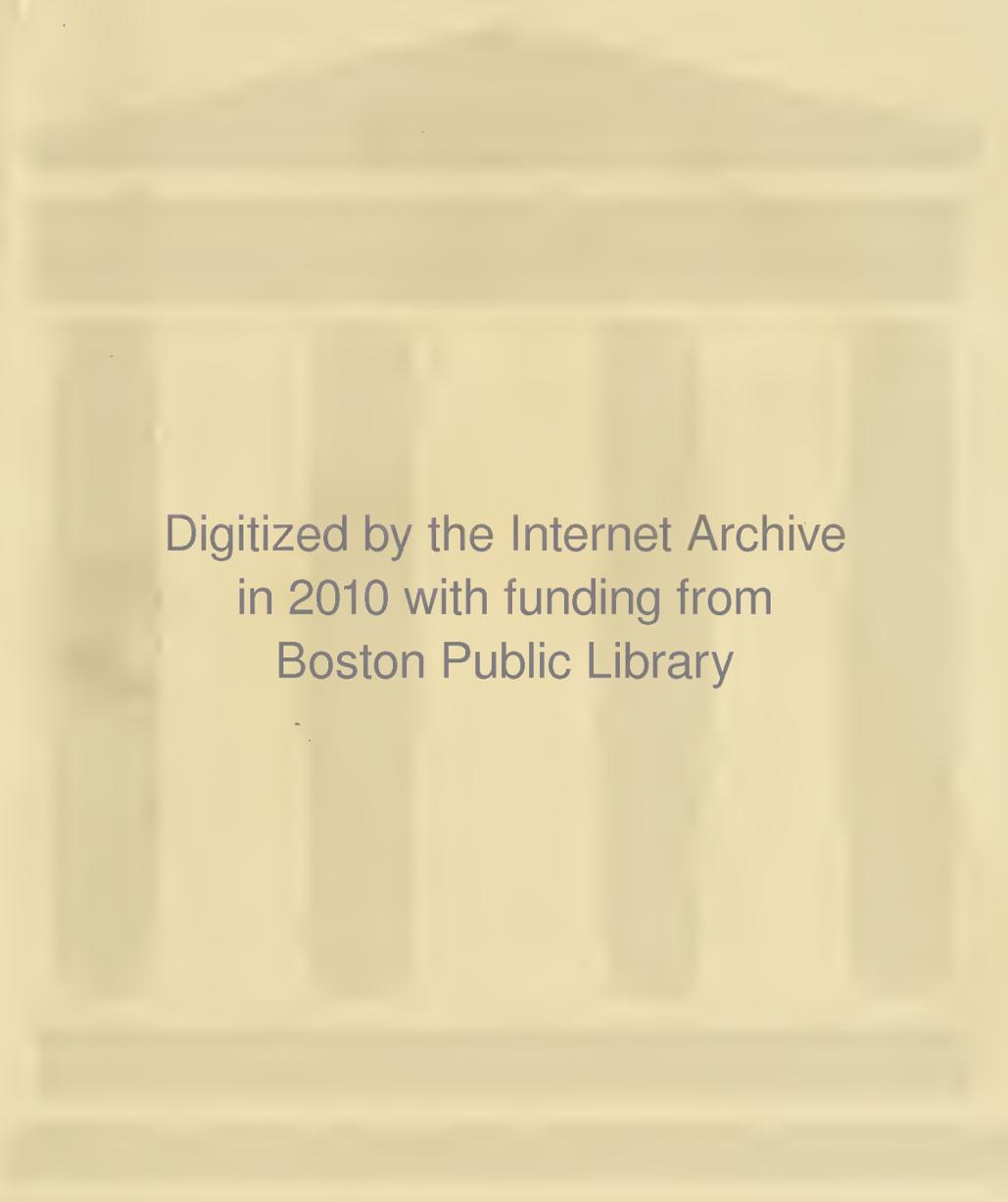
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THE  
INDIAN TRIBES

OF THE  
UNITED STATES:

THEIR  
HISTORY, ANTIQUITIES, CUSTOMS, RELIGION, ARTS, LANGUAGE,  
TRADITIONS, ORAL LEGENDS, AND MYTHS.

EDITED BY  
FRANCIS S. DRAKE.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

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1884.



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# THE INDIAN TRIBES

OF THE

## UNITED STATES.

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### PERIOD I.

#### EUROPEAN DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION.

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### CHAPTER I.

#### THE LANDING OF JUAN PONCE. DE LEON IN FLORIDA, AND OF LUCAS VAS- QUEZ DE AYLLON IN SOUTH CAROLINA—THE ANCIENT CHICORA.

It had required but twenty years from the period of the discovery of America by Columbus to spread the Spanish power from San Domingo through the Caribbean Islands and around the Cuban shores to the Straits of Florida. Juan Ponce de Leon, Governor of Porto Rico, whose youth had been passed in military service in Spain, landed in 1512 on the peninsula of Florida, as if he was about to realize the long-taught fable of the garden of the Hesperides. To his imagination its crystal fountains appeared, as the natives had depicted them, as the fountains of youth. It is known that the cretaceous deposits of this peninsula yield copious springs of the most transparent water. That these pure springs should excite the admiration and superstition of the Indians, and that the natives should form extravagant notions of their sanative qualities, is not strange, nor that reports of their extraordinary virtues should be carried to the neighboring coasts of Cuba. But it is amazing that such stories should have gained belief, even in the low state of knowledge which characterized the opening of the sixteenth century.

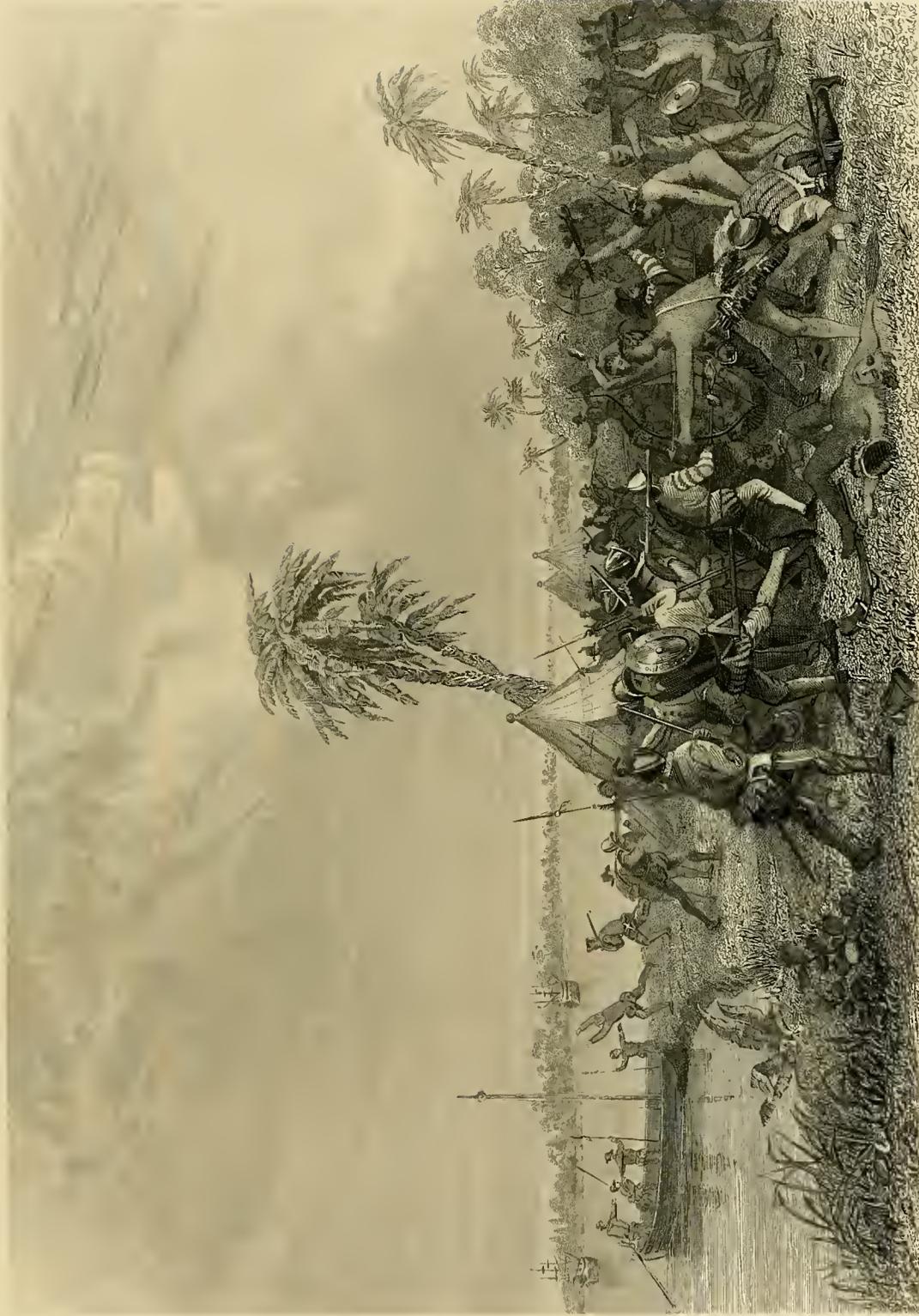
Entertaining such a belief, however, Ponce de Leon, the discoverer of the Florida shore, landed near the mouth of the St. John's River. The balmy airs of a tropical spring, redolent with the aroma of flowers, such as saluted his senses on landing,

were not calculated to dispel his prior notions of an elysium. From the fact of the day of his discovery being Easter Sunday, and from the luxuriance of the vegetation, he named the country Florida. He was informed that some of the limpid springs were of such wonderful virtue that they would restore the vigor of youth to the person who bathed in them. In search of these fountains of youth he roved over the country. During these excursions the suspicions and animosity of the Indians were excited, and he at last paid the forfeit of his life for his credulity, dying in Cuba in 1521 from wounds received at their hands.

The first attempt to found a government and plant a colony in North America, within the present territorial area of the United States, was in South Carolina. This was about six years before Cortez set sail for Mexico, some fifteen years prior to the descent of Narvaez on the Gulf coasts of Florida, and just a quarter of a century before the celebrated expedition of De Soto.

The knowledge of geographical truth is of slow growth. Florida appears to have been looked upon very generally at this time as a garden of the Hesperides. It chanced soon after that a Spanish mariner, named Miruela, visited the coasts of Georgia and Carolina in quest of traffic with the natives. In this traffic he received a small quantity of gold. The incident created a sensation on his return to San Domingo, where a commercial company was formed to prosecute the discovery thus made. Several men in official positions engaged in this enterprise, the principal of whom was Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon. Two vessels were, in 1520, despatched to the coast prepared for the trade. These reached the mouth of the river Combahee, in South Carolina, where a profitable traffic ensued. The coast was called Chicora, and the Indians Chicoreans. When the trade was finished, the natives were invited to gratify their curiosity to go below-decks, but they were no sooner there than the hatches were closed, and the vessels immediately hoisted sail for San Domingo. One of them foundered on the way, and all on board were lost. The other reached San Domingo, and the Indians were sold as slaves.

In the mean time, Vasquez de Ayllon, who exercised the functions of an auditor and judge at San Domingo, filled with the idea that the newly-discovered province of Chicora abounded in the precious metals, had visited the court of Spain, and made such representations of the region and its natives that he returned with the commission of Adelantado of the newly-discovered country, with authority to found a colony. At San Domingo a squadron of three ships, with Miruela for chief pilot, was fitted out in 1526. Entering by the Straits of St. Helena, Vasquez proceeded to the mouth of the Combahee, the scene of their prior traffic and perfidy, where the largest of the three vessels was stranded. Here he resumed the traffic with the Indians. During this time nothing was revealed on the part of the natives to indicate that they had any remembrance of the carrying off of their countrymen. Having finished his trade, Vasquez went to seek a suitable site for his colony, and pitched on a spot on the waters of Port Royal Sound, at, or perhaps a little south of, the present town of Beaufort, South Carolina. A part of his crews had landed to prepare for the new town, a small number still remaining on board the vessels at anchor in the



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DE AYLLON



roadstead. They had hardly commenced their labors when a deputation of the Combahee Indians arrived to invite the men to attend a great feast at the village at the mouth of the Combahee. Two hundred persons accepted this invitation, and were received and treated with the utmost hospitality. They were feasted for three days. When the feast was over, and while the men were wrapped in profound slumber, the Indians arose near the break of day and massacred the whole party. Not a man was spared. The Indians then proceeded in hot haste to the selected site of the new town of Vasquez, where they knew there was lax discipline. They fell on the parties of men in their disorganized state and put many to death. A sanguinary contest ensued. Indian clubs, spears, and arrows were arrayed against swords and matchlocks. Vasquez escaped, wounded, to his vessels, and died there, in October, 1526. Thus failed the first attempt to found a colony in the area of the United States. This incident presents a dark spot in Spanish colonial history that has been but little dwelt on by historians.

The perfidious treatment of the Indians on the seaboard of Carolina was doubtless one cause of the determined hostility with which the Spaniards were afterwards received on the Florida coasts. Verbal information was communicated by their nimble runners to other Indians with great celerity; and when people of the hated nation reappeared at subsequent periods, under the banners of Narvaez and De Soto, they encountered the most unflinching hostility.

The Chicorean Indians, who thus defended their coasts from invasion, appear to have been the ancient Uchees, who are now merged as an inconsiderable element in the great Muskoki family, but still preserve proud memories of their ancient courage, fame, and glory. We are informed by Colonel Benjamin Hawkins<sup>1</sup> that the Uchees formerly dwelt at Poupon, Salkehatchie, and Silver Bluffs, in a belt of country which now forms part of Georgia and part of South Carolina, and that they were continually at war with the Muskokis, Cherokees, and Catawbas. By the first-named nation they were vanquished and nearly annihilated; but a few were carried away and incorporated with the conquering tribe, among whom the name and a few of the people still remain. The opinion that the Muskokis prevailed over the Uchees is confirmed by the Muskoki words which are found in the names of streams and places along the southern part of the sea-coast of South Carolina.<sup>2</sup> When De Soto, in 1539, reached Silver Bluff, on the Savannah, the ancient Cofachique, the Indians of that place exhibited to him pieces of armor and arms, which the Spaniards supposed to have belonged to De Ayllon.

The defeat of Vasquez de Ayllon operated to discourage the Spanish from attempting further conquests in that quarter for many years; but it appears from a map in the third volume of Navarrete that the limits of the discoveries of De Soto extended much farther to the north than other writers have supposed him to have reached. Peter Martyr observes that the northern shores of the Gulf of Mexico

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<sup>1</sup> Sketch of the Creek Country in 1798-1799.

<sup>2</sup> Such is Coosawhatchie, from *Coosa*, the name of a band of Creeks, and *Hatchee*, a creek or river.

had been explored in the year 1516. In 1521, the year of the final fall of Mexico, Francisco Garay received a royal patent to colonize a region which appears to have stretched north of the Panuco or Rio Grande on the Gulf. But it was not till six years afterwards that anything of note was done in the conquest of Florida proper. It is evident from several sources that the Gulf coasts of Mexico at this time had been pretty well ranged by mariners, and that this region had begun to furnish adventurers with a theme of intense excitement. In 1517, Francisco Hernandez de Cordova discovered Yucatan, and the next year Juan de Grijalva made the discovery of the Indian-Mexican empire, the conquest of which was undertaken by Cortez in 1519 and finished with such fame and glory to himself in 1521. The spirit of chivalry seemed to have revived; but the new enterprises were not undertaken for the righting of wrongs, after the manner which Cervantes has so happily satirized, nor were the Spaniards inspired by the example of the Crusaders, who aimed at wresting Palestine from the hands of the infidels. All the new conquests had for their chief object the filling of the pockets of the conquerors with gold. In 1525 and 1526, Pizarro, fired by the successes of Cortez, began those discoveries which led to the conquest of Peru, an enterprise which he completed with excessive perfidy and cruelty in 1535.

These facts may serve to show the furor for the glory of discovery which filled the Spanish court and nation at this era, and may also explain the motives which actuated the chivalric discoverers who landed among the athletic Appalachian tribes of the northern coasts of the Gulf of Mexico. These tribes had no mines, no cities, no aqueducts, no palaces, no emperors; scarcely was there a road or path in their territory that could be traversed without the cunning of a fox. But they were brave and proud. They were democrats, having a simple government of chiefs and councils. Each warrior had a voice in public affairs. They had a high sense of natural right and tribal independence. They not only considered the lands their own, but believed that they had been given to them by the Great Spirit,—thus creating a right that could not, they deemed, be disputed. And when they were recklessly invaded and treated with the harshness and inhumanity which marked the course of De Leon and Vasquez de Ayllon on their eastern borders, they stood manfully by their rights. That the Spanish atrocities were known, and the details circulated among other tribes, prior to the expeditions of Narvaez and De Soto, cannot be doubted. For fifteen years before this event the waters of the Gulf and the Caribbean Sea had been traversed by the vessels of Spain; and wherever they landed the Spaniards created the impression among the natives that white men were freebooters and pirates.

## CHAPTER II.

### VERAZZANI EXPLORES THE ATLANTIC COAST.

THE next reconnoissance of the Atlantic coast tribes, was made by Jean de Verazzani. France was not unobservant of the events passing in the West Indies and Florida, and determined to share North America with Spain. The name Florida at that time was applied to all of North America north of the Gulf of Mexico.<sup>1</sup> Verazzani was a noted Italian mariner, a native of Florence, who had been employed by France for some time, with four public vessels, in cruising against the Spanish commerce. Separated from his consorts in a tempest, he resolved to undertake a voyage of discovery and make a reconnoissance of the then indefinitely extended region of Florida. He left the outer isle of the Madeira group, one of the barren islands called the Desertas, on the 17th of January, 1524. About the middle of March he made the American coast, in latitude 34°, at a point somewhere near the present position of Wilmington, North Carolina.<sup>2</sup> Thence he sailed south in search of a harbor, until he noticed the appearance of "palm-trees," or palmettoes, characteristic trees of the coast-region of South Carolina and Georgia. He then changed his course, holding towards the north, and ran down the coast, with occasional landings, till he reached his former landfall, and found himself near a flat diluvial shore of sand-hills and islets, peopled with Indians, but without a harbor. He anchored off the coast and landed. The Indians were in the greatest excitement, running to and fro in wonder and fear. Having by signs of friendship induced some of them to approach, he gradually quieted them, and they brought him some provisions. They were naked, save an *azian*, or small apron of furs. They ornamented their heads with bunches of feathers. They were well shaped, with black eyes, and straight black hair, and were very swift of foot.

It is impossible, from so general a description, to tell what group of tribes he was among, or what region he was in. If he saw at this landing "cypress, laurels, and palm-trees," he had probably retraced his steps to latitude 34°; and, judging from the description he gives of the shore, he was, we believe, off the coast of North Carolina. Still sailing on, he came to a part of the coast which trended east, when, seeing many fires and the natives appearing friendly, he ordered his boat ashore, but the surf was too violent to permit landing. One of the sailors here offered

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<sup>1</sup> This fact must be borne in mind by naturalists in investigating the history and spread of quadrupeds and other species stated to inhabit Florida in 1600.

<sup>2</sup> New York Historical Collections, vol. i. p. 23. Forster is greatly mistaken in supposing this place to have been in "New Jersey, or Staten Island, or Long Island." (Voyages, p. 434.)

to swim ashore with some presents, but when he came near his fears prevailed, and, throwing out his presents, he attempted to return to the ship, but the waves cast him on the strand half dead and quite senseless. The Indians immediately ran to his assistance, dried his clothes before a fire, and did everything to restore him. His alarm, however, was excessive. When they pulled off his clothes to dry them, he thought they were going to sacrifice him to the sun, which then shone prominent over the hills. As soon as he was restored, the natives gently led him to the shore, and then retired to a distance, until the ship's boat had been sent for him, and they saw him safely get on board.

Verazzani now went on, and observed the coast still trending northward. After a run of fifty leagues, he anchored off a fine forest country, where twenty of his men landed and went two leagues into the interior. The Indians fled into the forest. The sailors caught an old woman and a young woman hidden in the grass. The old woman carried a child on her back, and had, besides, two little boys. The young woman had charge of three young girls. Both women shrieked vociferously as soon as they were discovered. The elder gave them to understand that the men had fled to the woods. She accepted something to eat at their hands, but the young woman refused it with scorn. The latter was a tall and well-shaped person, and they tried to take her with them, but she made such outcries and struggled so desperately that it was impossible. They took one of the boys.

These coast Indians had nets. Their canoes were made from solid trees, burned out with fire. Their arrows were pointed with bone. They were partly clothed with a vegetable tissue. No houses were seen. The trees denoted a more northerly climate than was suited to the palmettoes they had before observed; but the trees had vines climbing to their very tops. Three days were spent in the reconnoissance of these fish-eating Indians. Verazzani was now evidently on the coasts north of the capes of the Chesapeake or of the Delaware, a region then inhabited by numerous small tribes of the Algonkin family, who were without forest meats, subsisting chiefly on the productions of the sea-coasts, navigating the inlets and shores with log canoes, and using bone, and not flint, or hornstone, or jasper, as material for arrows and fish-hooks. These bands stretched apparently along the entire Maryland and New Jersey coasts to the Navasink Highlands and the land of the Metoacs.

Verazzani continued his voyage along these coasts until he came to the outflow of a "large river," and, entering it, found a good harbor, in north latitude 41°. This some historians suppose to have been the Bay of New York.<sup>1</sup> It was thus an Italian footstep that was first planted on these shores.<sup>2</sup> The surrounding country is described as being very pleasant. The Indians, who are pronounced a very fine race, showed

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<sup>1</sup> Bancroft says Newport.

<sup>2</sup> Forster says, "The three great empires of those times, Spain, England, and France, made, each of them, use of an Italian to conduct the voyages of discovery set on foot by them. Spain employed Christopher Colon, a Genoese; England, Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian; and France, Jean de Verazzani, a Florentine."—*History of Northern Voyages and Discoveries*, p. 436.

him where the deep water was. A storm coming up, they landed on a well-cultivated island (probably Staten Island), beyond which spread the harbor, where they observed numerous canoes. We are indebted to Hakluyt for preserving Verazzani's description of this harbor:

"This land is situated in the parallel of Rome, in forty-one degrees, two tierces, but somewhat more cold by accidental causes. The mouth of the haven lieth open to the south, half a league broad, and, being entered within it, between the east and the north, it stretcheth twelve leagues, when it weareth broader and broader, and maketh a gulf about twenty leagues in compass, wherein are five small islands, very fruitful and pleasant, full of high and broad trees, among the which islands any great navy may ride safe, without any fear of tempest or other danger."

In this ample harbor he remained fifteen days, during which he frequently sent his boat and men, and went ashore himself, to obtain supplies and examine the country. Some of the men stayed two or three days on one of the islands. Their excursions extended five or six leagues into the interior, which was found to be "pleasant, and well adapted to the purposes of agriculture."

With the natives, who were, as we now know, of the Mohican family of the Algonkins, he had frequent intercourse, and he speaks of them with kindness. They were uniformly friendly,<sup>1</sup> and always accompanied his parties, in greater or less numbers, ashore. He describes them as of a russet color, with large black eyes, black hair, of good stature, well-favored, of a cheerful look, quick-witted, nimble, and athletic. He compares them to Saracens and Chinese. The women wore ornaments of wrought copper. Wood only was used in the construction of their wigwams, which were covered with coarse matting, called by him "straw."

This is the first description we have of members of the great Algonkin family of the shores of the North Atlantic. Verazzani appears to have had an aptitude for observing the character and condition of the natives and the geographical features of the country. The marked physical traits of land and people thus noticed by him were also observed and recorded a hundred years later, at the time of the landings in Virginia, under Raleigh, as well as those made by Hudson in New York, and by the English in Massachusetts.

Having refreshed himself and recruited his provisions at this point, on the 5th of May he continued his voyage northward, and after a run of one hundred and fifty leagues<sup>2</sup> he discovered high lands overgrown with forests. The Indians were found to be of savage habits. They lived on roots and other spontaneous products. A large party of the crew who landed here were received with a volley of arrows. He continued his voyage north to a point on the coast of Labrador, and, having given the name of New France to the region of his discoveries, returned to Dieppe, whence he writes his letter to Francis I., bearing date 8th July, 1524.

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<sup>1</sup> Verazzani's Letter to Francis I.

<sup>2</sup> The leagues of the early voyagers must be computed at two miles.

## CHAPTER III.

### NARVAEZ EXPLORES FLORIDA AND DISCOVERS THE APPALACHIAN OR FLORIDIAN GROUP OF TRIBES.

PANFILO DE NARVAEZ had been defeated in 1520 by Cortez at Cempoalla, during an attempt to arrest the conqueror of Mexico in his unauthorized career. After seven years' attendance at the court of Spain, expended in vain efforts to obtain redress for a gross civil and military wrong, he returned to Cuba with the appointment of Adelantado of Florida and the grant of full powers to conquer and govern the country. It is affirmed by De Vaca that he left Spain in July, 1527, with six hundred men, well officered by cavaliers and gentlemen. Owing to incidental delays at San Domingo, and to storms and shipwrecks on the coasts of Cuba, it was not until the 13th of April, 1528, that he landed near Tampa Bay, in Florida. His force had then been reduced by desertion to four hundred men and forty-two horses. With this small army he entered a country the geographical features of which opposed great obstacles to a direct march, and the region was soon found to be unable to yield an adequate subsistence for either the men or the horses. Besides this, Narvaez had no interpreter through whom he could communicate with the Indians. To drive the natives out of their impenetrable jungles and fastnesses, he carried bloodhounds along with him.

The Indians who had been descried from the ships' decks the day before he landed had fled, and left their wigwams in haste. As soon as his followers came ashore, he raised the ensigns of Spain, and took possession of the country in the name of the emperor, Charles V. His officers then presented him their commissions and had them recognized, and thus offered a sort of fealty to their civil and military governor. The next day the Indians who had fled came in, and made many signs, but, as there was no interpreter, there could be but little communication. The coast where he landed is a low alluvial tract, intersected with large indentations, bays, ponds, thickets, and streams, which offered the greatest impediments to the march of the troops. To avoid these, Narvaez kept inland, directing his naval forces to continue their explorations by water and to meet him at a more westerly point. He was employed from the 1st of May to the 17th of June in reaching the main channel of the Suwanee River, which he crossed high up.<sup>1</sup> He found its current very strong and deep, and lost a horse and horseman in crossing it, who were carried down the

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<sup>1</sup> Suwanee is derived probably either from San Juan or from Shawnee. The term "Mucoso," in the narrative of Garcilasso de la Vega (preserved in Theodore Irving's Translation, p. 60, etc.), is nearly the accusative of the name "Little Bear" in the Chippewa dialect of the Algonkin.

stream and drowned. Narvaez was now among the Appalachians, an important group of tribes, who occupied the present area of Georgia, Florida, and the southern part of South Carolina, extending thence to the banks of the Mississippi. Its chief members were the Muskokis or Creeks, Choctaws<sup>1</sup> or Alabamas, and Chickasaws.<sup>2</sup> It is clear from tradition and philology that Florida at that time also contained a member of the Algonkin group, in the tribe of the Shawnees, who lived on friendly terms with the Creeks. These were all expert bowmen; and, although they would not stand their ground in bodies, they kept up a harassing war of details, wounding and killing men and horses at every opportunity.

Narvaez appears to have been deficient in knowledge of the Indian character, and he wholly underrated the effects of kindness and a sense of justice on their minds. His barbarous mutilation of the chief Hirrihigua, and his shocking cruelty to that chieftain's mother, soon after entering the country, produced a feeling of deep-rooted hostility, and was well calculated to make him and his nation abhorred wherever the story spread. It is related that Hirrihigua had offered a determined resistance to Narvaez, but afterwards formed a treaty of friendship with him. Becoming enraged at some subsequent conduct of the chief, which is unexplained, Narvaez directed his nose to be cut off, and caused his mother to be torn to pieces by dogs. Eleven years afterwards De Soto encountered the deepest hostility from this same chief, whom he used every means to conciliate, but without success.

The march of Narvaez from the scene of these atrocities was one unbroken series of hostilities on the part of the Indians. Some captives whom he took west of the Suwanee were compelled to act as guides. They led him through vast forests encumbered with fallen timber, which imposed the greatest toils. Through these his army struggled heroically. Not only were they wandering they knew not whither among solitudes and morasses, but they suffered from want of food and forage. To such a degree was this pressure felt that they were often, when a horse gave out, compelled to kill him and feast on his carcass. Narvaez, on leaving Cuba, was provisioned only to reach the coasts. He supposed he was about to enter a country ample in resources, and promised himself to quarter on the enemy, as Cortez had done. He had but two days' provision when he left the waters of Tampa. He and his followers had landed with their imaginations highly excited by visions of the golden provinces they supposed they were about to enter. Cities and towns flitted before their minds sparkling with the wealth of Mexico and Peru, and they expected to conquer lords and caciques who would supply them with food and auxiliaries. Disappointed at every step, hope still led them on. Their horses were mere skeletons when they landed, and became still more jaded by the long and harassing marches during which they had no time to recruit. The men fared little better. They marched fifteen days at the start with "two pounds of biscuit and half a pound

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<sup>1</sup> Called Mobilians by Du Pratz.

<sup>2</sup> The fierceness of the attacks of the Chickasaws, their firing a village of which he had possessed himself, and then repeating the successful stratagem of Mauvila, may be said to have driven De Soto across the Mississippi.

of bacon" to a man; and there was no regular commissariat afterwards. They ate the soft crown or cabbage of the palmetto, and were relieved at several points by fields of corn, a grain which was mature about the middle of June. The magic word which led them on was "Apalache," the name of an Indian town. Here they expected to find a solace for all their toils, and a reward for all their losses, struggles, and afflictions. It was to their heated imaginations the town of "food and gold."

In sight of Apalache at last they came, but it proved a damper to all their sanguine hopes. There were forty<sup>1</sup> small Indian abodes of humble dimensions, in sheltered situations, and covered with thatch. The Spaniards were surrounded by dense woods and groves of tall trees, and by large bodies of fresh water, the country being without roads, bridges, or any other signs of civilization. They found, indeed, fields of maize fit for plucking, as well as some dried or ripe maize, and mortars of stone for pounding it. The houses contained also dressed deer-skins, and coarse "mantanets of thread." The men had all precipitately fled, but they soon returned in peace, asking for their women and children. This request was granted, but Narvaez detained a cacique, intending to make use of his authority as another Montezuma for swaying the Indians. This measure, however, had a contrary effect. The natives of Apalache were a more spirited people than the Aztecs. They became much incensed, and, returning the next day, attacked the Spaniards with great fury, and, after firing the houses, fled to the lakes and corn-fields with the loss of but one man.

Having beaten them off, Narvaez and his army remained in the town twenty-five days in order to recruit themselves. He was now evidently on the waters of the Appalachian. The detained chief of the Apalaches, and the captives before made, were inquired of respecting the country and its resources. They replied that the surrounding country was full of great lakes and solitudes, that the land was little occupied, the people few and scattered, and that there was no place at all equal in population and resources to Apalache itself, but that south of them it was only nine days' journey to the sea, and that there was a town in that direction called Aute, and the Indians there had "much maize, beans, pumpkins, and fish."

To Aute, therefore, Narvaez directed his march. His course was obstructed by large bodies of water, through which the Spaniards had to wade. The Indians attacked them, captured their guide, and shot at them with their arrows from behind logs and trees, sorely wounding the men and horses. The Indians are spoken of as men of fine stature, great activity, very expert and determined bowmen, and most excellent and unerring marksmen, who could hit their mark at the distance of two hundred yards. One of these difficult defiles of water and woods followed another. For nine days the Indians hung around their skirts and harassed them, killing some of their men, wounding many more, and losing but two themselves. At the end of this time they reached Aute, from which all the inhabitants had fled, but they found an abundance of maize, pumpkins, and beans, ready for picking. By this time all

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<sup>1</sup> Theodore Irving says "two hundred and forty." (Conquest of Florida, p. 30.)

hopes of gold and dominion had fled. To add to their distress, disease attacked the men, and their adventure was changed into a struggle for existence.

Narvaez now determined to search for the sea, which was near at hand; and, having discovered it, without finding his fleet or hearing any tidings of it, he resolved to build boats and continue his explorations along the shore. He was now at the extremity of his affairs. Unwell himself, and his men and animals wounded and exhausted, in an impassable country, with fierce enemies all around him, deserted by his fleet, and finding a conspiracy forming among his men, he was called speedily to decide upon a course of action. To build boats and embark with his miserable followers seemed the best course. But he was wholly without means for such a work. He had neither mechanics, tools, iron, pitch, nor rigging. The next day, while he pondered in perplexity, one of his men came and said he could make pipes out of wood, which could be converted into bellows by means of deer-skins. This idea was at once caught at. Stirrups, spurs, cross-bows, etc., were converted into nails, saws, axes, and other tools. Pitch was obtained from the pine; a kind of oakum was made from the bark or fibre of the palmetto; the tails and manes of the horses served as material for ropes, and the soldiers' shirts were made into sails. They killed their horses for food. Such heroic devotion, and such ingenious adaptation of means to ends, may possibly redeem Narvaez and his misguided followers from some measure of the reproach to which their previous cruel conduct and their complete failure in their enterprise have condemned them. In sixteen days, by hard work, they had five boats ready, each of twenty cubits' length. They were provisioned with oysters and maize, for which the men searched daily; and, as the Indians lay constantly in wait, ten of the Spaniards lost their lives in this hazardous search. Water was provided by filling the skins of horses, flayed entire and partly tanned.

They had now marched about two hundred and eighty leagues.<sup>1</sup> They had lost on the march forty men, and all of their horses but one. With the two hundred and eighty-one men, the remains of that army which had landed at La Cruz, Narvaez embarked on the Bay of Cavallos, at the mouth of a large river, which he had called Magdalena, and which is believed to be the Appalachicola. When all the men and lading were on board the boats, the gunwales were but "a span" above the water. For seven days the men conducted these fragile vessels through sounds and shallow bays, where there was no surf, before they put out in the open sea.

They also captured five canoes from the Indians, which enabled them to lighten the boats; and they made "waist-boards" to the boats, which raised the gunwales. Often they entered and traversed shallow bays. Provisions and water having failed, they suffered incredible hardships. For thirty days they proceeded westward towards the Mississippi,<sup>2</sup> but their only safety lay in creeping along the coast near the land.

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<sup>1</sup> Buckingham Smith, the translator of De Vaca, thinks it was only two hundred and eighty *miles* (p. 32). This would give a fraction over four miles per day from Tampa Bay.

<sup>2</sup> It has been stated by Mr. Gallatin (*vide* Amer. Ethnol. Trans., vol. ii.) that Narvaez discovered the mouth of the Mississippi; but this is not sustained by De Vaca, and there is no other authority.

The frailty and inadequacy of their boats would not permit them to stand out boldly. If they landed unwarily, they were in danger of being massacred by the Indians, who skirted all this coast and manifested the most determined hostility. No intelligence was received by Narvaez of his fleet, nor was any trace of it found. Some of the men became delirious from drinking sea-water, and four of them died from this cause. One night they were attacked on an island where there was an Indian village in which they had been entertained, and Narvaez received a blow in the face from a stone. The Indians had but few arrows, and the Spaniards beat them off. Their miseries were every day accumulating. Stormy weather succeeded, and they experienced hunger and thirst in their worst forms. They kept on in company till the 1st of November, when the boats parted company. One of them foundered, it is believed, at Pensacola. It appears to have been near the Bay of Perdido that Narvaez was last seen. A storm was blowing off the land, and he told his officers and men that the time had arrived when each one must take care of himself. Many of the men were too weak to lift an oar. The wind increased as night came on. The commander was not afterwards seen by any person who survived to tell the story. The boat of Cabeça de Vaca was cast by the waves on an island a little to the west of this bay, where, famished and nearly lifeless, the Spaniards were kindly received by the Indians; for the latter were no longer hostile when their enemies were overthrown and their sense of humanity was appealed to. Thus terminated the expedition of Panfilo de Narvaez.<sup>1</sup>

Concerning the fate of this twice unsuccessful commander, we may observe that the geography of Florida fought against him; but his expedition was important, inasmuch as it gives us our first view of the Appalachian group of tribes.

Cortez, even in the worst state of his affairs, after the *noche triste*, when he was without food, defeated, and surrounded on all sides by fierce enemies, was marching over lands elevated seven thousand feet above the sea; Pizarro had the Andes beneath him; but Narvaez while in Florida was never a hundred feet above tide-water, and most of the time was wading through swamps and morasses not much raised above the level of the sea. We derive these details from the narrative of De Vaca, the treasurer and high sheriff of the contemplated government of Florida, and the only surviving officer of the expedition, who, after eight years of captivity among the Indians, with three companions, crossed the Mississippi and the Rio Grande del Norte, and, having traversed the breadth of the continent, arrived at Compostella, on the Gulf of California, finally returning to Spain in 1537.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> From the bones and cooking-utensils found on Massacre Island, at the mouth of Mobile Bay, by D'Iberville, in 1699, a part of Narvaez's men appear to have met their fate at this spot.

<sup>2</sup> Narrative of Alva Cabeça de Vaca, translated by Buckingham Smith, Washington, 1851.

## CHAPTER IV.

### CARTIER SAILS UP THE ST. LAWRENCE.

THE voyage of Verazzani, under the French flag, promised little or no advantage to the revenues of France, and consequently it attracted little attention, and was for some time even forgotten. In 1534, Admiral Philip Chabot represented to the king the advantages to be derived from sharing with Spain the rich prize of North America by establishing a colony. In accordance with this suggestion, Jacques Cartier, a mariner of St. Malo, in Normandy, was presented to the king, and was by him approved as a person suitable for the undertaking.

Cartier sailed from the port of St. Malo on the 20th of April, 1534, with two ships and one hundred and twenty-two men. His crew took a solemn oath before sailing "to behave themselves truly and faithfully in the service of the most Christian king, Francis I." The excitement concerning American discoveries was still unabated in the European courts. The conquest of Mexico had been completed only thirteen years before, and Pizarro was now in the height of his later triumphs at Truxillo, Guanuco, and Caxamarca.

After an unusually prosperous voyage of twenty days, Cartier made Cape "Buona Vista," in Newfoundland, which he states to be in north latitude  $48^{\circ} 30'$ . Here, meeting with ice, he made the haven to which he gave the name of St. Catherine, where he was detained ten days. This coast had been known since the voyage of John and Sebastian Cabot, in 1497, and had been frequently resorted to by fishing-vessels. Jean Denis, a native of Rouen, one of these fishermen, is said to have published a chart of it in 1506. Two years afterwards, Thomas Aubert brought the first natives from Newfoundland to Paris; and this is the date—1508—commonly assigned to the discovery of Canada. The St. Lawrence remained, however, undiscovered; nor does it appear that anything beyond a vague general knowledge of the coast and of its islands had then been ascertained. The idea was still entertained that America was an island, and that a passage to the Asiatic continent existed in those latitudes.

On the 21st of May, 1534, Cartier continued his voyage, sailing "north and by east" from Cape Buona Vista, and arrived at the Isle of Birds, so named on account of the unusual abundance of sea-fowl found upon it, with the young of which the men filled two boats; "so that," in the quaint language of the journal, "besides them which we did eat fresh, every ship did powder and salt five or six barrels." He also observed the godwit, and a larger but vicious bird, which received the name of margaulx. While at this island they descried a polar bear, which, in their presence, leaped into the sea and thus escaped. Subsequently, while crossing to the main-

land, they encountered, as they supposed, the same animal swimming towards land, and "by main strength overtook her, whose flesh was as good to be eaten as the flesh of a calf two years old." This bear is described to have been "as large as a cow, and as white as a swan."

On the 27th, Cartier reached the harbor of "Carpunt," in the Bay of "Les Chasteaux," latitude 51°, where, on account of the accumulation of ice, he was constrained to remain until the 9th of June. The narrator of the voyage describes certain parts of the coast of Newfoundland and adjoining seas, the islands of St. Catherine, Blanc Sablon, Brest, the Isle of Birds, and a numerous group of islands called The Islets; but these memoranda are unconnected with any important observations or discoveries. Speaking of the Island of Brest and the Isle of Birds, he says they afford "great store of godwits, and crows with red beaks and red feet," which "make their nests in holes under ground, even as conies." Near this locality "there is great fishing."

On the 10th of June he entered a port in the newly-discovered island of Brest, to procure wood and water. Meantime boats were despatched to explore the islands, which were found to be so numerous "that it was not possible they might be told, for they continued about ten leagues beyond the said port." The explorers slept on an island, and the following day continued their discoveries along the coast. Having passed the islands, they found a haven, which was named St. Anthony, and one or two leagues beyond discovered a small river, named by them St. Servansport, where they reared a cross. Distant about three leagues from the last mentioned, another river of larger size was discovered, in which salmon were found. Upon this stream they bestowed the name of St. Jacques.

While at St. Jacques River they descried a ship from Rochelle on a fishing-cruise, and, rowing out in their boats, directed it to a port near at hand, in what is called "Jacques Cartier's Sound," "which," adds the narrator, "I take to be one of the best in all the world." The face of the country examined by the explorers was, however, of the most sterile and forbidding character, being little else than "stones and wild crags, and a place fit for wild beasts; for in all the north island," he continues, "I did not see a cart-load of good earth. Yet went I on shore in many places, and in the island of White Sand (Blanc Sablon) there is nothing else but moss and small thorns scattered here and there, withered and dry. To be short, I believe that this was the land that God allotted to Cain."

Immediately following this we have the first account of the natives. The men are described as being "of an indifferent good stature and bigness, but wild and unruly. They wear their hair tied on the top, like a wreath of hay, and put a wooden pin within it, or any other such thing, instead of a nail, and with them they bind certain birds' feathers. They are clothed with beast skins, as well the men as women, but that the women go somewhat straiter and closer in their garments than the men do, with their waists girded. They paint themselves with certain roan colors; their boats are made of the bark of birch-trees, with which they fish, and take great store of seals. And, as far as we could understand since our coming thither, that is

not their habitation, but they came from the main land, out of *hotter*<sup>1</sup> countries, to catch the said seals and other necessaries for their living."

From this exploratory trip the boats returned, on the 13th, to the newly-styled harbor of Brest. On the 14th, it being Sunday, divine service was read, and the following day Cartier continued his voyage, steering southerly along the coast, which still wore a most barren and cheerless aspect. Much of this part of the narrative is occupied with the details of distances and soundings, as well as the names of capes and islands, of very little interest at the present day. On the 18th the voyagers saw a few huts upon the cliffs, and named this part of the coast "Les Granges," but they did not stop to form any acquaintance with the tenants. Cape Royal was passed, and duly named, on the 17th, and is described as "the greatest fishery of cods there possibly may be, for in less than an hour we took an hundred of them." On the 24th the island of St. John was discovered. Myriads of birds were seen upon the group of islands named "Margaulx," five leagues westward of which they discovered a large, fertile, and well-timbered island, to which the name of "Brion" was given. The contrast presented by the soil and productions of this island, compared with the bleak and waste shores they had previously visited, aroused their warm admiration; and, under the influence of this excitement, they here saw "wild corn," pease, gooseberries, strawberries, damask roses, and parsley, "with other sweet and pleasant herbs." Here, also, they observed the walrus, bear, and wolf.

Very little can be gleaned from the subsequent details of the voyage, until the arrival of the expedition in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Mists, head-winds, barren rocks, sandy shores, storms, and sunshine alternate in the landscape presented to view. Much caution was requisite in tacking back and forth on an iron-bound coast, and the boats were frequently made use of in exploring the shores of the mainland. While thus employed near a shallow stream called the "River of Boats," they saw natives crossing it in their canoes, but, the wind beginning to blow towards the land, they were compelled to retire to their vessels without opening any communication with them. On the following day, while the boats were traversing the coasts, they saw a native running after them along the beach, who made signs directing them, as they supposed, to return towards the cape they had left. As soon as the boats turned, however, he fled: nevertheless they landed, and, fastening a knife and a woollen girdle to an upright staff as a good-will offering, returned to their vessels.

This part of the Newfoundland coast impressed them as being greatly superior, both in soil and in temperature, to the portions which they had before seen. In addition to the productions previously found at Brion Island, they noticed cedars, pines, white elm, ash, willow, and what are denominated "ewe-trees." Among the feathered tribes, the "thrush and stockdove" are mentioned; the latter, without doubt, being the passenger pigeon. The "wild corn," here again mentioned, is said to be "like

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<sup>1</sup> I italicize the word "hotter" to denote the prevalent theory. They were searching for China or the East Indies.

unto rye," from which it may be inferred that it was the zizania, or wild rice, although the circumstance of its being an aquatic plant is not mentioned.

While running along this coast, Cartier appears to have been engrossed with the idea, so prevalent among the mariners of that era, of finding a passage to India; and it was probably on this account that he made so minute an examination of every inlet and bay, as well as of the productions of the soil. Whenever the latter afforded anything favorable, there appears to have been a strong predisposition to admiration, and to derive inferences therefrom correspondent with the pre-existing theory. It must be recollected that seventy-five years later Hudson entertained similar notions while sailing up the North River. Hence the application of several improper names to the animals as well as to the plants of these latitudes, and the apparently constant expectation of beholding trees laden with fruits and spices, "goodly trees," and "very sweet and pleasant herbs." That the barren and frigid shores of Labrador and the northern parts of Newfoundland should have been characterized as a region subject to the divine curse, is not calculated to excite so much surprise as is the disposition evinced with every discovery of fertile soil and verdure to convert the favored region into a land of Oriental fruitfulness. It does not appear to have been sufficiently understood that the increased verdure and elevation of temperature were in a great measure owing to the advancing stage of the season. Cartier arrived off the coast on the 10th of May, and prolonged his stay through July. Now, however, it is very generally known that the summers in high northern latitudes, although short, are attended with a great degree of heat.

On the 3d of July, Cartier entered the gulf, to which, during a subsequent voyage, he gave the name St. Lawrence, and the centre of which he states to be in latitude  $47^{\circ} 30'$ . On the 4th he proceeded up the bay to a creek called St. Martin, near the Bay of Chaleurs, where he was detained eight days by stress of weather. While at anchor there, one of the ship's boats, being sent off to make explorations in advance, proceeded seven or eight leagues to a cape of the bay, where two parties of Indians, "in about forty or fifty canoes," were observed crossing the channel. One of the parties landed, and beckoned to the explorers to follow their example, "making a great noise," and showing "certain skins upon pieces of wood,"—*i.e.*, fresh-stretched skins; but, fearing their numbers, the seamen kept aloof. The Indians in two canoes prepared to follow them, in which movement they were joined by five canoes of the other party, "who were coming from the sea-side." They approached in a friendly manner, "dancing and making many manifestations of joy, saying, in their tongue, 'Napew tondamen assnatah.'" <sup>1</sup> The seamen, however, suspecting their intentions, and finding it impossible to elude them by flight, discharged two shots among them, by which they were so terrified that they fled precipitately to the shore, "making a great noise." After pausing some time, the "wild men" re-embarked and renewed

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<sup>1</sup> "Napew" means man in the Sheshatapoosh, or Labrador, language. "Naba" is a male in the Algonkin. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that these were a party of Sheshatapoosh Indians, whose language proves them to be kindred with the great Algonkin family.

the pursuit, but after coming alongside they were so terrified by the thrusts of two lances that they again fled in haste, and made no further attempt to follow.

This appears to have been the first encounter of the ships' crews with the natives. On the following day, on the approach of the "wild men" in nine canoes, an interview was brought about, which is thus described: "We being advertised of their coming, went to the point where they were with our boats; but so soon as they saw us they began to flee, making signs that they came to traffic with us, showing us such skins as they clothed themselves withal, which are of small value. We likewise made signs unto them that we wished them no evil, and, in sign thereof, two of our men ventured to go on land to them and carry them knives, with other iron wares, and a red hat to give unto their captain. Which when they saw, they also came on land, and brought some of their skins, and so began to deal with us, seeming to be very glad to have our iron wares and other things, still dancing, with many other ceremonies, as with their hands to cast sea-water on their heads. They gave us whatever they had, not keeping anything, so that they were constrained to go back again naked, and made signs that the next day they would come again, and bring more skins with them."

Observing a spacious bay extending beyond the cape where this interview had been had, and the wind proving adverse to the vessels' quitting the harbor, Cartier despatched his boats to examine it, for the purpose of ascertaining whether it might not afford the desired passage; for it must be kept in mind that he was diligently seeking the long-sought passage to the Indian Ocean. While engaged in this examination, his men discovered the smokes and fires of "wild men" (the term constantly used in the narrative to designate the natives). These signs were observed upon the shores of a small lake communicating with the bay. An amicable interview resulted, the natives presenting to the navigators cooked seal, and the French making a suitable return "in hatchets, knives, and beads." After these preliminaries, which were conducted with considerable caution by deputies from both sides, the male natives approached in their canoes for the purpose of trafficking, leaving most of their families behind. About three hundred Indian men, women, and children were estimated to have been congregated at this place. They evinced their friendship by singing and dancing, as also by rubbing their hands upon the arms of their European visitors and then lifting them up towards the heavens. An opinion is expressed that these people (who were in the position assigned to the Micmacs, in 1600, in Mr. Gallatin's ethnological map) might very easily be converted to Christianity. "They go," says the narrator, "from place to place. They live only by fishing. They have an ordinary time to fish for their provisions. The country is hotter than the country of Spain, and the fairest that can possibly be found; altogether smooth and level." In addition to the productions before noticed as indigenous on Brion's Island, etc., and which were likewise found here, he enumerates "white and red roses, with many other flowers of very sweet and pleasant smell." "There be also," says the journalist, "many goodly meadows full of grass, and lakes wherein plenty of salmon be." The natives called a hatchet *cochi*, and a knife

*bacon*.<sup>1</sup> It was at this time near the middle of July, and the degree of heat experienced on the excursion led Cartier to name the inlet Baie des Chaleurs, a name which it still retains.

On the 12th of July, Cartier left his moorings at St. Martin's Creek, and proceeded up the gulf, but, encountering bad weather, he put into a bay, which appears to have been Gaspé, where one of the vessels lost her anchor. They were forced to take shelter in a river of that bay, and were there detained thirteen days. Meanwhile they opened an intercourse with the natives, who were found in great numbers engaged in fishing for mackerel. Forty canoes and two hundred men, women, and children were estimated to have been seen during their detention at this place. Presents of "knives, combs, beads of glass, and other trifles of small value" were made to the Indians, for which they expressed great thankfulness, lifting up their hands, and dancing and singing.

These Gaspé Indians are represented as differing, both "in nature and language," from those before mentioned, being abjectly poor, but partly clothed in "old skins," and possessed of no tents to protect them from the weather. "They may," says the journalist, "very well and truly be called *wild*, because there is no poorer people in the world; for I think all they had together, besides their boats and nets, was not worth five sous." They shaved their heads, with the exception of a tuft on the crown, sheltered themselves at night under their canoes on the bare ground, and ate their provisions but partly cooked. They were unacquainted with the use of salt, and "ate nothing that had any taste of salt." On Cartier's first landing among them, the men expressed their joy, as those at the Bay of Chaleurs had done, by singing and dancing; but they had sent all their women, except two or three, into the woods. A comb and a bell, given to each of the women who had ventured to remain, excited the avarice of the men, who quickly brought the other women, to the number of about twenty, from the woods, to each of whom the same present was made. They caressed Cartier by touching and rubbing him with their hands, and also sung and danced. Their nets were made of a kind of indigenous hemp; and they possessed a species of "millet" called "kapaige," beans called "sāhu," and nuts called "cahehya." If anything was exhibited with which they were unacquainted, they shook their heads, saying, "Nohda." It is added that they never come to the sea except in fishing-time, which, we may remark, was probably the reason why they had no lodges, or much other property about them. They would naturally desire to disencumber their canoes as much as possible in these summer excursions, that they might carry a large return freight of dried fish. The language spoken by these Gaspé Indians was apparently of the Iroquois type, for "cahehya" is, with a slight difference, the term for "fruit" in the Oneida.

On the 24th of July, Cartier erected a cross thirty feet high, bearing the inscription, "*Vive le Roy de France*." The natives who were present at the ceremony

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<sup>1</sup> *Koshee* and *bahkoñ*. These are not the terms used to designate a hatchet and a knife either in the Micmac, the old Algonkin, or the Wyandot.

seem, on a little reflection, to have conceived the true intent of it, and their chief complained of it in a "long oration," saying, in effect, "that the country was his, and that he should not set up any cross without his leave." Having quieted the old chief's fears, and used a little duplicity to induce him to come alongside, Cartier seized two of the natives, named Domaigaia and Taignoagny (Iroquois), with the view of conveying them to France, and on the following day set sail up the gulf. After making some further explorations, and being foiled in an attempt to enter the mouth of a river, Cartier began to think of returning. Being alarmed by the rapidity of the tide setting out of the St. Lawrence River, and the weather becoming remarkably tempestuous, he assembled his captains and principal men in council, "to put the question as to the expediency of continuing the voyage." The result of their deliberations was as follows. Considering that easterly winds began to prevail, "that there was nothing to be gotten," the impetuosity of the tides being such "that they did but fall," and storms and tempests beginning to reign, it was evident that they must either promptly return home or else remain where they were until spring. Under these circumstances it was decided to be expedient to return; and with this counsel Cartier complied. No time was lost in retracing their route along the Newfoundland coast, and they arrived at the port of "White Sands" on the 9th of August. On the 15th, being "the feast of the Assumption of our Lady," after the religious services of the day were concluded, Cartier set sail for France. "About the middle of the sea" he encountered a heavy storm of three days' continuance, and on the 5th of September, after an absence of four months and sixteen days, he arrived at the port of St. Malo.<sup>1</sup>

The account which Cartier gave of his discoveries, and the benefits thereby promised to the future commerce of France, verified as the narrative was by the presence of Domaigaia and Taignoagny, the two Iroquois captives, induced Vice-Admiral Meilleraye to recommend him to the king for further employment. Accordingly, early in the spring of 1535, Cartier was placed in command of another squadron, consisting of three ships, well provisioned and manned, for the purpose of still further prosecuting his researches in those latitudes. On the 6th of May, he, together with the crews of his vessels, attended divine service at the cathedral of St. Malo, where they received the ecclesiastical benediction. He sailed from St. Malo on the 19th of May, taking with him a number of young gentlemen who were ambitious to seek their fortunes under his auspices. On the outward passage a severe tempest was encountered, during the continuance of which the vessels parted company. Cartier arrived at Newfoundland on the 7th of July, where, after waiting until the 26th, he was rejoined by the rest of his squadron. The succeeding day he carefully continued his voyage along the coast, taking soundings, with the view of finding good anchor-ground, and tracing out the bays and harbors of this dangerous locality. On the 8th of August he entered the gulf visited by him the previous year, and now named it the St. Lawrence. After some preliminary reconnoissances

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<sup>1</sup> Hakluyt.

of the capes, as also of the mainland, and obtaining more definite information concerning the geography of the country from Domaigaia and Taignoagny, who accompanied him, he sailed up the river, and on the 1st of September anchored at the mouth of the Saguenay River, which locality appeared to be familiar to the two captives. At this point the explorers met four canoes containing Indians, who evinced their usual caution and shyness; but, being hailed by the captive Iroquois, they came freely alongside of the ships, and a friendly interview took place.

As Cartier continued to advance up the river, the tides attracted his notice as being very swift and dangerous. Tortoises were found in this vicinity, and for the first time they here observed the sturgeon, which is pronounced "savory and good to be eaten." After ascending for seven days, the vessels reached the island which he named Bacchus, but which is now called Orleans, where, having cast anchor, he ordered the boats to be manned, and went ashore, taking with him Domaigaia and Taignoagny as interpreters, through whose influence the fears of the Indians were appeased and a friendly feeling established. The natives evinced their joy by dancing, and loaded him with presents, comprising several sorts of fish, and a large quantity of the maize, called by Cartier "great millet." On the following day the chief Donnaconna, accompanied by his entire band, arrived in twelve canoes, ten of which he directed to stop at a distance, and with the other two he pulled towards Cartier's ship. Donnaconna stood up as he approached, and, with violent gesticulations, addressed Cartier in a long speech. The captives related to the chief what they had seen abroad, and how kindly they had been treated, with which Donnaconna was so much pleased that he desired Cartier to extend his arm over the side of the vessel that he might kiss his hand. He then laid Cartier's arm fondlingly about his neck, whereupon the latter descended into the chief's canoe, and, having ordered bread and wine to be brought, they ate and drank together, and parted mutually gratified with the interview. Thus happily commenced the intercourse of the French with the Iroquois.

Having determined to ascend the river to Hochelaga, the present site of Montreal, Cartier anchored his larger vessels in the entrance of a small river on the north shore, opposite the head of the island called by him Santa Cruz, and on the 19th of September, in his smallest vessel, accompanied by two boats and fifty men, he commenced the undertaking. To prevent this movement the Indians had in vain employed all their arts and resorted to the most extravagant demoniacal dances, but all this served no other purpose than to encourage him in his design. A voyage of ten days' continuance brought him to an expansion of the river, now called St. Peter's Lake. Finding the river was becoming shallow, he left his vessel at anchor, and proceeded forward with the two boats and twenty-eight armed men. He was charmed with the scenery, the fertility of the soil, and the luxuriant productions of the new country. Everywhere above this point the Indians received him with friendship, and brought him presents of fish, corn, and game. When he anchored for the night the natives assembled on shore, built fires, danced, and uttered shouts of joy, in this manner making his voyage resemble a triumphal journey. He arrived

at Hochelaga (now Montreal) on the 2d of October, where a multitude of the natives of both sexes, old and young, awaited his arrival, and expressed their joy by dancing. Cartier, having arrayed himself in gorgeous clothing, landed on the following morning, accompanied by a band of twenty mariners. Following for four or five miles a well-beaten path through the forest, he came to an open spot where a bright fire was burning. Here he was received by a deputation from the town, and requested to rest himself. A speech of welcome was then addressed to him, after which the procession advanced without further interruption to the town of Hochelaga, which was situated amidst cultivated fields, and surrounded with rude ramparts constructed for defence. Mats having been spread for him, he was ceremoniously seated, and was soon joined by the chief, Agouhanna, an old man afflicted with palsy, who, sitting on a stag-skin, was borne on the shoulders of men. Around his forehead he wore a band, or frontlet, of red-colored hedgehog-skins, but in other respects he was not dressed better than his people. As neither Domaigaia nor Taignoagny would accompany Cartier, he had no interpreter, and during the interview communication was carried on principally by signs. After the close of the conference he ascended to the top of the neighboring mountain, accompanied by several natives. It afforded an extensive view of all the surrounding rivers, rapids, plains, and mountains. Transported by the scene, he bestowed on this elevation the name of Mount Royal. Having asked the Indians the name of the adjacent country, they replied, "Canada," having without doubt understood him as referring to the town.

Thus having, on the 3d of October, 1535, terminated this eventful interview, Cartier hastened to return. Favored by both wind and tide, he reached his vessel in Lake St. Peter's on the following day, and the post of the Holy Cross on the 11th. At this place he endured a cold winter, from the middle of November to the middle of March: the ice in the St. Lawrence is said to have been "two fathoms thick," and the snow four feet deep. Twenty-five of his men died of scurvy. He was detained in the river of the Holy Cross until the 6th of May, when he sailed for France, carrying with him the chief Donnaconna, and his two former captives, Domaigaia and Taignoagny. He reached the French coast, and cast anchor in the harbor of St. Malo, on the 6th of July, 1536.

Speaking of the Iroquois, he says, "They possess all property in common, and are clothed in skins during the winter. The men perform but trifling labor, and are addicted to smoking. The condition of the women is one of servitude and drudgery. Polygamy is tolerated; the young women are dissolute, and married women are condemned to remain widows after the death of their husbands. Both sexes are very hardy."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The journals of these two voyages are contained in the third volume of Ramusio's Italian Collection (Venice, 1565); also in Lescarbot's "Histoire de la Nouvelle-France."

## CHAPTER V.

### EXPEDITION OF DE SOTO TO FLORIDA—APPALACHIAN TRIBES—THE DAKOTAS— DISCOVERY OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

UP to this period all attempts to found colonies in continental America had proved complete failures. Ponce de Leon, De Ayllon, Narvaez, and Cartier had each added his quota to geographical knowledge and recorded details of the manners and customs of the Indians, but no one of them had established even the first outlines of a colony. Nine years after the disastrous termination of the expedition of Narvaez, Hernando de Soto determined to effect the conquest and colonization of Florida. As the origin of this expedition cannot be well understood without reference to events which occurred on the northwestern confines of Mexico, it becomes necessary to enter into some details respecting them.

In 1530 an Indian named Tezon, a native of New Galicia, told the governor of that province a wonderful tale about the existence of seven cities in the *terra incognita* north and east of the river Gila, each of which cities was as large as Mexico. He stated that the country so abounded in the precious metals that entire streets in those cities were occupied by goldsmiths. In confirmation of what he asserted, he said that his father, then dead, had been a trader in ornamental feathers, and in return for his goods had brought from that quarter large quantities of gold and silver. This was the germ of the long-prevailing myth of the seven golden cities of Cibola.

It so happened that, while this story was yet credited, Cabeça de Vaca, with three companions, one of whom was an African, arrived at Compostella, the capital of New Galicia, after having been nine years traversing the continent. De Vaca had been the treasurer of Narvaez, and was the only officer of his army who had escaped the fury of the waves and the vengeance of the Indians on the Florida coast. The very fact of his safe passage over vast territories occupied by hostile tribes was of itself a wonder, but yet not more so than the extraordinary tales he related of the state of semi-civilization in which he had found some of the tribes whom he had encountered, and of the arts and wealth they possessed. These disclosures rekindled the latent cupidity in the imaginations of the Spanish adventurers who were seeking their fortune in Mexico. All classes believed in the new land of golden promise, and fresh vitality was imparted to the stories of Tezon. De Vaca was summoned to the viceregal court of Mexico, where his presence created a great excitement. The viceroy, Mendoza, questioned him respecting the strange incidents of his escape, and as to the state of arts and civilization among the Indians. De Vaca represented the tribes on the Rio Grande and Gila as wearing woven stuffs, living in large houses built of stone, and possessing rich mines. From Mexico his fame preceded him to

the court of Charles V., where he arrived in 1537, and where he was lionized on account of his adventures and sufferings, and the tales of golden wealth to be found in America. Nothing was too extravagant for the credulity of his audiences. Sufferings and perils he had indeed encountered, but, instead of plainly telling the Spaniards that Florida was a country containing no gold-mines, destitute of cities, possessing no agriculture, roads, bridges, or any traces either of art or of semi-civilization, and that it was solely inhabited by savages who cherished determined hostility to the Spanish race, he conformed to the preconceived notions of the court, the nobility, and the people, and represented, if he did not himself believe, that it was another Mexico or Peru. The public mind was engrossed with the idea. Prominent among the believers of this tale was De Soto, who had been a most valuable assistant of Pizarro in Peru, and had shared largely in the plunder of the Inca, Atahualpa.

De Soto determined to organize a new expedition for the conquest of Florida, one which should exceed in means and splendor anything of the kind that had ever visited the New World. Gentlemen and noblemen of rank and fortune vied with one another for the honor of participating in the scheme. The finest horses of Andalusia and Estremadura, the most chivalric and enthusiastic cavaliers, and the bravest footmen, all armed and equipped in the most glittering style, and well provided with drums, trumpets, and banners, formed the material of the army of De Soto.

De Soto was one of the wealthiest men in Spain, an *hidalgo* by birth, a man of pre-eminent courage and conduct, an elegant horseman, a soldier without peer. He had passed several years in Spain after the conquest of Peru in ease and elegant hospitality and refinement; and he was celebrated and envied for his wealth both in court and out of court. There was none equal to him in reputation for gallant achievements, for the heroes and conquerors in the New World had mostly risen from low stations, but De Soto, it was affirmed, was doubly entitled to his honors by reason of the claims of gentle birth.

He offered to conquer the country at his own cost. The emperor readily granted his request, and conferred on him the title of *Adelantado*, with the usual powers and immunities. His standard at Seville was flocked to by the brave and ambitious from all quarters. Portugal as well as Spain sent her volunteers. In little more than a twelve-month his forces amounted to nine hundred and fifty men, many of whom were mounted, including some of the choicest cavaliers, with twelve priests, eight inferior clergymen, and four monks, all of whom embarked in seven large and three small vessels at San Lucar de Barrameda on the 6th of April, 1538. A little less than eleven years before this date, Narvaez had embarked on his ill-starred expedition, sailing from the same port, and against the same people.

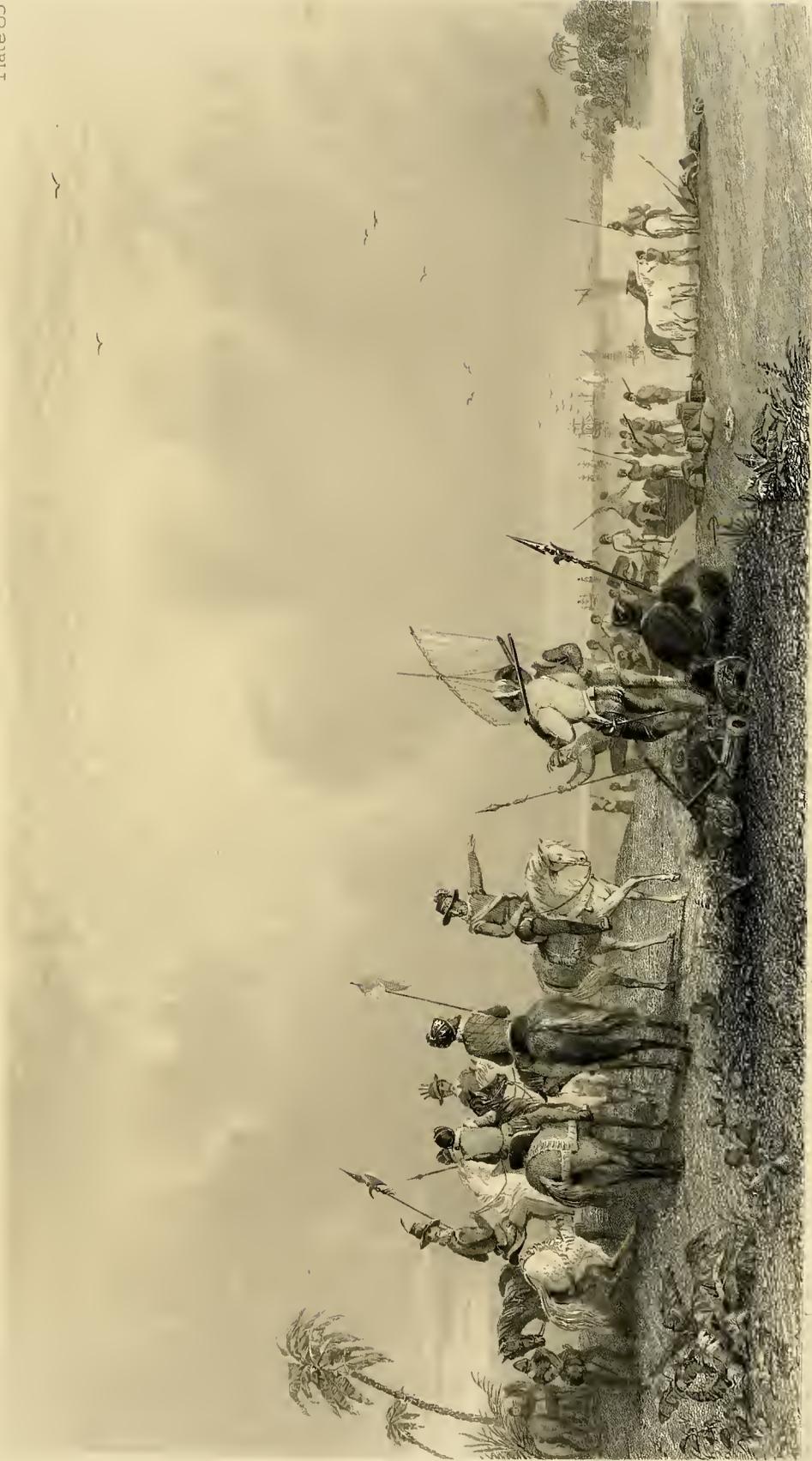
Everything favored De Soto during his voyage to Cuba and his sojourn in that island. Here he received a new accession of followers and procured an ample recruit of horses. More than a year elapsed before he was ready to proceed on his conquest. In the mean while he passed his time in entertainments, tournaments, and

rejoicings, more like some grand triumphal display of a conqueror than the prologue to a descent among the hammocks and lagoons of Florida, where every thicket concealed vengeful bowmen, and the whole body of the irritated tribes were prepared to assail an invader with the direst hostility. Four Indians had been kidnapped on the coasts and brought to Cuba to serve as guides and interpreters, a point of great importance certainly, but the manner of obtaining these guides served further to irritate the Indians and offend their natural sense of justice and fair dealing. De Soto embarked all his forces about the middle of May, and, after twelve or thirteen days spent on the transit, entered the waters of Tampa Bay,—being the same body of water that Narvaez<sup>1</sup> had entered and named La Cruz, but which De Soto now called Espiritu Santo. He remained in his vessels six days. Everything betokened a hostile reception from the Indians. They had abandoned the coast, along which bale-fires were sending up their columns of smoke to advise the distant bands of the arrival of their old enemy. On the last day of May, 1539, three hundred men were landed on arid ground to take possession of the country for the crown in the customary form. Not an Indian was in sight. But near dawn of the following day, while the men were bivouacked, the Indians rushed upon them with horrid yells, armed with bows and clubs. Several of the Spaniards were wounded, notwithstanding their armor, and the whole body rushed in the utmost confusion to the shore, where they were reinforced from the ships. The enemy were then dispersed with the loss of a single horse, which was shot with an arrow that had been driven with such force as to pass through the saddle and housings and pierce one-third of its length into the body. The whole army now debarked, and during several days while they reposed here after their sea-voyage nothing more was seen of the Indians.

An army of more splendid equipments and appointments had never before landed in America. It was led by the most brilliant and chivalrous cavaliers. It glittered in the splendor of fresh-burnished armor. Its trumpets and drums wakened new echoes in the solitudes of Florida. Its horses, of Arabian blood, were decorated with gaudy housings, and presented an object of terror to the natives. The spear, or lance, was a dreaded weapon in the hands of the horsemen, and the natives quailed before the deadly aim of the matchlock. But the Spaniards were inferior to the Indians in the use of the bow. The Indians were also free from the encumbrance of baggage. They were superior as woodsmen, and superior also in minute knowledge of the land and of its natural resources. They were better inured to the fatigues and hardships of forest-life. They imitated the sagacity of a fox in threading a forest, and the ferocity of a panther in pouncing on their prey. It was their policy not to meet their invaders in battle in concentrated bodies, but to fall on them unawares at night or in difficult defiles. They sought to conquer by delay, and to enfeeble by a strict war of details. When consulted, they often gave vague answers. They were adepts at concealment. It is believed that they often led De Soto from place to place to entangle him deeper in the forest. They perceived that he sought, above all other

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<sup>1</sup> Narvaez had landed on the west shore of the bay, according to the map of Smith's De Vaca.



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7 CORNHILL, TAMPA BAY, FLORIDA 1860



objects, gold and gold-mines. Of these they had none, but, ignorant themselves of metallic minerals, they might often deceive and mislead when they did not intend it. To ignorant men, silvery and yellow mica and iron pyrites have often appeared to be gold and silver. The attention of the Indians was so perpetually called to these subjects that they could not mistake the object of the invasion. Besides, it was never concealed by De Soto that he came as a conqueror.

It was not possible in so extended a line for De Soto to keep communications open with his initial point of landing; and the Indians, acting with sound policy and just judgment of the Spanish mode of warfare, parted before their enemy and immediately closed up behind him. The particular districts he traversed were conquered no longer than during the time he actually remained in them. De Soto at first marched towards the northeast and north, then to the west, southwest, and south, and finally towards the north, till he reached the indomitable Chickasaws and crossed the Mississippi. By marching so far inland from his starting-point at Tampa Bay, and crossing the Withlacoochee and the lakes and lagoons near the sources of the St. John's (where we must locate his Vitachuco), he avoided the difficulties that continually beset Narvaez on the Gulf coasts. The movements of his cavalry were irresistible, but it is evident that his infantry lacked drill, discipline, and order. De Soto was a man as noted for his resource and policy as for his bravery and personal presence in the field and the council. He took great pains, on reaching the village of Hirrihigua, but two leagues from his point of debarkation, to appease the feelings of that chief for the outrages perpetrated by Narvaez,—cruel and foolish acts, which, if there were no other proofs, would show Narvaez to have been unfit for command. While negotiating with this chief, De Soto heard of a Spaniard who was held in captivity by a neighboring chief called Mucoso. This was Juan Ortez, a man who had been secretly landed from one of the ships of Narvaez. Ortez, who had learned the language of the natives, was from his influence with the tribes a person of the greatest use to De Soto in all his future negotiations. These two steps were auspicious, and denoted capacity for command. The Spaniard's first line of march, from Tampa Bay to Cofachique, on the Savannah River (a place now in the State of South Carolina), was a military and exploratory achievement of unique character. He was now near the northern limits of the Creeks, or Muskokis, as the place-names sufficiently denote. While at Cofachique, he identified, as we have before intimated, a dagger and certain articles of armor which had been captured about twenty-five years previously from the ill-fated Vasquez de Ayllon. Struck with the obedience yielded to a female ruler of that place, whom he is pleased to call "queen," he thought he could facilitate his march westward by carrying her along in a sort of state captivity. The idea was a repetition of that of Cortez when he carried Montezuma a captive to his quarters, and of Pizarro when he seized Atahualpa. This device seems to have answered very well till the queen found herself getting beyond her proper territorial bounds, when she managed to escape.

De Soto's previous experience of the Indian character had been gained altogether among the South and Central American tribes. He had during the conquest of Peru

witnessed their implicit obedience to Incas, by whom they had been subjected, and to whom they yielded both a feudal and a religious submission. It was impossible for him to conceive of the spirit of independence possessed by the free and bold Appalachian tribes whose territories he had now invaded. But, if he mistook their true character on landing in Florida, he was not long permitted to remain ignorant of their determined hostility and intense hatred. The Indians having, as they supposed, received their lands from the Great Spirit, of whom the sun and the moon were only symbols, they could not conceive how their title could be bettered by acknowledging the gift as coming from Charles V. Not only did Hirrihigua, who was still smarting under the atrocities committed by Narvaez, reject every overture of peace, but the same spirit, although often concealed under deep guises, animated every tribe from the Gulf to the Mississippi. Witness what Acuera, a Muskoki chief, said in reply to the messengers of De Soto, who had invited him to a friendly interview :

“Others of your accursed race have, in years past, poisoned our peaceful shores. They have taught me what you are. What is your employment? To wander about like vagabonds from land to land, to rob the poor, to betray the confiding, to murder in cold blood the defenceless. No! with such a people I want no peace,—no friendship. War, never-ending war, exterminating war, is all the boon I ask.

“You boast yourselves valiant, and so you may be; but my faithful warriors are not less brave, and this too you shall one day prove; for I have sworn to maintain an unsparing conflict while one white man remains in my borders,—not only in battle, though even thus we fear not to meet you, but by stratagem, ambush, and midnight surprisal.

“I am king in my own land, and will never become the vassal of a mortal like myself. Vile and pusillanimous is he who will submit to the yoke of another when he may be free. As for me and my people, we choose death—yes! a hundred deaths—before the loss of our liberty and the subjugation of our country.

“Keep on, robbers and traitors: in Acuera and Apalachee we will treat you as you deserve. Every captive will we quarter and hang up to the highest tree along the road.”<sup>1</sup>

This was the spirit in which De Soto was met by all the natives, with the single exception of Mucoso, the protector of Juan Ortez. This spirit was sometimes suppressed for the moment, but was openly manifested wherever the invaders could be attacked at a disadvantage. During the twenty days that De Soto's army abode in Acuera to refresh themselves, fourteen Spaniards were picked off and slain as they ventured from camp, and a great many wounded, without the possibility of the Spanish seeing or finding an enemy. Every close thicket and impenetrable hammock seemed armed with Indian vengeance, which it was impossible to retaliate. The bodies of the slain Spaniards, who were almost daily buried, were dug up the following night, cut to pieces, and hung upon trees. The Indians lay in wait in their

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<sup>1</sup> Irving's Conquest of Florida, pp. 96, 97.

canoes in every deep and winding stream, and let fly their deadly arrows whenever the invader attempted to cross.

Such determined resistance the Spaniards had not met in Mexico or Peru; and the noble sentiments uttered by Acuera should have taught them that here was a class of Indians, hardy, athletic, and free, who had never yet been brought into subjection to any yoke, native or foreign.

De Soto was not insensible to the noble fire of these sentiments, but was not for a moment to be diverted from his task; and he determined to strike terror into the hearts of the natives by adopting the policy of "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth." Enraged by the peculiar kind of petty opposition he found at crossing the streams and around his encampments, he let loose a noted blood-hound as the minister of his vengeance, who in a few days tore to pieces four of the offending Indians. This act of cruelty was inconsistent with the notions of warfare held by the Indians, and inflamed their rage to desperation. It was a similar cruelty that had rendered Narvaez odious, and by adopting this procedure De Soto made himself and his nation still further hated and abhorred.

What the twelve priests and four monks were doing at this time we are not informed; but it was hard to teach the doctrines of Christianity, which are so full of merciful teachings, while its principles were daily contradicted by such inhuman practices. We may here adduce what Vitachuco, another Creek Indian, at a more advanced point of this march, said to his two brothers, who had been taken captive by De Soto and had sent messages to him advising submission. He was their elder brother, and the ruling chief.

"It is evident enough," he replies, "that you are young, and have neither judgment nor experience, or you would never have spoken as you have done of these hated white men. You extol them greatly as virtuous men who injure no one. You say that they are valiant,—that they are children of the sun, and merit all our reverence and service. The vile chains which they have hung upon you, and the mean and dastardly spirit which you have acquired during the short period you have been their slaves, have caused you to speak like women, lauding what you should censure and abhor.

"You remember not that these strangers can be no better than those who formerly committed so many cruelties in our country. Are they not the same nation, and subject to the same laws? Do not their manner of life and their actions prove them to be children of the Evil Spirit, and not of the sun and moon, our gods? Go they not from land to land plundering and destroying, taking the wives and daughters of others instead of bringing their own with them, and, like mere vagabonds, maintaining themselves by the labors of others? Were they virtuous as you represent, they would never have left their own country, since there they might have practised their virtues, instead of roving about the world committing robberies and murders, having neither the shame of men nor the fear of God before them.

"Warn them not to enter my lines; for I vow that, as valiant as they may be, if

they dare to put foot upon my soil they shall never go out of my land alive; the whole race will I exterminate."<sup>1</sup>

"If you want to add to your favors," said four Muskoki captives taken south of the Suwanee, "take our lives: after surviving the defeat and capture of our chieftain, we are not worthy to appear before him, nor to live in the world."

Such were the feelings and temper of the whole body of the Indian tribes who, in 1540, occupied the wide area from the Atlantic shores of Florida and Georgia to the banks of the Mississippi. Separated as their tribes were into different communities, they sank all tribal differences and united in a general opposition to the invaders. Fear of the common enemy drove them into a virtual union. They never omitted a good opportunity to strike, but they often concealed their hatred under the deepest secrecy, and received the Spaniards with an apparent hospitality which lulled the invaders into partial security. The geographical terms which are employed, though obscured in imperfect forms of notation, show that there were seven different tongues spoken by the tribes met by the Spaniards in their circuitous line of march from Tampa Bay to the banks of the Mississippi, at the lower Chickasaw Bluffs, where the army crossed.

The ancient Creeks, or Muskokis, appear at that time to have occupied the entire territory of East Florida and Georgia from the Appalachicola to the Coosawhatchee River in South Carolina.

De Soto passed his first winter in the vicinity of Tallahassee. The next year he reached Cofaqui, which is believed to have been near the present site of Macon. The Creeks, who found him pushing on under false expectations towards the northeast, where they had bitter enemies, gladly facilitated his movements, furnished him with provisions, and took advantage of his marching across the elevated grounds at the extreme sources of the Altamaha, Oconee, and Savannah Rivers, to send the war-chief Patofa, with a large body of warriors, under the pretence of escorting him, but really to fall upon their enemies. These enemies were the ancient, proud, and high-spirited Uchees, who had defeated the Spaniards on the Georgia and South Carolina coasts. As soon as they reached the waters of the Savannah River, the Muskokis secretly left De Soto's camp at night, and fell with the utmost fury on their unsuspecting enemies. The responsibility of this act was of course charged upon the Spaniards. De Soto, finding himself compromised by this act of perfidy, sent Patofa and his followers back to Cofaqui. They returned with their rich trophy of scalps. The Spaniard then continued his march down the south bank of the river, and crossed over to what had been the will-o'-the-wisp of his hopes ever since quitting Apalache,—namely, the long-anticipated Cofachique,<sup>2</sup> where he expected to find mines of gold and silver. This is a Creek name, which was mentioned to the whites the year before at their winter-quarters near Tallahassee by an Indian boy named Pedro, who, the narrator reports, De Soto had "proved to be a most elaborate liar on various occasions." That the Creeks followed up the blow when De Soto had left the

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<sup>1</sup> Irving's Conquest of Florida.

<sup>2</sup> Silver Bluffs, Barnwell County, South Carolina.

country, and finally conquered the Uchees and brought off the remnant, whom they incorporated into their confederacy, is denoted by their traditions.

Disappointed in his hopes of finding the precious metals at Cofachique, and of opening a communication with the "Queen-mother" of the Uchee tribe,<sup>1</sup> he carried a young woman, who then ruled the village, captive with him on his march from this point towards the Appalachian Mountains. But she managed to escape on the way towards the country of her enemies. The Spanish and Portuguese narrators of this expedition are constantly on stilts. The words "king, queen, prince," and the like, are continually misapplied to the chiefs of bold and free hunter-tribes, which were ruled by simple democratic councils of chiefs and warriors, who lived in bark wigwams more or less substantial, and had no exact boundaries to their territories, but generally left a strip of hunting- and war-ground undisturbed between the tribes, as at this day.

Reports of gold and silver carried De Soto north and northwest towards the Appalachian Mountains, where he passed through a part of the territory occupied by a tribe who are called "Achalaques," the modern Cherokees. This is the first notice we have of this tribe. While encamped among the barren eminences at Ichiaha, the Cherokees told him that about thirty miles north there was gold. He sent two men into the spurs of the mountain to search for this metal, who, after an absence of ten days, reported the discovery of a country of grain and pasturage: "the appearance of the soil indicated the probable presence of gold and silver in the neighborhood."

It is remarkable that in this part of his march De Soto should have passed over the region of Dahlonga, where gold has been found in such quantities in the detritus of the mountains that the United States government for a time had a mint at that place. This proves that the reports of the Indians, though often vague, were sometimes reliable.

He now marched south and re-entered the country of the Creeks, following down the fertile and beautiful banks of the Coosa. The spirit of Hirrihigua, Acuera, and Vitachucco appeared to have died away; and, notwithstanding some difficulties, the Europeans were received with general friendliness, being heralded from one Indian village to another, as far at least as Coosa, their principal town. De Soto now approached the borders of the Choctaws and Chickasaws. In his triumphal march down the banks of the Coosa, the Creeks accompanied him, with hidden motives. They carefully concealed a plot which was afterwards revealed at Mauvila. The practice of making the ruling chief captive, and taking him along to secure the obedience of his warriors, who were compelled to carry the baggage of the army, was always grating to the natural feeling of independence of the aborigines. Yet no outbreking opposition was made. The Spaniards regarded the tribes as conquered, and therefore relaxed their military diligence and discipline. They marched along, spreading out over large spaces. Their encampments were loosely guarded. It is

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<sup>1</sup> The Muskokis had a Salic law.

evident that they often neglected even to post sentinels. The "camp-master" was very remiss,—so much so that he was finally displaced.

There was at that time a noted chief living on the Coosa, of gigantic frame and great courage and vigor of intellect, called Tuscaloosa, or the Black Warrior. He had been carried along by De Soto a captive like the preceding chiefs, on the march down this magnificent valley. But he bore the indignity with a degree of impatience that nothing short of his Indian stoicism could control. As De Soto marched down the river towards the village of Mauvila, he had some suspicions of the Black Warrior's intentions from the frequent Indian messengers he noticed, but there were no additional warriors to his train. The Spaniards entered the town in a straggling manner and at intervals, a fact which shows that no direct hostility was anticipated, and certainly no additional precautions were taken against such hostility. Tuscaloosa was brought a virtual captive to his own capital. But the hour foretold by Acuera had arrived. The day of Indian vengeance was at hand. Mauvila was a strongly-fortified village, situated on a peninsula or plain made by the windings of the Coosa. It was surrounded by stout palisades, with inner cross-ties and loop-holes for arrows, having an east and a west gate. Eighty large and single-roomed houses, thatched in the Indian manner, stood around a square. Some of the trees about this enclosure retained their natural positions, and were covered with a dense foliage, which threw a pleasing shade over the square. It was an Indian stronghold. De la Vega's description is drawn in a manner to enhance our notions of its means of defence; and he certainly much overrates the number of its Indian defenders, all of which is done with the view of magnifying the glory of the hard struggle which awaited De Soto here.

That one hundred foot and one hundred horse, not one of the latter of which could enter the town, should have sustained a conflict with "ten thousand" Indian warriors, would be sufficiently wonderful in itself; yet that number is only half of the Indian force, if we admit La Vega's estimate; but the Spanish author has doubtless greatly exaggerated the strength of the Creeks. For it is perceived that even the small force with De Soto were, by the direction of Tuscaloosa, encamped "a bow-shot" outside of the walls, while his attendants and personal cortège were assigned quarters inside. Within the walls were also stowed all his baggage, provisions, and equipage, which had been brought in advance by the Indian burden-carriers. The rest of the army, consisting of some seven or eight hundred men, was left to come on by an easy and, it seems, very careless march under Moscoso, the camp-master.

It was on the 18th of October (1540), at an early hour in the morning, and while the troops were thus separated and were in the act of adjusting their encampment, that the war-cry of Tuscaloosa broke forth. In an instant hosts of Indians sallied from the houses where they had been concealed. The place had previously been emptied of the matrons and children, and the ground about the town cleared as though for battle. De Soto and his attendants were suddenly expelled from the fort, and its gates shut, leaving five dead. They were pressed so closely that many of the horsemen could not get to their horses, which were unsaddled and tied to trees

without, and some of these animals were immediately pierced with arrows and fell dead. The Indians were divided into two columns, one of which attacked the cavalry, and the other the footmen. With the usual Spanish gallantry, De Soto led the remaining sixty horsemen and a party of foot to storm the fort. He was soon joined by some few of Moscoso's horse, and drove back the assailants. They found the gate closed, very narrow, and well defended, and were dreadfully annoyed while before it by the arrows which were shot from the walls and loop-holes with amazing force and accuracy. Some of De Soto's most gallant cavaliers were fatally pierced between the joints of their armor, and numbers of their horses were killed. In the mean time, the yells of the Indians were deafening; they beat their drums in loud defiance, and shook the spoils they had taken from the Spaniards in triumph from the walls; and they were provided with stones to cast on such as came too near. De Soto could not maintain his position beneath the walls, and was compelled to retreat.

Seeing this, the courage of the Indians rose to the highest pitch of fury. Their yells and wild music were deafening; some of them sallied from the gates, others let themselves down from the walls and rushed upon the Spaniards. The latter kept in close and compact bodies, and returned their charges. For three hours they fought in this manner, charging backward and forward over the plain; but the advantage in point of numbers killed was with the Spaniards, who, although suffering severely, were cased in armor, while every blow was effective on their foes. At length the Indians withdrew from the plain and shut themselves up in their fortress.

De Soto now ordered his cavalry, being arrow-proof, to dismount, and, taking battle-axes, to break open the gate. By this time the remaining horsemen had reached the field, and two hundred cavaliers dashed forward to his support. The gate was soon broken, though furiously defended by darts and stones, but was found too narrow to admit all. Some rushed in pell-mell, others battered the rude plastering from the walls and climbed over. The fight was furious. The Indians fought from the tops of their houses. They thronged the square. Lance, club, and missile were wielded from every quarter. The struggle was so fierce, particularly from the roofs of the houses, that the Spanish soldiers, fearful lest the Indians should regain some houses that had been taken, set fire to them. As the houses were constructed of canes and other combustible materials, smoke and flame soon spread through the place, and this added tenfold to the horrors of the scene. Those of the Indians whom the lance and battle-axe spared were suffocated in the smoke or leaped over the walls. The Indians fought with desperation; even their young women snatched up the swords of the slaughtered Spaniards and mingled in the fight, showing more reckless desperation than even the men. The battle, in all its phases, lasted for nine hours. At length the Indians gave way. Those who left the fort fled in all directions, pursued by the cavalry. Those who were encountered within the walls would neither give nor take quarter. They preferred to die on the spot, and to fight till the last gasp. Not a man surrendered. The slaughter was immense. The Spaniards acknowledge a loss of eighty-two men, eighteen of whom were shot in the eye or mouth with arrows, so unerring was the aim. They lost forty-two horses. They claim

to have killed twenty-five hundred natives. This battle appears to have been fought by the combined forces of the Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws. Tuscaloosa fell, but his name has been perpetuated to the present day, though the traditions of his people do not reach back to the time of De Soto. So determined a resistance De Soto had never met with before. The feebler Peruvians had shown him no such opposition. It was a victory dearly purchased, as in its practical effects it had all the evil consequences of a defeat. The worst calamity that had befallen him was the loss of all his baggage, stores, and supplies. He had not even a scrap of lint left to dress a wound. Clothing, extra equipage, goods which had been taken along as presents to the Indians or to repay their services, were all consumed. Destitution made the general moody and taciturn, and from this moment his whole plan of operations was changed. He had vested his ample fortune, acquired by the plunder of Atahualpa, in an adventure which had signally failed; visions of golden empire no longer flitted before his mind. He had been pushing on to reach the sea-coast at the splendid harbor discovered by Maldonado, and now named Pensacola, near Perdido Bay, where he supposed that commander to be awaiting his arrival with new supplies from Spain. He had fixed on this as the capital of his projected settlement. He was now within less than a hundred miles of that point. But the battle of Mauvila had thrown a dark cloud over his prospects. There were murmurs in his army; the men had lost everything, even their clothes. He overheard some of his officers expressing the intention of embarking as soon as they reached the sea, and returning to Spain. He determined at once to balk this plan, and, as soon as the wounds of his men would permit, to change his course and march towards the north. To the north he therefore wheeled with all his forces, horse and foot. But an evil rumor went before him. The stand made by the Indians was heralded among them as a triumph. It had broken the charm of invincibility, and taught them the possibility of a victory even over the dreaded horse. And from this point, wherever he went, De Soto encountered nothing but hostility of the deepest kind. "War is what we want," said the natives; "a war of fire and blood." Such was his reception at all the various points at which he encamped before reaching the Mississippi. But from none of the tribes did he encounter so determined a resistance as from the Chickasaws. This tribe, who are closely allied to the Choctaws, have maintained a high character for bravery and independence ever since they have been known to history.

From Mauvila De Soto took up the line of march across the Tuscaloosa and Tombigbee, northwestwardly, till he came to the waters of the Yazoo. A village on the Tuscaloosa, at the site of the present city of that name in Alabama, was abandoned before him. Little opposition, indeed, was encountered till he reached the Tombigbee, where the Indians were drawn up in force on its northern banks to oppose his crossing. A messenger who was despatched with offers of peace was massacred in De Soto's sight, the Indians then fleeing with loud shouts of triumph. Boats were constructed in two days to cross the wide stream, after which the army marched on, still northwestwardly, crossing the fertile uplands of Mississippi, till they reached a village

called "Chicaza." This stood, apparently, on the banks of the Yazoo. It was now the 18th of December, an entire month after the army had left the smoking ruins of Mauvila. The bleakness of autumn characterized the forest, and the season began to exhibit a degree of cold before which the men shrunk. De Soto had not many days left the country of the Choctaws, and now entered on that of the Chickasaws. The enemy vanished before him, and when pressed by the cavalry retired into reedy thickets and positions where they could not be followed. On entering the Chickasaw village it was found completely deserted. There were some two hundred wigwams, occupying a gentle hill covered with oaks and walnuts, having a stream on each side. It was a favorable position for an encampment, and De Soto determined to occupy it for his winter quarters. For this purpose he caused other and larger buildings to be erected with wood and straw brought from neighboring hamlets. For two months he reposed in these quarters, sending out, however, almost daily, foraging and scouting parties into the adjacent forests.

At length the thought to burn the encampment appears to have entered the minds of the Chickasaws, and well did they conceal their plan till they could carry it into effect. For several nights previously they had made feigned night-attacks on the camp, as if, by the frequency of these alarms, to throw the Spaniards off their guard; in the course of which time, however, the rapacity and lawlessness of the soldiers brought the commander into serious difficulties. A dark and wild night was chosen by the Indians for the attack, when the wind was blowing strongly from the north. They came on in three parties, moving cautiously, and choosing the intervening spaces between the sentinels to penetrate the camp. They carried live embers in covered clay jars, and in separate places set fire to the light combustible materials of which the wigwams and barracks were made. The wind soon blew up a flame, which, being fed by the dry straw mats, raged with fierceness. It was in the darkest part of the night, and the soldiers, suddenly aroused from their slumbers by a terrible outcry, were half bewildered. Some of them at first took to the woods, but, being recalled, joined in the fight, and as day broke the assailants were chased into the woods, and the army kept its ground.

De Soto, who always slept on his arms, at least "in doublet and hose," fought valiantly, and was well sustained by his principal officers and men. But this midnight attack turned out to be more disastrous than even the terrible battle of Mauvila. On account of the suddenness of the flames, some of the men had barely time to leap out with their lives, leaving a part of their arms and equipments. Swords and lances required to be retempered, for which purpose a forge was built. Many of the saddles were burnt, and much of the furniture of the houses consumed. Forty Spaniards had fallen in the combat. The only Spanish woman in the army—a soldier's wife—was burned to death. Fifty horses had perished, either by the dart or by the fire, as it was impossible in the *mêlée* to untie them from the pickets, and many more were wounded. Another grievous loss was that of the swine that had been brought as an element in the contemplated agricultural settlement. They had been penned, and nearly all of them perished in the fire.

This disastrous battle, following so soon after the conflict at Mauvila, was enough to appall the stoutest heart. Yet it was amazing with what energy the Spaniards set to work to repair their losses. In three days they had established a new camp within a league of the old site, to which De Soto gave the name of Chicacilla, or Little Chickasaw. Not only were their armorers put to work in repairing their arms, but while they remained in this position, which was during the rest of the winter, they made saddles, shields, and lances. Here they suffered greatly from cold and the want of suitable clothing and bedding; for the conflagration had left them nothing but what they had on their backs. It was the 1st of April (1541) before De Soto was ready to quit his encampment. But it was only to encounter new opposition. The hostile spirit of the Indians seemed to be deeply and generally aroused in every direction. An easy march of four leagues, through open plains with deserted hamlets, brought them in sight of a strongly-stockaded fort, called Alabama (situated on the banks of a stream), which was carried by assault after a desperate resistance. In this contest the Spaniards had many men wounded, of whom fifteen died; and although they killed great numbers of the Indians, those who remained were in no wise humbled, and never omitted an opportunity to fall upon their enemies when they could do so to advantage. They seemed to be very accurate and powerful marksmen with the arrow, this deadly weapon being sometimes driven with such force as to pass entirely through the body of a horse. After a halt of four days to attend to their wounded and dead, the Spaniards again set forward, marching through tangled and dense forests and waters, till they came to the banks of the Mississippi, which they appear to have struck at the lower Chickasaw Bluffs, in north latitude about 32°. This discovery was the grand and crowning event of De Soto's expedition, and this alone is destined to carry his name to the latest times. Mines of gold and silver had indeed eluded his grasp, but by the discovery of this great artery of the North American continent he had found the highway that was destined, in after-years, to carry down agricultural products of far greater value to the commerce of the world than the wealth borne by the proudest streams of antiquity. In comparison with this wealth, the rich product of the mines of Mexico and Potosi shines with diminished lustre. Already twenty States of the American Union cluster on that mighty stream and its innumerable branches,—States containing many times the population of the dominions of old Spain, the nation whose proud banners were the first to be displayed on its banks.

The village that was seated here was called Chisca. Its chief had his lodgment on a high artificial mound. The army, impatient of the continual attacks they had encountered, immediately rushed into the village and carried it by assault, making prisoners of the women and children. By this means the Spanish leader held in his hands hostages for good conduct, and he succeeded, after full negotiation, in concluding a peace.

On this elevated and eligible spot, De Soto rested for twenty days, while engaged in making preparations to cross that magnificent stream and pursue his explorations to the west of it in the direction of the Pacific Ocean. By a very devious line of

march he had traversed the area of the present States of Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Tennessee, and at every point had encountered either an open or secret enmity from the Indians, especially from the Muskokis, Choctaws, and Chickasaws, who had fought with unexampled ferocity. Tribes which had formerly been at variance united to repel this formidable invasion. They were, ethnologically speaking, branches of one great stock. During the previous twenty-five years they had acquired bitter experience of Spanish invasion, and hence hated the race with such intensity that they determined to die rather than surrender the country.

The Spaniard had learned from hard experience that his incessant conflicts with the Indians, though he might kill double or treble his numbers, had an inevitable tendency to weaken his forces, exhaust his means, and dispirit his men. He had lost some of his best troops, nearly half of his noblest horses, and all his baggage; and after his most chivalric battles victory only gave him empty towns or unbroken forests. The natural magnificence of the country kept up his hopes while marching from encampment to encampment, but it was only the magnificence of woods, forests, and waters. The land was occupied by a poor, brave, and hardy race, who were determined to sell their lives at the dearest rate, since they had never submitted to the yoke of a conqueror. Thus he had found that every victory tended to exhaust him, and that his army must at last melt away and be subdued by a continuation of such victories.

While De Soto recruited his army on the high and beautiful elevation of the Chickasaw Bluffs, and restored to some extent its failing strength, every means which an able commander could adopt was resorted to for further repairing his losses. Forges were erected, where the swords and spears of his soldiers were retempered. Buckskin was employed in repairing the burnt saddles and accoutrements. The horses regained their strength when pastured on the rich prairie grass, and all the arms were reburnished. Once more the squadrons of De Soto were able to assume a martial bearing. Plumes nodded and glittering steel again flashed before the eyes of the wondering natives. The gallant men and fine horses lost at Mauvila, at Fort Alabama, on the Yazoo, and at Chickaza were for the moment forgotten, and the chivalric character of the Spaniard shone forth with renewed lustre as he marched down to the margin of the Mississippi and prepared to pass that boundary which he was destined never again to recross, but, like another Alaric, to make its bed his mausoleum. The month of May had but just manifested its arrival by its mild airs, and the expanding vegetation, combined with the increased flow of the waters, served to give life and animation to the scene. The river was judged to be half a league in width, but deep and swift, carrying down on its surface uprooted trees and flood-wood. He effected a passage without molestation, and two hours before sunset his whole force was safely across, and he thus turned his back on the fierce Appalachian tribes who had so stoutly opposed him. Here, then, was the first expedition to penetrate that mighty and unconquerable West, which has for three centuries continued to be the theatre of geographical explorations conducted by the Spanish, French, and

Americans. It was not, indeed, till 1806, under the conduct of Lewis and Clarke, that De Soto's object was finally attained, the Cordilleras of the Rocky Mountains scaled, and the Pacific shores reached. He immediately made arrangements to put his columns in motion for the high grounds. But his position was one of embarrassment. He had rid himself of the Chickasaws and their affiliated tribes on the east banks of the river, but was surrounded by other Indians of even more savage character and actuated by a still fiercer spirit of enmity. Their language, also, being entirely different, Ortez could no longer make himself understood, and the tediousness and difficulty of communicating with the Indians may be imagined when we learn that at times four different interpreters had to be employed at once in the business of translating a single communication. These tribes were of the Issati or Dakota lineage. Dense forests, rearing their towering growth on swampy lands, surrounded him, but onward he marched, following the Indian footpath.

De Soto was a man not to be daunted by ordinary obstacles. After five days' march, partly through lagoons, he reached the highlands of Missouri; and here he found himself surrounded by the Casque, who are supposed to have been the Kaskaskias of the Algonkin group,—a people who, on the settlement of Illinois by the French, were found entirely east of the Mississippi. He here fell into a mistake similar to that which he had made in his march to Cofachique in relation to the Uchees. The Kaskaskias received him with friendship, glad to find an ally who might sustain them in a war with a neighboring tribe. They accompanied him in great force against their enemies the Capaha (Quappaws or Arkansas), under the pretext of aiding in carrying the baggage and acting as scouts and pioneers; but they had no sooner reached the vicinity of their enemies than they pushed ahead of the Spaniards and fell without mercy on the hostile tribe, killing and scalping all they met with, and plundering the previously deserted village.

This action cost De Soto a war. He attacked the Quappaw tribe in a stronghold on an island to which they fled in the Mississippi, where he was deserted by his allies. His new enemies belonged to a different group of the aborigines, who are known to us, ethnologically, as the Dakotas,—the nomades of the Western prairies. From this attack he withdrew with difficulty. While at the Capaha village, he sent messengers westward to inquire into the truth of rumors of mineral wealth, but the messengers found nothing but copper. They, however, penetrated into the Western plains, and discovered the buffalo. He then returned to Casque, on the St. Francis, a large village with abundance of food, where he remained many days to recruit his army. He then marched south, but soon, hearing reports of mineral wealth at the north, countermarched to the wild granitic regions on the sources of the St. Francis. He was at this time in the granite tract of St. Michael's, Missouri, celebrated for its volcanic upheavals and pinnacles of azoic rocks, its iron mountains, its lead-mines, and its ores of cobalt. This was the highest northern point west of the Mississippi River reached by him. He sent out runners to the salt country and to the buffalo country. He ranged through the Ozark Mountains and the defiles of White River.

Reports of new and tempting mineral regions in the south soon led him in search

of a country called Cayas. He crossed the Unica or White River at Tanico, and allowed his troops to rest for twenty days in a fine valley at a place called Tula. The Indian residents of this place were "ill-favored, tattooed, and ferocious." The army then marched five days towards the west, over an elevated, uninhabited region, comprising the broad and rugged district of the modern Ozark Mountains. Beyond this broken chain De Soto entered the country of the Quipano (Pani, or Pawnee), which has a comparatively level surface. A few days' farther march westward, and he found himself in a territory abounding in game, well supplied with grass, and dotted over with prairies. Having discovered the Arkansas River, he determined to establish his winter-quarters near that stream. Ordering stalls to be constructed for his horses, and a regular encampment to be formed, on this spot he passed the winter of 1541-42. The site of this camp appears to have been on the banks of the Neosho, and was in the midst of beautiful natural meadows.

When spring had opened sufficiently to warrant him in moving forward, he proceeded down the Arkansas, crossing that stream near the present site of Van Buren, or Fort Smith, and following its southern plains down to Little Rock, where he again crossed to the north, and directed his course along the banks of the stream till he reached its mouth. He was greatly embarrassed in this march by a deep inlet of White River.

He selected a site on the eastern banks of the Mississippi for the capital of a Spanish colony, in the territory of a people who were sun-worshippers, and who were, judging by their language and religion, the Natchez. This tribe, who appear to have occupied a higher position on the Mississippi than they were found to possess at the period of the settlement of Louisiana, were called Quignaltangui. They manifested the deepest hostility, and ridiculed the idea of De Soto's being a child of the sun,—an idea which he had thrown out in his message to them requiring submission to his arms. "If you are a child of the sun," was the haughty reply, "return to him, dry up the Mississippi, and we will submit to you."

Being in a feeble state of health, and a fever beginning to prostrate him, De Soto encamped, and calmly prepared for his approaching end. After having appointed Moscoso, his camp-master, to succeed him, De Soto died, surrounded by his officers, who had followed him through scenes of danger and trial over nearly half the continent of North America. On the last day of May, 1542, he calmly yielded up his spirit. At first his body was interred in the vicinity, great precautions being taken to conceal the spot, lest the Indians should exhume and mutilate his remains. Finally his followers placed the corpse in the hollowed trunk of a tree, which they conveyed in a boat at midnight to the centre of the Mississippi River and sunk beneath its turbid waters.

With the death of De Soto the intrepid daring and noble emulation which had been called into action by his master mind began to flag; but, though the enterprise was in reality crushed, the fact did not immediately appear.

As soon as the funeral rites were finished, Moscoso prepared to lead a new expedition towards the west. He ascended the southern banks of the Arkansas, directing

his course in a southwesterly direction across the Washita and the smaller affluents of the Arkansas and Red Rivers. He encountered the most determined opposition from all the tribes he met. They fought with a desperation which was extraordinary, and were repulsed with that chivalrous and dashing bravery which characterized the entire operations of the expedition. He eventually reached the buffalo plains which stretch from the Canadian River to the sources of the Red River. It had been expected that they should somewhere in this vicinity meet parties of Spanish military explorers from the south; but this hope was at last relinquished, and the army retraced its steps to the mouth of the Arkansas amid great perils and with unparalleled toil.

To found a colony at a point so remote from the sea, with the crippled and inadequate means in their possession, and in the face of the active hostility of all the Indian tribes both east and west of that stream, appeared to be a project so impracticable that Moscoso resolved to build boats and descend the Mississippi to its mouth. As soon as they were completed, the whole force embarked, the horses being placed in long narrow boats, with their fore feet in one and their hind feet in another. The Indians exulted on seeing the Spaniards making preparations to leave their country, and, embarking in their canoes, pursued the retiring troops with the utmost boldness and energy. The retreating forces were often obliged to deploy and defend themselves, and in these skirmishes the Spaniards suffered severely. The armor of the soldiers was proof against the arrows of the foe, but the flanks of the horses were exposed, so that these noble animals were thinned off day by day, until, on arriving at the mouth of the river, there was not a single horse left alive.

As soon as Moscoso entered the gulf, he steered for the coast of Panuca, where he finally arrived, after encountering great perils both from the warring elements and from the disagreement of the pilots. Thus terminated an expedition which had been organized with extraordinary splendor, and the members of which comprised some of the ablest and most chivalrous officers of the age. Nearly three years had been spent in traversing the immense tract of wilderness intervening between the peninsula of Florida and the plains of Arkansas. Everywhere the Indians had been found to be inimical to the Spanish race, and had manifested the most heroic spirit in repelling the invaders.

The track of De Soto west of the Mississippi is outlined more fully by Mr. Schoolcraft as follows:

After crossing at the lower Chickasaw Bluffs, he marched five days on an Indian trail over the alluvions of the Mississippi, west to the hill-country of the St. Francis, and reached the site of Casque, very probably a location of the Illinois Indians (Kaskaskias). He followed the wily chief of this village northeastwardly against his enemies the Capahas (Quappaws), on a bayou of the Mississippi, difficult to approach from that quarter. This was probably some seventy miles above his original crossing-point. He then returned southwest to Casque, and thence marched south to Quiguate, probably near Black River. Hearing fresh reports of mineral wealth, he now marched northwest to Coligoa, near the source of the St. Francis, in

latitude about  $35^{\circ} 30'$  or  $36^{\circ}$ . This was his utmost northern point. He was now at the foot of the high granitic peaks of St. Francis County, Missouri, celebrated in modern days for its Iron Mountains and the lead and cobalt mines of Mine La Motte. He then marched south in search of a rich province called Cayas (Kansas), and probably crossed the White River Valley at Tanico. He thence crossed a hill country to Tula, in the fine valley of Buffalo Creek. Recruiting at this place for twenty days, he passed an uninhabited region for five days, going west over elevations of the Ozark chain, and came to fertile prairies beyond, inhabited by Indians called Quipano (Pani, or Pawnee). A few days' farther march brought him to the banks of the Arkansas, near the Neosho, very likely at a point about the present site of Fort Gibson. Here, in a fruitful country of meadows, he wintered. Next spring he marched down the north banks of the Arkansas to a point opposite the present Fort Smith, where he crossed in a boat. He then descended the south bank of the river to Anilco (Little Rock), where the army crossed to the north bank, partly on rafts, and reached the mouth of the Arkansas, where he died.

## CHAPTER VI.

### CORONADO'S EXPEDITION INTO NEW MEXICO—THE ZUÑI, MOQUI, NAVAJOE, AND COGNATE TRIBES.

THE year 1519 was one of deep interest in the fortunes of the Gila, Rio del Norte, and Colorado Indians. Florida had been known nine years, when an event occurred of the greatest interest in the history of the continent. This was no other than the discovery of Mexico. The empire of Montezuma, which had been founded (according to tradition) on that of the Toltecs, had that year reached its culminating point. When Cortez landed on the Mexican shores, judging from the ordinary course of things, he appeared more likely to serve, with his few followers, as an offering to Huitzilopochtli, the war-god of the country, than to conquer it and bring it into subjection to Charles V. Yet in two years he was master of the empire. He had during that period entered Mexico the first time, turned upon Narvaez and defeated him, founded the city of Vera Cruz, and re-entered Mexico with the conquered troops, levelling its walls as he advanced; and he was soon heralded in Spain as a hero, and urged his claims at the Spanish court for rewards, as if he had performed feats worthy of a Hannibal or a Scipio.

Of the conquest we have only to remark that it exposed the tribes of the present enlarged area of the United States north of the line of the Gila and west of the Rio Grande del Norte to invasion. This result followed the taking of Mexico within the period of twenty years. It was resolved in 1530 to make New Spain a viceroyalty, and, after some delay in finding a suitable person, Mendoza was appointed to the chief office by the Spanish court. He reached the city of Mexico in 1535, bringing a printing-press,—the first, it is believed, ever brought to the American continent. Under his wise, energetic, yet calm and beneficent rule, the disorders of the country were remedied, various insurrections were quelled, and the reign of law was fully established.

It so happened that in the course of a few years a Franciscan missionary named Marcos de Niza, who had visited the country north of Sonora, reported that he had discovered a populous and rich kingdom called Quivera, or the Seven Cities, abounding in gold, the capital of which was named Cibola. Towards Cibola, therefore, all eyes were directed.

The enthusiasm of all who credited the story of De Niza received a new impulse, and large accessions were made to the number of believers, from the accounts given by Cabeça de Vaca of the Indian tribes he had seen during his extraordinary peregrinations, extended through a term of eight or nine years, between the point where he was wrecked on the Florida coast and New Galicia on the Pacific. Not only did his

presence in Spain give origin to the expedition of De Soto, but also at the same time to the almost equally renowned one organized by Mendoza, the viceroy of Mexico, and placed under the command of Coronado. This expedition had been preceded by one sent out by Guzman, the governor of New Galicia, in search of the seven cities of Cibola; but this party penetrated no farther than Culiacan, whence it returned on account of the difficulties attending the enterprise. This effort only tended to stimulate the equipment of a more formidable organization by the viceroy.

As a preliminary step, Mendoza despatched De Niza, with two other friars and a competent military escort, into the region, taking Estevan, a negro who had accompanied Cabeça de Vaca, as a guide. On reaching Culiacan, on the borders of the country, they rested a few days, and prepared themselves with further information. Estevan, evincing the impatience natural to his African blood to participate in the first advantages of the anticipated discoveries, in his great eagerness to reach the place, preceded the three friars with a few Indians. He crossed the Gila, and, hurrying over the desert, which was without an inhabitant, reached the valley of Cibola, where they found the first town, while De Niza and his two companions were still sixty leagues in the rear. He made haste to present himself before the caciques of the town, of whom he insolently demanded their gold and their wives. On hearing this audacious demand, unsupported as it was by any power to enforce it, the chiefs questioned him closely as to his authority for making it. Judging from his replies that he was a spy from a party on its march to invade their country, they decided, after a short consultation, to put him to death, and immediately carried this decision into effect. When De Niza and his companions heard of this, they at once returned to Compostella; and thus ended the second attempt to reach the kingdom of the seven cities.

But a golden lie is not easily put down. It was an age in which nothing but wonders would be believed. Golden Indian provinces were constantly in the Spanish mind, and the friar De Niza, when he had reached Compostella, determined not to be behindhand in fanning the fires of expectation. He went to Mexico, and in an interview with Mendoza not only confirmed him in his ideas of golden regions north of the Gila, but published a description of his tour, in which, according to Casteñada, he gave the most alluring account of a country respecting which he found the popular impression so high.

Mendoza thereupon determined to hasten an expedition to explore and conquer the country and thus add it to the already large acquisitions made under the banners of Charles V. This was the beginning of the history of the intendency of New Mexico. To lead this expedition he finally named Francisco Vasquez Coronado, the successor of De Guzman as governor of New Galicia.

It was only necessary to announce such a design from the viceregal court at Mexico to attract adventurers from every quarter. Indeed, such was the enthusiasm evinced on this occasion that men of the highest rank sought eagerly for even subordinate places in the expedition. Of a force of three hundred men, it is said by

Casteñada that there never was an expedition organized in America which had such a proportion of gentry.

Mendoza himself repaired to Compostella to review the troops, and accompanied them two days' march on their way. Eight hundred Indians (doubtless glad to be fed) immediately joined this little army of cavaliers. It is worthy of note that this expedition set out at the same time that De Soto was traversing Florida, and that it had actually reached the Gila when he crossed the Mississippi. At Chiametta, Coronado met De Niza, who had been appointed guide to the expedition, and who, with a dozen men, had been despatched in advance. These men had penetrated to Chichitcale, two hundred leagues from Culiacan. De Niza's companions reported secretly that the country was nearly a desert. This was soon whispered about, and greatly dispirited many; but Fray de Niza endeavored to reanimate the desponding by telling them that the country seen by the officers was "good," and that he would guide them to rich provinces.

On reaching Chichitcale, of which so much had been boasted, Coronado found a single roofless and ruinous house, which had been built of "red earth," surrounded by the remains of a population which had evident claims to be regarded as belonging to a higher type of civilization than any of the existing tribes. The army soon entered the desert north of the Gila, and spent a fortnight in traversing it. After eight leagues' farther march, they came to a river, on the banks of which they soon after reached the long-sought Cibola. It was a small town, built on a high rock, and containing not over two hundred warriors. The houses were terraced in three or four stories, with a narrow and steep ascent. They were now probably at the old town of Zuñi. They immediately assaulted it, sword in hand, but were opposed by the casting down of stones, one of which knocked down Coronado. An hour's struggle, however, gave them the place. The country was one of those picturesque regions of remarkable geologic formation so common in that part of New Mexico. It gave them provisions, but no gold. There was such an utter disappointment in this respect that it was not without a strong effort that Fray de Niza could be protected from the rage of the disappointed soldiery, and he was soon sent off secretly for his own security.

Coronado made his head-quarters at Cibola, and sent out various expeditions into the adjacent regions: he also despatched invitations to the Indians to come in and establish friendly relations with him. These told him, apparently to rid themselves of such a guest, of a province of seven towns, called Tusayan, twenty-five leagues distant, the people of which were represented as living in high houses and being very valiant. The course is not mentioned, but, judging from subsequent events, it must have been generally west. He despatched Don Pedro de Tobar, with seventeen horsemen, four foot-soldiers, and a friar, to explore it. On reaching it, they found the Indians in possession of cultivated fields. As soon as they were aware of the presence of an enemy, they assembled in a body, armed with arrows, clubs, and bucklers. They drew a mark on the ground and forbade the Spaniards to pass it; but this only served as a signal for Tobar to advance, and he and his followers slew "great numbers

of them." After this the Tusayans submitted, and presented their invaders with "cotton stuffs, tanned hides, flour, pine-apples, native fowls, maize, and turquoises." Such is, in part, the exaggerated language of the narrative of Casteñada. Tobar was now, doubtless, at the seven villages of the modern Moqui. They told him of a great river at twenty days' distance, which he would reach after crossing a desert inhabited by a gigantic people.

Coronado, on the return of this party, ordered Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas, with twelve men, to explore this great river. They were well received by the Indians of Tusayan, who supplied them with food and guides, and after twenty days' march over an entirely uninhabited country the Spaniards stood gazing on the banks of the great cañon of the river "Tizou," now called Colorado. They were surprised at the elevation of its banks, which they thought "three or four leagues in the air." For three days they tried to find some depression to get down to the river, but, failing in this, and being threatened with a want of water, they retraced their steps to Cibola, passing in their way a high cataract, near which there were crystals of salt.

The information collected by Coronado at least made him better acquainted with his geographical position. After passing north of the Gila from Chichitcale he had found nothing but a desert. The first watercourse met with was a stream to which he gave the name of Vermejo, on ascending the banks of which he had indeed reached the long-sought Cibola, a name which had been long bandied about vaguely by rumor, but which there is no reason to believe that the Indians had ever bestowed upon it. The reports of De Niza and of De Vaca had proved alike fallacious; but the Spaniards were not to be thus discouraged. Coronado looked stoutly about him. By the expeditions of Don Pedro de Tobar and of Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas he had evidently fixed the location of the town of the Moqui and the Colorado or Tizou River, and had clearly determined the existence of large desert tracts west of him.

In the mean time, information from the east and northeast poured in upon him, and denoted that to be the quarter from which he had most to expect. A chief of considerable presence and plausibility, called Bigotes, came to him from a town called Cicuyé, four days' march east of the Rio Grande del Norte. It was seventy miles east of Cibola, which, in the longitude of  $35^{\circ}$ , would denote the place to have been on the Pecos. Bigotes was well received, and was the first person to inform the invading army of the existence of the bison in that vicinity. One of the military parties had, on crossing the desert north of the Gila, found an enormous pair of horns, doubtless those of some animal of the deer tribe; another had encountered a flock of large-horned sheep; but they had witnessed nothing of the animal spoken of by this chief, and the intelligence created much excitement. The visit of Bigotes appears to have had the object of opening trade in that quarter. But, whatever his motives, he spoke far too favorably of the country and its resources. In effect, a most friendly alliance ensued.

Hernando de Alvarado, taking twenty men, with Bigotes as his guide, was first sent in that direction, having permission to be absent eighty days. He departed with

alacrity. After five days' march, they arrived at a rock-castled town, called Accuco,—the modern Acoma in New Mexico. It was so high above the plain that the narrator quaintly says that the shot from an arquebuse could scarcely reach its summit. It had a stairway of steps cut in the rock, which were plain and convenient at the bottom, but which became faintly scraped in the rock and dangerous at the top, so that it was necessary to scramble in ascending. Provision was made for its defence by piles of stones which could be rolled down on the assailants. There was on this elevated area space to cultivate and to store maize, and the town had tanks of water.

No hostility was offered here, and, after viewing the place, Alvarado continued on his way. After three days' farther march, he came to another town, called Tigouex, on the Rio Grande, where the natives, seeing that he was accompanied by Bigotes, also received the party well. His next march occupied five days, which brought him to Cicuyé, the object of his expedition. This place was strongly fortified, but its inhabitants received them as those of the other towns had done,—as messengers on a friendly visit,—and they were courteously entertained.

While at this place, Alvarado was introduced to an Indian of striking appearance and demeanor, called El Turco. He wore a noted beard (whence the name), and spoke with great fluency. He had been taken prisoner by the Cicuyan Indians on the east of the Rio Grande; and, probably observing the eagerness which the Spaniards manifested for gold and silver, he spoke of these metals as being plentiful in the region in which he had been captured. It is likely, judging from subsequent events, that he thought only of his liberation through the march of the Spaniards into that region. However this may be, he was very lavish in his descriptions of the country, and said many things which were mere exaggerations. Under this new cause of excitement, the bison, which they had so eagerly wished to see, lost interest; and when Alvarado had accomplished his mission, he hurried with El Turco back to his starting-point, that he might communicate the intelligence in person to Coronado. The latter had in the mean time moved the position of the invading army from Cibola to Tigouex, on the Rio Grande. El Turco repeated his florid descriptions. He added that there was in that quarter a river two leagues wide, which contained fishes as large as horses, and was navigated by great lords, in canoes propelled by twenty oarsmen, having flags with golden eagles flying over their heads. This lying story was partly believed. The general sent Alvarado, with El Turco for his guide, back to Cicuyé, to reclaim certain golden bracelets of which he said he had been despoiled when he had been made a captive by the Indians of that village. But the cacique of Cicuyé assured Alvarado, on his arrival, that he had taken no bracelets from the prisoner, and that El Turco was "a great liar." Hereupon Alvarado lured Bigotes and the cacique of Cicuyé into his tent, and put them both in chains. In this condition they were marched back five leagues to Coronado, at Tigouex, who kept them imprisoned for six months. Affairs began thus to be involved by the bad judgment of Alvarado, who served the truth-teller and the liar alike.

Tigouex was now made head-quarters. At this place there were some houses of

“seven stories,” which rose above the rest like towers, and had “embrasures and loop-holes.” This is called the “handsomest, best, and largest village in the province.” The whole army was finally concentrated here, and passed the winter (1540–41<sup>1</sup>) at this place. Snow fell in December nearly two feet deep, it became cold, and the soldiers suffered from want of suitable clothing. To supply this, Coronado called for three hundred garments from the Indians; and when they interposed objections, saying that there were twelve villages to contribute their share, and that the chiefs must be consulted, he would brook no delay. The cavaliers sent by him stripped the poor natives on the spot, leaving them exposed to the inclemency of the weather; and when the dresses did not suit in quality, they stripped the next Indian they met, chief or commoner, and carried away his garments.

Coronado was not only inhuman in his exactions, but impolitic in his dealings with the red men. He had early in the autumn offended the sense of justice of the people of Cicuyé by imprisoning their chief, an aged man, instead of El Turco, who amused him with falsehoods. To the stripping the Indians of their garments were added, in the course of two months’ wintering there by the Spaniards, acts of licentiousness and perfidy that roused the natives to a keen sense of wrong, and when the next campaign opened there was a general state of hostility. It appears that Coronado did not occupy the town of Tigouex, but camped in the open plain near it. In the course of the hostilities brought on by the folly and wickedness of some of his subordinates, orders were given to assault the rock-town. It sustained with firmness a long siege, and was finally abandoned by its inhabitants only from the want of water.

Coronado was now among the Indian rock-towns, with terraced houses, which compose a line of native “pueblos” connecting the Rio Pecos with the upper waters of the Little Colorado, up which latter he had marched by way of the fork of the Vermejo till he reached Cibola. This latter had been the talismanic word since first leaving Compostella and Culiacan. The disappointment when on reaching it they found it neither populous nor wealthy, the several fruitless expeditions of De Tobar and De Cardenas towards the west, and the experience and observations of the winter while the army was at Tigouex, had completely dissipated Coronado’s sanguine hopes. The reports of Bigotes and El Turco from the east had, however, rekindled the Spanish enthusiasm, and fresh hopes were inspired by the word “Quivera,” now on every soldier’s tongue. The siege of Tigouex had not been completed when Coronado pushed on to Cicuyé (on the Pecos), with a view to leading an expedition to Quivera, and as soon as the spring opened the rest of his force followed. Unlike the previous experience of Alvarado, who, with only twenty men, had been everywhere received with friendship, the army was now compelled to fight its way. No longer received as a friend who desired only to open intercourse and commerce with the Indians, Coronado was regarded as an enemy, with the reputation of being both

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<sup>1</sup> There is a discrepancy of a year in the statement of this writer.

cruel and treacherous,—a man who did not respect alliances, or regard truth and virtue.

When Coronado came to the Pecos it was still frozen so solid that horses could cross. On reaching Cicuyé he camped near the town, to which he restored its chief, so long and unjustly retained in captivity. This act was followed by the liberation of Bigotes, and friendly relations were apparently restored. Parties were sent out to establish intercourse with the neighboring towns, particularly with Chia and Quirix; but the more westerly towns, where he had sojourned, remained implacable, nor would the expelled natives return to the towns from which they had once deliberately fled. A belief in the ill-luck of certain localities, a trait of the Indian mind, accounts for the abandonment of towns, the ruins of which still exist in New Mexico.

The statements of El Turco respecting the wealth of Quivera were still believed, although denied by an Indian named Xabe, a native of Quivera itself. It was the 5th of May before the army left its camp at Tigouex, after a hard winter, to re-join its general at Cicuyé, and as soon as the river was free from ice he began his march for Quivera, with El Turco and Xabe as guides. Here commences an extraordinary series of adventures, which, for reckless daring, are unparalleled by anything of the kind except those of De Soto, who had died the year before at the mouth of the Arkansas, but whose successor, Moscoso, was at this time pursuing his wild adventures west of the Mississippi. Coronado at once set out from Cicuyé. Four days' march towards the north-northwest, over a mountainous country, brought the army to the banks of a large and very deep river. It was necessary to bridge it, and after thus crossing it they continued to advance in the same course for ten days, when they reached the buffalo country, and found a nomadic people called Querechos, who lived in buffalo-skin tents and subsisted entirely on buffalo meat. Having communicated with El Turco, these Querechos confirmed his statements. Coronado was now marching in a northeastern direction, and every step carried him farther from the true position of Quivera.<sup>1</sup> These nomadic Querechos directed him to march eastwardly, where he would find a large river, which he could follow ninety days without leaving a populous country, and which was more than a league in breadth. Continuing their march in the same course, the Spaniards reached extensive plains, and came into the midst of incredible multitudes of the bison. The flying natives were again encountered in their march towards the east, and El Turco asserted that they were now but two days' march from a town called Haxa. There was an Indian in the army named Sopete, a native of Quivera, who is called "a painted Indian," who constantly affirmed that El Turco was a liar. Still, Sopete was not believed, because the nomads, in whom we may probably recognize the modern Comanches, concurred with El Turco. But the warnings of Xabe and Sopete were disregarded. On Coronado went, traversing immense plains, seeing nothing for miles together but

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<sup>1</sup> It is noticeable that Grand Quivera, on the modern maps, is in another direction, being nearly due east of Don Pedro.

skies and herds of bison; hundreds of these they killed. Gulfs and valleys, which were occasionally encountered, formed no impediment to the indomitable zeal and courage of his followers. Literally they overcame every physical obstacle. For seven-and-thirty days they pushed on, horse and foot. It was said, on the authority of an Indian woman captured, that they had reached to within nine days' journey of the advance party of De Soto. From the accounts given, Coronado must have marched seven or eight hundred miles east of the point at which he crossed the Rio Grande. He was forty days with a light party in retracing his steps to Cicuyé; and he had penetrated, without doubt, through portions of Texas and far into the present area of Arkansas, the supposed "Arache" of Casteñada.

The ardently-sought Quivera still eluded discovery. It was the golden town of this talismanic name that was to reward the toils of these arduous and harassing journeys through immense solitudes inhabited only by countless herds of bison and by their flying enemies, the Indian nomads of the prairies. At length Coronado, when he had probably reached the great south branch of the Arkansas, determined to send his army back, and at the same time, taking a light party of cavalry, to continue the search a little farther. As a preliminary step to these movements, El Turco was closely examined as to the cause of his numerous and persevering falsehoods. The Indian, if not taken entirely aback by these examinations, was put to extremities, and, from whatever cause, confessed that his design had been to entangle and mislead the army and cause its destruction on these bleak wastes and level plains of grass. On this discovery of his bad motives, Coronado ordered him to be strangled. This was done with military promptitude, and thus perished a man who had exercised a leading influence for a long time in determining the movements of this army,—who seemed, indeed, reckless of truth in his assertions, but who, if the secret workings of his mind could be unfolded, perhaps thought himself to be doing the general cause of the Indian a service by leading its direst enemies to destruction.

After this act the army marched back under trusty Teyas guides, who led them in twenty-five days a distance which they had by involved courses been thirty-seven in originally traversing. Coronado spent a few days more in his search, and then returned and rejoined his forces west of the Rio Grande, bringing the report that he had visited Quivera, which is said to exist "at the foot of the mountains bordering the sea,"—an expression that would puzzle the wits of any geographer. The description given of its position, resources, and population is at best so vague that the term appears to be used by Casteñada rather as something to salve disappointed hopes, or garnish over ill-formed or ill-executed plans of discovery.

Every practical object of the expedition had indeed failed. There was not only no new Mexico or new Peru, as it was fondly hoped there would be, to serve as the basis of conquest and discovery, but not even a particle of gold or silver was found. Instead of it they had found rough mountain-tracts, or vast deserts of sand, covered with grass, generally without forests and without water, and occupied by tribes devoid of civilization. The valleys susceptible of cultivation constituted but an inconsid-

erable portion of the whole country, and could be made productive only by irrigation. The Indians who occupied these often lived on high castellated pinnacles of sandstone rock, of which they had taken possession, and which they had rudely fortified against the wild roving tribes. They cultivated maize in isolated valleys, far separated from one another by wide deserts. There were some slight traces of a fixed industry and incipient art, but there were few and very detached elements out of which to construct a civil government.

Coronado, when he had reached his head-quarters at Tigouex, turned his thoughts towards a return to New Galicia. This design was not, however, it would seem from Castañada, in accordance with the wishes of the body of his army, who desired to explore farther; but in April, 1643, the army took up its line of march for Mexico. Thus terminated the expedition of Coronado, which was the first to give to Europeans a knowledge of the manners, customs, arts, and character of the Indians of New Mexico.

## CHAPTER VII.

### VOYAGES OF RIBAULT AND LAUDONNIÈRE—MENENDEZ—RETALIATORY EXPEDITION OF DE GOURGUES—FOUNDING OF ST. AUGUSTINE.

UP to this point our information regarding the Indian tribes has been derived in direct sequence from incidental notices of the operations of De Leon and De Ayllon in the south, of Cartier and Roberval in the north, of Verazzani in the region of the central littoral tribes, of Narvaez and De Soto among the Appalachian and the Issati, or Great Western family, and of Cabeça de Vaca and Coronado among the buffalo-hunters and the house-building tribes of the high plains of New Mexico. The year 1542 witnessed the failure of three principal attempts at colonization,—those of Cartier, De Soto, and Coronado.

Twenty years of comparative inaction and quiet succeeded these energetic efforts to found territorial sovereignties in the extensive country possessed by the Indians. In the mean time the Reformation had made such progress in Europe as to engender a new and bitter source of discord between the subjects of the colonizing powers. Xavier had taught the ancient Christian faith to the natives of India, and Las Casas was selected to perform the same service for the benighted and ill-used aborigines of America. Religious instruction was considered to be an essential adjunct of every attempt to explore, conquer, and colonize, an ecclesiastical force always accompanying each expedition, whose duty it was to turn the native tribes from their gross demonology and idolatry to the service of God.

Prominent among the converts in France to the new doctrines promulgated by Luther and Calvin was Admiral Coligny, a man of much influence, one of the nobility, and holding a high rank. The narrow-minded Charles IX., then a mere boy, and his bigoted mother, Catherine de Medicis, were then in power in France. Coligny, being desirous of providing an asylum for his persecuted countrymen professing the Protestant faith, turned his attention to the New World. He first made an experiment in Brazil, which failed through the treachery of Villegagnon, his agent, who renounced his faith. Coligny next directed his thoughts to Florida, which was a part of the region which, in 1524, had been named New France by Verazzani. He received a patent from the king for founding a colony in this quarter, and provided two ships, which were placed under the command of Jean Ribault, a skilful and resolute Huguenot, who set sail from Havre on the 18th of February, 1562. Steering a nearly direct course across the Atlantic, without touching at any of the West India islands, he made the coast of Florida on the last day of April, the voyage, owing to tempestuous weather, having occupied a little over two months. The following day he cast anchor off the mouth of the St. John's River, naming it the river

of May; then, entering it with his boats, he ascertained that there was a good depth of water in the channel.

Ribault took possession of the country in the name of the king, and erected a stone monument which he had brought with him from France for that purpose. Having established a friendly and pleasant intercourse with the natives, after spending a few days with them he re-embarked, and during four weeks continued his voyage along the coast until he arrived at Port Royal, within the present limits of South Carolina. Finding, on exploring it by means of his boats, that the harbor was spacious, the water deep, and the anchorage excellent, he entered it with his largest ships and dropped his anchors. The territory in which he then was had been named Chicora by the natives, as also by the early Spanish adventurers. Magnificent scenery, both land and water, was spread before him in every direction. Delighted with the prospect, he took formal possession of the surrounding territory by erecting an engraved monumental stone bearing the king's arms. Having determined to found a settlement at this place, a suitable spot was selected, which is supposed to have been near to or on the site of the present town of Beaufort, where he erected a fortification, called, in honor of the king, Fort Charles. Leaving thirty men, well provided with arms, tools, and supplies, to begin operations, he placed them under the command of Albert de Peirria, and then returned to France. Being a strictly conscientious man, Ribault did not follow the example of the Spanish mariners and abduct the natives of the country that he might exhibit them in Europe as specimens of the Indian race.

The Chicora Indians, having naturally very gentle manners, very kindly supplied the colonists with maize, besides rendering them other services. In these offices of kindness the local chief, Andasta, took a prominent part, and was seconded by other chiefs at more southerly points, who were respectively entitled Ouade, Couexes, Maccua, Outina, Satouriona, Wosta, Oleteraca, Timagoon, and Potanon, the orthographical elements of which names do not coincide with the Muscogee, Cherokee, or any known member of the Floridian stock.

The colonists themselves, however, being idle and factious, planted nothing, and had no idea of directing their attention to the real business before them. Peirria, having no proper conception of the authority delegated to him, became an inflated tyrant, hanged one of the men as a measure of discipline, and performed other arbitrary acts. Eventually the colonists rebelled against his authority and put him to death, after which, having appointed another leader in his stead, they determined to build a vessel and return in it to France. This plan was carried out, and the entire party embarked, abandoning the fort. The voyage was long and tempestuous, and, the vessel proving unseaworthy, they suffered horribly. Most of them died of starvation and exposure. At length, when near the coast of France, an English vessel hove in sight, and the few survivors were saved.

When Ribault returned to France, after establishing his little colony at Fort Charles, he found the contest between the Catholics and the Reformers raging with greater violence than ever; and Coligny was so deeply involved in this struggle that

he applied to the king in vain for succor for the colony. As soon, however, as the warfare against the Huguenots had subsided, three ships were fitted out to convey assistance to the colony in Chicora, and placed under the orders of René de Laudonnière, who, in addition to the ordinary outfit of men and supplies, was provided with an artist, who had orders to sketch the features of the natives, as also their costumes and other curiosities.<sup>1</sup>

Laudonnière sailed from Havre on the 22d of April, 1564, one year and nine months subsequent to the first departure of Ribault from the same port. Intelligence of the sad fate of those left at Fort Charles had probably been received in France prior to this time, although the fact is not distinctly stated. At all events, Laudonnière did not proceed to Fort Charles, but on the 25th of June cast anchor off the mouth of the river of May (St. John's), in Florida. On entering the river he was received by Satouriona and his tribe, who shouted in French *ami, ami*. By them he was guided to the monument of possession erected by Ribault, which he found crowned with garlands and surrounded by little baskets of maize. There was, indeed, a cordiality in the reception of the French by these aborigines, which, whatever may have occasioned it, has always marked the intercourse of the French with the Indians from that day to the present, and which has not been manifested by them towards any other nation.

Laudonnière was entranced, not only with the picturesque beauty of the country, but also with its fertility, and its fragrant flowers and luxuriant vegetation. Quitting the St. John's, he sailed northwardly along the coast until he entered a river, which he named the Somme, where he was also received in a friendly manner by the Indians. A few days subsequently he returned again to the St. John's, and built a fort on its southern bank, about three leagues from its mouth, which he named Caroline, in honor of Charles IX. The events connected with the history of this fort—the mutiny, the improvements, the buccaneering and the executions, the visit to the friendly chief Andasta at Port Royal, Indian negotiations, fights, and other occurrences—would impart a deep interest to this portion of the narrative, but can only be thus incidentally noticed. Their result was the transmission of false reports to France, in consequence of which Laudonnière was recalled.

#### SECOND VISIT OF RIBAUT TO FLORIDA—TREACHEROUS MASSACRE OF HIMSELF AND HIS MEN.

The intestine dissensions in France having been in a measure allayed, Admiral Coligny renewed his representations to the king in favor of his plan of colonization in Florida. Early in January, 1565, authority was granted him to equip seven vessels for another voyage thither, with all possible despatch. This squadron was placed under the command of Ribault, who found no difficulty in procuring as many vol-

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<sup>1</sup> The artist was Le Moyne, to whom we are indebted for the first attempts to delineate the ancient Indians of this part of America.

unteers as he deemed necessary for the service, some of whom carried with them their wives and children. Whatever reports may have reached France concerning the untoward events at Fort Charles, they do not appear to have dampened the energy with which this expedition was equipped. Ribault sailed from Dieppe on the 27th of May, and arrived at the river St. John's, Florida, on the 28th of August. Ascending the river to Fort Caroline, he was welcomed by Laudonnière, whose conduct he approved. A few days subsequently, September 4, a Spanish squadron, under the command of Pedro Menendez de Aviles, a narrow-minded and cruel bigot, arrived at the same place with a comparatively large force of men, and more substantial and larger vessels. He held a commission from Philip II. to make discoveries and found a colony, and had explicit instructions to expel the Huguenots and Lutherans who had fled from France under the patronage of Coligny.

On the 8th of September, Menendez landed a few leagues south of the St. John's, at a point where laborers had been set to work a day or two previous to erect a fortification, which he named St. Augustine. This is the oldest town in the United States by more than forty years. Ribault, having determined to put to sea and attack the squadron, assembled his officers to deliberate on the measure. Objections were made to this plan by Laudonnière, but the majority pronounced in its favor. At this time an Indian chief arrived with the news that the Spaniards were digging trenches and erecting breastworks at the place where they had landed. By attacking their shipping, Ribault thought he could frustrate their design. Flushed with this idea, he took nearly all the available force of the fort and set sail to encounter the enemy. At first calms prevented the contest, and subsequently a storm drove the French out to sea. Menendez, learning the defenceless condition of Fort Caroline, determined to march against it with five hundred men. Heavy rains and intervening marshes protracted his movements, but after three days' march across the country under the direction of Indian guides his army reached the environs of the fort. The Spaniards advanced cautiously, and were not seen until they were close to the fort, which, taking advantage of some breaches, they at once assaulted. The contest was short: the works were soon stormed, and the survivors were nearly all immediately put to the sword, bigoted zeal adding its incitement to the perpetration of these horrors. It is stated that on the 20th of September, when it was attacked, Fort Caroline had but eighty-six persons within its walls, a part of whom were women and children. Only nine or ten had ever borne arms, and but seventeen soldiers were fit for service, including some who were still confined from the effects of wounds received in a battle with the Indians. The fort itself was found to be in a dilapidated state, Laudonnière having used the timber of one angle to build a vessel when he had determined to abandon it. Laudonnière escaped into the woods, together with some others. Several of the prisoners were taken to a tree standing near the fort, and were all hanged on its limbs. The following inscription was then affixed to the trunk: "Not as Frenchmen, but as Lutherans."

Meantime, the squadron of Ribault was wrecked on the Florida coast, without, however, the loss of any lives. The commander, after organizing his force, began

his march back to Fort Caroline, following the coast-line. Starvation soon reduced the men to mere skeletons. At length, on the banks of a stream, they were confronted by Menendez with superior forces. A parley, negotiations, and a surrender ensued, the French delivering up their arms. They were then conveyed across the river in squads, and as soon as each squad reached the other side their hands were tied behind their backs, after which they were marched off to a distance and shot. When Ribault at last discovered the treachery, he was almost immediately deprived of life by a Spanish soldier, who stabbed him with a poniard; and Ortez, his junior in command, shared the same fate.

Intelligence of the horrid treachery of the Spaniards was received in France with one universal burst of indignation. The relatives of the persons massacred in Florida petitioned the king for redress, alleging that the colonists had gone thither by his authority, and that consequently it was his crown that had been insulted. The nation demanded that the King of Spain should be required to make amends for the atrocities of his subjects. But Charles IX. cared no more for these events than did Philip II. Protestantism being a heresy loathed by both monarchs, nothing was done. The blood of Ribault and of his nine hundred followers vainly appealed to the French government for vengeance.

At length the matter was taken in hand by the Chevalier Dominique de Gourgues, a Gascon gentleman, descended from an ancient family. He possessed an enviable reputation for courage and character, and stood high in public estimation for his military services both in France and in foreign countries. His success and skill in naval affairs were also of a high order.

At his own cost Gourgues equipped three vessels of moderate tonnage, adapted to the navigation of small rivers and shallow bays. In calling for volunteers, both soldiers and sailors, he told no one his precise object, the prestige of his name being sufficient. He mustered one hundred soldiers having fire-arms (among whom were several gentlemen), and eighty mariners armed with cross-bows. He carried with him provisions for one year. It was the 22d of August before he left the coast of France. He appeared to meditate a descent on the shores of Africa, which he really visited, but finally, steering across the Atlantic, he made the shores of Brazil, whence he directed his course to Cape San Antonio, the west extremity of Cuba. At this place he called his men together and revealed to them the object of the expedition. He stated the injuries inflicted upon their country, the insult to their king, the gross violation of all recognized laws of war, and, above all, the outrage upon humanity. Having aroused their feelings and sense of justice, he sailed into the river Somme, or St. Mary's, now a part of the boundary between Florida and Georgia.

Nearly a year had elapsed in the performance of the long and circuitous voyage, and in the delays incident to the landings which had been made. Spring had again clothed the Florida coasts in verdure. It was early in the month of April when Gourgues entered the river St. Mary's. The Indians were assembled in considerable numbers, and evinced signs of hostility until they ascertained that the new-comers were French. The chief, Satouriona, was there to welcome him, and restored to him

a young Frenchman (Pierre Delre), who had escaped to the Indians after the massacre of the garrison of Fort Caroline, and who subsequently became very serviceable to the French as an interpreter. Satouriona soon gave Gourgues to understand that the Indians hated the Spaniards, whose domination was irksome, and at once agreed to aid Gourgues in an attack on the three Spanish forts, then located on the St. John's. The movements of Gourgues were very rapid. Finding the Indians ready to second him, he determined to attack the enemy immediately. In three days the Indians, to the number of three hundred, armed with bows and led by experienced warriors, set out by land for a rendezvous on the St. John's. Gourgues, intending to proceed by water, embarked his men in boats, but, the winds being adverse, when half-way thither he landed and marched across the country. When he arrived at the rendezvous all the Indians were there, eager for the fray.

A conference having been held with the Indian chiefs, they marched forward, and just at nightfall reached the river. It was decided to attack the fort on the south bank at daybreak, the Indians being skilful guides, but it happened that the tide in a creek near the fort was up, making it then too deep to ford. This caused a delay, during the continuance of which they lay concealed in the forest. When the tide flowed out, the allies crossed the creek unobserved, and stormed and carried the fort, sword in hand, retaining but few prisoners.

The feelings of Gourgues and his men were much excited by the capture of a culverin having the arms of Henry IV. engraved on it, which had been mounted in Fort Caroline. Ordering his boats around, he determined immediately to assault the north fort. He embarked his men in military order, but the Indians, too impatient to wait for the return of the boats, plunged into the river and swam across. Seeing so great an array, the garrison, sixty in number, made no show of defence, but fled, with the intention of seeking shelter in another fort, situated three miles above. But they were met by another strong party of French, and, being hemmed in by the Indians in the rear, were completely cut to pieces, with the exception of fifteen men, who were detained that they might be hanged.

Fort Mateo, the strongest of the three works which the Spaniards had erected after the capture of Fort Caroline, was still unharmed. While meditating on the best mode of attack, they were informed by one of the Spanish prisoners, a soldier from Fort Mateo, of the exact height of its walls, to scale which ladders were at once prepared. At this time the Indians discovered a Spaniard in camp in the disguise of an Indian, who proved to be a spy. From him Gourgues learned that the garrison consisted of two hundred and sixty men, that the fort was large, and that it was believed that Gourgues had a force of two thousand men. He instantly determined on his plan of attack, and, after two days spent in preparation, he directed the Indians to conceal themselves in the forest, on both sides of the river, near the fort. He then crossed in boats with his whole force, merely leaving behind him fifteen men as a guard. As soon as his army was seen from the fort, the Spaniards opened their culverins on him, to avoid the effects of which he landed and took possession of an eminence, whence he could overlook the fort and the movements of

its garrison, while his own troops were concealed and protected. He designed taking the work by escalade the following morning, but the Spaniards precipitated matters by making a sally of sixty men. Gourgues ordered an officer and twenty men to get between the fort and the sallying party by a circuitous route, which being accomplished, he marched rapidly forward, directing his forces to reserve their fire for a close contest, and after the first discharge to rush on sword in hand. Many of the foe fell, and though the rest fought bravely they were at length obliged to retreat, but, encountering the force in their rear, every man was slain, no quarter being given.

Seeing the flower of their force thus cut down, the garrison, crediting the exaggerated reports of the French strength, fled across the river, where the Indians lying in ambush fell upon them with overwhelming fury. Such was the skill of the savages in the use of the arrow that one bolt passed through the buckler of a Spanish officer and entered his body, killing him on the spot. The French, having again crossed the river, assaulted the Spaniards in the rear, killing all who escaped the Indians, and thus the entire garrison perished, with the exception of a few reserved for the gallows as a retaliation for the cruelty of the Spaniards after the surrender of Ribault.

Fort Mateo was entered triumphantly, and was found to contain a large quantity of arms, nine culverins, and eighteen casks of powder. The following day the boats were freighted with the artillery, but the magazine was blown up by a secret train left by the enemy, which was unwittingly fired by an Indian while cooking fish.

The work of retribution was not, however, as yet fully completed. Drawing up his men, and the auxiliary Indians who had taken so active a part in the short campaign, and placing all the Spanish prisoners whom he had taken in the centre, Gourgues addressed the latter, recounting to them the atrocities committed by Menendez, and finished by condemning them to immediate execution in the same manner as that adopted by the Spaniards. They were then taken to the same tree which had served the nefarious Menendez, and upon which the latter had placed the inscription, "Not as Frenchmen, but as Lutherans." The thirty prisoners having been suspended upon its limbs, Gourgues, with a red-hot pointed iron, inscribed a strip of pine board with the words, "Not as Spaniards, but as traitors, robbers, and murderers," and fastened it to the gallows-tree.

Immediately returning with his cavaliers and his native allies to St. Mary's River, where he had left his ships, and having distributed presents to the Indians, who were greatly pleased with his martial exploits, Gourgues, on the 3d of May, set sail for France, arriving at the port of Rochelle on the 6th of June, after a very prosperous voyage.

## PERIOD II.

### EARLY EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS.

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#### CHAPTER I.

DISCOVERY OF VIRGINIA—EFFORTS FOR ITS COLONIZATION—SIR WALTER RALEIGH—SIR RICHARD GREENVILLE—SETTLEMENT ON ROANOKE ISLAND ABANDONED—THE ABORIGINES—JAMESTOWN SETTLED—CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH—OPECHANCANOUGH—MASSACRE OF THE COLONISTS—INDIAN POPULATION.

THE skill and daring of John and Sebastian Cabot gave to England, in 1497, such possessory right to the North American continent as priority of discovery could confer, but for nearly a century she made no attempt to enforce it. The first energetic effort in this direction was made by Sir Walter Raleigh, than whom no man living during the reign of Elizabeth acquired greater celebrity for military exploits, naval skill, enthusiastic pursuit of transatlantic discoveries, and the furtherance of colonization. He was equally renowned for his wit, learning, eloquence, and accomplishments. Descended from an old family in Devonshire, he was educated at Oxford, and after serving with distinguished credit in France under Coligny and Condé, in the Netherlands under the Prince of Orange, and in Ireland against the rebels, he was received at Elizabeth's court with marked favor. The world is indebted to Raleigh for the discovery of Virginia. His plans for promoting colonization on the Atlantic coast were early developed, and he was, beyond all others, a zealous as well as steadfast advocate of the policy of extending the power and civilization of England to the wild shores of America. He commanded an expedition which explored Guiana, in South America, and ascended the Orinoco to the distance of four hundred miles from its mouth. Subsequently he wrote an account of the countries visited by him, which is celebrated for its truthful, glowing, and graphic descriptions. Having been one of the originators of the expedition of Sir Humphrey Gilbert (his half-brother) to Newfoundland, when that attempt to found a colony failed, he obtained letters patent from Elizabeth authorizing him to renew the effort in a more southerly latitude on the Atlantic. These letters were dated on the 25th of March, 1584, nearly six years after the failure of Gilbert's attempt. The authority to make discoveries and found a colony was plenary, but the government did not undertake to defray any part of the cost. It was, strictly speaking, a private or associate adventure,



LANDING IN VIRGINIA, 1584

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the crown conferring upon the projectors the proprietorship of the country discovered, merely stipulating for the usual acknowledgment of sovereignty by the surrender of one-fifth of the proceeds of all mines. Some grants of licenses on wines, and other emoluments, were at the same period bestowed upon Raleigh to enable him to liquidate the charges of his equipment; in addition to which, he associated with him other persons possessing means and influence, among whom were included blood-relations. Two vessels were provided and placed under the respective commands of Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlow, the latter of whom had served under Raleigh in Ireland as an officer of the land-forces. On the 27th of April the ships sailed out of the Thames, and, following the usual circuitous route, *via* the Canaries and the West Indies, arrived off the coast of Florida on the 2d of July. The Virginia coasts were occupied by clans of Algonkins of the Powhatan type. The natives were too feeble to inspire terror, clothed in deer-skins, having for weapons bows and arrows, hatchets of stone, and wooden swords, and shields made of bark and sticks woven together. The greatest chief in the country could not muster more than seven hundred or eight hundred fighting-men. Their wars were carried on by sudden surprises at daybreak or by moonlight, ambushes, and other subtle devices. Captain Smith once met a party of seven hundred, and so great was the superiority conferred on the English by their fire-arms that with fifteen men he was able to withstand them all. Their largest town contained but thirty houses, with walls of bark, or of upright poles bent over and fastened at the top. Each clan obeyed the authority of its own chief, but all were associated in a general confederacy, which was ruled by Powhatan, whose council-fire and residence were located on the James River. Those who lived on the coasts relied on fish as one of the means of their subsistence. The hunting-grounds extended west to the general line of the falls of the Virginia rivers, where people of a diverse stock as well as language supervened, extending to the Alleghanies. Whatever occurrence of moment happened on the borders, as the appearance of enemies or strangers, was immediately communicated to the central administration. In this way a sort of inchoate republic was governed.

Amidas and Barlow approached a low shore covered with trees and fringed with an outer line of islands and islets. Having cast anchor, Barlow landed in his yawl at the island of Wococon, where he admired the handsome trees, indigenous fruits, and vigorous vegetation. But no Indians appeared until the third day, when three of the natives approached in a canoe, and a friendly intercourse ensued. The following day the ships were visited by several canoes, in one of which was Granganameo, Powhatan's brother. His attendants spread a mat on the ground, upon which he fearlessly seated himself, and evinced perfect self-possession, though the Englishmen were completely armed. He made gesticulations of friendship by stroking his head and breast with his hand and repeating this ceremony on his visitors.<sup>1</sup> He then

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<sup>1</sup> This custom of passing the hand over the face and breast was noticed by Cabeça de Vaca in tribes west of Arkansas about 1536. Jacques Cartier also found this custom, in 1534, in the tribes who visited his ships in the St. Lawrence.

arose and addressed them in a "long speech," all his attendants standing in silence. Presents were now laid before him, and before four other persons who appeared to be officials, which at the close of the interview he directed to be taken away as all belonging to himself. At this interview friendly salutations were exchanged. The Indians are described as "a proper well-proportioned people, very civil in their manners and behavior." After this interview, reciprocal confidence being established, a traffic was commenced.

Amidas then proceeded to enter Pamlico Sound, and the following day, at evening, anchored near the island of Roanoke, which he estimated to be seven leagues distant from Occoquan, the first place of landing.

At Roanoke the English found a small village, comprising nine houses, one of which was occupied by the family of Granganameo. The chief being absent, his wife received Amidas with courtesy and hospitality. She was an energetic woman, and ordered their boat to be drawn ashore and the oars to be carried up to the village to guard them from thieves. The feet of the English having been washed in warm water, she then invited them to partake of hominy, boiled venison, and roasted fish, with a dessert of "melons and other vegetables."

Fearing treachery, Amidas embarked in his boat at evening, and, pushing it out into the sound, anchored off the village, intending thus to pass the night. The wife of Granganameo, divining the reason for this precaution, and evidently regretting his mistrust, sent down the evening meal in pots to the shore. She also ordered mats to be carried to the boat to shelter the English from the night dews, and directed several men and thirty women to remain there all night as a guard.

This constituted the extreme limit of their discoveries. Returning to their anchorage, the explorers spent two months and a half on the coast, when, having finished their traffic, they set sail for England about the middle of September, carrying with them two natives, called Manteo and Wasechoe. The safe return of the ships, and the narration of the discoveries made, created a strong sensation, and Elizabeth was so much pleased with the description of the country, and with the prospect of extending her sovereignty which it presented, that she named it Virginia, in allusion to her own state of single-blessedness.

The desire to found colonies was effectually aroused in England by the results of this discovery, which was the germ of the British colonial establishments. The pioneer ships had scarcely returned from Virginia, when a second voyage was resolved on. Sir Richard Greenville, who had been one of the promoters of the first effort, originated this second adventure, and determined to lead it. For this enterprise seven ships were equipped in the harbor of Plymouth and fully provided with all necessary supplies. Raleigh was deeply interested in this new effort, and to render it successful nothing was omitted which at that era was deemed essential. The presence of Manteo and his companion had excited a lively interest in the public mind respecting the aborigines, and, in order to acquire correct ideas of their features, manners, and customs, Raleigh sent out Mr. With, or Wyth, a skilful writer. A gentleman of his household, Thomas Harriot, a noted mathematician and scholar,

also accompanied the expedition for the purpose of describing the Indian character. Thomas Cavendish, who afterwards circumnavigated the globe, was one of the adventurers. Manteo returned to Virginia as guide and interpreter.

The ships sailed from Plymouth on the 9th of April, carrying one hundred and eight colonists, and, after crossing the Atlantic, on the 26th of June anchored off the island of Occoquan. At this time the principal local ruler on the coast was Wingina, who resided on the island of Roanoke. To him a deputation was immediately despatched, under the guidance of Manteo, who is uniformly praised for his fidelity.

Other parties were sent off in different directions to acquire a knowledge of the geography and make inquiry concerning the productions of the country. Sir Richard himself crossed to the mainland and explored the villages on the Chowan River, where he involved himself and attendants in hostilities with the natives. The manner in which this difficulty arose was as follows. The Indians had stolen a silver cup from his mess-furniture, in revenge for which, after his return to the island of Occoquan, he burned their village and destroyed their corn. After this impolitic and cruel act, he suddenly determined to return to England. He left a colony of one hundred and eight persons on the island of Occoquan, over whom he appointed Mr. Ralph Lane governor. On his route home he visited the West Indies, in the expectation of encountering Spanish vessels, and, having captured a large ship, returned with his prize to Plymouth, which he reached on the 18th of September, after an absence of a little more than six months.

Sir Richard Greenville's exploratory trip, and his severity towards the Indians, seconded as it was by the aggressive policy pursued by his successors, had the effect of keeping the settlers in a state of confusion and continual dread of the aborigines. It is not to be wondered at that the colonists soon found that they were regarded by the Indians with suspicion and mistrust. Finesse was retaliated by finesse, deception by deception. About the same time Granganameo, their best friend, died, and his death was followed by that of his aged father, Ensenore. A general state of unfriendly feeling at this time existed towards the English. The colonists planted nothing, and with great reluctance the Indians partly supplied them with corn, game, and fish, which at length they withheld altogether. The result of this non-intercourse policy was that parties of the colonists were necessitated to forage for supplies on the islands, and some on the mainland. Finally they were compelled to subsist on roots and shell-fish, until, at their own request, they were carried back to England in the fleet of Sir Francis Drake.

Of the customs, rites, creed, and opinions of the Indians, Mr. Harriot gives the following account: "They believe in one God, who is self-existent and eternal, and the creator of the world. After this he created an order of inferior gods to carry out his government. That then the sun, moon, and stars were created as instruments of the secondary gods. The waters were then made, becoming the vital principle of all creatures. He next created a woman, who, by the congress of one of the gods, brought forth children, and thence mankind had their beginnings. They thought the gods were all of human shape, and worshipped them, by their images, dancing,

singing, and praying, with offerings. They believed in the immortality of the soul, which was destined to future happiness, or to inhabit *Popagussa*, a pit or place of torment, where the sun sets; and this doctrine they based on the assertion of persons who had returned after death." These doctrines are said to have had much weight with the common Indians, but to have made but little impression on their Weroances, or rulers, and priests. How accurately they were reported, and how much they were colored by Christian predilections, may be judged of from the known repugnance of the native sages to give information on such points, from their soon being on ill terms or at open war with the English, and from the probability that some of the more striking characteristics of this alleged Indian creed had been derived from traditions related by Manteo and Granganameo, the first a baptized convert, and the latter a politic friend of the English and an admirer of their manners.

Wingina himself would often be at prayers with the English, it having been their practice to read the service publicly in the presence of the Indians. But it was evident that they deemed the English great necromancers, possessing almost unlimited influence with the gods, firmly believing that they could inflict diseases, insure death, and impart vigor to the growth of or destroy their corn-crops. The use of letters, the burning-glass, mathematical instruments, clocks, and guns seemed to them the work of gods rather than of men, and the terrors of the latter they could neither comprehend nor resist. They even attributed every new sickness which appeared among them to wounds from unseen bullets discharged by invisible agents in the air around them. The Bible, which was read by the English, the Indians considered to be a talisman, whose virtues resided in the material of the book, and not in its spiritual teachings. They deemed it a favor to be allowed to handle, hug, and kiss it, passing it over their faces, and rubbing it over their breasts.

Mr. Harriot also observed that they had great veneration for a certain plant,—a spontaneous growth of the country,—which they called *uppowoc*, but which was even then better known by the name of tobacco. The leaves of this, cured and dried, they smoked in earthen tubes, drawing up the smoke by inhalation. The fumes of this plant were offered to their gods with ceremonial rites and extravagant genuflections. They threw its dust on nets to consecrate them for use, and into the air as a thanksgiving for dangers past. But its most sacred use was casting it into fires kindled for sacrifice, to produce a kind of incense to heaven.

Harriot carefully examined the productions of the country, especially those that would furnish commodities for commerce. The culture of maize, and its extraordinary productiveness, attracted his particular attention, and he found the tuberous roots of the potato, when boiled, to be excellent food. The credit of introducing this important factor in the world's progress into Europe seems to belong to Sir Francis Drake, who was also the first to discover gold in California.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> A statue of Sir Francis Drake, thus inscribed, "The Introducer of the Potato into Europe, 1586," was noticed by the writer at Offenburg, Germany, a few years since. It is singular that it has been left for an obscure German town to recognize thus publicly an event which has exerted so vast an influence upon social economy.—F. S. D.

The early intercourse of the English with the Virginia tribes was of an entirely friendly character. The interests of both parties were subserved. The Indians were glad to exchange their commodities for European fabrics, of which they stood in need, while this new branch of commerce promised to be very remunerative to the adventurers. The friendship of Powhatan's brother, Granganameo, who resided on the island of Roanoke, was secured by the first voyagers, and, through the means of Manteo and Wasechoe, who accompanied the first ships on their return to England, considerable advance was made in the study of the habits and tribal relations of the Indians, and of the geography of their country. Manteo, having made some progress in English, returned from England with the colonists, and was of great service to them as an interpreter, guide, and adviser. Granganameo, who had welcomed Amidas, continued to be friendly, but this friendship was incited by a motive which did not at first appear. He expected the English to aid him against Wingina, his elder brother, or half-brother,—a powerful and ambitious sachem,—who, unfortunately for the English, appears not to have yielded to the sway of Powhatan, and against whom he was consequently at war. In a short time the colonists began to regard Wingina with great suspicion. They watched his motions, and in the end accused him of concocting a plot to exterminate them. Amidas had been abundantly supplied by Granganameo with venison and fish, and he had been received by his wife at Roanoke during the absence of the chief with great attention and hospitality; but it appeared that he did not consider the island to be a safe permanent residence, for on a subsequent voyage Sir Richard Greenville found him located at Cape Hatteras. One of the first acts of Sir Richard on reaching Occoquan was to send to the island of Roanoke and announce his arrival to Wingina, who is styled "the king." Manteo kept up friendly relations with both chieftains. He accompanied an agent to visit the tribes on the mainland, and proved himself a very trustworthy person. Sir Richard was so much pleased with this reconnoissance that, accompanied by a select body of men, he repeated the visit to the mainland, and discovered several Indian towns. During this excursion occurred the loss of the silver cup, already mentioned, in revenge for which he burned an Indian town and destroyed the corn-fields of its inhabitants.

After committing this imprudent action, he with some precipitancy returned to England, consigning the government of the colony to Mr. Ralph Lane, and the charge of the ships to Captain Amidas. Mr. Thomas Harriot was directed to continue his observations on the manners and customs of the Indians. Lane immediately removed the colony to Roanoke, at the entrance to Albemarle Sound, and, employing persons to make a thorough survey of the coast, made himself acquainted with the geography and resources of the country. These researches extended southwardly eighty leagues to the Neuse River, and northwardly to the territory of the Chesapeake, an Indian tribe located on a stream named by the English Elizabeth River.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The name Chesapeake Bay is stated by Stith to be derived from this tribe. Others have asserted that in the Indian language it meant "the mother of waters." The word is Algonkin, and appears to be a com-

These explorations were extended towards the northwest, up the Albemarle Sound and Chowan River, a distance of one hundred and thirty miles. Lane personally directed the exploring party, and was accompanied by Manteo. The Chowan is formed by the junction of the Meherrin and Nottoway. At this point Lane entered the country of the Chowanocks.<sup>1</sup> The ruling chief, a lame man, named Menatonon, possessing an excellent understanding, told Mr. Lane a notable story of a copper-mine and a pearl-fishery, the latter of which he located on the coast. He intermingled his narrative with a strange tale that the head of the Maratuc, now called Roanoke River, sprang out of a rock which was so close to the sea that when high winds prevailed the "foam from the waves was driven over into the spring." Presuming this sea to be an arm of the Gulf of Mexico, or the South Sea (Pacific), Lane undertook a voyage to find it. Every hardship was endured while prosecuting this hazardous undertaking with the hope of making golden discoveries. At last the explorers were compelled to subsist on a pint of corn per day, and when this was exhausted they boiled two mastiff dogs with sassafras-leaves. After some days spent in a fruitless search, the adventurers were glad to return to their quarters at Roanoke.

At this time Granganameo died. He had been the tried friend of the English, and was at all times seconded in his good offices by his father Ensenore. Their joint influence had been sufficient to restrain Wingina's malice and perfidy. But after Granganameo's death, being afforded a free scope for the pursuit of his machinations, he at once changed his name from Wingina to Pemissapan, and became the inveterate enemy of the Virginia colonists. By his representations he had been instrumental in entailing much suffering and hardship upon Mr. Lane in his explorations of the Chowan River; but when the governor returned, bringing with him the son of Chowanock as a prisoner, and Manteo and others related the bravery and power of endurance of Lane's company, his haughty aspect was changed, and the bravado speeches made during their absence were heard no more. These reports of the capacity of the colonists to sustain themselves seem to have greatly increased the respect entertained by the Indians for the whites, and to have aroused a strong desire to conciliate the favor of the English. A present of pearl was accordingly sent to Mr. Lane from Menatonon, the king of the Chowanocks, and another present from Okisco, the chief of the Weopemcoka, a powerful coast-tribe. These friendly demonstrations had such an effect upon Wingina that he directed weirs to be constructed for the supply of the colonists with fish, and caused them to be taught how to plant

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bination of the terms *cheeg*, ashore, and *abeeg*, waters, which compound is at this day familiarly used by these tribes to signify "along shore;" but the evident meaning of the name in its relation to the bay was intended to convey the idea of long, or long-stretching, or magnificent bay. It is probable that the tribe of the Chesapeake received their name from their position at the foot of the bay.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Jefferson classifies these Indians with the Iroquois. The name is Algonkin, however, and denotes that (contrary to Cusie, vol. v. p. 682) the Iroquois had immigrated from the south. The meaning is nearly the same as that of Chowan (southerners). The Chowans were a well-known Algonkin tribe, natives of the south.

their fields of corn. But this friendship was speedily interrupted by the death of the venerable and wise chief, Ensenore. The two best friends of the English being now dead, Wingina, under pretence of celebrating his father's funeral, invited a large number of Indians to assemble, with the intention of annihilating the colony at one blow. The plot was revealed by Skico, the son of Menatonon, who had been taken prisoner by the expedition to the head of the Chowan River.

The colonists immediately seized all the Indian canoes on the island, thinking thus to entangle the Indians in their own toils. But the latter took the alarm, and, after a skirmish in which five or six of their number were slain, made good their escape to the forest. Both parties now maintained the closest watch over each other's movements, until, after much manœuvring, Wingina was at length entrapped and slain, together with eight of his principal warriors.

Although the death of Wingina seemed to have prepared the way for a more peaceful occupation of the country, yet a general scarcity of food, combined with a singular concurrence of untoward events, finally led to the abandonment of the island. The stringency of affairs at Roanoke had, despite the efforts of industrious individuals, been greatly increased by the withdrawal and hostility of the Indians, who had been chiefly relied upon for supplies of food. To relieve the colony, Captain Stafford, a prominent and energetic man, was despatched with nineteen men to the friendly Indian village of Croatan, on Cape Lookout, with the twofold purpose of providing subsistence and of keeping a watch for ships expected with relief from England. They had not been there more than seven days when twenty-three sail of ships made their appearance. This fleet was commanded by Sir Francis Drake, who was returning from an expedition against the Spaniards in the West Indies and on the Spanish main. He had taken Carthagea, plundered the capital of Hispaniola, and burnt the towns of St. Anthony and St. Helena on the Florida coast. Having received orders to succor the Virginia colony, he offered them a ship of seventy tons' burden, one hundred men, and four months' provisions, as well as four smaller vessels. But these vessels were all driven to sea in a storm. Drake then tendered them a ship of one hundred and twenty tons, but unfortunately it could not be navigated into the harbor of Roanoke. Under these circumstances, and in view of their having suffered much misery, and their dangerous position, the colonists, after some discussion, determined to solicit Sir Francis to convey them to England in his fleet. This favor was granted, and they arrived at Portsmouth in July, 1586. On this trip Governor Lane carried the first tobacco-plant from Virginia to England. Drake was not more than a few days' sail from Roanoke on his homeward passage, when a ship of one hundred tons' burden arrived from England with the expected supplies. The commander, having made search for the colonists in vain, returned home with his vessel. About a fortnight after the departure of the latter ship, Sir Richard Greenville arrived with three ships and ample supplies. Receiving no intelligence of the colony, he landed fifty men on the island of Roanoke, furnished them with provisions for two years, and then returned. Of these successive arrivals and departures the Indians remained silent spectators, but they could not fail to be

impressed with the idea that a nation which could furnish such resources was not only affluent but also in earnest.

During the month of July of the following year (1587) three ships arrived which had been sent out by Raleigh, under the command of Governor John White, with the design of reinforcing the colony and permanently establishing it as the foundation of an agricultural State. Making Cape Hatteras, Governor White proceeded to the island of Roanoke to seek for the fifty men, but he found nothing but the skeleton of one man. The buildings were not destroyed, but the fort was dilapidated, and the ground in its vicinity overgrown with weeds. Governor White refitted the houses, resumed the occupancy of the spot, and established his government, laying there the foundations of a city called Raleigh. Mr. Howe, one of the newly-appointed council, having wandered into the woods, was shot by one of Wingina's men. Captain Stafford, with twenty men, accompanied by Manteo, who had sailed to England with Drake and again returned, was sent to Croatan to make inquiries as to the fate of the fifty colonists. He was told that the colony had been attacked by three hundred Secotan, Aquascojos, and Dessamopeak Indians, and that after a skirmish, in which but one Englishman was slain, the white men had retreated to their boat and fled to a small island near Hatteras, where they stayed some time, and then departed they knew not whither.

Governor White took immediate steps to renew a good understanding with the Indians, but he found them sullen and revengeful. Determining to evince the national indignation for the loss of the fifty colonists by attacking the Dessamopeaks, who occupied the coast opposite Roanoke, he detailed for this purpose twenty-four men, under Captain Stafford, who, with Manteo for his guide, left the island at twelve o'clock at night. At daybreak they landed on the main shore, beyond the town, and assaulted four Indians sitting at a fire, killing one of them. On examination, these proved to be friendly Croatans, who had come thither to gather their corn, the Dessamopeak Indians having fled, as they then ascertained, after killing Howe.

On the 13th of August, 1587, Manteo, who had, it is believed, made three voyages to England, and had acquitted himself satisfactorily as the Mentor of the colony, was baptized in the Christian faith, receiving, at the request of Sir Walter Raleigh, the title of Lord of Roanoke. Another event signalized this month: the daughter of Governor White, married to Mr. Dare, a member of the council, was, on the 18th, delivered of a female child, which received the name of Virginia, the first child born of English parents on the soil of the United States.

It now became necessary to select a person to visit England and solicit supplies. The Indians being generally hostile, the colonists could not cultivate sufficient ground to sustain themselves. England was at this time convulsed with alarm in expectation of the descent of the Spanish Armada, and it was justly feared that the interests of the distant little colony would be overlooked. White being selected, before leaving the coast he established a colony of one hundred men on an island near Cape Hatteras. Nothing was ever subsequently heard of this party. Whether they perished by the Indian tomahawk or by starvation has never been ascertained.

On arriving in England, White found the nation in such great turmoil that nothing could be done. The company underwent a change, and an abortive attempt was made to send two barques from Bideford in 1588. Renewed efforts were made to succor the colony, but March, 1590, had arrived before relief could be despatched to them. It was the 2d of August when the ships under Governor White reached the latitudes of Croatan and Hatteras. At the latter place a smoke was observed, but, after diligent search where the governor had three years previously left a colony of one hundred men, no traces of them could be found. Cannon were fired, but produced no other response than their own reverberations, and trumpets were sounded in vain. It appeared that the smoke arose from Indian fires hastily or carelessly left. While prosecuting their search, they found the word "Croatan" written on a post, and hence presumed that the Hatteras colony had gone to that place, where friendly Indians lived. No subsequent search developed any further trace of them: their fate had become identified with the mysteries of Indian history. The attempts made to find this colony were, however, of a very puerile character. In the effort first made under Governor White, two boats were despatched with a competent commander, but in passing a bar on the Hatteras coast one of the boats was half filled with water, and the other was upset, the captain and six men being drowned. This accident exercised a depressing influence on the spirits of all concerned, but at length two other boats were fitted out and sent off with nineteen men on the same service. It was by the second expedition that the inscription before mentioned was found, together with the evidences of the hasty abandonment of the place by the colonists. Following the index of this inscription, the commander ordered the ships to weigh anchor and sail for Croatan, on Cape Lookout. While proceeding thither, one of the vessels parted its cable, losing not only the anchor attached, but also another which had in some manner become entangled with it, and before they could drop a third anchor they were in imminent peril of being driven on the strand. Discouraged by these attempts, and influenced by fallacious hopes of profit to be derived from a trip to the West Indies, whence they proposed to return in the spring and resume the search, they bore away for these western islands, an ever-attractive spot to those who coveted the wealth of the Spaniards. But the commander of the ships, after he had finished his cruise in the West Indies, would not again visit the Virginia coast, announcing his intention to return to England, which he did despite all remonstrances. Nothing was ever heard of the colony supposed to have gone to Croatan, and the return of Governor White to England was a virtual abandonment of Virginia, after six years' fruitless toil, to the possession of the aborigines.

During the same year which witnessed the death of Queen Elizabeth and the accession of James I., Raleigh, a true friend of Virginia and of American colonization, was tried for the crime of high treason, and unjustly condemned to death, though his execution did not take place until fifteen years afterwards. In 1590 Virginia had been abandoned; and, although the colonists left at Hatteras were not entirely forgotten, the attempts made to ascertain their fate were feeble, and proved to be altogether futile. The Indian tribes may be supposed to have achieved a triumph in

driving the English from their shores, but the state of discord and anarchy in which they lived, the feeble nature of the ties existing between them as tribes, and their absolute want of any stable government, were not calculated to fit them for successful resistance to the power of a civilized nation. More than twelve years elapsed before the project of establishing a colony on the shores which had been the scene of the former ineffectual struggles for colonial existence was again broached. The most important efforts made by the proprietors of the Virginia company were the voyage of Bartholomew Gosnold, in 1602, in which he discovered Cape Cod, Martha's Vineyard, and the Elizabeth Islands, and that of Captain Pring and Mr. Saltern, in 1603, who followed nearly the same track as that pursued by Gosnold. Two years subsequently, George Weymouth visited a part of the eastern coast, in latitude  $41^{\circ} 20'$ , and it is conjectured from his descriptions that he entered either Narragansett Bay or the Connecticut River. On every side were found tribes of the Algonkin lineage, speaking the same language, and having identical manners and customs. The natives were mild, affable, and fond of traffic, but hostile to white men, and very treacherous. Nothing more conclusively settles the question of their nationality than their language. They obeyed chiefs who were called sagamores, and they had also a higher class of rulers, denominated bashabas.

Captain Gosnold made such favorable reports of the beauty and fertility of the country he had visited, and of its many advantages, that renewed interest was imparted to the subject of colonization. After some years spent in advocating the plan of a colony, Gosnold induced several gentlemen to engage in it, among whom were John Smith, Edward Maria Wingfield, and the Rev. Robert Hunt. A charter was procured from King James, bearing date the 10th of April, 1606, in which Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and Richard Hakluyt were vested with the necessary authority. Three ships were provided, and placed under the command of Christopher Newport, who sailed from England on the 19th of December. After a long and tedious voyage, which was rendered more disagreeable by violent dissensions among those on board, the ships arrived off the coast on the 26th of April, 1607, at the entrance to Chesapeake Bay, the right cape of which was named Henry, and the left Charles.

How the Indian tribes would receive the new colony, then a point of deep interest, was not long involved in doubt, for thirty men who landed on Cape Henry to recreate themselves were attacked by Indians of the Chesapeake tribe, who wounded two of them. This might have been regarded as an indication that the colony was destined to be founded by the aid of the sword; and such literally was its history, notwithstanding the fact that its charter enjoined kindness to the savages, with the use of all proper means for their conversion. After passing the capes of the Chesapeake, the magnificent beauty of the surrounding country, the great fertility of its soil, and its numerous fruits and productions, were found to surpass every anticipation. Stith, a contemporary historian, in speaking of it, says, "Heaven and earth seem never to have agreed better to frame a place for man's accommodation and delightful habitation, were it fully cultivated and inhabited by an industrious

people." The vessels entered the waters of the noble Powhatan River, to which the name of James was given, and the voyagers, after making diligent search for a location for the colony, at length selected a small peninsula on the north shore of the river, about forty miles from the ocean. The town which was here founded, one hundred and nine years after the discovery of the American continent by Cabot, was called Jamestown.

The English were now surrounded by a host of wild men, who implicitly obeyed the behest of their forest monarch. The Indians were the proprietors of a country abounding in game, fish, fowl, and every provision of nature for the sustenance of man, and cultivated a fertile soil, from which they gathered abundant crops of corn. No part of America abounds in more magnificent scenery than may be here found along the rivers, or in the beautiful grouping of mountains, forests, and plains. Powhatan had raised himself to a kind of kingly eminence by his bravery, energy, and wisdom in council. In addition to his claim to the dignity by hereditary right, he derived a title by the conquest of the surrounding tribes, and his position had been greatly strengthened by the practice of polygamy, which surrounded the chief with a numerous kindred, both lineal and collateral. At the time of the settlement of Virginia, Powhatan was about sixty years of age, and, though the era of his personal prowess had passed away, he wielded undiminished sway as the reigning chief, both in his lodge and at the council-fire. His head was then somewhat hoary, and this fact, together with his stature, carriage, and countenance, gave him an air of savage majesty. The confederacy of which he was the ruler comprised thirty tribes, numbering about twenty-four thousand souls. It was estimated that there were five thousand persons then residing within sixty miles of Jamestown, of whom fifteen hundred were warriors. The people of these tribes detested civilization in all its forms, and despised labor, arts, letters, and Christianity. The conduct of Powhatan, as well as that of his stalwart chiefs and followers, presents an instance of that Indian duplicity which conceals hatred under the most mild, docile, dignified, and respectful bearing. It soon, however, became evident that the calmness of the Indians too much resembled a lull of the tempest. The policy of Wingina, on the sandy coast of Albemarle Sound, which developed itself a few years earlier, was the same as that which governed Powhatan. Surrounded by thirty tribes and five thousand warriors, how long could the colonists have reasonably expected to remain unmolested? When the first ship returned to England it left but one hundred white men in Virginia. The dissensions which soon originated among them were aggravated by sickness, improvidence, and the exhaustion of their supply of provisions. The Indians, who at first appeared to be friendly, now assumed a hostile attitude and attacked the town. No more corn being delivered, speedy ruin impended, and had it not been for John Smith, who stepped forward in this emergency, utter destruction to the colony must have resulted.

Captain John Smith was the true founder of Virginia. He was born in Willoughby, Lincolnshire, England, in 1579, and after many adventures, and having acquired a high reputation for courage and sound judgment, embarked, at the age

of twenty-six, for Virginia. Named one of the council, he, with Captain Newport, headed an expedition to discover the source of the James River. He became the real head of the colony, and to his almost unaided efforts the salvation of the infant settlement was owing. September 10, 1608, he was inaugurated president of the colony. Having been severely burned by the explosion of a bag of gunpowder, and feeling the want of surgical skill, and tired also of the struggle with malicious enemies, he returned to England in the autumn of 1609. In subsequent voyages he made important explorations of the New England coast, and spared neither time nor labor to advance the colonization of America. He was of an enthusiastic, determined, and uncompromising spirit, and this made him many enemies. His "Generall Historie of Virginia," and his "True Travels, Adventures, and Observations," are important contributions to the early history of the country. He died in London in 1631.

We do not propose to enter here into a detail of that remarkable instance of heroism displayed by Pocahontas when she offered her life as a ransom for that of the intrepid captive and thus unwittingly placed herself in the position of guardian angel of the colony. The narrative is familiar to all, and history nowhere records a stronger case of spontaneous sympathy elicited under parallel circumstances. But the redemption of the life of Smith was the salvation of the colony, and from this period we may date the exercise of that influence which induced Powhatan to assume at first a neutral position, and then a friendly one. This influence, however, although it enabled the colony to pass through its incipient trials, was soon withdrawn. Pocahontas lived only eight years (1616) after the foundation of Jamestown, and Powhatan but ten (1618). At the age of seventy his mortal remains were laid beside those of his fathers, and nothing remained of the chief who was once the terror of the coast-tribes and the colonists but his name. Properly estimated, Powhatan was not a great man. Bravery, energy, and prudence he evidently possessed, and among the tribes he had enjoyed a high reputation and was obeyed as a prince.

But there was one of his brothers who possessed a more comprehensive mind, more firmness of character, and greater power of intellect, and was equally courageous and active. This was Opechancanough, who captured Smith near the hill-sources of the Chickahominy. Opechancanough was six feet high, had a large frame, and possessed great physical power and activity. He had a head of grand and noble outlines, with a countenance grave, severe, and inflexible. While Powhatan lived, Opechancanough was under his influence, but the former was no sooner dead than he plotted the destruction of the colony. His plans were carefully concealed for several years after the decease of his distinguished brother; nor were they ever revealed until the night preceding the very day on which the massacre took place,—on the 22d of March, 1622. Four years had elapsed after the death of Powhatan before Opechancanough could consummate the plot. Its realization was preceded by a striking incident. Among the warriors who had attracted the notice of their brethren was Nemattanow, who deemed himself invulnerable. He had been engaged in many battles, but, having escaped without a wound, his vanity was much inflated, and the Indians regarded him as a person who could not be killed. Owing to some pecu-

liarity of his head-dress, he was known as Jack of the Feather. This man called on a trader named Morgan, and, coveting some of the goods belonging to the latter, requested his company to a place where he stated that a good traffic could be conducted. While journeying together through the woods, the Indian murdered Morgan, and within a few days thereafter he reappeared at Morgan's store, wearing the cap of the deceased. Two stout and fearless lads who had charge of the store asking him for tidings of their master, Jack replied that he was dead. Thereupon they seized the Indian, with the intention of conveying him before a magistrate, but the captive made such resistance after being placed in the boat which was used as the means of conveyance that the boys shot him. He was not immediately killed, but, knowing the close of his career to be near at hand, he begged they would not tell his tribesmen that he had been killed by an English bullet, and desired them to conceal his body by interring it in an English burial-ground.

Opechancanough affected to be much grieved at the death of this man, but he was really gratified that he was out of the way, and made use of the circumstance as a cloak to cover his own deception. He had previously attempted to convene a large assemblage of Indians under the pretence of doing honor to the remains of Powhatan; but his design had been frustrated. In order the more effectually to accomplish his object, he resolved to enforce strict secrecy among his followers, and to make no manifestation of hostility until the time chosen for a general attack. He counselled the Indians in every part of the country to fly to arms on an appointed day and at the same hour, when they were to spare no one with an English face, whether man, woman, or child. At the time designated (March 22, 1622) the Indians suddenly rose, and perpetrated the most cruel and sanguinary massacre. Three hundred and forty-seven men, women, and children, scattered through distant villages extending one hundred and forty miles on both sides of the river, fell during one morning, and six of the colonial council were numbered with the slain. One of the first victims was Mr. George Thorp, the benefactor, teacher, counsellor, and friend of the natives. He had left England with the hope of effecting their conversion to Christianity, and had on all occasions been their most kind, undeviating friend. He had built a house for the chief, and was about to found a college for the instruction of Indian youth. The slaughter would have been still greater had not an Indian convert, named Chanco, chanced to sleep the previous night with a friend, and revealed to him the plot, by which incident the people of Jamestown and its environs, being immediately apprised of it, were enabled to take the necessary precautions for their own security, and thus the larger part of the colony was saved.

A war of extermination ensued. In July of the following year the inhabitants of several settlements, in parties, fell upon the neighboring tribes, and a law of the General Assembly commanded that in July, 1624, the attack should be repeated. Six years later the colonial statutes insisted that no peace should be concluded with the Indians, a law that remained in force till a treaty was made during the administration of Harvey. One more attempt at a general massacre occurred on the 18th of April, 1644, when three hundred victims fell. Prompt measures for security

were taken by the English, and the aged Opechancanough was made a prisoner, and died in captivity of wounds inflicted by a brutal soldier. A border warfare was finally ended in October, 1646, by submission and a cession of lands by Necotowanee, his successor, and the original owners of the soil gradually receded from the settlements, leaving in the names of the rivers and mountains the only remaining memorials of their former existence.

The earliest accounts of the Indian population begin in conjecture and uncertainty. Mr. Jefferson informs us that when the first effectual settlement of Virginia was made, in 1607, the littoral and forest regions between the Potomac and James Rivers, extending to the mountains, contained upwards of forty different tribes, including the Monacans or upper tribes.<sup>1</sup> He represents the territories lying south of the Potomac, comprehending the Powhatan confederacy, as containing about eight thousand inhabitants, of whom three in ten were warriors. There were probably about two thousand four hundred fighting-men. It appears that when the Virginia Legislature turned its attention to the number of the Indian tribes within its bounds, in 1669, they were reduced to five hundred and eighteen warriors, or two thousand six hundred persons, denoting a decline of over two-thirds of the entire population in sixty-two years. Regarding the forty coast and midland tribes, nothing further was ever published in an official form, and they seem to have reached the lowest point of their depression at the date of Mr. Jefferson's Notes, in 1781.<sup>2</sup> The account he gives of the Virginia tribes is the most authentic extant. "Very little can now be discovered of the subsequent history of these tribes severally. The Chickahomones removed, about the year 1661, to Mattaponi River. Their chief, with one from each of the Pamunkies and Mattaponies, attended the treaty of Albany, in 1685. This seems to have been the last chapter in their history. They retained, however, their separate name so late as 1705, and were at length blended with the Pamunkies and Mattaponies, and exist at present only under their names. There remain of the Mattaponies three or four men only, and they have more negro than Indian blood in them. They have lost their language, have reduced themselves by voluntary sales to

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<sup>1</sup> These tribes were of Iroquois lineage. They were located entirely above the falls of the leading Virginia rivers. Their language was so diverse from the Powhatan dialects, which were of the Algonkin group, that not a word could be understood without interpreters. They were called also Tuscaroras in the early period of Virginia. Mr. Jefferson reveals the fact (Notes, p. 155) that the Eries, called by him Erigas, who had formerly occupied the Ohio Valley (and were then by inference in Virginia and North Carolina, east of the Alleghanies), were of kindred lineage, and had belonged to the stock of the Five Nations, or, as they were called by the Virginia Indians, *Massawomack*.

<sup>2</sup> Verbal information on which we may rely describes the existence of a remnant of the Accomacs of Virginia in the county of Northampton. Of their numbers and condition nothing is known. It is also stated that there are a few descendants of the Nottoways residing in that State in amalgamation with the African race. Hon. Henry A. Wise, of Virginia, informed Mr. Schoolcraft that the Gungaskins, a part of the Accomac tribe, had their lands in common as late as 1812. The principal seat of the Accomac tribe was the upper part of Accomac,—the Gungaskins living near Eastville, in Northampton County. In 1812 an act was passed dividing their lands, which were held by them till the Nat Turner insurrection, say 1833, when they were treated as free negroes and driven off.

about fifty acres of land, which lie on the river of their own name, and have from time to time been joining the Pamunkies, from whom they are distant but ten miles. The Pamunkies are reduced to about ten or twelve men, tolerably pure from mixture with other colors. The older ones among them preserve their language in a small degree, which are the last vestiges on earth, so far as we know, of the Powhatan language. They have about three hundred acres of very fertile land on Pamunky River, so encompassed by water that a gate shuts in the whole. Of the Nottoways<sup>1</sup> not a male is left. A few women constitute the remains of that tribe. They are seated on Southampton River, on very fertile land. At a very early period certain lands were marked out and appropriated to these tribes, and were kept from encroachment by the authority of the laws. They have usually had trustees appointed, whose duty it was to watch over their interests and guard them from insult and injury." It has been the generous design of Virginia's statesmen and legislators to stay the decline of a people who were hastening to extinction by reason of their contact with a civilization to which they as a race seem very ill adapted. It was the littoral tribes of that State which in early days suffered most severely from contact with Europeans. The upper tribes, who were of Iroquois lineage, were less exposed to deteriorating influences. "The Monacans and their friends," says Jefferson, "better known latterly as Tuscaroras, were probably connected with the Massawomacks, or Five Nations. For though we are told their languages were so different that the intervention of interpreters was necessary between them, yet do we also learn that the Erigas, a nation formerly inhabiting on the Ohio, were of the same original stock with the Five Nations, and that they partook also of the Tuscarora language. Their dialects might by long separation have become so unlike as to be unintelligible to one another. We know that in 1712 the Five Nations received the Tuscaroras into their confederacy, making them the sixth nation. They received the Meherrins, or Tutelos, also into their protection, and it is most probable that many other of the kindred tribes, of whom we find no particular account, retired westwardly in like manner, and were incorporated into one or other of the western tribes."<sup>2</sup>

In 1880 the United States Census reported the total number of Indians in Virginia at eighty-five.

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<sup>1</sup> This word appears to be of Algonkin origin. *Nadoway* in the dialects of the Western and Lake Algonkins—as the Chippewas, Ottawas, Pottawatomies, etc.—is the term for an Iroquois. It is a derogatory term in those languages,—equivalent to that of viper or beast, from their striking in secret. It is a compound word, having its apparent origin in *nado*, an adder, and *awasie*, a beast. According to Mr. Jefferson, the Nottoways, with the Tutelos, or Meherrins, were Monacans, who used the generic language of the Iroquois. It was not, therefore, a name of their own choosing, but was probably a nickname given by Indians of the Powhatan tribes.

<sup>2</sup> This view of the decline of the Monacan stock of Virginia is confirmed by all that we know of their history. The Monacans, who occupied the country at the foot of the Alleghanies and above the falls of the Virginia rivers, were the natural enemies of the colonists during the whole early history of Virginia, and when difficulties occurred with the aborigines they naturally sided with the Powhatan tribes.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE HUDSON RIVER EXPLORED—THE DUTCH SETTLE MANHATTAN—INDIAN WAR—MANHATTAN BECOMES THE ENGLISH COLONY OF NEW YORK—INDIANS OF NEW YORK.

THE colonization of New York followed soon after the discovery of the Cohahatea, or Hudson River. While Virginia was strengthening her foundations among the powerful and hostile Powhatan tribes of the Algonkin stock, another settlement of whites sprang into existence among the more northerly sea-coast families. Only two years subsequent to the founding of Jamestown, Hendrick Hudson entered the Bay of New York, which was first discovered by Verazzani in 1524, although the large river of which it is the recipient still continued unexplored. Hudson appears to have passed the point now called Sandy Hook on the 3d day of September, 1609. He remained in the bay several days, making surveys and trafficking with the Indians. From the notes of his surveys, he seems to have kept close along the southern parts of the bay, the natives of which appeared to be friendly. These shores were occupied by the Navisinks, Sanhikins, and other bands of the Mississa totem of the Lenni Lenape (Algonkin) family. The northern shores of the bay and Manhattan Island were occupied by the Mohicans, or Wolf totem of the same subgenus of the original stock. The Metoacs of Long Island were of the same type. Between these two totemic types there existed either smothered hostility or open war. They kept Hudson in a state of constant perplexity, and, regarding all red men with equal mistrust, he was ever on his guard against treachery. Of all the bands, however, he found that of Hell Gate, or the Manhattans, to be the fiercest. On the third day after sailing up the bay he sent out a boat in charge of his mate, Colman, to examine the East River. An open sea was found beyond. While the exploring party were returning to the vessel, the Manhattans attacked them and killed the mate, who received an arrow in his throat. These Indians possessed implements of copper, and earthen cooking-utensils, the art of making which was at this period common to all the coast-tribes, but, the use of the brass kettle having been introduced among them by Europeans, they very soon ceased to manufacture earthen-ware. They offered Hudson green tobacco as a most valuable present, and had an abundance of maize, which he called Indian wheat. They also brought him oysters, beans, and some dried fruits. These Indians dressed in deer-skin robes, and possessed mantles made of feathers and also of furs. There is no evidence to prove that they did not live in a state of anarchy, without any government save that of petty independent chieftainships, the curse of all savage and barbarous tribes. On the afternoon of the

7th of September, Hudson began to ascend the river, but progressed only two leagues the first day, sailing with extreme caution during the day, sounding frequently, and casting anchor at night. Twelve days elapsed before he reached a point opposite to or above the present city of Hudson. The general features of the country in that part of the valley are mentioned by him. Having arrived, on the 22d, at a place where the soundings denoted shoal water, Hudson despatched his boat to make further explorations. It returned the following night at ten o'clock, having progressed only eight or nine leagues, and the crew reported finding but seven feet seven inches soundings, which would seem to indicate that they had reached the present site of Albany. The Indians, as high as they had proceeded, were, by the names, apparently of the Algonkin family. If the explorers really ascended in their boat as far as the present position of Albany, they entered the country of the Mohawk tribe of the Iroquois nation, whose summer residence was on the island. The tribes maintained a hostile attitude until Hudson had passed the Highlands, but those he subsequently encountered evinced great friendliness, as well as mildness of manners, and hence are called by him "a loving people." The Indians visited the strangers on board their ship, and several excursions were made by the crew on the shore. On one occasion two venerable chiefs, accompanied by their sons and daughters, were entertained by Hudson in his cabin. These interchanges of civility characterize this part of the voyage, and furnish striking evidence of the beneficial effects of kindness in dealing with the red man. On the 20th of the month, while the ship lay at anchor at one of the highest points attained, Hudson tried the experiment of giving his aboriginal guests a taste of alcoholic drinks. The description of this event may be entertaining for its quaintness: "Our master and his mate determined to try some of the chiefest men of the country, whether they had any treachery in them, so they took them into the cabin, and gave them so much wine and aqua vitæ, that they were all merrie, and one of them had his wife with him, which sat as modestly as any of our country women could do in a strange place. In the end one of them was drunk,<sup>1</sup> which had been on board of our ship all the time that we had been there, and that was strange to them, for they could not tell how to take it. The canoes and folks all went on shore, but some of them came again, and brought strings of beads (wampum), some had six, seven, eight, nine, ten, which they gave the inebriate. The drunken man slept all night quietly."

The Indians below the Highlands who were found to be hostile on the ascent proved doubly so during the descent. The narrowness of the channel in some places gave them the opportunity of using their arrows with effect, and they assembled on several of the most prominent headlands in great force. But the intrepidity of Hudson foiled every effort. By his musketry, and by the discharges from a culverin,

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<sup>1</sup> This scene of intoxication is erroneously placed by Mr. Heckewelder on Manhattan Island, and the island itself is stated to have been named, from the circumstance, "the place where we all got drunk." Doubtless some old Indian had imposed on his credulity in this, as in other cases named in his historical account of the Delaware tribes. Stone has been misled by this.

he killed several of them and dispersed the rest. He got through the mountains on the 1st of October. Below this one of their canoes, containing one man, pertinaciously followed the ship. This individual, having climbed up the rudder, crept into the cabin-window, and stole two bandoleers, a pillow, and two shirts, for which theft the mate shot him dead. The Indians followed the vessel, and a running skirmish ensued, in which several of the pursuers were killed. On the 4th, Hudson reached the bay, where, being favored by the wind, he made no attempt to land, but put out to sea, arriving at Dartmouth, England, on the 7th of November.

The only name bestowed by him on the stream appears to have been that of The Great River.

About the year 1614 the first rude fort was erected by the Dutch, probably on the southern part of Manhattan Island. In 1623 the country from the southern shore of Delaware Bay to New Holland, or Cape Cod, became known as New Netherlands. The new block-house on Manhattan became the nucleus of a colony, and Peter Minuit, agent of the West India Company, held for the ensuing six years the office of governor.

In February, 1643, a small party of Mohawks from the vicinity of Fort Orange, armed with muskets, emerged from their fastnesses, and claimed tribute of the Algonkins around Manhattan. These more numerous but less warlike tribes, upon the approach of the formidable Mohawks, terror-struck, begged the assistance of the Dutch, between whom and themselves petty injuries had caused bad blood. Kieft, the Dutch governor, seized the opportunity for an exterminating massacre. On the night of February 25 the soldiers from the fort, joined by some privateersmen, crossed the Hudson, and, falling upon the unsuspecting natives, massacred nearly one hundred of them. This cruel and impolitic act was terribly avenged: villages were laid waste from New Jersey to Connecticut, settlers were slain in the fields, and children carried into captivity. Among the victims was Anne Hutchinson, one of the remarkable women of the time, who perished with her family. In March the Dutch sought peace, which was effected through the aid of Roger Williams, then about to visit England. The war was, however, renewed in September, and on the part of the Dutch was conducted by the veteran Captain John Underhill, a fugitive from New England, at the head of a force of one hundred and twenty men. After two years of savage warfare, peace was concluded on the beautiful spot in front of Fort Amsterdam, now known as the Battery, in the presence of the sachems of New Jersey, of the River Indians, of the Mohicans, and those from Long Island, acknowledging the chiefs of the Five Nations as arbiters, and having around them the Director and Council of New Netherlands, with the entire Dutch population. Ten years later (September, 1655), in the absence of Governor Stuyvesant, the neighboring Algonkins, never friendly to the Dutch, made a desperate attack on Manhattan. They appeared before the town in sixty-four canoes, and ravaged the adjacent country. The captives were subsequently ransomed, and the attack was not renewed. Confidence was restored, and industry soon repaired the losses of the colonists.

King Charles II. having in 1664 granted to his brother, the Duke of York, the



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whole territory from the Connecticut River to the shores of the Delaware, the Dutch colony, left to itself, and incapable of defence, was formally surrendered, September 8, to an English squadron, and received the name of New York.

Whilst a foreign power held sway over the entire territory bordering New England on the west and south, facilities were offered for the escape of Indian marauders into that province, and the impression prevailed, whether well or ill founded, that such fugitives received countenance from the Dutch authorities, or at least that the Indians under their jurisdiction sheltered the runaways. But this state of affairs ceased after the province was taken by the English. The British flag then waved from the utmost boundaries of New England to the borders of Florida. It is an unquestionable fact that when the Pequot war terminated, in 1644, many of this indomitable tribe, after escaping from the massacre at Fairfield, sought shelter in the territory of the Mohawks. Some individuals of it, also, as well as of the Nanticokes, appear to have been incorporated with the Schoharie band of the Mohawks, but by far the greater number located themselves on a branch of the North River, called Schaghticoke, in a valley as fertile as it was beautiful, which was granted to them by the authorities of Albany. These fugitives, among whom were some other fragments of the sea-coast Algonkins, never resumed their original tribal appellation, but settled down under the government of the Iroquois cantons, who sheltered the remnants of the despoiled and conquered tribes. Delegates from these Indians attended some of the Mohawk councils, but they retained none of their former independent character, and were not much respected. Some years after the establishment of the English supremacy in New York, the entire Schaghticoke band precipitately fled, and located themselves under the protection of the French at Missisquoi Bay, on the northern waters of Lake Champlain. To this course they were impelled by several reasons: because small countenance was shown them by the New York authorities, on account of the repeated complaints of the Connecticut colonists; the whites infringed too much on the land assigned them; the Canadian authorities, who were in communication and sympathy with them, exercised a persuasive influence; and it is probable that the Indians feared the New Yorkers were about to avenge the wrongs inflicted on the Connecticut settlers.

At the period when the English and Celtic elements of population were introduced into New York, there were, as there had been previously, two Indian powers contending for the sovereignty in this colony,—the Algonkin and the Iroquois. The Algonkins, divided into numerous bands under local names, had from an early date occupied the valley of the Hudson below the site of Albany, and the right bank of that river as high up at least as the influx of the Wallkill was occupied by the second totemic class of the Lenni Lenapes,<sup>1</sup> who bore the name of Munsees, the various tribes of which, known as the Raritans, Sanhikans, etc., covered the entire surface of New Jersey. On the right banks of the Hudson were the Mohicans proper, known under the tribal appellations of Wappengers, Tappensees, and Wequa-

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<sup>1</sup> Manly men, from *lenno*, a man, and *inape*, a male.

esgecks, and other bands of the Westchester Algonkins. These latter extended their possessions into the boundaries of Connecticut. The Manhattans were the band residing on the island of the same name, and the Long Island tribes, descriptively called Sewanaxies,<sup>1</sup> or shell-land bands, were known by the generic name of Metüacs. Nearly every prominent bay, island, or channel near the great bay of New York possessed its local name, derived often from that of a tribe.

In the middle and western parts of the State, between the Tawasentha Valley of Albany County and the Niagara River, resided the Iroquois, consisting of the five tribes of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, who, after the formation of their confederacy, filled by far the most important position in the history of the North American Indians. According to some authorities, this league had been formed but a short time anterior to the discovery of the Hudson River. Others, among whom is the Indiau annalist, Cusic, whose chronology is not, however, reliable, aver that the date of the confederacy is far more ancient. From all accounts, during the first half-century after the settlement of Virginia the Algonkins were the most numerous in population along the sea-coasts, and for more than a century and a half in the interior. This numerical supremacy continued until the European population, crossing the Alleghanies, passed the great lake basins and scattered freely over the Mississippi Valley. Colden says that the supremacy of the Algonkins had in more ancient times been acknowledged by the Iroquois. This early development of Algonkin power had, however, declined before the foot of the white man trod these shores, and it is certain that so far as related to policy and warlike achievements it had passed away before the era of the Dutch, and long before the English became identified with New York history. The Algonkins of both the Hudson and Delaware Valleys had been conquered by the Iroquois, and were then in a state of vassalage to that confederacy, either paying tribute or being deprived of the sovereign right of ceding lands. When the latter power was attempted to be exercised by the Lenni Lenape, some forty years after the advent of Penn, the contemptuous rebuke of Canassatego, which we have elsewhere cited, showed that the power of the club and tomahawk was ready to enforce the claim of the Iroquois to the hegemony.

About ten years previous to the conquest of New York by the English, say in 1653, the Seneca Iroquois, with the aid of the other tribes of the league, began a war against the Eries, as well as against the neuter nation of the Niagara River and their allies, the Andastes of the Erie shore. When Le Moyne first visited Onondaga, in 1655, this war against the Eries was in progress. Cusic denominates them the Cat Nation,—meaning the wild-cat, for the domestic animal was to them unknown. They were evidently affiliated in language with the Iroquois. No one can peruse the writings of the missionary fathers and not perceive this. A full account of the origin of this war against the Neuter Nation is furnished in our first volume.

The early French writers call this tribe the Neuter Nation, owing to their apparently pacific character. This name, however, is not derived from the Indian, and

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<sup>1</sup> A compound from *sewan*, wampum shell, and *aukie*, land.

has only served to mystify modern inquirers, as no such nation of neuters can be found in any position except in the area occupied by the Eries, on the Niagara. The name by which the Senecas designate the Eries is *Kahqua*. The *Andastes* occupied the shores of Lake Erie. As previously denoted, they were *Susquehannocks*.

The war, fiery, short, and bloody, resulted in the overthrow of the Eries and their allies, and led to their subsequent incorporation into other tribes or their expulsion from the country. From this time the tribal name of Erie (as in a prior case that of the *Pequots*) disappears from history. Mr. Evans, in his map and memoir published at Philadelphia in 1755, avers that the refugee Eries took shelter in the Ohio Valley, whence they eventually crossed the *Onosiota*, or Alleghany chain, to rejoin kindred tribes. Mr. Jefferson repeats this fact in his *Notes on Virginia*, in 1780. Evidence that these fugitive Eries are the brave and indomitable people known to us as *Catawbas* has been elsewhere given in the present work.

To conciliate the Iroquois, who were thus rapidly raising themselves to a position of power and influence among the Indians of the colonies, became immediately a measure of English policy, and to secure this result the most wise and prudent steps were taken. The fur-trade, which had been established upon a satisfactory basis by the Dutch, was continued, and the bonds of friendship with the Iroquois were cemented by an offensive and defensive alliance. Their enemies became the enemies of the English, and the friends of the former the friends of the latter. Thus the Iroquois were constituted the defenders of the territory of Western New York against the French. If the latter could succeed in driving them from their forests, Western New York would be added to New France; if they failed, it was a gem in the British crown. Who can read the details of a hundred years' sanguinary contests without perceiving that it was the undying vigilance, the unerring accuracy of their geographical knowledge of the wilderness, and the manly bravery of the Iroquois which, up to the year 1775, preserved Western New York to the English crown?

## CHAPTER III.

### CHAMPLAIN FOUNDS QUEBEC AND THE CANADIAN SETTLEMENTS.

NEARLY seventy years had elapsed before France, desolated by civil war and torn by religious dissensions, could renew her purpose of founding a French empire in America. In the mean time, however, her fisheries had largely increased, one hundred and fifty French vessels being at Newfoundland in 1573, at which time voyages for traffic with the natives were regularly and successfully made. In 1603 the merchants of Rouen formed a company, which was placed under Samuel de Champlain, an able marine officer and man of science, the father of the French settlements in Canada. Active and fearless, and at the same time cool and persevering, Champlain's account of his first expedition proves his sound judgment and accurate observation, and abounds in exact details of the manners of the savage tribes. Selecting Quebec as the site for a fort, he returned to France just before the issue to De Monts of the patent of Acadia, a region which, as then defined, extended from Philadelphia to beyond Montreal. The expedition, which left France March 7, 1604, after attempting a settlement on the island of St. Croix, at the mouth of the river of that name, planted, in the spring of 1605, a colony at Port Royal, called Annapolis, after the conquest of Acadia (Nova Scotia) by Queen Anne. Thus the first French settlement on the continent preceded by two years the colonization of Virginia. With a view to future settlements, De Monts then explored and claimed for France the rivers, coasts, and bays of New England as far as Cape Cod; Jesuit priests began the conversion of the natives, who were already hostile towards the English, who had visited their coasts; and a French colony was, in 1613, planted on Mount Desert, within the present limits of the United States. In 1608 the city of Quebec was begun by Champlain, who in the next year joined a party of Hurons and Algonkins in an expedition against the Iroquois, and explored the lake which perpetuates his name. The monopoly of De Monts having been revoked, and a new colonial patent having, in 1615, been obtained by merchants of St. Malo, Rouen, and Rochelle, Champlain embarked once more for the New World. In a subsequent invasion of the Iroquois territory, he was wounded and repulsed, spending the first winter after his return in the country of the Hurons. In 1624 he built the castle of St. Louis, so long the place of council against the Iroquois and against New England, and, in spite of obstacles, in a few years established the authority of the French on the banks of the St. Lawrence. He died here in 1635.

## CHAPTER IV.

### SETTLEMENT OF THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES—MASSASOIT—EFFORTS TO CHRISTIANIZE THE INDIANS—THEIR MANNERS AND CUSTOMS—THE PEQUOTS.

THE idea of migrating to America to escape the intolerance of the house of Stuart had been for a long time entertained by the English exiles in the Low Countries. Intelligence of the discoveries in Virginia and in the region of New York probably had the effect of reviving the agitation of the project, as well as of demonstrating its practicability, and in effect the exiles were in a short time thereafter on their way to the New World. The first colony which landed in Massachusetts Bay, December 21, 1620, was surrounded by small tribes and bands of the Algonkins, the principal of which were the Pequots, Narragansetts, Pokanokets, Massachusetts, and Pawtuckets, each of which was subdivided into numerous clans. There were also the Mohicans and Nipmucks. During the years immediately preceding European settlement fatal epidemics had greatly thinned the coast-tribes, and in some instances nearly annihilated them. Whole villages appeared to have been depopulated, and deserted fields everywhere met the view. This decadence of the race was a favorable circumstance for the colonists, whose utmost efforts were required to combat the difficulties of their position.

The principal personage among the aboriginal chieftains was Massasoit, the ruler of the Pokanokets, or Wampanoags, living at Mount Hope, on the waters of Narragansett Bay. He had been a noted warrior, but was at that time a man far advanced in life. He was of good stature, full and fleshy; and, possessing a manly mien, mild manners, a moderate temper, and a noble spirit, amicable relations with him were soon established. The jurisdiction of the Massachusetts coast appears to have belonged to him in quality of his office of bashaba, or presiding chief-holder, as is more certainly evinced by the authority assumed after his death by his sons, Alexander and Pometacom.<sup>1</sup> The first interview with this potentate was conducted with equal ceremony by the colonists and by the semi-imperial chief. He was received by Governor Carver and his retinue with every attention. There was military music and a salute of musketry; mutual embraces followed. They then sat down side by side; "a pot of strong water" was brought forward, from which both drank. The chief, not knowing how to graduate his draught, from ignorance of its strength, was thrown into a violent perspiration, which lasted during the interview. A pacific course of policy was established by a treaty which was sacredly kept for more than half a century, and from this era the aboriginal words Manito, wigwam, powwow,

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<sup>1</sup> Drake, p. 13.

samp, moose, and others from their vocabulary, began to be incorporated into the English language. Soon after their landing, Samoset, who had acquired a little English of the fishermen at Penobscot, came into Plymouth, exclaiming, "Welcome Englishmen," and in the name of his nation invited them to take possession of the soil, the old occupants of which were no longer living.

The country had been first explored by the English in 1583, when Sir Humphrey Gilbert visited the coast. In 1602 Gosnold bestowed names on Cape Cod, Elizabeth Islands, and Martha's Vineyard; and in 1614 Captain Smith, of Virginia fame, gave the name of New England to this part of the continent. The coast had been explored by Dutch navigators subsequent to the discoveries made by Hudson, and is designated in an ancient map by the name of Almoehico. The Indians, being deficient in generalization, had no generic name for it, unless it were that of Abenakee which they subsequently made use of. The first colony landed on the banks of a river, which we are informed the natives called Accomac, but which the English named Plymouth.<sup>1</sup> One hundred and one persons debarked on the confines of twenty tribes, whose exact numbers were unknown, but whose hostility to the colony was undoubted. Prince says these "hundred and one" were the persons "who, for an undefiled conscience, and the love of pure Christianity, first left their native and pleasant land, and encountered all the toils and hazards of the tumultuous ocean, in search of some uncultivated region in North Virginia, where they might quietly enjoy their religious liberties, and transmit them to posterity, in hopes that none would follow to disturb or vex them."

Canonicus, sachem of the Narragansetts, a chief of extraordinary capacity, and the enemy of Massasoit, and whose territory had escaped the terrible ravages of the pestilence, at first desired to treat for peace, but in 1622 he sent to the English settlement a bundle of arrows wrapped in the skin of a rattlesnake in token of hostility. The skin was promptly returned by Governor Bradford stuffed with powder and shot, and the frightened savage sought to be on terms of amity with his formidable neighbors.

Winthrop's company, which in the summer of 1630 settled in and around Boston, in Massachusetts Bay, at once established friendly relations with the natives. The sagamore of the Mohicans came to solicit an English plantation as a bulwark against the terrible Pequots, and the nearer Nipmucks asked aid against the Mohawks. The son of the aged Canonicus exchanged presents with the governor, and Miantonomo himself, the great Narragansett warrior, became the guest of Governor Winthrop. Even a Pequot sachem, with wampumpeag and promises of skins, came to obtain the alliance of the English.

Within a few years thereafter, Maine, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island were successfully colonized. To endure patiently and to hope amidst every ill were primary principles with the colonists, and as soon as they came into contact

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<sup>1</sup> Smith, vol. ii. p. 177. Accomac is also the name of a location in Eastern Virginia, probably signifying the line where the wilderness meets an eligible and cultivated country.

with the Indians they aimed, both by precept and by example, to teach them the advantages of thrift over the precarious pursuit of the chase. Among a people characteristically idle, listless, and prone to regard with favor the rites of demonology and the practice of magic, nothing could be more unpalatable or more certainly productive of hostilities, for the priests and sages, powwows and necromancers, clung to their ceremonies and orgies with a desperate tenacity. To live on the products of the bow and arrow had been the practice of the people for untold centuries, and they regarded the new-comers with a feeling of distrust and hatred which grew stronger and more intense with every succeeding decade of colonial existence.

The attempt to introduce the principles of civilization among the New England tribes, who were half hunters and half ichthyophagi, gives us a stand-point from which we may contemplate the Indian character in a new and instructive phase. When, in 1586, the scholar Harriot showed the Virginia Indians the Bible, and explained to them its contents, they imagined it to be some great talisman, and handled, hugged, and kissed it with great reverence, rubbing it against their heads and breasts. They were strongly impressed with the belief that it was the material of the book, and not its doctrines, which embodied its virtues. In 1608, when the shores of the Chesapeake were explored by Smith, the English were accustomed to have prayers recited daily, and a psalm sung, at which the Susquehannocks, who were spectators, greatly wondered, regarding the rites and ceremonies with deep interest,—feeling animated by the vocal sounds, but profoundly ignorant of the language and of its true import. Being themselves ceremonialists to an almost unlimited extent, in the worship they offered to the gods of the air, hills, and valleys, and also ready interpreters of symbols, the ritual was to them an object of wonder.

Harriot informs us that the Virginia Indians believed in the existence of one God; yet in the same sentence he also says that the sun, moon, and stars were subordinate gods, that the gods were all of human shape, and that offerings were presented to their images. Very similar to this were the declarations of the Northern Indians; but yet, while they acknowledged God as riding on the clouds, the images they worshipped in secret and in their assemblies were, in fact, demons and devils. To disseminate the doctrines of the gospel amid such an embodiment of dark superstition was not an easy task, yet it was zealously and firmly pursued. Cotton Mather informs us that within thirty years from the time when the first formal efforts were made to preach the gospel to the Indians, there were six churches and eighteen assemblies of catechumens, or converted natives, within the boundaries of Massachusetts, and in 1682 the entire Bible was made accessible to them by means of the translation of Eliot.

Within the space of a few years the English population spread themselves over the entire country, enterprise having been a marked characteristic of all the early settlements. The Indians, divided into innumerable small tribes and bands, occupied the interior territory and a great part of the immediate coast-line. Wherever the colonists located themselves the natives watched their movements with jealous interest. The colonists being uniformly industrious, thrifty, cautious, courageous, and tem-

perate, the more reflecting sagamores could hardly fail to be impressed with the idea that the settlers were the mere heralds of a people destined to increase rapidly both in number and in power, and to occupy the whole country, to the detriment of the red man, whose dominion must decline as the influence of the white man increased.

It would be erroneous to suppose that such a deep sense of danger could have been produced without exciting the strong antipathy of the Indian. On the contrary, a virulent, secret, deep-seated, and almost universal opposition was developed among the native powwows from the waters of the Connecticut to those of the Penobscot. Bitter, indeed, was this sense of the inevitable decay of their own race to the Indians, and equally bitter to them in every phase was their experience of civilization. They detested a life of labor, and had no relish for the Puritan standard of stern virtue and personal responsibility. The idea that such members of the wandering tribes as were guilty of theft, murder, prevarication, and covetousness would be brought to judgment therefor was utterly repugnant to them; but when to this doctrine was joined the requirement that they should relinquish their system of worship, their necromancy, their magic ceremonies, and all their forest rites, their deepest ire was aroused.

In missionary labor among the red men, Eliot, commonly called the Apostle to the Indians, greatly distinguished himself. He emigrated from England in 1631, and was chosen minister at Roxbury, where in the exercise of his pastoral duties his attention was directed to the Indian tribes, of whom numerous clans and villages then overspread the territory and were interspersed among the settlements of the whites. Being a graduate of the university of Cambridge, England, and a person of considerable learning, Eliot began the study of the Indian languages, under the no small stimulus, it is inferred, of finding therein some elements of the Hebrew. In this important inquiry into the affinities of nations, a research far in advance of the age in which he lived, Eliot's principal aid and pundit was Nesutan, a descendant of the Massachusetts stock, who had learned to speak the English language, and who was pronounced by a divine of that period "a pregnant-witted young man."

In 1646 the subject of the conversion of the Indians was discussed by the Association of Colonial Ministers, who adopted a resolution strongly urging the expediency and necessity of immediate action. In accordance with this view, Mr. Eliot appointed a time and place for an assemblage of the Indians, which was convened on the 28th of October of the same year. His text was, "Prophesy unto the wind, prophesy, son of man, and say to the wind, Thus saith the Lord God; Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain, that they may live."<sup>1</sup> The place was called Nonantum (God's word displayed), and a strong impression was made upon the Indian mind by this appeal.

Another convocation of the Indians took place a fortnight subsequently, at the same place, where Eliot addressed them in their own language. Other meetings followed thereafter. The Indians who attended agreed to settle at that place, as also

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<sup>1</sup> Ezekiel xxxvii. 9.

to adopt the rules and observe the practices of civilization, and faithfully to adhere to the precepts of Christianity. Thus was established the first settlement of praying Indians. They received instruction gladly, labored diligently at husbandry, and became very expert in the use of farming-tools. Being regularly catechised and instructed, a congregation of converts was in the end established. The Indians being carefully watched over, with the aid of native helps the new principles spread rapidly among them. A second meeting was held at Neponset, in Mr. Eliot's parish, and others at Pawtucket, at Concord, and on the peninsula of Cape Cod, which were all equally successful. These proceedings elicited strong opposition among the native priests and powwows, who, seeing their ancient power over the Indians about to depart, beat their necromantic drums at their secret meetings with greater energy.

Accounts of the successful propagation of the gospel in America were published and circulated throughout England, where they excited so much interest during the two following years (1647 and 1648) that when an appeal was made to Parliament to second their efforts that body passed an act to incorporate a Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England. In 1661, Eliot published a translation of the Old Testament in the Indian dialect of Massachusetts, which was called by him the Natick, manifestly because he deemed that to be the generic language. This volume was a work of great labor, and had received the most careful attention. After a long interval it was followed by a translation of the Gospels, and in 1684 the two parts were reproduced together, in one volume, at Cambridge, Massachusetts. This was in every way a gigantic work, and could not have been accomplished without the aid of the London Society for Propagating the Gospel, under whose auspices it was executed. Eliot and Nesutan had spent many long years upon it; and, as it progressed, the several parts of each book were practically employed in the dissemination of the truths they contained. It still retains its position as the most considerable and important monument of our Indian philology.

The New England settlers made no attempts to impose a ritual on the aborigines. It was noticed that these tribes were under the religious rule of self-constituted priests, powwows, and ecclesiastical sagamores, who directed them in the appalling worship of evil spirits, and of elementary gods, whose names were emphatically "legion." In the words of a quaint historian of that period, "the whole body of the multiplied tribes and septs who cover the land are the veriest ruins of mankind."<sup>1</sup> This writer observes, "Their wigwams consist of poles, lined with mats, where a good fire supplies the warmth of bed-clothes in cold seasons. The skins of animals furnish exclusively their clothing. Sharp stones are used for knives and tools. Wampum, a kind of bead made from sea-shells, is a substitute for money. Indian corn constitutes their staple of vegetable food; the forest supplies them precariously with meat. Fish are taken in their streams. The hot-house is their catholicon for a large class of their diseases. Their religion is a confused and contradictory theism, under the rule of a class of priests called powwows, who offer incense by the fumes of

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<sup>1</sup> Cotton Mather.

tobacco." There was absolutely nothing in their plan of dwelling that deserved the name of architecture, but they had considerable skill in manufacturing arrows, bows, war-clubs, bows, pipes, fishing-rods, and nets. The women made clay pots, which, when used for the purpose of cooking, were suspended from a tripod formed of three poles tied together at top and spread over the fire. They wove mats of flags, baskets of the split cortical layers of wood, and nets from a native fibre. The clam-shell was frequently used as a spoon, but spoons were also carved out of wood, as also were onagons, or bowls. Darts were chipped from horn-stone, as well as from other species of silicious rock, and frontlets ornamented with birds' feathers were employed for head-dresses. The cawheek and succotash, or pounded corn, were their favorite dishes: when the hunter was successful he had deer or other meat. Fish was abundant, even in the interior streams, as were also oysters and other shell-fish on the sea-coasts. Canoes were made from solid trees, hollowed by the aid of fire, and a peculiar axe, which is frequently found among Indian relics. The red man was ingenious in setting snares for birds and beasts, and sometimes large animals were entrapped by bending down saplings, which would rebound when any beast trod on the string which held them in place. The Indian buried his dead in outer wrappings of bark, placing at the head of the corpse a wooden post, on which were carved the totem of the clan and some other hieroglyphics. His success in war and in hunting was also sometimes rudely sculptured on the face of rocks or boulders, some of these *muzzinabiks* remaining to this day.

With manners and customs thus entirely opposed to everything like civilization, it needed but slight incitement to arouse the deadliest feelings of hostility. Very little difference existed, either in dress or in manners, between individual Indians, or between the various tribes, all looking and acting very much alike, and the innocent were frequently mistaken for the guilty.

The spirit of opposition to the entire constitution and system of civil society and of Christianity originated early, and led to repeated combinations of the Indians to exterminate the white race. The first general and alarming effort of this kind against the peace and welfare of the New England colonists developed itself in the area of Connecticut, among the Pequots. The primary settlements in the Connecticut Valley were made in 1633. Within four years from that time the Pequots evinced their hostility, for which there was an additional and highly irritating cause.

Prior to the settlement of New England, feuds had existed in the Pequot tribe. This was a numerous organization, extending from the western boundary of the Narragansetts, on the Pawcatuck River, to the banks of the Pequot or Thames River. It is evident that their extreme western boundary originally extended to the Connecticut. They were under the rule of the powerful, brave, and ambitious Sassacus, there being no evidence that Uncas occupied the valley by right of conquest. But at the era of the founding of the Connecticut colony this valley was occupied by the Mohicans, who were ruled by the sachem Uncas. The Pequots and the Mohicans spoke the same language, which was a secondary form of the generic Algonkin. Uncas had married a daughter of Tatobam, a Pequot, of the blood of

the chief, and was, according to the general principles of descent, regarded as one of the hereditary line. Uncas was himself a wise, brave, and politic chieftain. Whatever the causes of tribal discord were, his separation from the parent tribe, and removal westwardly, had occurred prior to the settlement of either Windsor or Hartford, the oldest Connecticut towns, for the enmity between these two rival native chiefs became at once apparent to the English. Uncas, with the view of strengthening his position against Sassacus and the larger body of the tribe, hailed the arrival of the colonists with joy, became their protector against the inroads of the Pequots, and remained their firm and consistent friend. This line of policy served rather to irritate than to allay the Pequot enmity to the English. At length, after the lapse of a few years marked by bitter hostilities, murders, and cruelties, from which outrages the English and their Mohican allies were alike sufferers, a formidable expedition was organized against Sassacus and his two forts. The murder of John Oldham while on a trading expedition near Block Island, in July, 1636, was its immediate occasion. It is not necessary here to speak of the cruel murders, of the breaches of treaty stipulations, or of the depredations and other outrages committed: suffice it to say that, excitement being at its height, forbearance had ceased to be a virtue, and all were compelled either to fight or die. Four years of agonizing strife thus passed away, during which at least thirty English had been put to death, some with the addition of cruel tortures. The existence of the colonies was at stake; it was a contest between civilization and barbarism. If Connecticut succumbed, Massachusetts and Rhode Island must necessarily follow. Sassacus at that period being on the best terms with the Narragansetts, who then acknowledged the dominion of the aged Canonicus, and of his more efficient son, Miontonomo, he aimed in vain by negotiations to obtain their aid against the Mohicans and the English. A general rising was only prevented by the influence of Roger Williams, who at the imminent hazard of his life succeeded in dissolving this formidable coalition. As a ruler Sassacus was greatly feared and respected by his people, as well as by the Narragansetts. He was a brave warrior and an eloquent speaker. Mason tells us of an Indian saying that "Sassacus is all one god; no man can kill him." The views he expressed with respect to the English settlements in New England prove the expansion and forecast of his mind. He regarded the white men as destined to supersede the Indian race, and said that when they had exterminated the Pequots they would then turn their attention to the Narragansetts. He urged an alliance for general purposes, and argued that it would not be necessary to fight great battles, as the whites could be destroyed one by one. The Indians could lie in ambush for the colonists, could burn their dwellings, could kill their cattle. Every view we take of the character of Sassacus only serves to confirm the impression that he was a man of uncommon energy as well as forecast, and he occupies a prominent position among the bold aboriginal chiefs who so resolutely resisted the occupancy of their country by Europeans. He clearly foresaw and pointed out to his countrymen that with arts and energies such as their invaders had already demonstrated the possession of, they must extinguish the light of their council- and altar-fires; one after another the

tribes must succumb. The history of the great internal conflicts of ante-historical periods by which the Pequot nation had been divided and Uncas expelled being involved in obscurity, we are unable to furnish any accurate details. We know, however, that the feud was existing in all its original intensity when the colonists first entered the country, and, unfortunately for the perpetuation of his power, Sassacus, like many others of the aboriginal chiefs and leaders, lacked the spirit of conciliation, aiming to achieve by force what he might have attained by delay and negotiation, placing too low an estimate on the value of union and co-operation with the surrounding tribes. He was feared and suspected by the numerous tribe of the Narragansetts on the east, while the unfriendly Mohicans lined the boundary of his dominion on the west. The small bands of the Niantics and Ninigret's men he evidently controlled, and the interior country to the north was open to him. Two of his strongest positions were stockaded villages which assumed the character of forts, and had the English been less prompt or bold in their movements, and given him more time to consummate his arrangements, the result might have been protracted, although it certainly could not have been averted.

## CHAPTER V.

### MARYLAND SETTLED—ABORIGINAL POPULATION ON THE SHORES OF THE CHESAPEAKE—THE SUSQUEHANNOCKS—THE ANDASTES.

DURING the year immediately following the establishment of the settlements in the Connecticut Valley, the tribes of Maryland proper, as distinguished from those of Virginia, were particularly introduced to historical notice. On the 27th of March, 1634, Leonard Calvert landed on the banks of a river, to which he gave the name of St. Mary, situated on the western shores of Chesapeake Bay. Captain John Smith, who visited and circumnavigated the bay in 1608, furnishes the first account of the Susquehannocks,—a bold, stalwart, and athletic tribe, who spoke in a hollow tone, with a full enunciation. The Indians living near the St. Mary's River, and in whose vicinity Calvert landed, were called Wicomocos. Friendly relations were cultivated with the natives, who sold him a tract of land thirty miles in extent, for which they received axes and other useful articles.

In their manners, customs, and general character these Indians closely resembled the Virginia tribes. They built their lodges in the same manner, as well as of the same materials, in all respects practised the same arts, and observed the same religious ceremonies. Like them, they acknowledged a great God, but also offered sacrifices to local *Okees*. They smoked tobacco, holding it in the highest estimation, cultivated maize, hunted the deer, and snared water-fowl. Ethnologically they were descendants of the same race with the Powhatanic tribes, and spoke dialects of the great Algonkin language. Indeed, Powhatan claimed jurisdiction over the Patuxent, though it is doubtful whether his claims were much respected.

This colony was founded under a charter granted by Charles I., through the influence of his consort, Mary, and appears to have been intended as a refuge for persons professing the same religion with the queen, who was a Roman Catholic. Under the protectorate of Cromwell, who soon after gained the ascendancy in England, Maryland became the resort of men holding various creeds, and the country obtained a wide-spread fame as the land of tolerance. But, however the white men differed in their religious faith, they agreed generally in their mode of treatment of the Indians. Barbarism and Christianity could not exist in close proximity.

A good understanding, however, was maintained with this people, in the hope that their eyes might be so far morally and intellectually opened that they might be brought under the influence of the gospel. The accounts of the Maryland Indians state that "they were a simple race, open, affectionate, and confiding, filled with wonder and admiration of their new visitants, and disposed to live with them as neighbors and friends on terms of intimacy and cordiality. To the Europeans they

seem to have been quite as much objects of curiosity as the Europeans were to them. To Englishmen coming from the midst of a civilization which had been steadily progressive for a thousand years, the persons, manners, habits, and sentiments of the savages of North America must have been objects of lasting astonishment."

The following testimony respecting the Chesapeake Bay Indians is from the pen of Father White, who accompanied Calvert: "This race is endowed with an ingenious and liberal disposition, and, what may surprise you when stated, an acuteness of taste, smell, and sight that even surpasses Europeans'. They live mostly on a pap, which they call *pone*, or *omini* [hominy]. They add sometimes a fish, or what they have taken, either beast or bird, in hunting. They keep themselves as much as possible from wine and warm drinks, nor are they easily induced to taste them, except in cases where the English have infected them.

"Ignorance of their language makes it as yet impossible for me to assert what are their religious opinions, for we have not full confidence in Protestant interpreters. These few things we have learned at different times: they recognize one God of heaven, whom they call our God; they pay to him no external worship, but endeavor to propitiate by every means in their power a certain evil spirit which they call *Okee*. They worship corn and fire, as I am informed, as gods wonderfully beneficent to the human race.

"Some of our people relate that they have seen the ceremony at Barcluxor. On an appointed day all the men and women from many villages assembled around a great fire. Next to the fire stood the younger people, behind them the men advanced in life. A piece of deer's fat being then thrown into the fire, the hands and voices being lifted towards heaven, they cried out, *Taho! Taho!* They then cleared a small space, and some one produced a large bag; in the bag was a pipe, and a kind of powder which they called *potu*. The pipe was such as our countrymen use, but larger. Then the bag was carried around the fire, the boys and girls singing with an agreeable voice, *Taho! Taho!* The circle being ended, the pipe and powder were taken from the pouch. The *potu* was distributed to each of those standing round, which he put into the pipe and smoked, breathing the smoke over his limbs, and sanctifying them as the smoker supposes. I have not been able to learn more than that they appear to have some knowledge of the flood by which the world perished because of the sins of men."

There is nothing either in these ceremonial rites of *Taho* and offerings of the fumes of the fat of animals and of tobacco to the god of fire, or in the traditions of a flood, or in the language employed, to denote that the Maryland tribes differed essentially from others of the great Algonkin stock.

When Calvert landed, he was imbued with the most friendly feelings towards the Indians, for they were regarded with much interest in Europe. As with the rulers of all the new colonies, a knowledge of the policy which controlled the Indian tribes was with him a subject of primary importance. It soon became evident that a great aboriginal nation in the interior was alike the terror and the aversion of all the midland and coast tribes. This governing power was the Iroquois, the dreaded

Massawomacks of the native Virginia tribes, before the crushing force of whose prowess the Susquehannocks and their feeble allies were eventually compelled to succumb.

The Chesapeake Bay may have derived its name from a tribe called Chesapeake, which occupied Cape Henry and the surrounding country, now included in Princess Anne County, Virginia, but we have hitherto shown that the tribe more probably took its name from that of the bay. It appears from the geographical position of the bay within the limits of the Powhatan territory, as well as from the etymology of the word, which we have elsewhere given, that the name is of Algonkin derivation.

When in 1608 Captain Smith made a voyage to the head of this bay, and entered the magnificent river which debouches into it, he found that the Susquehannocks, who were located on its western shores, comprised six hundred warriors, which would denote a population of three thousand souls, and he was struck with admiration of their fine physical proportions and manly voices. At that time twenty-three years had elapsed from the date of the first voyage to Virginia. Whether a change had taken place in their location, or whether the Virginia band had been but an outlying branch, cannot now be determined, but it is more than probable that the Susquehanna Valley was their original residence.

Along the eastern shores of the bay from Cape Charles up, Smith mentions the location of the Accomacs and the Accohanocs, tribes who retained this general position during the greater part of colonial history, and who certainly existed down to the period of the Northampton massacre, when they became mingled with the negroes. Next in position north he places the Nanticokes, under the name of Tockwaghs, a name which may readily be inferred to apply to that tribe when we learn that they were called Tawackguáno by the Delawares.<sup>1</sup> Thence in succession came the Ozimies, the Hnokarawaocks, and the Wighcomocos, the latter of whom are called Wicomocos by Calvert.

The entire eastern shore above Virginia has in latter days been regarded as the country of the Nanticos or Conoy, for these are synonymous names for the same people. An adverse fate befell that scattered tribe. From the earliest dates they were at variance with the Iroquois, whose war-canoes swept down the Susquehanna from their fastnesses in Western New York. We learn from a competent authority<sup>2</sup> that the Nanticos were forced into a league with the Iroquois, who finally adopted them, holding out the flattering prospect of the tribe being received into their confederacy; but if this plan was ever carried out (and there is evidence of it in a declaration made in 1758 by Tokais, a Cayuga chief), their fate was not unlike that of the stag which falls into the power of the anaconda. They helped to minister to the pride of the Iroquois, as did also the Tutelos from Virginia.

The Nanticokes and Conoys (different bands of the same people), wearied with strife, abandoned their residences in Lower Maryland, and moved up the Susquehanna,

<sup>1</sup> Gallatin's Synopsis, p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> Charles Thomson.

pursuing its western branches into the territories of their conquerors, the Iroquois. Eventually they settled down beside fragmentary bands of Shawnees and Mohickanders, at Otsiningo, the present site of Binghamton, New York, with whom they formed a league, in the hope of recovering their former position by this policy. This league was called the "Three Nations." During the month of April, 1757, Owiligascho, or Peter Spelman, a German, who had resided seven years among the Shawnees on one of the western branches of the Susquehanna and married a Shawnee wife, arrived at Fort Johnson, where resided the Indian superintendent for the northern colonies, and reported that this new confederacy would visit him in a short time with a body of nearly two hundred men, and that they were now on the road. Their object was to smoke a friendly pipe with Sir William Johnson, after the manner of their fathers, and to offer him assistance in the war against the French. He presented two strings of wampum from the chiefs as the credentials of his authority. On the 19th of the same month these Indians arrived on the opposite bank of the river, which was then swelled by the spring flood. The chiefs, having crossed in canoes, were admitted to a council. The Shawnees were represented by Paxinosa and fifty-two of his warriors; the Mohickanders by Mammatsican, their king, with one hundred and forty-seven of his nation; and the Nanticokes by Hamightaghlawatawa, with eight of his people. Having been addressed in favorable and congratulatory terms by Sir William, who explained to them the true position of the English, as contrasted with that of the French, respecting the Indians, two days subsequently the chiefs replied, accepting the offer of the chain of friendship, and promising to keep "fast hold of it, and not quit it, so long as the world endured." In this address allusion is incidentally made to a belt sent the previous year to the unfriendly Delaware and Ohio Indians in the vicinity of Fort Du Quesne, and also to a similar belt sent to the Delaware chief, Tediscund, residing at Tioga.<sup>1</sup> They formally apprise Johnson of the league between the Nanticokes, Mohickanders, and Shawnees, of which he had been previously informed by Owiligascho, and also that they have concentrated at Otsiningo, on the Susquehanna, where messages are directed to be sent to them in future.

There is a trait of Indian shrewdness observable at the conclusion of their reply to Sir William Johnson, in a curious allusion to an event which occurred while the Mohickanders still resided on the Hudson. "'Tis now nine years ago,"<sup>2</sup> said the speaker, "that a misfortune happened near Reinbeck, in this province; a white man there shot a young man, an Indian. There was a meeting held thereon, and Martinus Hoffman said, 'Brothers, there are two methods of settling this accident; one according to the white people's customs, the other according to the Indians'. Which of them will you choose? If you will go according to the Indian manner, the man who shot the Indian may yet live. If this man's life is spared, and at any time hereafter an Indian should kill a white man, and you desire it, his life shall also be

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<sup>1</sup> Spelled "Tiaogo" in Col. Doc., vol. vii. p. 249.

<sup>2</sup> This settles the final withdrawal of the Mohickanders from the Hudson after 1748.

spared.' You told us, two days ago, that when a man is dead there is no bringing him to life again. We understand there are two Indians in jail at Albany accused of killing a white man. They are alive, and may live to be of service, and we beg you, as the chief of the Great King, our Father, that they may be released."

The alliance thus formed with the British government in 1757 was carefully fostered, and remained unbroken during the progress of the Revolution. The larger part of these Indians probably afterwards went to Canada with the Munsees and Delawares, where numbers of the latter tribe were located. A few of them, however, who lingered within the precincts of New York, probably became absorbed in the Brothertons, a band comprising fragments of various Algonkin tribes who had dropped their own dialects and adopted the English language.

At the time of the settlement of Jamestown, the Susquehannocks claimed the country lying between the Potomac and Susquehanna Rivers,—an area comprising the entire western half of Maryland. This was their hunting-ground, and marked the boundary-line between their jurisdiction and that of the Powhatanic forest kingdom. Whatever were the local names of the bands occupying the banks of the several intermediate rivers, they were merely subordinate to the reigning tribe primarily located on the shores of the Susquehanna. Subsequently the tribe transferred their council-fire to a point on the Patuxent, in a position less exposed to the incessant inroads of the Iroquois.

The lower class of adventurers and settlers who emigrated to Virginia and Maryland at this early period was composed of persons who were liable to become embroiled with the Indians, whose character they invariably misjudged and whose lives they held to be valueless. By these persons the natives were regarded only as the medium through which they could pursue a profitable traffic in skins and furs, which was free to every one who chose to engage in it or possessed the requisite capital. Unfortunately for the Indians, they could not restrain their appetite for ardent spirits, and consequently it should excite no surprise that a tribe thus pressed on one hand by a powerful and infuriated enemy and on the other enticed by temptation to indulgence should rapidly decline.

The effects of commerce with the whites on the condition of the aboriginal tribes of Maryland, located on the shores skirting the open waters of the Chesapeake, were of so baneful a character as to destroy their power and importance within fifty years after the landing of Calvert. Without any strong political organization, or any permanent union among themselves, ever anxious to obtain the benefits of commerce and trade, and lacking the firm moral purpose to resist the evil influences to which they were exposed, the Indians were placed in precisely the same position as were the coast-tribes of Virginia, who wasted away with a degree of rapidity which surprised her statesmen. They exchanged their furs and fish, the only available products of their forests and streams, for the means of indulgence, and when this resource failed they sold their lands to obtain the same destructive stimulants. Whether gunpowder, which annihilated the animals, performed its work more effectually than alcohol, which thinned the ranks of the Indians, may well be doubted.

Jealous of their tribal sovereignty, the Susquehannocks by intestine wars increased the work of self-destruction begun by intemperance, and when, like the other tribes, they began to assert their rights and resist the encroachments of Europeans, they had already diminished so much in population that they lacked the ability to maintain their ground. They were outwitted in diplomacy by a civilized nation, and if they did not disappear before the steady progress of arts and industry, they were enervated during peace and conquered in war.

One cause operated powerfully to hasten the downfall of the Susquehannocks,—the mismanagement of their relations with the settlers of Virginia. The Virginians on the southern banks of the Potomac, for some reason, believed the Susquehannocks to have been guilty of committing depredations and foul murders on their frontiers. In 1675 some of the inhabitants of the most northerly portion of Virginia, while on their way to attend church, found the nearly lifeless body of a settler lying across the threshold of his own door, and an Indian lying dead on the ground near him. The white man was mortally wounded, but lived long enough to inform them that the Indians came from the Maryland shore.

The sensation produced by this outrage was extreme. Two spirited officers of the militia, Mason and Brent, accompanied by thirty men, promptly pursued the murderers. Ascending the valley of the Potomac some twenty miles, they crossed its channel to the Maryland shore, where they found two Indian paths. Dividing their force, Mason took one trail and Brent the other. A short pursuit by each party terminated in the discovery of two Indian wigwams. Brent having accused one of the occupants of the lodge which he found as the murderer, the Indian denied the accusation, and attempted to escape, but was shot down by a pistol-ball which lodged in his back. The other inmates then fired and made a spring for the door of the wigwam, but the rifle laid ten of the number dead on the spot. Meantime, Mason had arrived at the other lodge, the Indians in which, hearing the firing at the first lodge, hastened to effect their escape. Fourteen of them were shot, when one of the survivors having rushed up to Mason and declared that they were Susquehannocks and friends, the firing was instantly stopped.

The Susquehannocks subsequently accused the Senecas of having committed the murders in Virginia. Who the perpetrators really were is unknown, but other massacres immediately followed on those borders, which so excited the people of Maryland, as well as of Virginia, that they united in mustering one thousand men to march against the Susquehannocks. This force was placed under the command of Colonel John Washington.<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile, the Susquehannocks had taken possession of an old abandoned fort, which, having been used by the whites in previous wars, was singularly well calculated for defence. It was encompassed by ample earthen walls, containing a gate and surrounded by a ditch, the counterscarp of the latter being planted with trees, closely wattled, which presented an impenetrable curtain.

The Maryland and Virginia forces appeared before this fort on the 23d of Sep-

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<sup>1</sup> Great-grandfather of General George Washington.

tember. Conferences were held, in which the Indians, although boldly accused of the murders, strongly denied their complicity, notwithstanding three of the bloody deeds had been identified as their acts. They agreed to deliver Harignera and five others of their principal chiefs to the English as hostages for the security of their frontiers. The morning after the consummation of this treaty, one Captain John Allen, a leader of the Maryland Rangers, having reported the circumstance of the murder of Randolph Hanson among the recent outrages, was sent with a guard to ascertain whether it had been the work of Indians. It so occurred that during the final conference for the conclusion of the treaty by the terms of which the six chiefs had been delivered over to the custody of the military, Allen returned from this examination, bringing with him the mangled remains of the victims, the appearance of which left no doubt that they had been foully murdered by the Indians. The whole camp was instantly a scene of excitement, every one imagining he saw his nearest friend, or some loved one, in the cruel grip of savages. Five of the hostages, comprising the leading sachems and wise men of the Susquehannocks, were immediately condemned to death, and were accordingly executed. During the night the Indians dexterously and silently evacuated the fort and fled, taking with them all their women and children. The warriors of this party attacked with savage fury the white residents on the frontiers of Virginia, killing many, and committing numerous depredations, finally either being exterminated in these forays or becoming scattered among other bands.

This was not, however, the severest blow that the Susquehannocks received. It appears from the relation of Evans that a body of troops led by a Marylander attacked them at a position east of the Susquehanna, about three miles below Wright's Ferry, now known as Columbia, killing several hundred men. It is proved by Colden (from data produced at the treaty of Lancaster, negotiated in 1744) that the Susquehannocks formed a part of the Conestogas, an original Oneida tribe, and that they were finally settled in the territory of that nation in Western New York. Oneida tradition places the birth and origin of the celebrated chief Skenandoah at Conestoga, whence in early life he came to Oneida Castle.

The synonymous names of the Indian tribes in the United States have operated greatly to complicate or retard the development of their true history. This subject has been a stumbling-block to writers, as well at home as abroad, where some of the ablest historians have been misled by it, mistaking the several names of the same tribe for those of different tribes. The Indian history of Maryland, and of its leading tribe, the Susquehannocks, has been obscured in this way. The early French writers in Canada, and those who on their authority have since written of that country, constantly mention a tribe whose name in the softest form is given as *Andastes*. Although residing in well-known limits of the United States, their name is not to be found in the works of any of our historians. Fortunately, however, there existed between them and the Indian allies of the French sufficient intercourse to give us data whereby to determine their location, language, numbers, and power.

Friends of the Swedish colony on the Delaware, friends of the Hurons in Upper

Canada, friends at a later date of Maryland and Pennsylvania, they were repeatedly at war with the powerful Iroquois. Like the latter and the Neuters, they were a branch of the great Huron-Iroquois family. According to Bressani, they were located five hundred miles—or, as the "Relation" of 1647–48 has it, one hundred and fifty leagues—southwest by south of the Hurons, inclining a little eastward. This measurement was in a direct line, the road usually taken being somewhat longer, and at least two hundred leagues. A large river, rising near Lake Ontario, led to the town. They resided near the Swedish settlement, and were on friendly terms with the Scandinavian colonists.

Quite naturally we turn to Swedish accounts to find some traces of this people. Proud, in his "History of Pennsylvania" and the "Historical Collections," actually locates a tribe called Andastakas on Christiana Creek, but does not indicate on what authority. The name does not appear in Swedish accounts, and this is natural, as the surrounding tribes were Algonkin, and the Swedish name would of course be Algic. A band of the Akwinoshioni existed near the Swedes, whom they called Mengwe, a term that Heckewelder tells us is the same as Mingo. Campanius has preserved a vocabulary of their language, which is a dialect of the Huron-Iroquois, as Duponceau long since observed. This word is not to be confounded with Minqua. Minqua was the Dutch and Swedish name for the Susquehannocks. A creek running into the Delaware bore the name of Minquakill, not that the Minqua lived on it, but because it led to their country. This would place them on the Susquehanna, where the French locate the Andastes. Their town is thus described by Campanius: "The Minques, or Minckus, lived at the distance of twelve [fifty-four English] miles from New Sweden, where they daily came to trade with us. The way to their land was very bad, being rocky, full of sharp gray stones, with hills and morasses, so that the Swedes when they went to them, which happened once or twice a year, had to walk in the water up to their armpits. . . . They live on a high mountain, very steep and difficult to climb; there they have a fort or square building in which they reside. They have guns and small iron cannon, with which they shoot and defend themselves, and take with them when they go to war. They are strong and vigorous, both old and young; they are a tall people, and not frightful in their appearance."

There can be little doubt as to the identity of these Swedish Minqua and the Andastoe, or Gandastogué, of the French. Let us now see what we can elicit from European annals regarding their history. Towards the close of the seventeenth century, they had in a ten years' war almost exterminated the Mohawks. The Minquas were a warlike people, and, as usual with the Huron-Iroquois, were a superior race to their Algic neighbors. "They made the other Indians," says Campanius, "subject to them, so that they dared not stir, much less go to war against them." In 1633, De Vries found them at war with the Timber Creek Indians. A short time thereafter the Swedes purchased a portion of their territory, and in 1645, under the name of Susquehanna or Conestoga Indians, they ceded to Maryland a tract beginning at the Patuxent River on the west and terminating at the Choptank

River on the east. The Andastes, or Gandastogués, who are evidently these Conestogas, were from time immemorial friends and allies of the Hurons, and not over-friendly to the Iroquois. In 1647, when the former were on the brink of ruin, the Andastes, then able to send from their single town thirteen hundred warriors, "who, when fighting, never fled, but stood like a wall as long as there was one remaining," despatched an embassy to Lake Huron with an offer to espouse their quarrel.

An embassy, headed by the Christian, Charles Ondaiondiont, soon after set out from the villages of the Wyandots or Hurons. In ten days they reached the Andaste town, and on their appeal the Andastes resolved to interfere. An embassy, loaded with rich presents, was sent to Onondaga to demand why the Iroquois struck the Wyandots, and to ask them to be wise and bury the hatchet. Charles, meanwhile, leaving a person to await the return of the deputies, set out for the Huron country, which he reached only after a long and tedious march of forty days, made necessary by the war-parties which the Senecas sent out to intercept him. His journey to Andaste had occupied but ten days. While at Andaste, he visited the churchless settlement of the Swedes, where was lying a Dutch ship from Manhattan, by which he received tidings of the murder of his old friend Ondessonk, the Jesuit Father Jogues, whom the Mohawks had mercilessly butchered near Albany.

The Iroquois accepted the presents of the Andastes, but nevertheless continued the war. The Hurons, however, never required the Andastes to enter the field, and the latter seem to have taken no further part in the war.

Yet, in 1652, the Journal of the Superior of the Jesuits at Montreal, which gives as synonymous the names Andastoe and Atrakwer, mentions a report that six hundred of the Andastes had been taken by the Iroquois. This report was probably unfounded. They were at peace in 1656, although we learn that in that year some Andastoe hunters were robbed by the Onondagas on Lake Ontario, and war was expected in consequence.

In 1660 the successors of the Swedes still continued their friendly intercourse with the Andastes, or Minquas. In the following year we find their town ravaged by the smallpox; and, as Campanius tells us, their loss by that scourge of the Indians was such as to weaken them greatly as a nation. Yet under this affliction their spirit remained unbroken. In 1661 some of their tribe were cut off by the Senecas, and they in return killed three Cayugas in the same year. In the following year they defeated the western cantons, who then supplicated the French for aid. The Senecas soon after renewed their request, and we find that in May, 1663, an army of sixteen hundred Senecas marched against the Minquas and laid siege to a little fort defended by one hundred warriors of that tribe, who, confident in their own bravery, and assured of receiving assistance from their countrymen, as well as from their white friends in Maryland, held out manfully. At last, sallying out, they routed the Senecas, killing ten, and recovering as many of their own countrymen. For a time this victory gave them a preponderance, and such was the terror of their arms that a portion of the Cayugas, being hard pressed and harassed by their inroads, removed to Quinté, north of Lake Ontario.

The war was continued in a desultory manner. In 1668 the missionary resident at Onondaga beheld a Gandastogu  girl tied to the stake, and in 1669 the Oneidas sent out parties against them. In 1670 prisoners were again brought to Seneca and Oneida, where they were tortured. During the previous autumn the Gandastogu s had again attacked the Cayugas, but at last they sent an ambassador to the latter, who, contrary to usage, was imprisoned, and in the spring put to death, together with his nephew.

About this time an Iroquois medicine-man, when dying, ordered his body to be interred on the road to the country of the Andastes, promising to prevent, even in death, the inroads of that waning yet terrible tribe. He also promised that Hochitagete, the great chief of the Andastes, should fall into their hands. Notwithstanding his prophecy, despite the potency of his bones, the Andastes carried off three Cayuga women, and when a party of Senecas took the field, with promises of support from a reserve of Cayugas, they were met, attacked, and defeated by a party of sixty Andaste youth, or rather boys, who, having killed several and routed the rest, started in pursuit of the Cayugas, whom, however, they failed to overtake.

This victory was needed; for the Andastes had suffered greatly in point of numbers. "God help them!" says the missionary who relates the preceding victory: "they have only three hundred warriors!"

The war continued, but the Marylanders became the enemies of the Andastes or Conestogas, and by the year 1675 they had at length yielded to the Iroquois, who removed a portion of them, at least, from their old position to one higher up, perhaps to Onoghquage.

Some of the Conestogas, however, remained at the place which still bears their name. They made a treaty with Penn in 1683, but when that proprietor became aware of their dependent state he applied to the Iroquois through Dongan. When a subsequent treaty was concluded with them, in 1701, a deputy from Onondaga was present, and ratified the acts of Conoodagtoh, "the king of the Susquehanna<sup>1</sup> Menquays, or Conestoga Indians." At this period other Indians had joined the survivors, and Shawnese, as well as Ganawese, also appear among them. Subsequently, when a treaty was negotiated with Lieutenant-Governor Patrick Gordon, four chiefs of the Conestogas (one the somewhat celebrated interpreter, Civility) were present, and also the same number of Algonkin chiefs, headed by Tiorhaasery. Colden represents them as speaking Oneida, and in fact their dialect approximates it greatly.<sup>2</sup> Besides the Algonkins, there were some kindred Nanticokes at Conestoga; but they formed only a small village, destined soon to perish.

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<sup>1</sup> It will be seen that the term Susquehannas is used as if it were a synonyme of Conestogas. Smith (p. 182) speaks of the Susquehannocks as using a different language from the Virginian—that is, from the Algonkin—tribes. Unfortunately, no trace of their language remains, as Gallatin assures us, unless, indeed, the unpublished grammar, dictionary, and catechism of the Jesuit Father White, one of the first settlers of Maryland, which are still preserved at Rome, should prove to be in that language.

<sup>2</sup> Colden, ii. 58. The name Tiorhaasery is that borne by the celebrated missionary Lamberville, and means "dawning of the day."

In 1763 they numbered only twenty souls, living in a cluster of squalid cabins, and all dependent on the industry of the female portion. The men were wild, gypsy-like beings, and, in the troubled state of the country, while Pontiac was encircling the colony with an ever-narrowing hedge of burning dwellings, excited suspicion by their careless if not threatening language. In their vicinity was the town of Paxton, settled by Irish Presbyterians, who had imbibed a fanatical hatred of pagan institutions. These men, having suddenly resolved to destroy the last distinct remnant of the Andastes, Minquas, or Conestogas, armed themselves, and in mid-winter attacked the little village, in which they found only six persons, whom they butchered, and then fired their log huts. The sheriff of Lancaster, upon learning of the outrage, hurried the survivors to the jail of that town as a place of security; but even here they could not escape the fury of the Paxton boys. On the 27th of December, while the townsfolk were in church, they entered the town, broke open the jail, and massacred the survivors, who fought desperately with billets of wood, thus maintaining to the last their ancient renown.<sup>1</sup>

Such was the close of the history of the Andastes. The remnant of a nation which had during fourteen years engaged the victorious Iroquois hand to hand were massacred by a band of lawless whites.

It will not be deemed improper before closing the history of one of the most prominent and characteristic tribes existing during the early days of the central colonies of the United States, a brave and high-spirited race, to collate, in a brief form, the principal events of the times which constitute the basis of their history. In this *résumé* it will be found necessary to repeat some statements which we have already made.

According to a tradition narrated in the Jesuit "Relation" for 1659-60, the Andastes had, prior to 1600, during a ten years' war, almost exterminated the Mohawks, and so completely humbled that bold and warlike tribe that after the period mentioned they seldom dared to provoke them.

However, in 1608, Smith found the tribes still contending with one another, equally resolute and warlike,—the Susquehannas, or Andastes, being impregnable in their palisaded town, and ruling over all the Algonkin tribes.

Soon after the Dutch settled New York they visited the Delaware River, and became acquainted with the dominant tribe, the Minquas, who came from the Susquehanna, by Minquaskill, to trade with them. In 1633, De Vries found them ruling with an iron hand the tribes located on the banks of the Delaware. Five years subsequently, Minuit, at the head of a colony of Swedes, founded New Sweden, purchasing the land from the Minquas. A strong friendship grew up between the settlers and this tribe, and a lucrative trade was carried on, which excited the jealousy of the Dutch, who made repeated endeavors to obtain a share of it.

Of the trade of the Swedes with the Susquehannas, and especially of their supplying the latter with fire-arms, we have a proof in Plowden's "New Albion:" "The

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<sup>1</sup> Parkman's Conspiracy of Pontiac.

Swedes hired out three of their soldiers to the Susquehannocks, and have taught them the use of our arms and fights.'

In 1647 the Hurons were on the brink of ruin. The Iroquois had pursued them, after their alliance with the French, with the utmost fury. By stratagem the whole district of country from the Oswego, Genesee, and Niagara Rivers to the very skirts of Montreal was covered by war-parties, who waylaid every path. Themselves of the Iroquois lineage, the war was waged with the desperation of a family quarrel. There was no pity and no mercy in the Iroquois mode of warfare. They have been known to travel a thousand miles and then conceal themselves near the cabin of some unsuspecting foe that they might deprive him of his scalp. During the war with the Iroquois, the Susquehannas, then able to send thirteen hundred warriors from their single town, despatched an embassy to the shores of Lake Huron to offer their aid to their ancient allies, promising to take up arms whenever called upon. The infatuated Hurons relied on their own strength, and seem to have slighted the proffered assistance till it was too late.

The Dutch still continued to struggle for the Minqua or Susquehanna trade, from which the Swedes no less zealously endeavored to exclude them; but in 1651 the Dutch purchased of the Minquas all the land between the Minquaskill and Bonties Hook, in the name of the States-General and the West India Company.

At the period of Calvert's colonization, the Susquehannas had been at war with the Piscataways, as well as with other Maryland tribes, and seem to have cut off a missionary settlement. In 1642 they were declared enemies of the colony, and, as they still continued their ravages with the Wycomeses, and apparently with the Senecas, Captain Cornwallis was sent against them, and a fort was erected on Palmer's Island to check their inroads. The war continued, however, and an effort made to bring about a conference in May, 1644, with a view to establishing peace, failed. The new settlements of the Puritans on the Severn, in the very territories of the Susquehannas, having given fresh umbrage, the frontier was ravaged by predatory bands. In 1652, however, peace was firmly established by a treaty signed at the river Severn, on the 5th of July, by Richard Bennett, Edward Lloyd, William Fuller, Leonard Strong, and Thomas Marsh, on behalf of the colony, and Sawahegeh, Auroghtaregh, Scarhuhadigh, Rutchogah, and Natheldianeh, Susquehanna "war-captains and counsellors," in the presence of "Jafer Peter for the Swedes Governor."

By this treaty all past grievances were forgiven on both sides, peace was established, and provision made to prevent future hostilities. The Susquehannas thereby ceded to the colony all the territory between Patuxent River and Palmer's Island, on the west, and from Choptank River to the branch above Elk River, excepting Palmer's Island, on which both parties were at liberty to have trading-houses.

In 1652 a war broke out between the Andastes and the Senecas, which continued as late as 1673, for in the Jesuit "Relation" for 1672-73 we find the following remark of Father Lamberville: "Two Andastogues taken by the Iroquois were more fortunate: they received baptism immediately before the hot irons were applied. One of them, having been burnt in a cabin during the night from the feet up to the

knees, prayed with me the next day, when bound to a stake in the square of the castle. I need not repeat here, what is already known, that the tortures inflicted on these prisoners of war are horrible. The patience of these poor victims is admirable; but it is impossible to behold without horror their flesh roasted and devoured by men who act like famished dogs.

“Passing one day by a place where they were cutting up the body of one of these victims, I could not refrain from going up to inveigh against this brutality. One of these cannibals was calling for a knife to cut off an arm; I opposed it, and threatened, if he would not desist, that God would sooner or later punish his cruelty. He persisted, however, giving as his reason that he was invited to a dream-feast, where nothing was to be eaten but human flesh, brought by the guests themselves. Two days after, God permitted his wife to fall into the hands of the Andastogues, who avenged on her the cruelty of her husband.”

Of the two following years we have no definite account, but in 1675 the “*État Présent*” of Monseigneur de St. Valier, Bishop of Quebec, speaks of the pride of the Iroquois since the defeat of the Andastes. When or where the decisive battle was fought, I have been utterly unable to trace: from what can be gleaned from the annals of Maryland and Virginia, it seems probable that their stronghold was taken, and that the survivors fled south.

According to the historians of Maryland and Virginia, the Senecas had, in 1674, conquered the Susquehannas, and driven them from their abode at the head of the Chesapeake to the vicinity of the Piscataways. The fugitives had taken refuge in an old fort which had belonged to their former antagonists, and there resolutely defended themselves against the Senecas, who still pursued them, ravaging without much concern the lands of the whites. Some of the colonists were actually cut off, and, as the Susquehannas had in the olden time been enemies, and were now apparently invading the colonies, it was agreed to send a joint Maryland and Virginia force against them. On the 25th of September, 1675, the Maryland troops, under Major Trueman, appeared before their fort. He was apparently satisfied with their protestations of innocence, but being joined on the following day by the Virginians, under Colonels Washington and Mason, under the strong provocations before stated, he caused five of the chiefs, who came out to treat with them, to be seized and bound. To prove their friendship they showed a silver medal and papers given them by governors of Maryland, but in spite of all they were put to death. Many fell in the fight; the rest evacuated the fort, and commenced a retreat and a war of revenge; and soon, these being joined by other tribes, the whole border was deluged in blood. Bacon's rebellion in Virginia grew out of this act of treachery, and the war was finally ended, it would seem, by the aid of the Iroquois, who, joining the Maryland and Virginia army, forced the surviving Susquehannas to return to their former post, where a number of Iroquois were incorporated with them.

The Susquehannas were finally exterminated as a nation, but their name will be perpetuated by their noble river, which is a more enduring memorial than the perishable monuments erected by man.

## CHAPTER VI.

### PENNSYLVANIA COLONIZED—THE LENNI LENAPE.

TRADITION assigns to the Lenni Lenape an organization anterior to that of most of the other Indian tribes. Heckewelder informs us that they came from the West, and that from their ancient traditions it is gathered that they crossed the Mississippi River in their migration to the East. Authors have attempted to prove that their *ola walum* have reference to a very ancient migration from foreign countries. But these are merely ordinary pictographs, denoting a simple mode of ideographic communication which is common among the entire Algonkin family, of which the Lenni Lenape assert that they were the head.

It is mentioned that after crossing the Mississippi River they were opposed by the Allegans, or Allegewi, who occupied the principal ranges of the Alleghany Mountains. At this epoch, the tradition adds, they discovered the Iroquois, their apparent precursors, towards the north, who became their allies and aided them in driving the Allegans out of the Ohio Valley towards the south. The vestiges of tribal strife still extant in that valley are the evidences of this ancient war. If the term *any* in the word Alleghany denotes a stream or river, as it appears to do, and if the river has prior right to the name over the mountains, then it may be said that the Youghioghany, in which the same word for stream is employed, is also a term of Allegewi origin. These appear to be the only words of that language which have survived the lapse of time.<sup>1</sup>

The name of this tribe has been said to imply "original men," but the orthography does not sustain this assertion. Lenni is the same as *illini* in the Illinois, and *innini* in the Chippewa, the consonants *l* and *n* and the vowels *o* and *i* being interchangeable in the Algonkin. Lenape (ee) is in the same language, and, under the same rule, the equivalent of *inabi* and *iabi*, a male. The true meaning is "manly men,"—a name involving a harmless boast. There is no tribal name in the Vesperic group of tribes which has the least reference to their origin. The Iroquois, by the term *ongwe honwe*, also declared themselves to be superior men. To be men was, symbolically, to be brave, and bravery was the glory to which the red men all aspired.

We must rest satisfied with the Indian traditions, bare as they are of details.

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<sup>1</sup> The philologist, however, will perceive the analogy which exists between the term *any* and the inflections *anock* and *hamnock*, meaning river, in the compound words *Susquehannock* and *Rappahannock*. If, therefore, part of the Allegans crossed to the waters of the Chesapeake, and were driven thence towards the south by the Lenni Lenape and Iroquois, these words, originally in the tribal list, would seem to belong, as a point of Indian history of suggestive importance, to the Susquehannocks and to the Powhatan family, both offshoots from the mother Algonkin.

Even this much is an important contribution to their ancient history, which we should carefully cherish, and for which we are indebted to the meritorious labors of a pious follower of Zinzendorf, who thought far more of saving the souls of this people than of recording their history.

But wherever the Lenape originated, and whatever were the details of the history of their migration from the Mississippi eastward, they were found at the earliest dates to be located in the Valley of the Delaware. In a revised map published at Amsterdam in 1659 they are represented as occupying that valley from its source to its mouth, their lands extending westward to the Minqua, or Susquehannocks, and to the sources of the rivers flowing into the Delaware, which separate them from the latter tribe; and eastward, under the names of various local and totemic clans, across the entire area of New Jersey to the Hudson. The Dutch, who entered the Hudson in 1609, found affiliated tribes of their stock along both banks of that river to near the point of influx of the Tawasentha. When they extended their settlements to the waters of the Delaware, they discovered themselves to be in the central position of the original stock. The fact of their aboriginal occupancy was known to the Swedes, who first entered the Delaware River in 1643. The events attending these colonial extensions into the domains of the Delawares furnish no incidents of history warranting any lengthy detail in this place. European colonization opened to them a commerce in the skins of animals, stimulating them to unusual exertions, which, however, exposed them to the perils of luxury and indulgence. It furnished them with the new and superior products of arts and manufactures, which at once took the place of their former imperfect implements and utensils of wood, bone, clay, and flint. It taught them the use of gunpowder, the firelock, and the steel-trap, by which the prowess of their young men on the war-path was made more severe and destructive, and the species of fur-bearing animals were more speedily annihilated. Depopulation, which had long previously begun to undermine the prosperity of the Indian tribes, was greatly accelerated by the advent of the Europeans. This was the position of affairs when William Penn landed on the shores of the Delaware in 1682. The idea of forming a colony of refuge in America for the poor, suffering, and oppressed people of some parts of Europe had been broached at an early day. The Puritan refugees were the first, in 1620, to develop a project of this kind. A similar necessity for a land of refuge was felt by the Catholics, who emigrated to Maryland under the guidance of Lord Baltimore in 1634. In 1682, Penn provided a like haven of safety for the Quakers, who came thither professing principles of peace and love towards men of every hue. He was especially desirous to protect the Indian race and to treat them with the most enlarged philanthropy and charity. In his hands civilization was rendered mild and enticing. Christianity, as taught by those who understand its precepts, has ever been a law of good will towards all mankind. Penn did not attempt any rude interference with the principles and practices of the natives. Persuasion and example were his only weapons, and strict justice in all transactions with them was his cardinal rule. Time was deemed to be necessary to enable the principles of the new system to take root in such dark and bewildered

minds. Penn approached the natives in their councils, as at their lodge-fires, in an open, simple, straightforward manner, which gained him their confidence and made them receive him as a Friend indeed.

Penn's famous treaty with the Indians at Shackamaxon, on the northern edge of Philadelphia, was not for the purchase of lands, but to the effect that the Englishman and the Indian should respect the same moral law and be alike secure in their pursuits and their possessions, and provided that every difference should be adjusted by a tribunal composed of an equal number from each race. Neither oaths, signatures, nor seals were made use of in this treaty, and no written record of it exists; but it was sacredly kept, and it is said that not a drop of Quaker blood was ever shed by an Indian. This was in some measure owing to the fact that the Delawares had been disarmed and conquered by the Iroquois, whose vengeance would have been visited upon them had they dared to lift the hatchet against their English allies. By a series of unjust measures Penn's sons gradually alienated the Indians, and, after a peace of seventy years' duration, produced a disastrous rupture.

At the period of settlement there were three principal totemic divisions of the Lenni Lenapes, known as the Turtle, the Turkey, and the Wolf tribes. The Monseys or Wolf tribes, the most active and warlike of them all, occupied the mountainous country between the Kittatinny Mountains and the sources of the Susquehanna and Delaware Rivers, kindling their council-fire at the Minisink Flats on the Delaware, above the Water Gap. The tribes included the Assanpink or Stony Creek Indians; the Rankokas; the Andastes, at Christiana Creek, near Wilmington; the Neshaminies, in Bucks County; the Shackamaxons, at Kensington; the Mantas, or Frogs, near Burlington; the Tuteloes and Nanticokes, in Maryland and Virginia (the latter afterwards moved up the Susquehanna); the Monseys, near the Forks of the Delaware; the Mandes and Narriticongs, near the Raritan; the Capitanasses and Gacheos, the Monseys, and the Pomptons, in New Jersey. A few Mingoos were scattered among these. The Shawnees had a village at the Shawnee Flats, below Wilkesbarre, on the west side of the Susquehanna.

## CHAPTER VII.

### SETTLEMENT OF THE CAROLINAS.

SOUTH CAROLINA was occupied in 1670, ten years before Pennsylvania. The settlement of North Carolina dates from the year 1664. Before bringing to a close our narrative of the events of the seventeenth century, it will be important to take a cursory glance at the families of Indian tribes located along the sea-coast and in the interior of the Carolinas. The Indians informed the Spaniards who visited their shores early in the sixteenth century that the name of the country was Chicora, whence their visitors called them Chicoreans, and the race is supposed to be identical with the people now known as Corees, Catawbas, etc. Of the ancient existence of the elements of such a group we have, however, but little evidence beyond their geographical names. We have already presented evidence tending to show that the Catawbas proper were of the Iroquois-Huron stock, and that they sprang from the relics of the once famous Neuter Nation (Eries) of Canada. The most important of the tribes who resided in South Carolina at the time of its settlement were the Catawbas and the Cherokees. The Catawbas could muster nearly fifteen hundred warriors, indicating a population of about seven thousand five hundred souls. They were a fierce, subtle, warlike, and brave people, and at one time either comprised or ruled over twenty-eight subordinate tribes,—the Westoes, Stonoes, Coosaws, Sewees, Yamassees, Santees, Congarees, etc. The Cherokees occupied the upper parts of the State, extending their possessions to the head-waters of the Savannah, Coosawhatchie, Alabama, Tennessee, and Cumberland.

North Carolina was included in the general but undefined area of Virginia, which was first discovered by the parties sent out under the grant made to Raleigh in 1586, and may at an earlier period have contained some portions of the adventurous population of Southern Virginia, who, it is conjectured, might have retired thither after its successful colonization. But the Indian residents of the Carolinas appear to have been regarded as little more than encumbrances upon the land, to be evicted as easily and as speedily as possible. The earliest accounts make scarcely any mention of them, a fact which may be in some measure attributed to the circumstance that in those historical sketches published in London with the view of directing attention to emigration, the inducements for it would not have been enhanced by the introduction of such a topic. The age of philanthropy and of interest in aboriginal or savage tribes in any part of the globe had hardly yet arrived. At any rate, very little can be gleaned from the details of the political and commercial plans of colonization of the period.

The Carolina tribes eagerly availed themselves of the conveniences, luxuries, and

indulgences introduced from Europe, and in an almost incredibly short time the little clans and chieftainships which stretched along the shores became extinct.

Dr. Hewit, an early historian, remarks that attempts were made to shield them against unjust encroachments and to protect their rights.<sup>1</sup> He thus writes: "Plans of lenity were, with respect to those Indian tribes, likewise adopted by government, and every possible precaution was taken to guard them against oppression and prevent any rupture with them. Experience has shown that rigorous measures, such as humbling them by force of arms, were not only very expensive and bloody, but disagreeable to a humane and generous nation, and seldom accompanied with any good effects. Such ill treatment rendered the savages cruel, suspicious, and distrustful, and prepared them for renewing hostilities by keeping alive their ferocious and warlike spirit. Their extirpation, even though it could easily be completed, would be a cruel act, and all the while the growth and prosperity of the settlements would be much retarded by the attempt. Whereas, by treating Indians with gentleness and humanity, it was thought they would by degrees lose their savage spirit and become more harmless and civilized. It was hoped that by establishing a fair and free trade with them their rude temper would in time be softened, their manners altered, and their wants increased, and instead of implacable enemies, ever bent on destruction, they might be rendered good allies, both useful and beneficial to the trade of the nation.

"It has been remarked that those Indians on the continent of America, who were, at the time of its discovery, a numerous and formidable people, have since that period been constantly decreasing and melting away like snow upon the mountains. For this rapid depopulation many reasons have been assigned. It is well known that population everywhere keeps pace with the means of subsistence. Even vegetables spring and grow in proportion to the richness of the soil in which they are planted, and to the supplies they receive from the nourishing rains and dews of heaven; animals flourish or decay according as the means of subsistence abound or fail; and, as all mankind partake of the nature of both, they also multiply or decrease as they are fed, or have provision in plenty, luxury excluded. The Indians, being driven from their possessions near the sea, as the settlements multiplied, were robbed of many necessaries of life, particularly of oysters, crabs, and fish, with which the maritime parts furnished them in great abundance, and on which they must have considerably subsisted, as is apparent from a view of their camps still remaining near the sea-shore. The women are not only much disregarded and despised, but also naturally less prolific among rude than polished nations. The men being often abroad, at hunting or war, agriculture, which is the chief means of subsistence among a civilized people, is entirely neglected by them, and looked upon as an occupation worthy only of women or slaves. That abstinence and fatigue which the men endure in their distant excursions, and that gluttony and voraciousness in which

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<sup>1</sup> "Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia." London, 1776.—Carroll's "South Carolina Collections," 1836.

they indulge themselves in the times of plenty, are equally hurtful to the constitution, and productive of diseases of different kinds. Now that their territories are circumscribed by narrower bounds, the means of subsistence, derived even from game, is less plentiful. Indeed, scanty and limited are the provisions they raise by planting, even in the best seasons; but in case of a failure of their crops, or of their fields being destroyed by enemies, they perish in numbers by famine. Their natural passion for war the first European settlers soon discovered, and therefore turned the fury of one tribe against another with a view to save themselves. When engaged in hostilities, they always fought not so much to humble and conquer as to exterminate and destroy. The British, French, and Spanish nations having planted colonies in their neighborhood, a rivalry for power over them took place, and each nation, having its allies among the savages, was zealous and indefatigable in instigating them against the allies of its neighbor. Hence a series of bloody and destructive wars has been carried on among these rude tribes with all the rage and rancor of implacable enemies.

“But famine and war, however destructive, were not the only causes of their rapid decay. The smallpox, having broken out among them, proved exceedingly fatal, both on account of the contagious nature of the distemper, and their harsh and injudicious attempts to cure it by plunging themselves into cold rivers during the most violent stages of the disorder. The pestilence broke out among some nations, particularly among the Pembrocos in North Carolina, and almost swept away the whole tribe. The practice of entrapping them, which was encouraged by the first settlers in Carolina, and selling them for slaves to the West India planters, helped greatly to thin their nations. But of all other causes, the introduction of spirituous liquors among them, for which they discovered an amazing fondness, has proved the most destructive. Excess and intemperance not only undermined their constitutions, but also created many quarrels, and subjected them to a numerous list of fatal diseases to which in former times they were perfect strangers. Besides, those Europeans engaged in commercial business with them, generally speaking, have been so far from reforming them by examples of virtue and purity of manners, that they rather served to corrupt their morals and render them more treacherous, distrustful, base, and debauched than they were before this intercourse commenced. In short, European avarice and ambition have not only debased the original nature and stern virtue of that savage race, so that those few Indians that now remain have lost in a great measure their primitive character, but European vice and European diseases, the consequences of vice, have exterminated this people, insomuch that many nations formerly populous are totally extinct, and their names entirely forgotten.”

The South Carolina tribes have left but few traces or monuments of their existence except the heaps of oyster-shells which are still observable along the alluvial margins of the rivers. From their ancient places of sepulture the remains of stone pipes, amulets, and other relics of the arts peculiar to a hunter age are from time to time disinterred. There are some mounds still existing on the waters of the Coosaw-

hatchie, as at Pocotaligo, and on some other streams, which have been but little examined, and in some instances where the mounds and shell-heaps have been properly explored the researches have developed nothing of a new character. On the alluvial banks of the Congaree, Mr. Howe has discovered some curious evidences of ancient metallurgic operations which were apparently carried on by the ancient Indians, who also appear to have deposited the bones and ashes of their dead in vases. Mr. Lawson, in his "Travels" (1700), notices some of the rites, manners, and opinions common to the Santees and other bands which convince us that their beliefs and superstitions were similar to those of the more advanced tribes. We are indebted to the same gentleman, also, for our most complete vocabulary of their languages. Their history, however, gives no evidence that they differed from the leading Vesperic groups, except in their names, and in some peculiarities of their dialect, which may be more readily observed in the geographical terminology.

When North Carolina was first settled by the whites there were many small tribes located along the coasts, who numbered collectively ten thousand souls. The Tuscaroras principally occupied the valley of the Neuse, extending from the sea to the mountains. The unfortunate attempt they made at a subsequent period to annihilate the colony by a simultaneous rising forms one of the most thrilling chapters in North Carolina history. This bold, cruel, and partly unsuccessful movement appears to have been a renewal of the project originated by Opechancanough, of Virginia, in 1622; and one cannot help feeling that it was but a rehearsal of the tragedy enacted in 1590, of which the unfortunate colonists left at Cape Hatteras were the victims,—the proximity of the Tuscaroras to that location giving additional countenance to the suggestion. Cusic, in his traditional sketches of the Iroquois, which indicate his profound ignorance of chronology, appears to allude to this, or possibly to some prior event, which occurred in the ante-historical period of America, wherein a Manteo and his English companions, or a Madoc and his Cambrian followers, may be symbolized.

The archæological remains on the late Mr. Calhoun's plantation, at Fort Hill, in Pendleton County, and also those of Fort Kienuka, attest the power of the ancient Iroquois in this quarter, and are yet probably in a condition to admit of satisfactory examination.

## PERIOD III.

### WAR OF RACES—EARLY COLONIAL HISTORY.

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#### CHAPTER I.

##### THE PEQUOT TRIBE AND THE PEQUOT WAR—DESTRUCTION OF FORT MYSTIC— FLIGHT AND EXTINCTION OF THE TRIBE.

VIRGINIA, the mother of the English colonies in the United States, was the first to suffer from the efforts of the natives to root out and destroy the infant European settlements. The tragic fate of the first colony planted within her borders, and the wholesale massacre carried into such terrible effect by Opechancanough on the 22d of March, 1622, have been already related. While the immediate causes of the almost constant wars between the red and the white race, from the earliest down to that of Tecumseh, were varied in their character, yet their underlying motive has undoubtedly been the antagonism natural to people differing so radically in character and civilization, and the not unreasonable fear of the Indian of the disastrous result to him and his race likely to flow from the superiority of the white man.

The name of the Pequot tribe, which appears to mean a wooden arrow, reveals its Algonkin origin. In a map published at Amsterdam in 1659 these Indians are called Pequatoas, but on what account, or when the title was conferred upon them, is unknown. Most of the subdivisions of our aboriginal tribes have trivial names assigned them, on account of some event, important or otherwise, the history of which has not been transmitted to us by tradition. It is certain, from both their language and traditions, that the Lenape Algonkins, after crossing the Hudson towards the northeast, divided into a multiplicity of clans and tribes. In this ancient migration the Wolf totem, or Mohicans, were the first to cross the Hudson, and they appear to have regarded its valley, from the sea to the present site of Albany, as their rightful domain. The Iroquois penetrated into it from the north, and subsequently continued their conquests down the river.

The Mohican language and blood still constituted a tie of affiliation, but each class and sept either adopted some distinctive appellation themselves or received one from their neighbors. Thus, the tribe whose totem included the whirlpool of Hell-Gate called themselves Manhattans; the Long Island Indians, whose shores abounded in the prized sea-shells of which wampum is made, styled themselves, or were named

by others, *Metoacs*; those living near the stone cliffs of Westchester were called *Singsings*, or *Ossining*; and those residing on the wide expanse of the Hudson below the Highlands, *Tappences*. The early colonists, finding the tribes of this valley to be of one species and lineage, called them *Mohikander*, a compound formed from the Mohican and Belgic languages. The clans located nearest to Albany retained the name of *Mohicans*, and when they were eventually driven over the Hoosic and Taconic ranges into the valley of the Housatonic they carried with them their primitive appellation. That the Pequots, who once held possession of the territory along the East River and on the Connecticut shores, also bore the Mohican name is very probable, from the recurrence of *Uncas* to the parent term when he became involved in a political feud with *Sassacus*. At what time this dissension commenced is unknown. The first intimation of it dates from the era of the primary settlement of Connecticut in 1633. The colonists were dispersed over a wide surface, unprotected, and exposed to the caprices as well as to the incursions of the Indians. The oldest settlement had been located but a few years when the inhabitants found that a contest was being waged for the Indian sovereignty between *Uncas* and *Sassacus*.

*Uncas* held possession of a beautiful point of land, now called *Norwich*, at the head of the river *Pequot* (now the *Thames*), and it is probable that he had but recently segregated his tribe from the *Pequots*. His comprehensive mind immediately discerned the advantages that would result to his cause from an alliance with the Connecticut settlers, and it was as clearly the policy of the latter to form such an alliance. Their very safety depended on it, and wisdom was evinced in their choice. *Uncas* became the protector of the colonists; his scouts watched over the infant settlement, and not only reported the advance of hostile parties, but hastened to repel them. This alliance was never broken by either white or red man, and affords one of the most complete and satisfactory evidences to be found in history of the beneficial effects produced on Indian character by unwavering justice and uniform kindness and good will. Half a century later it was not in the power of Penn, with equally benevolent views, to maintain the *Delawares* in their position; yet through every change in their affairs the tribe of *Uncas* was protected and cherished by the people and by the authority of the State of Connecticut. Even after the venerated chief had passed from the stage of life, his successor and family were regarded with kind interest, and a monument has been erected to mark the resting-place of the great aboriginal sage of *Norwich*.

At the time we have indicated, 1637, the *Pequots* had the prestige of being a powerful and warlike people. They had escaped the great pestilence which had desolated the Massachusetts coast about the year 1617, could bring six hundred fighting-men into the field, and probably numbered a population of about three thousand souls. They were expert bowmen, and possessed sixteen guns purchased from the traders. The military strength of Connecticut was then estimated at two hundred men. If the *Pequots* had obtained the ascendancy, the question of the very existence of the colony would have been settled forever.

*John Mason*, the man selected to conduct this war, was a veteran soldier, who,

with Miles Standish and Underhill, had learned the art of war in the Low Countries under that renowned military tactician, William, Prince of Orange. The infant colonies required men possessing his decision of character and unflinching nerve to baffle the wiles of their savage enemies. It was evident that the Pequots meant to annihilate the colonists. Recent and most shocking murders having been perpetrated in the settlements, energetic and prompt action was necessary to enable the colony to maintain its ground. To begin the war Mason could muster but ninety men, which force is stated to have been half the militia of the colony. Uncas joined him with seventy Mohicans, who were chiefly useful as guides and scouts. The auxiliaries promised by the Plymouth colony and from other quarters were slow in making their appearance.

Mason, however, pushed forward with energy, as in his opinion their operations must be conducted with vigor, delay only furnishing Sassacus an opportunity to mature his plans. With the hope that the expected reinforcements would arrive in season to be of service, on the 10th of May he embarked his force at Hartford in three small vessels, and, dropping down the Connecticut River to Fort Saybrook, was there joined by Underhill, his second in command. After coasting along the shore to the entrance of Narragansett Bay, he landed in the vicinity of the village ruled by Canonicus, whose permission he obtained to march across his territory and attack the Pequots. The old chief thought his force too small for such a purpose, but, though he evidently did not expect much from the auxiliary Mohicans, he yet allowed two hundred of his men, under his son Miantonomo, to accompany them, without, however, engaging to take an active part. The Pequots had two forts, the principal of which, located on the Mystic River, was occupied by Sassacus in person. A march of eighteen or twenty miles through the forest brought Mason to a fort of the Niantics, on the borders of the Pequot territory. These people were tributaries and covert allies of the Pequots. The chief treated Mason haughtily, and would not allow him to enter the fort. Fearing that intelligence of his arrival might be transmitted by runners during the night, Mason encamped his men around the fort, giving them strict orders to intercept every person who attempted to leave it.

The following morning several of Miantonomo's men tendered their services as auxiliaries, making many professions of their anxiety to aid in carrying on the war. The number of Indians who now accompanied Mason being five hundred, they made a great display, but not much dependence could be placed upon their conduct on the battle-field, notwithstanding their lavish professions. Although Mason placed no reliance on them, he was willing to avail himself of the effect their appearance would produce on the enemy. Uncas, when questioned as to how many of his Indian allies would run away when the battle commenced, answered, "Every one but myself;" and such proved to be the result.

After a tedious march of twelve miles from the Niantic borders the army arrived at Pawcatuck Ford (now Stonington), weary, hungry, and foot-sore. Resting themselves there for some time, they continued their march with Uncas and Wequa, a recreant Pequot, for their guides, sometimes passing through corn-fields. Warm

weather having set in unusually early, these marches, conjoined with the scarcity of food, were very irksome to men unaccustomed to the toil. Yet they pressed on energetically, and one hour after midnight encamped on the head-waters of the Mystic River. They had now been two days on the march. Their guides informed them that the Pequots held two strong forts in the vicinity, but four or five miles asunder. Although Mason had resolved to make simultaneous attacks on both forts, the fatigues and sufferings endured by the men while threading the mazes of the forest without provisions or tents, and exposed to every inconvenience, induced him to concentrate his efforts on the nearest position, within the present bounds of Groton. They reposed but a short time, and then took up their line of march, arriving before the fort, which was distant two miles, about two hours before daybreak (May 26, 1637). The moon was shining brightly when they reached the foot of the eminence on which the fort was situated, and by this time their boastful red allies had fallen in the rear, quaking at the very name of Pequot.

The walls of the fortification enclosed one or two acres of ground, and consisted of trunks of trees, cut in lengths of twelve feet, sunk three feet deep in the ground, and embanked with earth. These palisades were placed so far apart that missiles could be discharged through the interstices, yet not so much so as to admit a man. Twelve small gates or sally-ports, placed at opposite ends, were closed with trees and brush. The tops of the palisades were bound together with withes, and within, on a level esplanade, were about seventy lodges, constructed of thick matting covering a light frame-work. These lodges, arranged in parallel rows, were surrounded by a circular line of lodges next to the palisades. Mason had approached within a rod of the northeast sally-port without arousing suspicion, when he heard a dog bark within the fort. Instantly an Indian cried out, "Owanux! Owanux!" (Englishmen! Englishmen!) which brought the Pequots to their feet, some of whom were thought to be laboring under the effects of a recent revel. Mason, removing the obstacles, entered the fort at one end with sixteen followers, while Underhill did the same at the opposite sally-port, before the Pequots had time to oppose them. Surprised and confused, they ran about foaming with rage. The fight became desperate, the superiority of fire-arms and swords over arrows and clubs being signally demonstrated. Many of the Indians took shelter in the wigwams, covering themselves with the thick mats, from which it was impossible to dislodge them. Wearied with pursuing them, Mason at length exclaimed, "We must burn them." Suiting the action to the word, he applied a brand to the windward side of the lodges, and Underhill immediately followed his example. The fire spread with great rapidity through the combustible materials, soon filling the whole area with roaring flames. The living and the dead together were roasted in heaps. The English, being themselves expelled by the furious flames, formed a circle outside the palisades to prevent any of the enemy from effecting their escape. Their Indian auxiliaries, having recovered their courage, now came up and completed the work. Forty of the Pequots, who attempted to scale the palisades, were shot as they emerged from their flaming prison. In one hour about six hundred men, women, and children perished.

Though the Pequots had with dreadful cruelty massacred the unsuspecting Oldham, and Sleeping-Stone and his companions, though they had invaded the sanctity of dearly-loved homes with the fury of the tiger and the hyena, yet this was a dreadful retribution, the severity of which could not have been premeditated. Having inflicted this terrible blow upon the Pequots, Mason deemed his position to be a perilous one. He anticipated the speedy vengeance of Sassacus, who was but a few miles distant, at the upper fort, and many of his men were wounded, although but two had been killed in the conflict. It was necessary to carry the wounded on litters, and the soldiers were unprovided with either food or ammunition. In this emergency not a moment was lost in returning to the vessels, which had sailed round to the neighboring port of Pequot Harbor, and all speed was made towards the Connecticut.

The capture and burning of the Pequot fort on the Mystic exercised a controlling influence on the future prosecution of the war. It was a blow more terrible even than at first appeared. The night previous to the attack the post had been reinforced by one hundred and fifty warriors from the upper fort, as Sassacus was conscious of the perils of this position. More than half of his available force had certainly been destroyed, and the warriors he had despatched from his own fortification to reinforce the other had so diminished his strength that he did not deem himself able to sustain another attack. The war had now assumed the acme of bitterness on both sides. Spring, the season of planting, was passing away, and, though food was as scarce with the Indians as with the English, not a grain of corn could be planted in the Connecticut Valley, so great was the danger of being pierced by a Pequot arrow. With the English it was a struggle for existence, and the name of Pequot was to them identified with that of fiend. Delay would only enhance the danger of the whites, while the situation of the Pequots was equally perilous.

Sassacus, realizing his hazardous position, determined to abandon his country and fly westward. Although the Mohawks had been his most dreaded enemies for untold years, he hoped to find some friendly shelter in the small unoccupied valleys of the tributaries to the Hudson, or among the western affluents of the Mohawk. With the energy of a man whose necessities are pressing, he resolved to throw himself on the mercy of his Indian foes, and fly immediately. Collecting his people, he crossed the Connecticut, on his passage killing three Englishmen who were found descending the river on their way to Fort Saybrook.

The capture of Fort Mystic occurred on the 26th of May, and the 15th of the following June was observed by the colonists as a day of thanksgiving for the victory. About a fortnight after the return of the victors to their homes, one hundred and twenty men, under Captain Stoughton, landed at Pequot Harbor to prosecute the war, and on the 26th of June Mason descended the river with forty men to join him. The allies having resolved to pursue Sassacus, Uncas accompanied them with an effective force of Mohicans, this species of warfare requiring the exercise of that peculiar skill in following a trail, for which the minute observation and knowledge of Indian habits have so admirably adapted the aborigines.

Sassacus, being encumbered with a large body of women, children, and invalids, marched slowly, and kept near the open coast, in order to avail himself of the abundant supply of shell-fish to be found on these shores. The allies, while pursuing the fugitives, sometimes came to localities where clams had been dug up. The duty of scouting along these shores being committed to Uncas and his men, they captured a Pequot sachein, who was beheaded at a place now called Guilford Harbor, and his head placed in the forks of an oak-tree. From this circumstance a promontory in the vicinity received the name of Sachem's Head.

After passing the Quinnipiak River, now the site of New Haven, they espied a large body of Pequots, and pursued them. From an eminence they beheld in the distance a cluster of wigwams, situated between the foot of a hill and a swamp, within the present boundaries of the township of Fairfield. A straggling Pequot, who had been captured, guided them to this retreat. But Sassacus, and Mononotto, his principal war-captain, suspecting the design of the English, fled towards the Mohawk country, taking with them most of their active warriors. About eighty of the Pequots, with a few Indian residents of the place, who were vassals of the latter, and nearly two hundred old men, women, and children, took refuge in this swamp, which occupied the area of a mile. Portions of it were impassable quagmires and tangled bushes; but running into it, and nearly subdividing it, was a dry passage.

Being doubtful how to approach it, some of the men waded in, stuck fast in the mud, were wounded severely, and were with difficulty extricated. The assailants then formed a circle around the margin of the swamp. Not wishing to punish the feeble and innocent alike with the guilty, a negotiation was opened which resulted in the surrender of one hundred and eighty old men, women, and children to the English. The warriors, however, refusing to capitulate, were still closely besieged.

A night thus passed away, and was followed by a foggy morning. As the besiegers stood nearly a rod apart, about three o'clock in the morning the Pequots made a sally to pass the circle, which proved unsuccessful. Another attempt at a different point resulted in the same manner. Shifting their ground, a third and desperate dash was attended with such success that about seventy of the enemy escaped. The number of Pequots killed on this occasion, and in the other struggles immediately preceding, was twenty.

But the stern foe of the English, he who had been dignified by the title of the Tyrant of Connecticut, was yet at liberty. Sassacus approached the upper Hudson by a point in possession of Indians linked in the ancient ties of affinity with the Mohicans, dwelling beyond the mountain-range of the Taconic. Sassacus having been at variance with the race residing in New England, it is not improbable that the sympathies of the Mohicans of the Hudson leaned towards Uncas. However this may be, the Mohicans of the Hudson, from its head-waters to its mouth, were the vassals of the Mohawks. In throwing himself upon the mercy of his enemies the Mohawks, as a defeated and ruined sachein who was obliged to forsake his country, Sassacus adopted a course sanctioned by the previous example of wiser and greater men. But the Mohawks were merciless, at least in this instance, for the fugitive

chief was no sooner recognized by them than an arrow was driven through his heart. With him fell the Pequots; the power which had once been the terror of the New England colonies was destroyed, and from this time forth they ceased to be known as a tribe.

With Sassacus fell his brother, and Mononotto, his second in command, who, at first only wounded, was finally killed, together with five other sachems, all of whom were scalped, and the reeking trophies sent to the English in the hope of receiving a reward. It being apparent from the statement of the Indians that there were nearly two hundred Pequots dispersed among the various tribes, a price was set upon their heads. They were hunted throughout the country in all directions, any one being not only permitted but even encouraged to shoot them down at sight. This remnant of the tribe at last having offered to surrender themselves as vassals to the English, the proposition was considered and accepted. A council convened for this purpose at Hartford, September 21, 1638, at which Uncas and Miantonomo were present. It was decided that eighty of the captives should be assigned to Uncas, eighty to Miantonomo, and twenty to Ninigret, chief of the Niantics.

Some members of the non-combatant families who surrendered at the swamp were dispersed as domestics over the country which had been the scene of the conflicts. Forty-eight women and children came to Boston. A portion of those distributed as domestics fled from servitude, but, being retaken by the Indians, they were branded on the shoulder. The best authorities state that they were very restive under the yoke of slavery, and were valueless to their masters. One of the males was given to a gentleman to take to England; fifteen boys and two girls were sold as slaves to a resident of the Bermudas. The superannuated old men, mournful witnesses of the terrible retribution visited on their country, were allowed to descend into the grave unmolested.

Those of the tribe who accompanied Sassacus to the Hudson, or followed the seventy warriors who broke through the English line at the swamp, after reaching the valley of the Hudson, sent a messenger to the Mohawks requesting their permission to settle on this unclaimed territory. They were assigned the position of Schaghticoke, whence they eventually fled to Missisquoi Bay, near the foot of Lake Champlain, in Lower Canada.

For a long time the name of Pequot was a hated epithet, and twenty years after the occurrence of these events, viz., in March, 1658, the Connecticut court passed an act changing the name of the Pequot River to the Thames, and that of Pequot Point, or Harbor, to New London.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE NARRAGANSETTS—WAR BETWEEN UNCAS AND MIANTONOMO.

DURING the greater part of the seventeenth century the three most potent tribes of Southern and Western New England were the Pokanokets or Wampanoags, the Pequots, and the Narragansetts. The bands who claimed the name of Massachusetts Indians may be deemed to have been represented at that period by the Naticks. These were the bands to whom the gospel was especially preached, and over whom all the elements of civilization had obtained more or less influence, and the natural result of their progress in civilization was non-participation in the Indian wars. The Pennacooks and Abenakis, powerful tribes on the northern borders of the colony, did not come into collision with it, and their history more properly belongs to that of New Hampshire and Maine.

By the displacement of the Pequots, the Mohicans, a minor branch of that tribe, under the government of Uncas, were placed in antagonism to the Narragansetts. After the death of the Narragansett chief Canonicus the power devolved on his son Miantonomo, a talented, energetic, intrepid, and wily savage. Uncas, having sustained the English with all his power in their contest with the Pequots, under Sassacus, against whose domination he had rebelled, was henceforth regarded as the guardian spirit of Connecticut. His bravery in war, his decision of character, his wisdom, and his amenity of manners won praises from every lip. But in the field, as well as in the council, Uncas found a rival in Miantonomo, who ruled the more numerous and powerful nation of the Narragansetts. At that period this tribe possessed probably a greater numerical strength than any other of the New England tribes. They were located on the large islands in and along the fertile shores of Narragansett Bay, having a few years earlier sold Aquidneck, now Rhode Island, to Roger Williams. Their principal position was on the large island of Canonicut, which afforded all the requisites for a people who, being expert in the use of the canoe, levied contribution alike upon the game of the neighboring forests and the fish in the surrounding waters.

The Narragansetts had never been hearty friends of the English, and, although they seemed to be amicably inclined, they pursued a devious line of policy, holding an apparently neutral position between the colonists, the Pequots, the Mohicans, and the Pokanokets. The pacific influence exercised by Williams, who had located himself at an Indian village on the head-waters of the west fork of the bay, called by him Providence, kept them in check. But no sooner were the Pequots defeated and the power of Sassacus destroyed than a secret enmity against the Mohicans, under Uncas, developed itself. The details of this feud are too unimportant to be

stated at length. A few years passed, characterized only by a surly and suspicious intercourse between the two rival chiefs. The sympathies of the English inhabiting the three central positions of Hartford, Boston, and Plymouth were undoubtedly with Uncas and the Mohicans. They negotiated treaties with the Narragansetts, in the expectation that this powerful Indian tribe would execute their agreements with the precision and under the operation of the same moral principles as those which govern civilized nations. The compact entered into with the English bound the Narragansetts not to engage in hostilities against Uncas without apprising the then united colonies.

In 1644, after six or seven years of mutual distrust had elapsed, the Narragansetts, eluding even the vigilance of Roger Williams, suddenly marched a body of nine hundred warriors into the Mohican territories with the design of attacking Uncas at a disadvantage; but it happened that some of the Mohican hunters discovered them, and with all speed conveyed the intelligence to their chief. The tribal seat of the Mohicans of Connecticut was then located, as it had been from time immemorial, at the head of the Pequot River, now the Thames, on the site of the present city of Norwich.

Collecting a force of five or six hundred warriors, Uncas determined not to await the onset of his adversary, but to advance and attack him. After marching five or six miles, he encountered Miantonomo and his army on a plain stretching along the banks of the Shetucket, whereupon he halted his force. There appeared to be no choice of position on either side, the plain being level and spacious. Uncas, who had become somewhat versed in English strategy, and understood the advantage to be gained by prompt movements, perceived at once that if he could by a sudden attack produce confusion and drive Miantonomo down the banks of the Shetucket he would be able to overcome his foe's superior numbers. This is the only explanation that can be given of the course he adopted. No sooner had he halted within speaking distance than he stepped forward and tendered his adversary the choice of deciding the fate of the day by personal combat. Miantonomo replied that his men had come to fight, and fight they should. On the instant, Uncas, who was a very tall man, threw himself on the ground, that being a preconcerted signal for his troops to advance, which they did with such ardor and fury that they drove the enemy down the escarpment of the river, and pursued them so vigorously that some of the swift Mohican runners, knowing Uncas to be near at hand, caught Miantonomo by some portion of his dress, temporarily impeding his flight, which enabled the former to make the capture himself. Uncas then sounded the whoop of victory to recall his men, and to signify that Miantonomo was a prisoner, as if his capture had been the only object of the Mohicans.

Not a look of the Narragansett sachem, far less a word, evinced any dread of his enemies. He bore himself before his captor with unflinching dignity and pride. "Had you taken me," said Uncas, with some of that suavity of manner derived from his English associations, "I should have asked you to spare me." Not a word, however, was deigned in reply. Notwithstanding, Uncas spared his life, the usual

privilege of an Indian victor ; but he carried him with him to Norwich, as a trophy of his victory, whence he conducted him to Hartford. The question of his fate was submitted to the English, as one requiring grave deliberation. It had been felt ever since the close of the Pequot war that the Narragansetts exercised an influence adverse to the growth and prosperity of the settlements. The very war in which they had just been engaged was in violation of a solemn agreement made with commissioners formally appointed, and was waged against the worthiest and most trusty sachem who had befriended the colonies. Yet the English considered the case to be beyond their jurisdiction : the territory being Indian, they decided that aboriginal customs and laws must be allowed to take their course.

Miantonomo was, therefore, conducted back to the battle-field, on the banks of the Shetucket, escorted by two Englishmen, to shield him from any attempt at cruelty. The retinue traversed the scene of the late conflict with all the impressive dignity of an official cortège. Uncas, who knew the chief personally, determined to have no hand in the execution, and therefore deputed the duty to one of his war-captains, enjoining him to leave the Narragansett in entire ignorance of his fate. He only knew that he was remanded to the spot of his capture. Before reaching this point, the warrior intrusted with the task, who walked immediately behind him, suddenly drew a tomahawk and with one blow laid him dead at his feet. The scene of this tragedy has since been called Sachem's Plain. Though burning with desire for vengeance, his tribe feared a conflict with the English, and were at length compelled to submit to a peace, the conditions of which were onerous in the extreme. Joining Philip in his war upon the Massachusetts colonists, in 1675, the Narragansetts were almost totally destroyed by the terrible blow inflicted upon them at the "swamp fight" in South Kingstown, Rhode Island, December 8 of that year.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE POKANOKET TRIBE AND PHILIP'S WAR—THE NARRAGANSETTS JOIN PHILIP AND ARE DEFEATED AND HUMBLED—OVERTHROW AND DEATH OF PHILIP.

WHEN the New England colonies were established, the Pokanoket tribe was in the ascendancy. The coast tribes, indeed, if not almost annihilated, had been decimated by a pestilential disease; but there is every reason to believe that the chiefs who sat in the council lodges surrounding the waters of Massachusetts Bay acknowledged fealty to the reigning sachem of Monnt Hope. Such was the complexion of political affairs when the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth in 1620.

The Pokanokets were descended from an ancient stock, and it is believed that they established themselves on the peninsula with the aid of their friends and allies the Narragansetts and Pequots, after conquering the tribes which then held possession. Evidences of their ancient triumphs have, it is believed, been found in the rude and simple pictographs of the country,—a few heads and cross-bones or clubs, sculptured on a boulder or on a cliff, as mementos of battle. These simple historical memorials were more common among the hills and valleys of the country when it was first occupied than they are at the present day. It is deeply to be regretted that a wanton spirit of destructiveness should have led in so many instances to the mutilation or alteration of the primitive monuments of the Indian nations. The most noted, as also the largest, of these pictographs yet legible is on the Massachusetts borders of the Taunton or Assonet River. Foreign archæologists have attempted to give this inscription an unmerited historical value as a Scandinavian monument. Having visited the locality and made it a study, with the aid of an Indian interpreter, Mr. Schoolcraft had no hesitation in pronouncing it an Algonkin pictographic record of an Indian battle. This was also the interpretation given by an intelligent Indian jossakeed and Indian pictographist to whom he exhibited a copy of it on the island of Michilimackinac. Being well versed in the Indian creed and practices, he found in the pictograph a record of priestly skill in necromancy, and the success here pictured was, as he said, due partly to the expertness of some priest in the necromantic art. The amazement of the vanquished at the sudden assault of the victors is symbolically depicted by their being deprived of both hands and arms, and hence of the power of making any resistance. The name of the reigning chief of the tribe is likewise described by a symbol as having been Mong, or the Loon, and his totem the sun.

The Pokanokets, who may be considered to have been allied with the Narragansetts in the victory represented in the above pictograph, had preserved friendly relations with that powerful coast-tribe from the earliest dates. It is evident that

they were also allied with the Pennacooks of the Merrimac in the north, and with the Pequots, who, under Sassacus, were so unfortunate as to wage war against Uncas and his Mohicans, protected as the latter were by the ægis of the infant Connecticut colony.

The name of Wampanoag, by which the Pokanokets were also designated, appears to denote the fact that they were, from early times, the custodians of the imperial shell or medal. They were so brave and warlike that the surrounding tribes regarded them as the most powerful organization on the coast from Narragansett Bay to Massachusetts Bay.

When the Plymouth colony was founded, the Pokanoket tribe was governed by Massasoit. We have seen that the colonists found the vicinity of their location unoccupied,—old corn-fields, deserted lodges, and graves hastily covered denoting the ravages of the pestilence which had depopulated this region. They made it their early endeavor to seek an interview with Massasoit and establish friendly relations with him, the conference being managed carefully with a view to effect. Musicians and soldiers, armed with muskets, accompanied the English governor, and the negotiations afforded a fair specimen of both Indian and colonial diplomacy. It was characterized, also, by the introduction to the Indians of that element which has since proved a source of so much injury to the race. Here the Indians first learned to drink alcoholic liquors.

Political power among the Indians of New England was at this time wielded principally by two influential bashabaries,—namely, the Pokanoket and Pennacook tribal leagues. Both confederations comprised a union of the religious and political elements. A simple sagamore appears to have wielded only a local power, while the bashaba also filled the priestly office of chief jossakeed, powwow, or prophet. The Pennacook bashabary was confined almost exclusively to the country north of the Merrimac, extending through New Hampshire into Maine, and gave the early colonists but little trouble. But the Mount Hope (or Montaup) government included the territory immediately around the new homes of the colonists. Every foot of land they added to their possessions was gained by permission of, agreement with, or purchase from, the chiefs and sagamores of this confederacy. The fact that neither the Narragansetts nor the Pequots in the west, nor the Pennacooks in the north, made grants in the territory of Massachusetts, is conclusive proof that the authority of Massasoit was supreme. One of the first objects of the colonists was to secure peace on their frontiers by concluding treaties of amity with the Indians. Considering the influence of this central organization, it is not surprising that for so long a period they kept the storm of open Indian warfare from their continually progressing settlements, Massasoit being in allegiance with the three great powers around him, namely, the Narragansetts, the Pequots, and the Pennacooks. These tribes and their component septs and bands all originally spoke one language, practised one religion, were conversant with precisely the same arts, and were under the influence of identical customs and manners. According to Prince, the news of the massacre in Virginia in March, 1622, perpetrated by Opechancanough, reached

Plymouth in May, and made the colonists more fearful of Indian treachery. By great vigilance and caution in circumventing the schemes and diverting the animosities of the petty chiefs, the colonists succeeded in securing some twenty years of undisturbed peace. It was not until the year 1646, when John Eliot began to preach the gospel to the Indians, and held his religious conference with them under the old oaks at Natick, that the Indian jossakeeds became seriously alarmed.

While the English were making themselves acquainted with the character, positions, and wants of the Indians of New York, the causes of discord between the New England tribes and the colonists still continued, but, like a smouldering fire, they were very much concealed from public view. The severity with which the Pequots were treated secured the peace of the country for some thirty years, though at no time during this period could the colonists relax their vigilance for one moment. The war between the Mohicans and the Narragansetts, under Uncas and Miantonomo, demonstrated to the tribes that, however fiercely discord and war might rage among themselves, the great and vital objects of the colonists were not retarded, but were rather promoted, by the extinction of the petty Indian sovereignties.

At length, in 1675, those smothered burnings burst forth into a flame. Massachusetts having been in truth the mother of the British colonies of the North, she now became the principal object against which the long pent-up wrath of the aborigines was directed. The majority of her sea-coast and inland tribes had, indeed, yielded to the influences of civilization and gospel teachings, and had engaged in the pursuits of agriculture, but in her assemblies of neophytes there were disciples of the native Indian priesthood who sometimes maintained their view of the questions at issue with great boldness. The larger part of the Indian population of the interior, and towards the south, southwest, and west, hated a life of labor, as also the religion of the Puritans, and secretly banded together to make another combined effort for the extinction and expulsion of the English. This combination was headed by the Pokanokets, whose council-fires burned on Mount Hope (now Bristol, Rhode Island).

It has been previously stated that this tribe had very extensive affiliations with the principal Indian families of the country. They were the leading tribe of the Pokanoket alliance, which constituted a kind of aboriginal hereditary presidency.<sup>1</sup> The benevolent Massasoit held the chief office at the period of the founding of the Plymouth colony, and both he and his descendants were, up to the close of the war, deemed the legitimate sovereigns, possessing power to alienate land. Massasoit, who by his equanimity and conservative character had maintained a good understanding with the colonists, died just previous to 1660, and was succeeded at alternate periods by his sons Popquit and Metakom, or, according to the researches of Mr. Drake,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This group appears to have consisted principally of the Pawtucket, Neponsetts, Nonantums, Wicahgashas, Nashoways, Nantucket, Puncapaug, Nipmuck, Noeantick, and Wampanoag or Pokanoket, the latter being the reigning tribe. The Pokanokets had been very numerous, but their population had been diminished by the general sickness prior to the year 1620.

<sup>2</sup> Drake's Book of the Indians, p. 14.

more correctly, Pometakom. The colonial court at one of its sittings gave them the names of Alexander and Philip, in compliment to their martial bearing. Alexander, who possessed a high spirit, ruled but a short time, dying of a fever suddenly contracted while on a visit to the Plymouth colony. Pometakom, better known as King Philip, succeeded him. He had a large and finely-developed head, and possessed great resolution, activity, and powers of endurance. John Josselyn, who saw Philip at Boston about 1669, thus describes his dress: "His coat and buckskins were thick-set with beads (wampumpeag) in pleasant wild works, and a broad belt of the same. His accoutrements were valued at twenty pounds sterling." He may be regarded as the true representative of the Indian hunter. He was familiar with every foot of ground between Mount Hope and Massachusetts Bay, had witnessed the foundation and rise of the colonies, was well known to the colonists, and they to him, loved the independence of savage life and rule, took great pride in his ancestry, loved the old Indian rites, and retained in his service a numerous priesthood, or body of prophets, sagamores, and powwows, demonology and idolatry, magic and soothsaying, being cherished by him as the religion of his ancestors. He loved hunting and fishing, and despised the life of labor recommended to him. He may be said to have detested civilization in all its forms, and he abhorred the doctrines of Christianity.

During twelve years Philip had been a silent observer of the growth of New England. Twenty years had elapsed since the close of the war between the Narragansetts and the Mohicans, of which the colonists had been passive though deeply interested spectators, merely employing their influence with the tribes to keep them at peace with the colonies and with one another. For several years prior to the breaking out of the Pokanoket war, Philip had been regarded with suspicion, and a close eye was kept on his movements. It appears that, in addition to his authority among the eight or ten tribes who acknowledged his supremacy, his influence was exerted among the Narragansetts, his immediate neighbors on the south, whose possessions extended northwardly to those of the Pennacooks of the river Merrimac, and the other tribes of the Pawtuckets.

It was a current belief among the colonists as early as 1671 that a rising of the Indians was planned and ready for execution, and that Philip was accountable for any injuries they might receive from the Indians supposed to be under his influence. Summoned on September 29, 1671, before the Commissioners of the United Colonies, he was compelled to sign a paper acknowledging himself subject to the Plymouth government and laws, and to pay one hundred pounds sterling, for which, as he could not at once do it, he was to have three years' time, and was to pay "in such things as he had." Five wolves' heads were to be sent annually as tribute to the governor. These exactions, which he was in no condition to refuse, were extremely galling to his proud and haughty soul.

Philip and the tribes that were under his influence, surrounded by the constantly increasing plantations of the English, crowded by hated neighbors, losing one by one their fields or hunting-grounds, and he himself frequently summoned to Boston or Plymouth to reply to an accusation or to explain his acts, sighed for their old free-

dom, and nursed a spirit of savage independence. The haughty chief, who had been obliged to give up his "English arms" and to pay an onerous tribute, again fell under suspicion in 1674, and was again summoned for examination.

There is no doubt that Philip was long very averse to the war. This is the constant tradition among the posterity of persons who lived in his immediate vicinity and in familiar intercourse with him, and also with the Indians who survived the war. The spot is still pointed out in Bristol where Philip—who only the day before had rescued and returned safely to his home a captive Englishman—shed tears on receiving the news of the killing of the first Englishman who fell. He was convinced at length that a war could not be avoided, and during its progress he enlisted in his behalf as many allies as possible. Neither Bancroft, Palfrey, nor Drake takes the view that Philip's war was a wide-spread, premeditated effort to expel the English colonists.

A conference to settle the existing difficulties took place April 10, 1675, only a few weeks before the war broke out, at the meeting-house in Taunton, Philip and his warriors, painted, armed, and in war-costume, occupying one side of the house, and the English, also armed, the other. The result of this conference was the delivery of all the guns of the Indians to the colonists, and an increase of hatred on the part of the former for the latter. Philip's principal councillors, all of whom were heads of small clans or tribes of Wampanoags, and all of whom perished in the war, were Watuspaquin, styled the Black Sachem, his son William, Peebe, Uncompoin, Unnathum or Munashum, usually called Nimrod, and Annawan.

Philip's plan for uniting all the border Indians in a general war against the colonies is supposed to have been revealed by a friendly Christian Indian called Sausaman. He, being Philip's scribe or counsellor, was in his confidence and acquainted with his designs. For this act he was made to pay the forfeit of his life. He was murdered by three emissaries of Philip. While fishing on a pond through an orifice in the ice, he was approached without suspicion by his foes, who knocked him on the head and then thrust his body through the opening. In June, 1675, the murderers were identified, tried, and hanged.

It is estimated that in 1673 the entire white population of New England was about fifty thousand souls, of whom eight thousand were capable of bearing arms. About this time Massachusetts alone mustered twelve troops of cavalry, comprising sixty men each, who were armed and stationed at various points to punish any sudden aggressions. The white population had within forty years spread from its original nucleus at Plymouth more than one hundred miles westward, and in some places the same distance to the north. But, owing to this very expansion, it presented on every frontier a broken, unconnected line, continually subject to the depredations of the hostile Indians. At these exposed points in the line of the advancing settlements every man was the daily guardian of his own life, untiring vigilance being the only guarantee of safety. The Indians numbered about thirty thousand.

To qualify himself for his great effort against the New England colonies, and to relieve his men from domestic cares, Philip sent his own family, and all the women

and children of his nation, into the country of his friends and neighbors the Narragansetts. The Narragansett chief Canonchet, the son of Miantonomo, who had been the reigning sachem since the death of his father, by this course involved himself deeply with the colonies, and it ultimately cost him his life; for the colonists could now no longer doubt that the Narragansetts not only sympathized deeply with Philip, but had acceded to his plans. They therefore organized a strong force against this tribe, and, after the capture of Canonchet in a conflict which occurred near Seekonk, the tribe succumbed and formed a new treaty with their conquerors. Canonchet himself was sent to the Mohicans, under Uncas, and by them executed.

Philip had kept up his communications with the central powers of the colonies, particularly by two personal visits to Plymouth in 1662 and 1671, during which time he renewed the fealty first pledged by his father Massasoit. After the disclosure made by Sausaman, his intentions could no longer be concealed, and when it became known that he had abandoned his ancestral seat at Mount Hope, and sent the women and children to a place of safety, it was supposed, and with truth, that he was ranging up and down among the tribes, arousing his followers, and exciting in them a desire for war and plunder. The tragedy soon opened along the entire line of the New England frontiers, and the struggle which followed was by far the severest ordeal the New England colonies ever passed through.

Philip's energies appeared to be almost superhuman, for it was either his voice which animated or his hand which directed every attack. The war commenced near Mount Hope on the 24th of June, 1675. A party of Philip's warriors being sent to the English settlement at Mattapoisett (now Swanzev), they plundered the houses, and killed some of the cattle. In this foray an Indian being shot, the others rushed forward and murdered nine of the English. Intelligence of the affray was quickly spread, and the Plymouth and Massachusetts colonies immediately sent troops into the field. Within four days thereafter a company of foot, under Captain Daniel Henchman, and a troop of horse, under Captain Thomas Prentice, were on the march, and were joined on the 27th by Captain Samuel Moseley's company of one hundred and ten men, who had with them a number of dogs to be used in hunting the Indians. Arriving at Swanzev on the 28th, they were there joined by the Plymouth men under Captain James Cudworth, who took command of the united forces. Captain Benjamin Church, afterwards conspicuous as an Indian fighter, was a volunteer in this command. A month later a company of Christian Indians under Captain Isaac Johnson, of Roxbury, joined Major Savage, and acquitted themselves "courageously and faithfully" in the service.

Several skirmishes ensued, and a few Indians as well as English were killed. The forces of the latter being soon recruited, they proceeded, under Captain Thomas Savage, commander-in-chief of the Massachusetts forces, to Mount Hope, which was found to be deserted, the enemy having fled. The dragoons while reconnoitring the vicinity discovered a small party of Indians, and killed four or five of the number. The troops then received orders to march into the country of the Narragansetts and bring them to an account, but were met with many professions of a desire for peace.

Negotiations having been opened, the Narragansetts signed a treaty July 15, binding themselves "as far as was in their power" to oppose Philip. At this time a price was placed on Philip's head delivered "dead or alive."

While the English were concluding with the Narragansetts a worthless treaty, the hostiles were actively occupied in burning houses, destroying property, and killing and mutilating the inhabitants. Taunton, Middleborough, Dartmouth, and Mendon were thus visited, small parties spreading in various directions. One of these attacked the house of John Minot, in Dorchester.

Meantime, Captain Benjamin Church had penetrated Pocasset, into whose extensive swamps Philip had withdrawn his warriors, where he found and engaged some straggling parties, but, not meeting with the success he desired, he soon after returned to the same locality with fifty men. Dividing these for the purpose of more effectually pursuing the search, Fuller led one party towards the open bay, while Church with the other penetrated the interior, where, encountering the enemy in force, he was driven back. Fuller was also attacked by superior numbers, and, after reaching the shore, both parties were saved from destruction only by the fortunate proximity of a Rhode Island sloop. As soon as the English force could be concentrated, another expedition was sent to Pocasset, and several desultory engagements resulted in the killing of fourteen or fifteen Indians. On the arrival of the entire allied force, Philip, after some slight skirmishing, retired to that favorite natural fortress of the Indians,—a swamp. With the approach of night the English retired, but being reinforced the following day by one hundred men, and observing that Philip occupied a narrow peninsula, seven miles in length, having an impenetrable swamp in the interior, they resolved to cut off his communications and starve him out. The chief, seeing his critical position, took advantage of a dark night (August 1), and, constructing rafts of timber, escaped across the Assonet or Taunton River to his allies the Nipmucks, a wandering tribe, whose segregated bands occupied a large area of territory. When, the following morning, it was discovered that Philip had fled, the allies hotly pursued him, and, tracing his trail by the aid of the Mohicans, they overtook him at night on Rehoboth Plain, and killed thirty of his warriors, the wily chief, with the rest of his force, succeeding in making good his escape. Within a week from the commencement of hostilities the savages had been driven from Mount Hope, and in less than a month Philip was a fugitive among the interior tribes of Massachusetts. Philip had fled to the quarter where he had the greatest number of allies. His plan apparently was, if defeated in New England, to retire towards the territory occupied by the Baron de St. Castin, an influential trader, or Indian factor, who resided in Maine, had intermarried with the Penobscots, and sympathized with the effort of Philip, with whom he is said by all the authorities of that period to have been in league. There is no doubt of his friendship for, and alliance with, the Pennacooks and their affiliated bands of the Merrimac, extending northward to the Penobscot, Canada, and Acadia, where an adverse political element existed. France was regarded by the aborigines in all respects as the friend of the Indian race, and the destruction of the English colonies was as much of an object to the French as it

ever could have been considered by Philip. The Indians acting under Philip had been, without doubt, supplied with fire-arms and ammunition from the commercial *dépôt* of the Baron de St. Castin, and this species of aid and sympathy may be considered as having afforded Philip good grounds for hoping for success in what would otherwise have been a desperate undertaking.

In after-years, when the Pennacooks and the other Indians of Southern New Hampshire fled to the north and allied themselves with the Abenakis, it was this very French influence upon which they relied. After a few years spent in various employments in the West, subsequent to the year 1689, Sebastian Rale established himself at Norridgewock, on the Kennebec, when this connection with the New England Indians became more fully apparent. The fugitive Indians were encouraged in their hostility to the English, and became expert in the use of fire-arms, which at that era had entirely superseded bows and arrows. Returning in detached parties, like hyenas in search of prey, they fell upon the people of the new and isolated settlements, from whose precincts they had previously fled, with the exterminating knife and tomahawk, marking their course with scenes of arson and murder which are heart-rending and horrible to contemplate.

St. Castin, it is affirmed, was a French nobleman of distinction, a colonel in the king's body-guard. He was a man noted for his intrigue as well as his enterprise, who had formed an alliance with the Abenakis and other Indians of this part of the country, the object of which was to impede the progress of the colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts, and other parts of New England. He had married and had living with him at one time six Indian wives. Several Roman Catholic priests also resided with him in his palace, which formed a sort of aboriginal court and was located on the eastern bank of the Penobscot, near its mouth, where the town of Castine, in Maine, now stands. By these means, as well as by his genius and enterprise, he had acquired a vast influence over the natives, not only furnishing them with fire-arms, but also instructing them in their use. He began his career among the Penobscots in 1661, and followed it up with such success that at the commencement of Philip's war the knowledge of the use of gunpowder and fire-arms was universal among the Indians.

It must not, however, be forgotten that Philip, independently of his expectations from the sympathy of the French, was actuated by his own natural antipathies in his attempt to drive the English out of New England, and that when he abandoned Mount Hope he threw himself among his Indian friends and allies with the purpose of inciting them to make incessant attacks on the settlements. To do this effectually it was necessary to surprise them in detail. Places known to be in the occupancy of the militia were avoided unless when a small force could be suddenly attacked by a larger one. The Indians have seldom been willing to meet a large regular force in the field; they have always preferred the guerilla system.

After Philip's flight from Pocasset the war assumed a fiercer character. No agricultural labor could be pursued; every clump of bushes hid an enemy, and every fence and wall covered an ambuscade. The Nipmucks, who had heretofore occupied

a doubtful position, now commenced open hostilities, spreading the alarm westward. At Lancaster a man and his wife were killed on the Lord's day. Non-combatant Indians were arrested and committed for trial; and no Indian was safe from the suspicion of treachery, no matter how good his conduct had previously been, except those of the communities of praying Indians, and even they were closely watched. A short time subsequent to the alarm at Lancaster a detachment of soldiers was sent out to make reconnoissances as far as Hadley.

The authorities at Boston still entertaining the idea that the Nipmucks could be restrained by negotiation, the latter agreed to meet commissioners at Brookfield, but it proved to be a mere ruse on the part of the Indians. The officers sent thither were accompanied by twenty horsemen, and were joined on the route by a considerable number of the citizen soldiery. Finding no Indians there, they marched, on August 2, four or five miles farther, to a narrow defile, flanked by a swamp, where three hundred Indians rose from an ambuscade and poured upon them a heavy fire. Eight of the men were killed by the first discharge, and the commander, Captain Edward Hutchinson, as well as several others, was wounded. They then retreated to Brookfield, whither they were pursued by the Indians, who set the town on fire in several places. The inhabitants retired to a log house, slightly fortified, where they defended themselves. The Indians surrounded it, keeping up an incessant fire, and attempted to burn it by discharging blazing arrows upon it, and by thrusting combustibles against it, placed on the ends of long poles. They then filled a cart with hemp, and, setting it on fire, backed it up to the house. Had this effort succeeded, seventy men, women, and children, who were huddled together within, would have been roasted alive, but fortunately a shower of rain, which fell at this moment, extinguished the flames. The Indians were eventually frightened off by the reported arrival of reinforcements, which they supposed to be very large from their being preceded by a drove of frightened cattle. Only one man was killed and one wounded in this siege.

The affair was scarcely over when four separate bodies of troops, under different commanders, reached Brookfield. But the Indians had fled westward, effecting a union with the Pocumtucks at Deerfield and at Northfield. Being pursued in that direction, a battle was fought on August 25 near Sugar-Loaf Hill, in which nine English and twenty-six Indians fell; the rest of the Indians then joined Philip's forces. Hadley was now occupied by the troops, the natives in the vicinity having begun to show a hostile disposition and to menace the towns above it in the Connecticut Valley. On the 1st of September (1675) they attacked Deerfield, burned most of the houses, and killed one man. Next day nine or ten men were killed by them in the woods at Northfield. On September 3 a reinforcement of thirty-six mounted infantry, with a convoy of provisions for the garrison at Northfield, fell into an Indian ambuscade within two miles of their destination, Beers, the commander, with sixteen men, being killed, and the baggage and wounded captured by the enemy. The place is to this day called Beers's Plain, and the hill where the captain fell, Beers's Mountain.

On the 18th of September a force of eighty men, conveying a train of teams loaded with grain, left Deerfield to proceed to Hadley, but while passing through a dense forest in the vicinity of a place called Bloody Brook (now South Deerfield), some seven hundred Indians, who had been screened from view by the bushes of a morass, rushed furiously upon them. The troops, being thrown into complete confusion, broke ranks, and attempted to fight the enemy from behind trees, in their own customary manner. But it was to no purpose: they suffered an utter and most appalling defeat, Captain Lathrop and seventy-one men, including the teamsters, being slain. The firing being heard at Deerfield, four or five miles distant, reinforcements under Captain Moseley and Major Treat were hurried forward, but did not reach the scene until after the close of the action, when the victors were engaged in stripping the dead and mangling their bodies. Rushing on boldly, without breaking their ranks, the Deerfield men drove the enemy from the field, killing many of them. The loss of the Indians in the several actions fought on this day is reported to have been quite heavy.

It is to be inferred that in these systematic attacks Philip himself was either the leader or the inciting spirit of the Indians. Throughout a large extent of country the Indians were actuated by one motive and one policy; for, like his own fabled Hobbamok, Philip appeared to be ubiquitous, shifting his position with inconceivable rapidity from one point to another. From information subsequently obtained, he is believed to have led the attack at Bloody Brook. The following day he displayed his forces in numbers on the west banks of the Connecticut, near Deerfield, which was garrisoned by only twenty-seven men. This circumstance led to the abandonment of that post, as being too distant to secure proper support, and it was soon after destroyed by the enemy.

Emboldened by these successes, the Indians in the vicinity of Springfield attacked that town on October 5, killed an officer and one man who were out reconnoitring, and burned thirty-two dwelling-houses, including the minister's, with his valuable library, as also twenty-five barns, including their contents,—a loss which reduced the inhabitants to great straits during the winter. Fortunately, the intentions of the enemy had been disclosed by a friendly Indian, so that the people were able to take refuge in their fortified houses and thus save themselves from a general massacre.

Flushed with his triumphs, Philip ascended the valley with the determination of attacking the English head-quarters. On the 19th of October he appeared with seven or eight hundred warriors near the town of Hatfield, and, having cut off several scouting-parties in the woods, made a rapid attack on the town from various quarters. It was defended with great resolution, having been reinforced a short time previous, and after a severe contest Philip was compelled to withdraw his forces. This he effected during the night, not without some confusion, as he was encumbered with his dead and wounded. He also lost some of his guns in the river. He succeeded, however, in firing several dwellings, which were consumed, and in driving off a number of cattle and sheep belonging to the colonists.

Autumn now drawing to a close, it became necessary for the large mass of the

Indians to disperse to places where they could readily obtain their wanted supplies. Philip had determined to pass the winter with the Narragansetts, but in a short time his guerilla parties were kept busy on the waters of the Connecticut. Late in October some unprotected teams near Northampton were attacked, three men were killed in a meadow near that town, and the Indians attempted to burn a mill. Three men were also killed between Springfield and Westfield, and four houses were burned at the latter place. Other depredations were committed at Longmeadow, and likewise at Springfield.

While the knife, club, gun, and incendiary brand were thus actively wielded on the waters of the Connecticut, Philip's warriors were busy in the east and south-east. Two separate companies of militia marched from Boston and Cambridge to repress Indian hostilities at Mendon, Groton, and other places. In effecting this, several encounters occurred, in one of which an officer named Curtis and one soldier fell. A considerable quantity of corn was destroyed, and one captive was released.

Prior to the last-mentioned action an affair occurred at Wrentham. One of the colonists, having one evening discovered a party of Indians on their march, silently followed their trail, and saw them encamp near a precipice. Returning and giving immediate notice of his observations, thirteen men accompanied him to the spot, where they concealed themselves until the Indians arose at daybreak, when they fired upon them, and, driving them over the precipice, killed twenty-four. The rest effected their escape.

Without the details being given, it is impossible to conceive the harassing nature of this war. The English were ever on the alert, ever vigilant, active, brave, and enterprising. They were ready at a moment's warning to pursue the enemy and retaliate his attacks, and whenever they suffered defeat it was owing to their impulsive bravery and a disposition to underrate and despise their enemy. This induced them to make rash movements, in which they frequently neglected the ordinary rules of military caution. Bodies of men were suddenly aroused and marched boldly into the forests and defiles without sending out scouts to ascertain the position of the foe. Besides, it always required a large force to watch a smaller one, when the latter were secreted in the woods, ready to spring upon them when least expected.

Indian history demonstrates that in this guerilla warfare the advantage is generally at first on the side of the natives, who are more intimately acquainted with the local geography as well as with the natural resources of a wilderness country, and also with their own capacity for endurance, which circumstances generally determine their mode of attack and defence. Solid columns of men, encumbered with heavy baggage and a commissariat, when marching through a forest must necessarily progress slowly. They soon become fatigued and harassed by their encumbrances, while the light-footed Indians dart around them and before them, like the hawk toying with its prey, until a suitable opportunity occurs for them to strike. If it be merely a war of skirmishes and surprises, this is their favorite and generally successful mode of attack. Another error committed by the whites in this war was

the employment of a multiplicity of separate commanders, frequently exercising discordant powers and lacking unity of action.

The good sense of the commissioners of the New England colonies, now confederated for defence, convinced the country of this. The war had been in progress scarcely three-fourths of a year, during which time many valuable lives had been lost by Indian ambuscades and a large amount of property had been destroyed. Although the settlers were kept in a state of perpetual alarm, no effective blow had been struck; nothing, in fact, had been done to subdue the daring spirit of the Indians, and their entire force was still in motion. In a council held at Boston it was determined, therefore, to adopt more general and effective measures for the prosecution of the ensuing campaign. Agreeably to a scale then established, Massachusetts colony was directed to furnish five hundred and twenty-seven men; Plymouth colony, one hundred and fifty-eight; and Connecticut, which now included the New Haven colony, three hundred and fifteen; making a total force of one thousand men.

It was subsequently determined to fit out a separate expedition against the Narragansetts, whose hostility to the colonies and complicity with Philip could no longer be doubted. They were designated as the first object of attack. One thousand men were also mustered for this service, officered by experienced captains, and placed under the command of Josiah Winslow. Advanced as the season was (December 8), this force was marched in separate bodies through Seekonk and Providence and over the Patuxent River to Wickford, the place of rendezvous. On the route a system of wanton destruction of person and property was carried out, it being their design to make the Indians feel the effects of the war. The latter, being apprised of the movement, burned Pettiquamscott, killing fifteen of the inhabitants, and concentrated their forces on an elevation, several acres in extent, surrounded on all sides by a swamp,—a position located in the present township of South Kingstown, Rhode Island.

At this place they had fortified themselves by a formidable structure of palisades, surrounded by a close hedge curtain, or rude abatis, leaving but one passage to it, which led across a brook and was formed of a single log, elevated four or five feet above the surface of the water. At another point of the fortification was a low gap, closed by logs four or five feet high, which could be scaled. Close by was a block-house to defend and enfilade this weak point. The whole work was ingeniously constructed, and well adapted to the Indian mode of defence. The authorities do not mention that Philip was present, but there appears to be no doubt that he had given every aid in his power to his allies. It was a death-struggle for the Narragansetts, and their fate would determine his, for they were far superior to his people in numbers.

By the destruction of Pettiquamscott and its little garrison, the troops composing Winslow's army, who had expected to take up their quarters there, were deprived of all shelter. They had no tents, and were consequently obliged to pass a very uncomfortable night in the open air. It was late in December, and bitter cold, with snow on the ground. The Connecticut forces having joined him on the 18th, on the

next day Winslow put his army, now amounting to fifteen hundred men, in motion at an early hour, as they had eighteen miles to march through deep snow. Captains Moseley and Davenport led the van, Gardner and Johnson the centre, and Major Appleton and Captain Oliver the rear of the Massachusetts forces; the Plymouth men, under Major Bradford and Captain Gorham, with whom was General Winslow, marched in the centre; while the Connecticut troops, under Major Treat and Captains Seely, Gallup, Mason, Watts, and Marshall, brought up the rear. At one o'clock in the afternoon, guided by an Indian, they reached the vicinity of the swamp, where a party of the enemy had been stationed as a corps of observation. These were immediately attacked, but fled to their citadel. A detachment, comprising four companies, immediately rushed through the swamp at a venture, and accidentally reached the log gap, which they began to scale, but they were compelled to fall back before the destructive fire from the Indian block-house. They were reinforced by two other companies, when, pressing gallantly forward, they scaled the log sally-port and entered the fort, maintaining themselves in their position under a terrible fire.

While victory thus hung in suspense, the remainder of the army succeeded in crossing the swamp, and entered the works at the same gap, after which the contest was maintained with great obstinacy during three hours. The Indians had constructed coverts in such a manner that the place could be taken only in detail.<sup>1</sup> Driven from one covert after another, the savages kept up a galling fire, resolutely contesting every inch of ground. At length they were compelled to abandon the fort and effect their retreat by the log gate, across the narrow bridge, which, though well adapted to the use of Indians, must have proved a difficult passage to the English. During the contest it was observed that a large body of the Indians had assembled behind a certain part of the fort, whence they kept up a most annoying fire. Captain Church, the aide of General Winslow, having the command of a volunteer company, led them out against these Indian flankers, whom he silenced or dispersed, when, charging again with great gallantry, he re-entered the fort through the oft-contested gap, driving the Indians before him. He encountered them on every side, hunted from their coverts, and falling fast before the English musketry. The Narragansetts finally gave up the struggle and fled into the wilderness.

Six hundred lodges were found in this fortified enclosure. It was in the winter season, and the natives placed great reliance on the strength of their position, as well as on the English custom of suspending war operations during the winter months; therefore the Narragansetts had conveyed their women and children to this place for shelter. It has been stated, and there is no reason to doubt it, that some of the most bold and reckless of the English officers had been formerly sea-captains, and probably buccaneers in the West Indies. Nothing short of the diabolical spirit innate in men of that class could have suggested the cruel scene that followed the flight of the warriors. The wigwams, containing the aged and superannuated, the

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<sup>1</sup> This reveals the object of pits and ditches inside of our antiquarian remains of fortifications in the West.

wounded who were unable to escape, and about three hundred women and children, were set on fire. The miserable inmates ran shrieking in every direction as the flames advanced, but, there being no chance for flight, they were all consumed in this inhuman holocaust.

The Indians who escaped took shelter in a swamp near by, where they passed the night in the snow, and where many of their number died from exposure and the want of both fire and food. The Narragansetts afterwards asserted that they lost about seven hundred warriors at the fort, besides three hundred who subsequently died of their wounds. The entire number assembled at the fort has been computed at four thousand, and if we allow but five persons to a lodge it would sum up a total of eight hundred families.

The conflagration of the lodges, after the Indian warriors had fled, was not merely unnecessary, cruel, and inhuman, but it was also an unwise measure on the part of General Winslow, for the Indian wigwams might have afforded shelter during the night for the wounded and exhausted soldiery. But the English were themselves driven out by the flames, and were compelled to retrace their way through a severe snow-storm, carrying with them many of their dead and wounded. The intensity of the cold, added to the pangs of hunger, occasioned the death of many of the latter, whom ordinary care might have saved. They reached the desolate site of Pettiquamscott after midnight, and the following day thirty-four of their number were buried at that place in one grave. Many were severely frost-bitten, and four hundred were so much disabled as to be unfit for duty. Had the Indians rallied and attacked them at Pettiquamscott, not over four hundred of the army could have handled a gun or a sword. Eighty-five of the English were killed in the storming of the fort, and one hundred and fifty wounded, including eight captains and several subalterns.

This severe blow crippled the power of the Narragansetts, but did not humble them. On the contrary, the survivors cherished the most intense hatred against the English, from this period becoming the open and fearless allies of Philip; and the majority of them, under Canonchet, a short time subsequently joined the Nipmucks, and Philip's allies, near Deerfield and Northfield. Driven from their villages and their country, they turned their backs on their once happy homes with a feeling akin to that which had at a prior period animated Sassacus. It might naturally be supposed that many of them must have suffered greatly from want of food; but the forests were still filled with game, and they also frequently seized the cattle which were straying about on the borders of the settlements. Early in February, 1676, they made a descent upon Lancaster, which they burned, and captured forty-two persons; and a short time thereafter they killed twenty of the inhabitants of Medfield, at the same time burning half the town. Seven or eight buildings shared the same fate in Weymouth. On the 13th of March, four fortified houses were reduced to ashes in Groton. Five houses were burned and five persons killed at Northampton, whence the Indians were repulsed, losing several of their number. A few days later, Warwick, in Rhode Island, was burned, and before the close of the month the largest

portion of the town of Marlborough was likewise consumed, and the town deserted by its inhabitants. On March 27 about forty Sudbury men surprised and attacked in the night three hundred Indians, killing thirty of them.

The Indians had been taught the efficacy of fire by their bitter experience at Kingstown fort, and they soon became expert in using it against the English. The torch was now their most potent weapon. This novel mode of warfare created such a panic that a large force was kept on the alert both day and night. Before the depredations could be checked in one direction, they were duplicated at another and, frequently, distant point. On March 26, Captain Pierce, of Scituate, and fifty men, together with twenty Cape Cod Indians, falling into an ambush at Pawtucket, were suddenly attacked and almost entirely annihilated, after having slain a much larger number of the enemy. Two days subsequently, forty dwelling-houses and thirty barns were burned at Rehoboth, and the next day thirty more were destroyed at Providence. Eleven persons were killed and their bodies consumed in the flames of one house at Plymouth. Chelmsford, Andover, and Marlborough suffered by the torch early in April.

The Indian army which committed these depredations numbered some five hundred men. Finding that they were not closely pursued after their attack upon Sudbury, they encamped in the neighboring forest. Meantime, a force of seventy men, under Captain Wadsworth, who were marching to protect other towns, learning that a body of Indians was concealed in the woods near Sudbury, determined to find them. Seeing a small number of the enemy returning, they instantly started in pursuit of them, and were thus led into an ambush, from which the entire force of the Indians issued and commenced a fierce attack. Flight being out of the question, the English fought bravely, and finally gained an eminence. But nothing could withstand such numerical odds, and Wadsworth and above fifty of his command were killed. The same day a provision-train was attacked in Brookfield, and three men killed or captured. This day, April 21, is memorable as the last great success of Philip. The ire of the Indians was next directed against the old Plymouth colony, which they hated on account of its having been the nucleus of the colonists. Nineteen buildings were burned at Scituate, seventeen at Bridgewater, and eleven houses and five barns in Plymouth itself. A short time subsequently, several buildings were consumed at Nemasket (Middleborough). Very few persons were killed in these depredations, but the Indian firebrand was constantly in operation against every isolated house or unguarded village. Marauding parties stealthily traversed miles of territory every night, and no man could step out into his field to look at his farm or stock without incurring the danger of being pierced by the swift-winged arrow or the unerring ball of a savage foe. The hills and valleys of New England resounded anew with the terrible war-whoop.

While the eastern townships thus presented a scene of universal devastation, the English inhabitants on the western borders experienced but little disturbance from the Indians. But when the latter were driven from the eastern section, they commenced a series of attacks by night and by day on the scattered settlements of the

west. To repress these outrages, Massachusetts and Plymouth sent a considerable force into that quarter.

After the storming of his principal fort in the swamp of South Kingstown, Canonchet, the reigning chieftain of the Narragansetts, fled to another strong position, but there is no evidence that defeat had humbled him. His grandfather, Canonicus, had been the ruling chief of his tribe, and had sold Aquidneck, now Rhode Island, to the English. Canonicus's son, Miantonomo, equally noted for his politic character and his personal bravery, had acted a distinguished part in the war which followed the overthrow of the Pequots. Canonchet himself could look back to no period of the Narragansett history which did not afford him cause for pride. Whatever course his reflections took, he appears only to have been hardened in feeling, and more than ever incited to hatred of the English, by the contest with Winslow.

As spring advanced, he issued from his place of retreat, and, accompanied by a party, came to Seekonk to procure seed-corn for planting. This movement was revealed by two Indian women who were captured, and who also informed the colonists that his place of refuge was on Black River. Some Connecticut soldiers, under Captain George Denison, who happened to be in the vicinity at the time, proceeded to make search for him, and succeeded in finding some of his party. They then immediately scattered, with the view of intercepting him, each squad taking a different route. Canonchet had adopted a similar policy, dividing his followers into separate parties. Forty-four of his men were killed or taken, Denison not losing a man. The sachem was seen by a person who recognized him, and hotly pursued. In order to expedite his flight, he threw off his laced coat and wampum belt, and would have escaped had he not made a false step and fallen into the water, wetting his gun. A swift-footed Pequot, who was in the English army, immediately seized and held him until some of the soldiers arrived. He was desired to indicate his submission, but refused, maintaining both in his air and in his manner a proud, unconquered aspect, and disdaining to make any answers compromising his honor.

He was taken under a strong guard to Stonington, where he was allowed the formality of a trial. This local tribunal condemned him to be shot, which sentence was executed by the Mohicans and Pequots. "I like it well," said the proud chieftain, when informed what was to be his fate. "I shall die before I speak anything unworthy of myself."

With Canonchet the Narragansett power in reality expired, and his people were all driven out of the country, except those under Ninigret, at what is now known as Westerly, Rhode Island. The Narragansett nation had doubtless produced greater chiefs than Canonchet, but none who had possessed a higher or a firmer sense of his power and authority, or who had entertained a greater repugnance to the influx of the English race. Canonicus dreaded the approach of the foreign race, but he saw some advantages in that commerce which supplied a market for what the natives could most easily procure, and which furnished them with articles of which they stood in need. These circumstances, coupled with the influence of Roger Williams, induced him to adopt a conservative course, and to prevent his tribe from committing

hostile acts. His son, Miantonomo, was greatly his superior, both in mental and in personal endowments, but he possessed a fiery, ungovernable spirit. Impatient under the pressure of wrongs that he could not redress, he was too eager to avenge injuries received from his kinsmen, the Mohicans, by a sudden, impulsive movement, the object of which might have been attained by more deliberation. His death on Sachem's Plain is not remarkable as an act of savage cruelty, but it affords a clear proof of the crafty policy of the colonial authorities. An Indian hand was made to strike the executionary blow which Indian clemency or diplomacy had withheld. Canonchet, also, as we have seen, fell by the same questionable system.

Winter is not usually a season of warfare among the forest Indians, who can be traced in the snow, and cannot camp without fires, but where the plunder of barns and cattle is at hand to afford them sustenance the rule is violated. Philip resolved that neither cold nor hunger should stay his onset; he had engaged in a death-struggle with New England, and it may truly be said that she never had to cope with another enemy so energetic and desperate as he.

After the capture of Canonchet, the party which had been led by him fled in the direction of Deerfield and Northfield, in which vicinity Philip's Indians had been for some time collected, committing depredations on the inhabitants. Philip made this part of the country his head-quarters, and, according to accounts then current, he had received countenance from the French in Canada, who had sent, and continued to send, Indian marauding parties into this part of the Connecticut Valley. He had himself visited Canada, and he purposed, in case of final defeat, to retire into that province. A Natick Indian who had been sent out as a spy reported that Philip had visited Albany to obtain assistance from the Mohawks. The Mohawks might have been inclined to aid him, but for a piece of treachery which unexpectedly came to light. Philip's men had killed a few Mohawk hunters on their hunting-grounds in the Connecticut Valley, and the chief had adroitly laid the blame on the English. But one of the men supposed to be dead had recovered, and revealed the true state of the case.

It soon became evident that Philip entertained no idea of giving up the contest, but was preparing to carry on the campaign of 1676 with renewed vigor. As the spring advanced, his central position appeared to be at or about Turner's Falls, on the Connecticut, then a noted locality for the catching of shad and other species of fish abounding in this river. At Longmeadow, on the 26th of March, an armed cavalcade, while proceeding to church, was attacked, and two men killed and a number wounded. On another similar occasion two women and their children became so much frightened that they fell from their horses and were dragged by the Indians into a swamp. These affairs, with many others of a similar character, in which men were killed on both sides, rendered it clear that Philip's main force harbored in this vicinity, and thither, therefore, the English troops were marched, corps after corps, both horse and foot, under approved leaders, until the force swelled to a considerable number. The Indians were camped around the falls on both banks in detached bodies, and were also congregated on its cliffs and on the neighboring

islands. As the English force in this quarter was not at the outset very numerous, the Indians were not in much fear, and consequently became careless. Two captives who had escaped reported this supineness and described their position. About one hundred and sixty mounted men marched for the falls, under Captain Turner, whose gallantry was commemorated by giving to the place his name. They were joined by militia from Springfield and Northampton, and then led by skilful guides to within half a mile of the spot, where Turner dismounted his men and fastened his horses, leaving a small guard to protect them. Having been previously joined by parties under the command of Holyoke and Lyman, the whole force proceeded with silence and caution toward the Indian camp. Day had not yet dawned, and the enemy, deeming themselves secure, kept no watch. They were yet asleep, and scattered around at several points, mostly above the falls, where the river poured at one leap over a precipice of forty feet. A well-directed fire gave them the first indication that the detested English, shouting "Mohawks!" were upon them. Seizing their arms, they fought distractedly. A large number of them leaped into their canoes to cross the river, some of which, having no paddles, were soon swept over the falls, and all who were in them, with one exception, drowned. It is estimated that the entire loss of the Indians was three hundred warriors. One hundred and forty were swept over the falls, only one of whom was saved. Those who succeeded in escaping across the river joined the others in their flight. It was a complete surprise and a disastrous defeat. The slaughter was so great that one hundred dead were counted on the field.

After their flight the Indians again rallied, crossed below the falls, and attacked the guard which had been left with the horses. An Indian captive reported that Philip had arrived with a reinforcement of one thousand men. This news produced a panic, and a separation of the English forces. A thickly-wooded morass flanked the left banks of the falls, extending nearly to Green River. Those who retreated by this route were subjected to repeated attacks, and one of the parties which attempted to cross it was entirely cut off, and the men taken prisoners and burnt at the stake. Turner beat back the party which attacked his camp, remounted his horses, and vigorously pursued the enemy, who, dividing as he advanced, closed in behind, and pursued him in turn. He fell, pierced by a bullet, while crossing Green River. Holyoke, who had killed five Indians with his own hand, now assumed the command, and, crossing the plains and Deerfield River, he entered that town, closely pressed by the Indians. In this retreat he lost thirty-eight men.

This action, however, was the turning-point of the war. The Indians, who were thrice the number of their assailants, had been posted in a country where they could obtain ready subsistence and keep the surrounding territory in alarm by their secret attacks. Believing themselves invincible, they had at last become careless, and, when they least expected it, had been surprised by a comparatively small force, a large number killed, and the rest dispersed. They had never before experienced so decided an overthrow, and, though they rallied and fought desperately, the dreaded combination was broken up, and was never afterwards re-formed.

After this affair, Philip, who had during many months made this place his head-

quarters, determined, it appears, to retreat towards the north. This chief, the various authorities state, had kept himself somewhat in retirement after a price had been placed upon his head. In the course of a few years he had seen Sassacus, Miantonomo, and Canonchet fall. He had also seen the colonies spread instead of diminish. Whether he meditated striking another blow at the settlements after the action at Turner's Falls, or relinquished the idea of a retreat to Canada through the territory of the great Iroquois nation and across the waters of Lake Champlain, is not known. He never again, however, attained to the power he had once possessed, and his fortune and influence appear to have henceforth deserted him.

The action at Turner's Falls occurred on the 18th of May. On the 30th of the same month six hundred Indians attacked Hatfield with great fury, burned twelve buildings, assaulted several palisaded dwellings, and killed a number of the inhabitants, but the latter, being reinforced from Hadley, succeeded in saving the town from complete destruction and in driving the Indians out of it. The loss of the colonists was five men, and that of the Indians twenty-five. The latter in their retreat drove off a large number of sheep and cattle.

Early on the morning of the 12th of June the Indians assaulted Hadley with their entire force, reported at seven hundred warriors. An ambuscade was formed by them at night at one end of the town, into which they endeavored to decoy the inhabitants the following day. Not succeeding in this, they secured possession of a house, which afforded them shelter during the assault, and also fired a barn. They were at length repulsed with but little loss. The story originally told by Hutchinson, and often since repeated as veritable history, that on this occasion the regicide Goffe suddenly appeared, placed himself at the head of the townspeople, and drove off the Indians, is wholly wanting in authenticity.

Philip next turned his attention to Plymouth, the old thorn which still rankled in his side. To this quarter he repaired personally, in the latter part of June, at the head of a large force, and harassed the surrounding settlements by his marauding attacks, but effected nothing of importance. This move had the effect, however, of inducing the colonists to send fresh troops into the field, who were animated with the warmest zeal against their common enemy. Distinguished among these was the veteran Captain Benjamin Church, who was indefatigable in scouring the country, destroying the lodges of the Indians, capturing their women and children, and killing their warriors. He spread the terror of his name far and wide. The hunted sachem, although he had no longer a fixed point at which to convene his council and could not count upon a place where his person would be safe, still maintained a haughty mien, and evinced no signs of submission, but on the contrary manifested a persevering spirit of hostility and hatred.

Major John Talcott, of Connecticut, on July 2 came upon a large body of Indians in the Narragansett country, at a place called Nipsachooke, in a great spruce swamp, and within three hours slew or captured one hundred and seventy-one, and sixty-seven more on the following day. This was in what is now Smithfield, Rhode Island. Queen Magnus, "that old piece of venom," was among the slain. Two

hundred surrendered in Plymouth colony a few days later. One hundred and fifty had been killed or taken by the Massachusetts forces prior to July 22, at which time they returned to Boston. July 27 the sagamore John, a Nipmuck sachem, came in and surrendered at Boston, with one hundred and eighty followers.

While Church was in Rhode Island, Pometakom was driven from his covert like a hunted lion, his wife, children, and others of his household being surprised and killed. The chief himself, however, escaped, and fled from place to place. At length the brother of an Indian whom Philip had unjustly killed brought intelligence that the haughty Pokanoket had taken refuge in a swamp located on Mount Hope Neck. Church proceeded to the peninsula with a number of volunteers and a party of friendly Indians, guided by the informer. They crossed the Taunton River in perfect secrecy, and reached the swamp after nightfall (August 11). Church then formed his men in segments of a circle, in open order, and marched them upon the swamp. Having placed a friendly Indian alternately next to a white man, he issued orders to fire on any person who should attempt to escape through the closing circle. They waited for daybreak in intense anxiety and profound silence. A small select party, under Golding, was detailed to advance and rouse up the Pokanoket chief. While these arrangements were being perfected, and the attacking party was still behind, a shot whistled over Church's head, followed by a volley, fired by a party of Indians sent out by Philip. Daylight had now appeared. The report of guns attracted the attention of the chief, and, seizing his tobacco-pouch, powder-horn, and gun, he started immediately to sustain his advanced party. The Indians followed Philip in files. An Englishman, not knowing the chief, levelled his piece at him on a venture, but it missed fire. An Indian placed next him then discharged his musket at him, sending two balls through his body, and laying him dead on the spot. Ignorant of the fate of the chief, an Indian voice was heard thundering through the swamp, "*Iootosh! Iootosh!*" (Onward! Onward!) which cry proceeded from Annawon, Philip's principal war-captain, who was urging his men to maintain their ground. The result was a bloody conflict, in which the Indians fought like tigers. Church finally made a determined charge with all his force, killing one hundred and thirty men, but Annawon,<sup>1</sup> with about sixty followers, escaped.

During the whole of this terrible war the Mohicans remained faithful to the English, and not a drop of blood reddened the soil of Connecticut. But in the adjacent colonies twelve or thirteen towns were destroyed, and more than six hundred men, chiefly the young, the flower of the country, perished; six hundred houses were burned, and an immense amount of property was destroyed. Of the able-bodied men one in twenty had fallen.

The death of Philip was in effect the termination of a war which had threatened the very existence of the colonies, for, although the Pokanokets had been the prime

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<sup>1</sup> This chief was the uncle of Philip, and when captured surrendered his war-paints, scarlet blanket, and broad wampum belts. See Drake's "Book of the Indians."

instigators of it, the powerful tribe of the Narragansetts, and other auxiliaries, one after another, had joined the league; and although less than two years had elapsed since the commencement of the war, the entire Indian power of the country was openly or secretly enlisted on the side of the Mount Hope sachem. Notwithstanding his rooted hatred of the whites and of the whole scheme of civilization, it cannot be doubted that he was a man who took a comprehensive view of his position and of the destiny of the New England tribes; much less can it be questioned that he possessed great energy of character, persuasive powers suited to enlisting the sympathy of the Indians, and very considerable skill in planning, as well as daring in carrying his projects into effect. Gookin calls him "a person of good understanding and knowledge in the best things." We may lament that such energies were misapplied, but we cannot withhold our respect for the man who was capable of combining all the military strength and political wisdom of his country, and of placing the colonies in decidedly the greatest peril through which they ever passed.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE MERRIMAC VALLEY AND ABENAKI TRIBES—KING WILLIAM'S WAR—GOVERNOR DUDLEY'S WAR—SEBASTIAN RALE—LOVEWELL'S FIGHT.

AT the period of the first settlement of New England by the English, the principal Indian powers located in that territory were the Pokanokets, under Massasoit; the Narragansetts, under Canonicus; the Pequot-Algonkins, of Connecticut; and the Merrimacs or Pennacooks, of Amoskeag. Each of these comprised several subordinate tribes bearing separate names, and, although bound by both lingual and tribal affinities to the central tribal government, yielding obedience to it in the ordinary loose manner of local Indian tribes. Each of these tribal circles was ruled by its particular chief, who, although he arrogated to himself the powers and immunities of hereditary descent, exercised no absolute controlling influence beyond what the popular voice allowed him. The colonists were not long in ascertaining who were the principal rulers, or in taking the necessary measures to conciliate them.

Their mode of treating with the Indians was to assert that the sovereignty and fee-simple of the soil were vested in the English crown, but yet to acknowledge the possessory right of the aborigines by presents or by purchase, in order to conciliate the local chiefs. When collisions were occasioned by disputed boundaries, or by questions of trade, they were adjusted in councils of both parties. No difficulties of any general moment occurred until the origination of the Pequot war. The bloody feud between the Mohicans, under Uncas, and the Narragansetts, under Miantonomo, was a consequence of the Pequot outbreak. The colonies endeavored as much as possible to abstain from any participation in this struggle, but in a very short time they became involved in open warfare with the Narragansetts. It could not be supposed that the Pokanokets or Wampanoags, who under the benevolent Massasoit had lived in amity with the English for so long a period, could sit calmly by and see a foreign people, whose manners, customs, and opinions differed so widely from their own, attain the possession of power, and spread over their country, without experiencing feelings of jealousy and animosity. The impatient spirit which Alexander evinced during his short reign, and the more deliberate and crafty policy of Philip, developed this latent Indian feeling. These events have, however, been already related in detail.

The Merrimac tribes, among whom the Pennacooks appear to have held the highest position, had located the seat of their government at the Amoskeag Falls (now Manchester, New Hampshire), a name denoting the abundance of beaver on that stream. The ruling sachem was Passaconaway, a celebrated magician, a distinguished war-captain, an eloquent speaker, and a wise ruler. Few aboriginal chiefs

ever surpassed him in mental or magisterial qualifications. For a long period he prudently maintained friendly relations with the Massachusetts and New Hampshire colonies, and his interviews with John Eliot denote that he possessed a mind capable of grasping the truths of religion. It is manifest that his most earnest desires were to make the vicinity of his beloved Amoskeag his home in old age, and that his bones should be deposited on one of the beautiful islands in the Merrimac. But the spirit of aggression frustrated his wishes. There was a strong prejudice in the English mind against the natives, which brought the colonists and the Merrimacs into collision in many different ways. Injury was retaliated by injury, and blood was avenged by blood. Murders were followed by wars, in which the English were invariably successful, and finally Passaconaway and his Pennacooks were driven from their homes. New Hampshire and Maine, from the Merrimac to the Penobscot, were drenched with Indian as well as English blood. The time will arrive when the history of these sanguinary strifes will become a fruitful theme for the pen and the pencil, and then the bold and heroic men whose lot it was to act the part of their country's defenders in these perilous scenes will receive their due meed of praise.

The Abenaki tribe also acted an important part in the Indian history of Maine and New Hampshire. This word is too vague for any ethnological purpose, being the mere Indian term for Eastlander.<sup>1</sup> The language of this people designates their Algonkin lineage, the latter being distinguished by some orthographical peculiarities, the principal of which is the use of the letter *r*. The early colonists called them Tarrantines, but among the Iroquois they were known by the name of Onagunga.

The news of the rising of Philip was the signal for the commencement of hostile demonstrations at the eastward, which in the space of a few weeks extended nearly three hundred miles. In Maine a border warfare was waged, unattended, however, by any prominent event. Of the English settlements nearly one-half were destroyed in detail, and the inhabitants driven away, killed, or carried into captivity. The Indians were supplied with arms by the French on the Penobscot. Peace was at length secured by the treaty at Casco Bay in 1678.

In July, 1687, Denonville, Governor of New France, with a force of three thousand, consisting mostly of Indians gathered from all points, set out from Irondequoit Bay to invade the Seneca country. On the way he seized a party of English traders, distributed their goods among the savages, and sent them prisoners to Canada. The Senecas laid an ambuscade for him, into which he fell, but finally they were routed, their village burned, and their corn-fields laid waste. Returning to Montreal, he rebuilt Fort Niagara on his way, and garrisoned it with one hundred men. The campaign enraged without seriously injuring the Senecas, whose chief town, destroyed by Denonville, and named by him Gannagaro, was on Boughton's Hill, near the present village of Victor, New York.

King William's war began in 1689, and was terminated by the peace of Ryswick in 1697. Count Frontenac, Governor of Canada, the ablest of all the French officers

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<sup>1</sup> From *wabun*, the east, or place of daylight, and *ackee*, earth, or land.

in America, was charged to recover Hudson's Bay, to protect Acadia, and by a descent from Canada to assist a fleet from France in conquering New York. At daybreak on the 25th of August, 1689, fifteen hundred Iroquois reached the Isle of Montreal, at La Chine, burned the houses, and massacred two hundred people. They then made themselves masters of the town, the fort, and the whole island, which they held until the middle of October. In the alarm Fort Frontenac, on Lake Ontario, was evacuated and razed.

In the east, Cochecho (Dover, New Hampshire) was burned by the Pennacooks on the night of June 27, Major Waldron and twenty-two others slain, and twenty-nine captives taken, and the stockade at Pemaquid (Maine) was taken in August by the Penobscots. At midnight on the 8th of February, 1690, Schenectady was attacked and burned by a party of French and Indians under De Mantet and Ste.-Hélène, with D'Iberville as a volunteer, and sixty persons massacred, the remainder of its inhabitants fleeing, some half clad, through the snows to Albany. A party from Three Rivers, led by Rouville, on March 27 surprised the settlement at Salmon Falls, on the Piscataqua, which was burned after a bloody engagement, and fifty-four prisoners were taken, chiefly women and children. On his return, Rouville met a war-party from Quebec under Portneuf, and, with them and a reinforcement from Castine, successfully attacked the fort and village at Casco Bay. Acadia was conquered in the following May by Sir William Phipps, who failed ignominiously in an expedition against Quebec in October. York, Maine, was surprised by French and Indians in February, 1692. An attack on Wells, June 9, was foiled by its resolute defenders. Ninety-four persons were killed or carried into captivity from Oyster River, New Hampshire, in July, 1694, and in March, 1697, an attack on Haverhill made Hannah Dustin famous as the heroine of one of the most daring exploits on record.

Frontenac in the West endeavored by alternate missions and incursions to win over or to terrify the Five Nations into an alliance. In 1693 he captured three of the Mohawk castles, but Schuyler, of Albany, with two hundred men, overtook the party and succeeded in liberating many of the captives. In 1696 the French and their allies renewed their efforts, Frontenac himself, then seventy-four years of age, heading the forces. Two bundles of reeds suspended on a tree, which they encountered on their way, denoted that fourteen hundred and thirty-four warriors (the number of reeds) defied them. The great village of the Onondagas was set on fire and destroyed; the country of the Oneidas was ravaged, their corn cut up, and their villages burnt; and it was proposed to go against the Cayugas, but Frontenac decided to return to Montreal, leaving the Iroquois humbled, indeed, but unsubdued. In the summer of 1700 peace was ratified between the Iroquois on the one side and France and her Indian allies on the other.

The peace that followed the treaty of Ryswick was of brief duration. In the year 1700 Europe was once more in arms over the question of the Spanish succession, and the colonies of France and England were again involved in a bloody strife, which lasted until the peace of Utrecht, in 1713. A congress of Abenaki chiefs, in June, 1703, declared to Governor Dudley that the sun was not more distant from the

earth than their thoughts from war, yet within six weeks the whole country from Casco to Wells was in a conflagration. Several parties of Indians and French burst upon every house or garrison in that region on the 10th of August, sparing neither old nor young. A party under Hertel de Rouville attacked Deerfield in the early morning of March 1, 1704, and, entering the palisades, which four feet of snow had rendered useless, set the village on fire, killed forty-seven of the inhabitants, and carried one hundred and twelve into captivity. During all these years the Massachusetts frontiers were desolated, presenting a shocking picture of danger and misery. Children at play, laborers in the fields, mothers employed about their households, all were victims to an enemy who disappeared as soon as a blow was struck, and who was quick to discover and profit by any lack of vigilance in a family or garrison. In 1706, Chelmsford, Groton, Sudbury, Exeter, Dover, and many other places suffered more or less severely. Many New-Englanders were carried into captivity to Canada, and many were killed on the way. In the night of August 29, 1708, Haverhill, on the Merrimac, was attacked by a party of Indians and Canadians under Des Chaillons and Rouville, the destroyer of Deerfield. It contained at that time thirty houses, the new meeting-house standing in the centre of the village. These were all assaulted simultaneously. Benjamin Rolfe, the minister, was beaten to death, and his wife and infant child savagely slaughtered, and many others fell under the rifle and tomahawk. As the destroyers retired, Samuel Ayer, with a few men, hung on their rear, and succeeded, although at the cost of his own life, in rescuing several from captivity.

In 1710, Colonel Nicholson, with a fleet and four New England regiments, captured Port Royal, to which, in honor of Queen Anne, was given the name of Annapolis. An unsuccessful expedition against Quebec, in 1711, under Admiral Walker, was the finale in America of this horrible warfare, instigated by Christian princes, which had occasioned such needless and inhuman butchery. In a single year of this cruel war one-fifth part of all who were capable of bearing arms in Massachusetts were in active service. Some of its fruits, afterwards apparent, were an intense hatred of the French missionaries, and a willingness to exterminate the natives. As these latter could not be reached by the usual methods of warfare, a bounty was offered for every Indian scalp, and men scoured the forests for Indians as they would for wild beasts. By the peace of Utrecht England obtained supremacy in the fisheries, and the possession of Hudson's Bay and its borders, Newfoundland, and Acadia.

About 1692, while the colonies were contending with the refractory tribes on their western borders, Sebastian Rale, a Jesuit missionary from Quebec, who had previously visited some of the Western tribes, made his appearance among the Abenakis. He located himself at Norridgewock, and earnestly devoted his attention to the task of teaching them the truths of Christianity. It must be remembered that the French residents in Canada aimed to construct an empire in America by obtaining influence among the Indian tribes east, west, north, and south, which might be turned to political account in the hour of emergency. To a great extent

the new system of instruction introduced by *Rale* had not only a religious character, but also a powerful political tendency. The people of New England and New York, nay, of all the colonies, regarded the Jesuit teaching and the French influence with equal horror, and numerous and protracted negotiations between the colonists and the tribes, as well as between the respective authorities of the two countries, were the consequence. This position of affairs caused *Rale* to be regarded by the colonists as a partisan and a leader of the insurgent Indians. Throughout New England his labors were deemed to be directed towards perverting the Indians and implanting in their minds the seeds of error and of hatred to the colonies. He was cited before the authorities of Boston, but the negotiations resulted only in mutual misapprehension and vituperation. Every movement was either in reality or was conceived to be the result of Canadian jealousy of the British colonies, or of British animosity against Canada. If the Indians committed a murder or perpetrated a massacre, it was alleged that the French authorities had incited them to the act, or had countenanced them in its performance. Squadrons of ships sailed from England to avenge these reported injuries, and for a long period the country from the mouth of the *St. Lawrence* to that of the *Mississippi* was the battle-ground of the contending nations.

After the peace of *Utrecht*, Massachusetts, having extended her boundaries and founded new settlements on the east bank of the *Kennebec*, had protected them by erecting forts. The *Abenakis* resisted her claims to territory that had always been theirs, and determined to retain it. Several of their chiefs had been seized by stratagem by the government and detained as hostages. The tribe demanded the evacuation of their territory and the release of their imprisoned warriors whose ransom had been paid, and threatened reprisals. The English then seized the young *Baron de St. Castin*, a half-breed and war-chief, who held a French commission, and after vainly soliciting the savages to surrender *Rale*, "that incendiary of mischief," *Captain Westbrook*, in January, 1722, led a strong force to *Norridgewock* to surprise him. *Rale* had timely warning, and escaped into the forest, but his important correspondence with *Governor Vaudreuil* was found, and with it a vocabulary of the *Abenaki* language which he had made, and which is still preserved.

The war-chiefs soon assembled at *Norridgewock*, and, resolving to destroy the English settlements on the *Kennebec*, began the work of destruction by the burning of *Brunswick*. *Rale*, foreseeing the issue, bade his people retire to Canada. Many of them went, but he declined to accompany them.

In July war was declared against the Eastern Indians by Massachusetts, and, to stimulate partisan activity, a bounty of fifteen pounds sterling was offered for each Indian scalp, a sum afterwards increased to one hundred pounds. In March, 1723, *Westbrooke*, with his party, after five days' march through the woods, came upon the Indian settlement that was probably at *Oldtown*, above *Bangor*. Here was a fort seventy yards long and fifty broad, with stockades fourteen feet high, enclosing twenty-three houses. A chapel, handsomely furnished, sixty feet long and thirty wide, stood near it. Arriving in the evening of March 9, the invaders set fire to the village and reduced it to ashes.

After two futile attempts to seize *Rale*, a party at length succeeded in reaching *Norridgewock* unperceived August 23, 1724, and discharged their guns at the cabins. The Indian warriors, fifty in number, seized their arms and rushed out to secure the retreat of their wives, children, and old men. *Rale* heroically endeavored to save his flock by drawing the attention of the assailants upon himself. In this he partly succeeded, many of the Indians swimming the river, the English meanwhile pillaging the cabins and the church and then setting them on fire. After the retreat of the English the mangled body of *Rale* was buried by some of the natives beneath the spot where he used to stand before the altar.

Thus perished *Rale*, the last of the Jesuit missionaries in New England, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and the thirty-seventh year of his service in America, and with him fell the influence of France within the New England borders.

In May, 1725, the brave *John Lovewell* and his companions, who had twice returned successful from Indian forays, on a third expedition fell into an ambush of a large party of *Saco* Indians, under *Paugus*, chief of the *Pequawkets*, in *Fryeburg*, *Maine*, near a sheet of water which has since borne the name of "*Lovewell's Pond*." Although the Indians outnumbered them more than two to one, and although they lost their leader early in the action, the whites kept up the contest until nightfall, when they withdrew, having lost twenty out of the thirty-four men composing the party. *Paugus*, the Indian leader, also fell in the action. With the *Androscoogius*, the *Pequawkets* soon after retired towards the sources of the *Connecticut River*, subsequently removing to *Canada*, where they were known as the *St. Francis* tribe. The *Pequawkets* remained upon the *Connecticut*, and at the period of the *Revolution* were under a chief named *Philip*.

Peace was at last concluded with the Eastern Indians, who found themselves excelled by their opponents even in their own modes of warfare. The peace was solemnly ratified by the chiefs as far as the *St. John's*, August 6, 1726, and was long and faithfully kept, and English trading-houses supplanted French missions.

## CHAPTER V.

### THE SOUTHERN INDIANS—MASSACRE OF WHITE SETTLERS—WARS WITH THE TUSCARORAS, YAMASSEES, NATCHEZ, AND CHICKASAWS—SETTLEMENT OF GEORGIA.

ENGLAND attained great political and literary fame during the reign of Queen Anne, while her American colonies, within the gloomy shadows of a distant and savage wilderness, were defending themselves from the horrors of impending starvation on the one hand and from aboriginal hostility on the other.

European intercourse with the Indians had during a period of one hundred years produced no appreciable good effects on their general manners, opinions, and modes of life. The tribes located nearest the settlements dressed in blankets and strouds instead of skins; they used metallic cooking-vessels instead of the clumsy clay *akeek*, or cooking-pot, implements of iron and steel instead of stone and bone, and the European fire-lock instead of the flint arrow. The fur-trade was in their view the great benefit which had resulted from the influx of civilized races. They hunted deer and beaver with increased vigor, indulging in luxuries of which their fathers had never even thought, and particularly in the use of intoxicating liquors. They did not, however, in reality appreciate anything else which came from Europe. They still detested and discouraged the introduction of schools, churches, letters, and labor, preferring to live, as their forefathers had done, by the chase, and not by agriculture. Game was still plentiful; their hunting-grounds were so vast that they appeared of almost illimitable extent; and the tribes from Maine to Georgia, and from the Gulf of Mexico to the borders of the Great Lakes, feasted, danced, sung, and rioted, and warred with one another, precisely as their ancestors had done a century before. When more sombre views of their existing condition were forced upon them, when the plough of the white man encroached so rapidly on their hunting-grounds that difficulties resulted, they plotted against the settlers, making sudden attacks upon them, or enticing them into ambuscades. These fitful efforts were succeeded by a relapse into their primitive state of idleness and inaction, without the Indians having derived from their spasmodic outbreaks any permanent advantage to themselves, or having inflicted any permanent injury upon the settlements.

During the establishment of the colonies, the impressions created by this feverish and changeful policy of the natives were alike unfavorable to the Indian and to the colonial character. Wherever attempts had been made to introduce education and the gospel, and to graft civilization, as it were, on the original stock, they had submitted, as if in expectation of deriving therefrom ulterior advantages, with such mildness of

manner, accompanied by such deep duplicity, as to deceive the settlers; but in the end their real nature developed itself in the commission of cruel and sanguinary acts. Such were the results of colonial experience in Virginia between the period of the establishment of the settlement at Jamestown and the perpetration, in 1622, of that terrible massacre under Opechancanough, when over four hundred persons were killed in one day, among whom the first victims were those who, with the aid afforded them by the benevolent in England, had labored most zealously and efficiently to teach the Indians and to found a seminary of education for the tuition of their youth. Another terrible example was afforded in Massachusetts in 1675 by Pometacon, after nearly thirty years had been spent by Eliot and his missionary compeers in zealous and effective teaching of the tribes. These repulsive traits in the Indian character did much towards repressing, and for a time may be said to have extinguished, that benevolent and humane spirit with which they had been previously regarded. In Virginia, as in the entire South, these acts may be said to have originated a thorough detestation of the whole Indian race. Indeed, the details of these early deeds of sanguinary treachery, having been widely spread throughout America and Europe by means of newspapers, exercised an adverse influence which is felt even at the present day.

Thus far twelve of the original thirteen colonies had been established: Georgia, the thirteenth, was not founded until some time afterwards. Events which followed one another in rapid succession furnish us with still further knowledge of Indian character. The beginning of the eighteenth century was marked by three events in the history of the colonies which exercised an important influence on the Indian policy. 1. Penn, who had sailed up the Delaware in 1682, selected a site for the capital of his colony in the heart of the Lenni Lenape territories, and in 1701 laid out the city of Philadelphia. 2. Frontenac, the Governor-General of New France, to the chagrin of the Iroquois, directed a post to be established in the country of the Wyandots and their allies, in the vicinity of the lakes. M. de la Motte-Cadillac, who was intrusted with this duty, arrived with a military force at the straits between Lakes Erie and Huron in July of the same year, and founded Detroit, that central point of a French influence whose baleful effects were felt upon the Western frontiers during the long and bloody period of sixty years previous to the fall of Quebec. 3. The founding of Louisiana. The first settlement was made in 1699 at Biloxi, in the country of the Choctaws, but the province was not ceded to Crozat until 1712, nor was New Orleans founded until 1719. It was the policy of the French to establish trading- and missionary-posts first, and subsequently cities. Michilimaackinac, the earliest point of fixed occupaney in Michigan, was the central position of the Western Algonkins in 1662, as was also Kaskaskia, Illinois, in the country of the same generic group of families, as early as the first visit of La Salle, in 1683. Vincennes, in Indiana, the Au Poste of early writers, was first occupied in 1710. The primary impulses were thus given to that Franco-Indian power which, like a gigantic serpent, coiled its folds around and for a period threatened to crush the British colonies.

Meantime, the Indians, true to their instincts, did not abandon their system of massacre. The opening of the century was characterized by the South Carolina war with the Creeks or Appalachians; the daring and successful expedition of Colonel Moore against them, within the Spanish territories, in 1705; the wide-spread and startling massacre by the Tuscaroras, in North Carolina, in 1711; and the Yamassee massacre, in 1715.

The Yamassees were one of some twenty-eight small tribes, of the group of Chicoras, who occupied the coasts and islands, as well as the banks of the rivers, of South Carolina, a group of which the Catawbias appear to be the only remaining but now rapidly diminishing tribe. It was the Yamassees, noted for their gentle manners but bitterly revengeful disposition, who had encountered the early Spanish visitors to this coast with such intrepidity, returning treachery for treachery. The Tuscaroras belonged to the Iroquois group, a fact that would clearly appear from philology, were it not also affirmed by their traditions, and by the fact that after their final defeat at Kienuka they fled to their kindred, the Five Nations, and were admitted as the sixth canton.

The war of the Spanish succession (1700–13) involved that part of South Carolina bordering on Spanish Florida, as well as New England, which adjoined Acadia. In September, 1702, Governor James Moore, of South Carolina, led an unsuccessful expedition against the Spaniards at St. Augustine. Late in the year 1705 he headed a mixed force of whites and Indians to attack the Muskokis, on the Bay of Appalache, who had been gathered by the Spaniards into towns and instructed by missions of Franciscan priests. These Indians had learned the use of horses and beeves, which multiplied without care in their favoring climate, and their continuous line of communication from St. Augustine to the settlements in Louisiana had inspired the Carolina traders with alarm. Penetrating regions which none but De Soto had till then invaded, Moore reached the Indian towns near the port of St. Mark's, and on December 14 attacked Ayavalla. Repulsed with loss from this strong place, he succeeded in setting fire to the church adjoining it, and more than fifty warriors and one hundred women and children were captured and kept for the slave-market. Next day the Spanish commander in the bay gave battle to double his number, and was defeated; but the Spanish fort proved too strong for the Carolinians. The chief of Ioitachnea compounded for peace with the plate of his church and ten horses laden with provisions. Five other towns submitted unconditionally. Most of their people abandoned their homes, and were received as free emigrants into Carolina. Thus was the English flag advanced through the wilderness to the Gulf of Mexico, and an additional claim established to the fertile region soon to be known as Georgia. Its boundaries extended far into Spanish territory.

In 1709 one hundred German families,—unhappy fugitives who had been driven by religious persecution from the Neckar and the Rhine,—conducted by De Graffenried, sought a refuge in North Carolina. The Indians along the sea-coast, greatly reduced in number by strong drink and other vices of civilization, had sold their lands or been cheated out of them, and their beautiful country as far as the Yadkin

and the Catawba had been opened to the encroachments of the white man. The Tuscaroras of the inland regions and the Corees southward, upon whom their countrymen of the coasts had retreated, resolved to prevent their own extinction by exterminating the intruders. On the 22d of September, 1711, small bands of these Indians, acting in concert, fell upon the scattered German settlements along the Roanoke and Pamlico Sound, and in one night one hundred and thirty persons perished by the hatchet. At Bath the Huguenot refugees and the neighboring planters were slaughtered without mercy. The savages also scoured the country on Albemarle Sound, burning and slaying for three days, until disabled by fatigue and drunkenness.

The Assembly of South Carolina promptly voted relief. Captain Barnwell, with six hundred white men and three hundred and sixty Indians,—Cherokees, Creeks, Catawbas, and Yamassees,—marched through the wilderness against the Tuscaroras, and, driving them back to their fortified town near the Neuse, a little above Edenton, forced them to treat for peace. The South Carolinians themselves violated the treaty on their return, and the massacres on Neuse River were renewed. But Governor Spotswood, of Virginia, succeeded in dividing the Tuscaroras, and in March, 1713, Colonel James Moore, with forty white men and a large Indian force, besieged them in their fort and took eight hundred of them prisoners. The hostile portion of the tribe abandoned their old hunting-grounds, and, migrating to the vicinity of Oneida Lake, were received by their kindred of the Iroquois as the sixth nation of their confederacy. In 1715 peace was concluded with the Corees, who were established as a single settlement in the precincts of Hyde County, and the power of the native races of North Carolina was finally broken.

After the peace of Utrecht the Indian traffic in South Carolina rapidly increased, especially with the Yamassees, who, from impatience at the attempts to Christianize them, had quitted Florida, their old home, and planted themselves from Port Royal Island along the northeast bank of the Savannah River, where the Huguenots first attempted a settlement. This powerful tribe had long been friendly to the Carolinians, engaging with them as allies in their wars against the Spaniards at St. Augustine. The latter finally succeeded in uniting the Cherokees, Choctaws, and other Appalachian nations in a league for the destruction of the colony. On the morning of Good Friday, April 15, 1715, an indiscriminate massacre of the English began. Seaman Burroughs, a strong man and swift runner, broke through the Indian ranks, and, though hotly pursued and twice wounded, by running ten miles and swimming one mile, reached Port Royal and alarmed the town. Its inhabitants fled, some in canoes and some on board a ship that chanced to be in the harbor, to Charleston. Attacking the scattered settlements by night, and hiding in the swamps by day, the Indians drove the planters towards the capital, which was itself in peril, and the ruin of the colony seemed imminent. The Yamassees and their confederates halted at Stono, where the prisoners were sacrificed.

By this time the colony was aroused. On the north the savages received a check, and vanished into the forests. On the south, Governor Craven, acting with the

greatest energy, proclaimed martial law, laid an embargo on all ships to prevent men or provisions leaving the colony, and, seizing arms wherever they could be found, placed them in the hands of faithful negroes. With twelve hundred men, white and black, he promptly led the forces of Colleton district to confront the savage horde, now advancing with the knife, hatchet, and torch in dreadful activity. In the first conflicts the Indians were victors, but Craven forced them finally to fall back to their camp on the Salkehatchie. The conflict was bloody, and was often renewed. Savage yells filled the air. Arrows and bullets were directed with fatal aim from every cover, and victory was long doubtful. At last the savages gave way, and were pursued beyond the present limits of Carolina, seeking shelter under the guns of St. Augustine. It is believed that the Yamassees penetrated the Everglades of Florida and became the ancestors of the powerful Seminoles. South Carolina had lost about four hundred of its inhabitants.

In 1730 an attempt was made to secure the friendship of the neighboring tribes. An embassy under Sir Alexander Cumming met the chiefs of the Cherokees at Nequassee, in the valley of the Tennessee. A treaty of alliance was drawn up and signed in England. The seven Indian envoys, astonished and bewildered at the vastness of London and the splendor and discipline of the army, were presented at court, and when the English king claimed their lands as his property, one of them gave the irrevocable answer, "To-yen-hah," it is "a most certain truth," and the delivery of eagles' feathers confirmed his words. The peace was faithfully kept, at least for one generation.

Near the banks of the Mississippi, between the Choctaw and Chickasaw tribes, in a region of great fertility, dwelt the Natchez Indians. The great chief of the tribe was revered as one of the family of the Sun, and his power was almost despotic. The French who came among them coveted their land, and Chopart, the French commander, demanded as a plantation the site of their principal village. In concert with the Cherokees and a part of the Choctaws, a general massacre of the French was determined on. The butchery began on the morning of November 28, 1729, and before noon nearly every Frenchman in the colony was slaughtered. The Jesuit Du Poisson, Du Codère, commander of the Yazoo post, the planter De Koli and his son, together with the Capuchin missionary to the Natchez nation, were all killed, only two white men, mechanics, being saved. Two hundred victims had fallen.

New Orleans was in terror; but the brave Le Sueur, repairing to the Choctaws, won seven hundred of them to his side, while the French forces, under Loubois, gathered on the river. Le Sueur, with his Choctaws, on the morning of January 29, 1730, surprised the Natchez villages, liberated the captives, and brought off sixty scalps and eighteen prisoners, losing but two of his own men. He completed his victory February 8, when the Natchez Indians fled, some taking refuge with the Chickasaws and Muskokis, others crossing the Mississippi to the vicinity of Natchitoches. These were pursued and driven still farther west. The Great Sun and more than four hundred prisoners were shipped to Hispaniola and sold as slaves. The Natchez nation no longer existed.

In 1736 the French government, in order to control the eastern valley of the Mississippi and establish its supremacy throughout Louisiana, determined to subjugate the Chickasaws. This tribe had maintained its savage independence, and, while it welcomed the English traders from Carolina, intercepted the French connections between Kaskaskia and North Carolina. Troops from the south, and from Illinois, under D'Artagnette, were directed to meet in the Chickasaw territory on May 10. Bienville, the French commander at New Orleans, left Fort Condé, at Mobile, April 4, and ascended the river to Tombeckbee, where a fort had been constructed. Here he was joined by twelve hundred Choctaws. At a point twenty-one miles southeast of the Chickasaw village, now Cotton-Gin Port, he left his artillery, and, marching on, encamped a league from the valley on the evening of May 25.

Early next morning they advanced to surprise the Chickasaws. The latter, behind strong intrenchments, over which waved English flags, were on the watch, and, aided by English traders, repulsed two attempts to storm their log fort, killing thirty of the French, four of them officers. The next day skirmishes occurred between parties of Chickasaws and Choctaws, and on the 29th Bienville retreated, throwing his cannon into the Tombeckbee.

Meanwhile, D'Artagnette, with fifty French and one thousand Indians, accompanied by De Vincennes, on the evening before the appointed day encamped near the rendezvous. For ten days he awaited the expected junction; then, to prevent the desertion of his allies, he decided to make the attack. On May 20, after carrying by storm two of the forts, he attacked the third. Disabled in the moment of victory, his red allies fled in dismay, and the French retreated, leaving D'Artagnette and Vincennes in the enemy's hands. After the retreat of Bienville the captives were burned at the stake.

Ill success only roused the French to still greater efforts. On the 30th of June, 1739, an expedition made up of twelve hundred whites and twenty-four hundred red and black men reached Fort Assumption, on the bluff of Memphis. Here they remained until the next spring, the French and Canadians falling victims to the climate. In March a small detachment on its way to the Chickasaws was met by messengers who supplicated for peace, and Bienville gladly accepted overtures that saved him from utter failure. The fort at Memphis was razed, the troops were withdrawn, and the fort on the St. Francis was dismantled. But the settlements between Lower Louisiana and Illinois still interrupted French communications, and the Chickasaws remained masters of the situation.

Up to this period there had been no attempt made at colonization in the country occupied by the confederacy of the Creeks, or Muskokis. This people, according to their traditions, having immigrated from the West, crossed the Mississippi, the Alabama, the Chattahoochee, and the Appalachicola, whence their country stretched towards the east, north, west, and south. At the earliest period of their settlement in the East, at the kindling of the council-fire, or establishment of a government, they were located on the river Altamaha. There is no doubt that they conquered, and either killed, incorporated with themselves, or ejected, the prior aboriginal

inhabitants. Hawkins informs us that they conquered and carried the Uchees as prisoners from the southern part of South Carolina. Oglethorpe, who originated the plan of the Georgia colony in the year 1733, established it in the Creek territory lying between the Savannah and the Altamaha. Like the colonies of the Puritans, the Marylanders, and the followers of Penn, the Georgia colony was designed to be, and became, a refuge for oppressed and needy Europeans. The plan followed was, as had been the case in all previous instances of colonization, to bestow lands upon and afford employment to the colonists, and thus to enable them to improve their condition; always, however, at least in theory, paying a due regard to the rights and condition of the aborigines. The sovereignty and the fee-simple of the territory was held to be vested in the crown, but the right to their usufruct, until settled by presents or by actual purchase, was to be absolutely held by the Indians. The question was reserved as one for settlement by the administration, through the usual medium of treaty, as in all the earlier colonies. All had promised them justice, kindness, fair dealing, and all had urged upon them the benefits to be derived from the promotion of agriculture, arts, letters, temperance, and every other adjunct of civilization. Oglethorpe offered the Indians similar terms to those tendered them by the Pilgrims of New England, by the Duke of York in New York and New Jersey, by Lord Baltimore in Maryland, and by Penn in Pennsylvania. The rewards arising from a life of labor and virtue, and the evils attendant upon error, were, in their estimation, in the hands of the Indians themselves. If the natives preferred idleness, inebriation, and vice, if through neglect they became the victims of disease and death, it must be considered part of that great physical and moral law which entails the punishment as a sequel to the offence. If an Indian would hunt deer instead of guiding the plough, if he preferred alcohol to water as a beverage, and chose to idle away his time instead of improving it, the political economist regretted the fact, without having the power to deter him from pursuing his erroneous course.

For twenty years Oglethorpe persevered in his scheme in the midst of difficulties and discouragements that would have necessitated its abandonment on more than one occasion but for the unswerving fidelity of the Indians. When, in 1752, the province was formed into a royal government, it very soon became the seat of frightful Indian wars. The new authorities neither understood nor kept faith with the Indians, their old friend Oglethorpe had returned to England, and scenes of treachery and massacre ensued.

Each new colony established in America gave to the Indian the same lesson which had been taught him by its predecessors. At the outset civilization had apprised him of its requirements, and, though he learned its lessons slowly, it was hoped that he did learn, and that he made some progress in the right direction. Hope induced perseverance, furnished an apology for ignorance, and forgave repeated injury. The baptism of Manteo, which was performed in Virginia in 1586, may be regarded as indicating the outpouring of light at Cresswicks in 1744.

## CHAPTER VI.

### THE AQUINOSHIONI, OR IROQUOIS—GOVERNOR SHIRLEY'S WAR—CAPTURE OF LOUISBURG—TREATY OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE—THE OUTAGAMIES, OR FOXES.

THE close of the seventeenth century appears to be a suitable opportunity for taking further notice of a people whose power had then culminated. There were but two tribes of those that ranged the land east of the Mississippi, north of the Cherokees, and east of the Chippewas of Lake Superior, over whom the Iroquois did not at this early day exercise a primary or a secondary influence; and even of these excepted tribes, one was seated one thousand miles to the northwest and the other one thousand miles to the southwest of their council-fire at Onondaga. The name of Aquinoshioni, signifying a long house or council-lodge, is indicative of their confederate character. Tradition refers the origin of their nationality and advancement to Tarenyawagon, a divinity who in his social state while on earth assumed the name of Hiawatha and imparted to them the knowledge of all things essential to their prosperity. The French, agreeably to their system, gave them the name of Iroquois, a term founded on two Indian radicals, with the Gallic terminal *ois* suffixed.

We are informed by Colden, who wrote the history of the Five Nations, viz., the Mohawks, Senecas, Oneidas, Onondagas, and Cayugas, dwelling near the river and the lakes that bear their names, to the period of the conclusion of the peace of Ryswick (1697), that the tribes composing this confederacy were not originally deemed superior to their neighbors. He commences their history at the epoch of the settlement of Canada (1608), at which time he depicts them as being inferior to the Adirondacks, an Algonkin tribe. They did not equal the Northern group of tribes either in hunting, war, or forest arts, though they possessed an element of subsistence in the cultivation of maize. By ceasing to war against one another, and confederating for their common defence, they laid the corner-stone of their national establishment. They first tried their united strength against the Satanas, a cruel people located on their borders, with a success which so raised their spirits that they at length went to war against the Adirondacks, who had been primarily their tutors in forest arts. After some reverses, they proved themselves an overmatch for the latter in stratagem, and finally obtained decisive victories over them in the St. Lawrence Valley.

Mr. Colden notes in this people a love of liberty and a spirit of independence which particularly mark them, but is at a loss which most to admire, their military ardor, their political policy, or their eloquence in council. The union of the cantons, each possessing equal powers, in one council, was the cause of their triumph among

hunters in the east, west, and north, who acknowledged no government but that of opinion, and followed no policy but that actuated by revenge or indefinable impulse. All the weighty concerns of the Iroquois were the subject of full deliberation in open council, and their diplomatic negotiations were managed with consummate skill. When the question of peace or war was decided, the counsellors united in chanting hymns of praise or warlike choruses, which at the same time gave expression to the public feeling and imparted a kind of sanctity to the act. The majority of those who have given their attention to Iroquois history have recognized in their public acts the germs of a national policy which was suited to concentrate in their hands an imperial sway which would have been characterized by greater strength than that of the Aztecs under Montezuma, or of the Peruvians under Atahualpa.

Their tribal relations being conducted according to fixed principles, so also were their commercial affairs placed under a system equally stable. A short time subsequently to the arrival of Hudson and the building of Fort Orange, they formed a close alliance with the Dutch, who regarded the gains of commerce as the most decided advantage to be derived from their colony. They furnished the Indian warriors with guns, powder, flints, strouds, blankets, hatchets, knives, pipes, and all other articles necessary for the successful prosecution of the fur-trade, which was conducted on a basis so advantageous to both that the mutual friendship then contracted was never broken. With the river Indians of the Algonkin type, who lived in the same state of discord and anarchy as the other tribes, there occurred several, and some very serious, quarrels, but the union of the Iroquois and Dutch was intimate, and never more so than when the province was surrendered to the Duke of York, in 1664. By the terms of this surrender the good will of the Iroquois was secured to the English. The trade with the Indians was wholly in the hands of Dutch merchants and traders, and their interpreters, who continued to conduct it. They had extended this traffic through Western New York to the so-called "Far Indians," at Detroit, Saginaw, and Michilimackinac, where there are still some of their descendants.<sup>1</sup> As the Iroquois had for a long period held the balance of aboriginal power in this part of America, this influence became very important to the English, and was analogous to the Algonkin alliance with the French, which, after the fall of Quebec, was also transferred to the English.

The attachment of the Iroquois to the English alone saved Western New York from becoming a French colony. From the time of the action with Champlain, that commander having supplied his Indian allies with guns, the Iroquois had been prejudiced against the French nation. At sundry periods they repelled the invasions of De la Barre, Denonville, and Frontenac, and they also resisted the establishment of missions at Oneida, Onondaga, and Ontario. Their delegates frequently stood in the presence of the Governor-General at Quebec, with wily dexterity counteracting plot by counter-plot. In truth, they defended the territory till the English colonies

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<sup>1</sup> In these distant localities we still hear of such names as Hance, Riley, Truax, Ten Eyck, Graverod, Fisher, Wamp, Yon, and Wisser.

became strong enough to protect it themselves. In the year 1726, by skilful management, the French succeeded in establishing a permanent military post at Niagara, within the limits of the confederacy.

The French had found themselves so severely taxed to resist the Iroquois that the conclusion of the peace of Ryswick was most welcome news at the castle of St. Louis. Colden observes that the French commissioners who conveyed the intelligence of this peace to the Onondaga country, and by negotiation secured their assent to it, likewise esteemed it a blessing. To the French, heaven could not have sent a greater. "For nothing," it is remarked, "could be more terrible to Canada than the last war with the Five Nations. While this war lasted, the inhabitants ate their bread with fear and trembling. No man was sure, when out of his house, of ever returning to it again. While they labored in the fields they were under perpetual apprehensions of being seized or killed, or carried to the Indian country, there to end their days in cruel torments. They many times were forced to neglect both seed-time and harvest. The landlord often saw all his land plundered, his houses burned, and the whole country ruined, while the French thought their persons not safe in their fortifications. In short, all trade and business was often at an entire stand, while fear, despair, and misery appeared on the face of the poor inhabitants."

Governor Clinton calls the Iroquois the Romans of the West. Charlevoix, who visited the shores of Lake Ontario in 1721, fancied that he perceived a Greek element in their language. While forming some Iroquois vocabularies in Western New York in 1845, Mr. Schoolcraft found it to possess a dual number.

The war of the Austrian succession, known to New England annals as Governor Shirley's war, was declared by France against England March 15, 1744-45. The news reached Canada a month earlier than it did New England, and the French and Indians promptly began the work of destruction. Shirley at once raised five hundred men for frontier service, three hundred of them on the eastern border, and two hundred for the protection of the upper valley of the Connecticut. The General Court of Massachusetts Bay ordered the erection of a line of forts from the Connecticut River to the boundary of New York, and a supply of powder was sent to the exposed settlements.

In 1731 the French had, with great foresight, built Fort St. Frederick at Crown Point, the key to the English settlements bordering on Canada. Fort Oswego had been built by Governor Burnet in 1727, at his own expense, to offset the erection by the French of Fort Niagara, at the entrance of the Niagara River into Lake Ontario. As has been previously stated, the French had in their intercourse with the Indians been far more politic than the English, and therefore easily drew them into their wars against the latter.

A conference between the Six Nations and the Commissioner for Indian Affairs was held June 18, 1744, at Albany, agreeably to the request of the Governor of New York, at which the Indians pledged themselves to stand by their English friends in case they were attacked. Except by a few of the Mohawks, this agreement was faithfully kept.

On the 13th of May the fort of Canso was surprised by M. Duvivier, with a French party, and its garrison of eighty were carried captive to Louisburg. On the 30th the priest La Loutre, with about six hundred Marechite and Micmac Indians, invested Annapolis Royal. Though in no condition to stand a siege, it was successfully defended by Governor Mascarene until relieved by Captain Edward Tyng with a force from Massachusetts, when it was immediately put in repair.

Louisburg, the strongest fortress of North America, was captured June 17, 1745, by the New England forces under General William Pepperell, aided by a British fleet under Commodore Warren, after a siege of seven weeks. Hostilities with the Penobscot tribe began near Fort George (Thomaston) on July 19, when a man was killed, a garrison-house and saw-mill burnt, and forty cattle slaughtered. One man was taken prisoner, and a woman wounded. This was the beginning of a long catalogue of horrors.

Another conference was held at Albany with the Six Nations October 5, 1745, at which were present commissioners from New York, Pennsylvania, and New England, the Indians renewing their covenant to take up the hatchet against the French and Indian enemy whenever called upon to do so by the Governor of New York. On November 16, three hundred French and two hundred Indians, commanded by M. Marin, destroyed the Dutch settlement at Saratoga. Thirty persons were killed, and about sixty captured. Many of the latter sickened and died in the prison at Quebec. A large extent of country was ravaged by this party, houses and mills were burnt, and all the cattle killed. On April 22, 1746, the little garrison of eight men at New Hopkinton was surprised and captured. Next day an unsuccessful attack was made by about one hundred Indians upon the garrison of Upper Ashuelot (Keene), New Hampshire. Six houses and a barn were burned, and two persons killed.

Fort "Number Four" (Charlestown, New Hampshire) was by its situation a point of great importance, and was frequently attacked by the Indians, as it stood in the way of their incursions upon the settlements below. On June 19 a large body of them posted themselves in ambush about it. Its commander, Captain Phinehas Stevens, while out with fifty men, became aware of their presence, and after a sharp conflict routed them with loss. On July 10, a party of Captain Rouse's men, while on shore at Prince Edward's Island, were surprised by two hundred Micmac Indians, and twenty-eight of them killed or captured. August 20, Fort Massachusetts, on the Hoosic River, near the northwest corner of the State, was invested by seven or eight hundred Indians and French under Rigaud de Vaudreuil. Its garrison of twenty-two men surrendered next day, and were taken to Canada. Three women and five children, also in the fort, shared their captivity. Rev. John Norton, chaplain of the fort, on his return from a year's captivity, published an account of the affair, entitled "The Redeemed Captive."

In November, 1746, a party of Mohawks, among whom was "King" Hendrick, made a successful raid into Canada. Colonel Arthur Noble, with seven hundred men, undertook, in January, 1747, to drive the French and Indians out of Nova

Scotia. While on his way, he was surprised in his camp by a superior force, and he, with four of his principal officers and seventy men, was killed, the remainder being taken prisoners. Early in April "Number Four" was again successfully defended by Captain Stevens against a large force of French and Indians, who for three days invested it, and tried, by shooting fire-arrows and by other methods, to compel its brave little garrison of thirty men to surrender.

On June 15 the fort at Saratoga was attacked by two thousand French and Indians, who killed sixty of the garrison. The place was soon after relieved by Colonel Schuyler. June 26, 1748, a severe conflict occurred near "Number Four," between a party of forty men under Captain Hobbs, and a more numerous Indian force who had waylaid them. Notwithstanding the disparity of numbers, Hobbs stood his ground, fighting bravely for four hours, when he fortunately got a shot at the Indian leader, whom he either killed or badly wounded, as the Indians thereupon drew off. In this well-contested fight the Indian loss exceeded that of the whites. The news of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was not known in Boston until six months after its conclusion, Indian hostilities meantime continuing, but early in 1749 overtures of peace were sent to the New England authorities, commissioners met the Indian deputies at Falmouth (Portland, Maine) October 14, and on the 16th articles of peace were drawn up and signed.

The Yamassees and the Tuscaroras in the South were not the only tribes who, about the beginning of the seventeenth century, evinced a spirit of hostility and commenced a series of massacres and a war of extermination against the whites. Partial as the Indians were to the French, there were two nations whom the latter could not control. These were the Iroquois, and the Outagamies or Foxes.

Who the Outagamies were is not known, and their early history is a blank. It has been inferred from their language that they were Algonkins, who used the Lenni Lenape pronunciation, in which an *l* is substituted for *n*, giving to their speech a more liquid flow. They appear at an early day to have been ejected from or forsaken by the Algonkin family and political organizations. Their traditions refer to a primitive residence at the site of Cataragui, where it may be supposed they formed an intimacy with the Iroquois; and, if so, they were probably one of the tribes who built those immense ossuaries spread over the interior of Upper Canada.

In 1712, this tribe, swayed probably by the Iroquois influence, attempted to destroy Detroit, and, as in all similar cases, their movements were secret and the attack sudden. There were then but twenty soldiers in the fort. Under various pretexts the Indians gathered in that vicinity, but the plot was revealed in time to save the fort. The assault was made on the 13th of May, but on the same day the commandant was greeted by the voices of a numerous party of friendly Wyandots, Ottawas, and Pottawatomies, who routed the assailants. The Outagamies then retreated to an entrenched camp near at hand, but, becoming finally straitened for food and water, they were forced to sally out and take possession of a house nearer the fort, whence they discharged a destructive volley of lighted arrows, which set fire to the houses within the works. Eventually defeated, they retired to a peninsula

jutting out into Lake St. Clair, where they repelled a furious assault of the French and their savage allies. After several days' preparation, during which artillery was brought from the fort, their position was stormed, many were killed, and the rest were forced to flee to the upper lakes, where they located themselves on Fox River, flowing into Green Bay. Here the sequel of their history fully accords with the account given by the French of their cunning and perfidy. They harassed traders at all the portages leading to the Mississippi River, and spread war and alarm in all directions as far as Lake Superior. Being at length besieged by the French commander, De Louvigny, with a competent force, at a selected position, since called on account of this event *Butte des Morts*, or *Hill of the Dead*, they were overcome, and suffered immense slaughter, after which the survivors fled to the banks of the Wisconsin. They were nearly destroyed, and received no further notice in our Indian history until within the present century.

In 1712, at the time of the Fox assault on the fort of Detroit, the Iroquois nation comprised five tribes or cantons, namely, the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas. The same year they were joined by the Tuscaroras from North Carolina, making the sixth canton. The latter, once a powerful tribe, had been nearly annihilated by the North Carolina forces, assisted by a body of men under Colonel Barnwell, of South Carolina. The accession of the Tuscaroras, however it might have pleased the cantonal government, could have added but little to the efficiency of a people who had from the earliest times been the terror of other Indian tribes. Colden informs us that the Iroquois cantons had first attained power by their confederation, their wisdom in council, their policy in the adoption of conquered tribes, and their superior bravery in war. Governor Clinton tells us that their acquisition of power was much facilitated by their advantageous location in Western New York, in a region abounding in game, of unsurpassed fertility of soil, and situated at the head of many large and leading streams, down which they could suddenly make their forays, after the successful execution of which they might return by land.

All the tribes in an east-and-west line between Lake Champlain, the Connecticut, and the Illinois, acknowledged the supremacy of the Iroquois. North and south their sway extended from the mouths of the Hudson, the Delaware, and the Susquehanna, to the great lakes; thence northwardly to the Ontawis, or Grand River, of Canada, to Michilimackinac, and to the entrance of Lake Superior. In 1608, under the name of Massawomacks, they were the terror of the Powhatan tribe of Virginia; as Mingoos, they spread their dominion over Ohio; and as Nadowassies, they were the foes of all the Algonkin or Adirondack races. At periods anterior to the arrival of the colonists they had prevailed over the once proud and powerful Lenni Lenape, and placed them *sub jugo*. They threatened the very existence of Canada. Tribes whom they could not subject to their stern policy were exterminated by the club and the tomahawk.

It became a part of the policy of all the colonies to conciliate such a people; consequently they were in fact parties to all important Indian treaties formed during the period of our early history, and until the colonies finally achieved their indepen-

dence. In every negotiation involving the question of boundaries, or the termination of a war, the first demand was, What will the Iroquois do? They still in reality held the balance of power.

The war of races was not ended by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. The red man still cherished the hope of repossessing himself of his old hunting-grounds and the graves of his fathers, but that hope grew fainter and fainter as time rolled on and as year by year he saw the constantly increasing tide of white settlers advancing and pushing him still farther towards the setting sun. Pontiac and Tecumseh were yet to attempt the patriotic but useless struggle, and to prove by their heroism that they belonged to a race whose savage virtues afford a sure basis upon which a higher civilization may yet be engrafted.

## PERIOD IV.

### FRANCE AND ENGLAND CONTEND FOR THE POSSESSION OF THE OHIO VALLEY.

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#### CHAPTER I.

##### POLICY OF FRANCE—HER INDIAN ALLIES—POLICY OF ENGLAND—THE IROQUOIS—SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON—THE OHIO COMPANY—WASHINGTON.

THE close of the seventeenth century was marked by events which excite in us a more than usual degree of interest. The settlements made at Biloxi, and on other parts of the open shores of the Gulf of Mexico, during the latter years of this century, were followed by the location of others in the Mississippi Valley. New Orleans was founded in 1719. La Salle by his exploration of the Mississippi River had developed important facts in North American geography. Such a river, with such a valley, could be paralleled in the Old World only by the Nile, the Ganges, and the Niger, and in the New only by the Amazon, the La Plata, and the Orinoco of South America. But those streams, although flowing through regions possessing an equally fertile soil, are excelled by the Mississippi in the climate and sanitary advantages of the country in its vicinage.

The foundation of the city of New Orleans furnished a depôt for the products of a region whose extent and resources could scarcely be estimated. This entire territory, extending to the sources of the Arkansas, the Ohio, and the Missouri, as well as to the great chain of lakes, was filled with Indians of various names and families, who roved in wild independence over its plains and through its forests, contributing to a new and attractive branch of commerce,—the fur-trade. To wield political influence among them was, in fact, to secure the most direct means of promoting colonial success. The fine sylvan country of the Illinois had from the period of its first discovery been the universal theme of admiration. At an early day the French were not only established at Kaskaskia and Cahokia, but their settlements, having become the head-quarters of ecclesiastical and commercial functionaries, were continued up the Wabash, the Ohio, the Illinois, and the Wisconsin, where they were met by similar establishments diverging from Quebec and Montreal. From this period may be dated the renewed prosperity of New France.

Fort Niagara, which commanded the Iroquois borders, had been founded as early

as 1679; Michilimackinac, on the upper lakes, was erected in 1686; Fort Oswego, the ancient Gliuna, was built in 1727, Detroit in 1701, Vincennes in 1710, and a short time subsequently a series of minor posts extending along the lake shores from Green Bay and St. Joseph's to the Miami (Maumee) of the Lakes, and the Sandusky, and thence to Presque Isle, on Lake Erie. Among all the Indian tribes inhabiting these regions the French king, French power and liberality, and French manners were spoken of with praise and regarded with admiration.

The social teachings and manners of the French, so opposite to those of the English, furnish a true means of estimating the relative positions held by the two leading races of Europe, who were so long opposed to each other on this continent, in the estimation of the Indians. The French peasantry, who were in constant intercourse with them, did not themselves profess or practise a very high standard of morality, and were therefore the more acceptable to the natives, whose customs, manners, and opinions they at once adopted. They never ridiculed their religious rites, and freely selected their wives from the tribes among whom they pursued their vocations as boatmen, "merchant voyageurs," and runners to collect credits in the fur-trade. The *coureur des bois* and the Indian resembled each other in a thousand little notions regarding tastes, food, and dress. The Frenchman did not think the wigwam a dirty or disgusting place, and he went to gaze with complacency at the Indians' wabeno and medicine dances. He was not sure that necromancy and spirit-worship were altogether wrong, readily learned the Indian language, fabricated canoes of the finest pattern, and soon acquired a reputation superior even to that of the Indians for navigating these light and beautiful vessels. He smoked the Indian's sacred weed as they socially travelled together, and the native, under the guidance of his white friend, chanted the Frenchman's gay songs with the liveliest emotion. In his social chats the Frenchman represented the "Grand Monarque" as superior to all other sovereigns, and contrasted the relative power of the kings of England and France with a partiality that placed the latter above all comparison. To interest the Indian, conversation must be plain, simple, and adapted to his comprehension, and in these characteristics no class of persons have ever equalled the French.

Such was the progress made by her new ecclesiastical establishments that a commissioner of high standing was deputed by the court of France to visit the Western posts and tribes. Charlevoix, who performed this task, and whose journal and history furnish proofs of the zeal and learning he displayed, journeyed from Quebec through the chain of lakes to the Mississippi, which, in 1721, he descended to New Orleans. He made a thorough investigation into the history and condition of the tribes, the results of which he reported to his government. In his era the worship of an eternal fire was still found to exist among the Natchez, or Chigantualga Indians, who accompanied its rites with imposing ceremonies.

The possession of the Mississippi Valley was in reality the prize for which all these exertions were made, and the British colonies soon became aware that a chain of military posts, extending from New Orleans to Quebec, was about to environ them.

Under the rule of Frontenac, the ablest of Canadian statesmen, occurred the first serious collision of the rival powers, marking the opening of the grand scheme of military occupation by which France strove to secure pre-eminence in the New World. One of Frontenac's first measures was the erection on Lake Ontario of the fort bearing his name. He had remarkable tact in dealing with the Indians, conforming to their ways, borrowing their rhetoric, flattering them adroitly, and yet constantly maintaining towards them an attitude of paternal superiority. His plans would probably have succeeded, but for the miserable colonial policy of France. This was restrictive in spirit, favored monopolies, and taught the colonists to look to the home government upon all occasions instead of relying upon themselves. This lesson they might have learned from their neighbors, the English colonists, whose planting and growth afforded a striking exemplification of the opposite policy.

In 1687 the Canadian authorities with great formality repossessed themselves of the Straits of Detroit, commemorating the event by the issue of a protocol. In 1749 the Governor-General of Canada caused leaden plates, bearing suitable inscriptions, to be nailed to trees, and others to be buried beneath the earth, in the Ohio Valley, as a testimony of the reoccupation of that valley by the French. They aimed at least to make the record strong. But a fraction over fifty years had elapsed when these posts were extended up the Ohio to its source at the junction of the Monongahela and the Alleghany, where Fort Du Quesne was built in 1753. The comprehensive and vigorous movements of the French secured the influence of the tribes, whom they supplied with goods, wares, and merchandise at all the posts. Virginia, the Carolinas, Pennsylvania, and Maryland were the first to take the alarm. The French assumed the sovereignty of the country by right of its discovery by La Salle, and in a short time the Western tribes attacked the Southern and Western frontiers with a vigor which threatened the annihilation of the colonies.

In 1728 the Shawnees and Delawares, pressed by the Iroquois, and feeling the encroachments of the advancing settlements, fled across the Alleghanies to the Ohio Valley. The Iroquois power had long previously driven a part of the Lenni Lenape in the same direction.

It is estimated that in 1736, when at the height of their power in America, the French exercised a control over one hundred and three tribes, comprising a total of sixteen thousand four hundred and three warriors, and a population of eighty-two thousand souls. It no longer admitted of a doubt that the object of the French was, by drawing this line around the colonies, to prevent them from extending their possessions to the westward beyond the summits of the Alleghany Mountains. Such, indeed, was the boast of some of the leading Indian chiefs, who regarded the English as the nation which designed to infringe on their forest domains, to impose upon them the yoke of labor and letters, and to tread out their very existence. The sanguinary inroads of the French and their savage allies on the frontiers first brought the youthful Washington into the field. He was but sixteen years of age, when, in 1748, he made his first exploratory trip in that direction. Five years subsequently he undertook his perilous official journey to the French post on Lake Erie, thus

obtaining his first knowledge of the habits of a subtle foe, whose instability of purpose and cruelty of character required perpetual vigilance.

With respect to the great lake basins, they were at an early date in possession of the French. Lake Ontario was commanded by Forts Cataraqui, Niagara, and Oswego, Erie was secured by the location of Fort Le Nou on the Straits of Detroit, and Lake Huron by Fort St. Joseph (the site of the modern Gratiot), situated at the head of the river St. Clair, as also by the old insular fort of Michilimackinae. Lake Superior was overlooked by the fort of St. Mary's, on the Straits of St. Mary, and by that of Madeline, at Chegoimegon; Michigan by a fort on Green Bay, by another at the mouth of the St. Joseph's River, and by the post at Chicago. Small vessels transported arms and supplies to the various posts, and the heavy bateaux of the French, or the light Algonkin canoes, kept up a constant intercourse between the posts and missions both by night and day. The English colonial governors, accustomed to the dilatory movements of their own regular soldiers and sailors, could scarcely conceive of the celerity with which intelligence was communicated.

The jealousy and hatred existing between the tribes prevented extensive hostile combinations against the English, and proved the salvation of the colonies. Every large tribe, from the era of the settlement of Virginia to that of Georgia, deemed itself superior to all others, boasted of its prowess, and despised its enemies. The continent had been overrun by predatory bands long before its discovery by the Europeans, and at that period the tribes were living in a state of intestine anarchy and outward war. When the colonists landed and began to hold intercourse with them, every little tribe exercised an independent sovereignty, sold lands, and prosecuted wars. Of the several stocks who claimed to live in a state of association or confederation, the Iroquois alone possessed anything like a fixed system. The Muskokis, or Creeks, assumed to be a confederacy of seven tribes, but their association was so loosely organized, so destitute of governmental power, that it could not make levies, procure volunteers, mete out punishments, or grant rewards. The Algonkins assimilated in their tribal character and peculiar customs, but every tribe acted as it pleased, without respect to any governmental rule. The seven tribes of the Dakotas styled themselves a united people; the Pokanokets went to war single-handed against all New England; the Tuscaroras determined to destroy North Carolina at a blow; the Yamassees undertook to brave, if not to cope with, South Carolina; and the tribe of the Foxes imprudently resolved, without any auxiliaries but the Sauks, or original occupants of Saginaw,<sup>1</sup> to drive the French out of Michigan.

The refractory tribes of New England, who had either submitted to the colonists or had been conquered by them and fled, derived sympathy and efficient aid from the Canadian authorities. The Pequot refugees, who had found shelter from the Mohawks and been permitted to settle on a tributary of the North River under the name of Schaghticoke, finally fled to Lower Canada. The entire canton of St. Regis

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<sup>1</sup> The modern Saginaws are renegades and refugees from the Chippewa stock, who fled to and reoccupied the original town abandoned by the Sauks.

originally comprised refugees of the Iroquois, who had refused to submit either to the religious teachings or to the political influence of the English.

The tribal and international movements throughout the entire country were controlled, with the sole exception of those of the important cantons of the Iroquois, by the general policy and influence of the French, and tended to the furtherance of the French colonial interests. It was observed at an early day by the English governors, and by the commanders on the frontiers, that a cordon of tribes friendly to the French occupied the whole of the immense line extending from Quebec to New Orleans, and every decade of the existence of the British colonies appeared to increase the apprehensions of evil impending from this quarter. This policy of the French was not a recent one, but can be traced back to the earliest times. From the period when Donnacona was taken to France, and Agahonna was greeted as the forest monarch of Hochelaga, it had been a primary policy of the Gallic authorities to secure the influence of the Indian tribes. Two great stocks of tribes constituted the leading executors of the French policy.

Along the north shore of the St. Lawrence, from the Three Rivers as far as the entrance of the Ottawa River, the coast was occupied by tribes of the generic stock to whom was given the name of Algonkins. Both shores of the St. Lawrence, below the point denoted, as far down as Gaspé Bay, including Tadousac and the island of Orleans, were covered by parties of the Iroquois of the Wyandot branch. The governmental seat and council-fire of this tribe were located on the mountain-island of Hochelaga, to which Cartier gave the name of Montreal. A close alliance was formed with the Algonkin tribes, and also with the Wyandots, or Hurons. The Wyandots affirm themselves to have been the parent tribe of the Iroquois, and, although they do not appear to have been a member of the confederacy of the Five Nations, they were then on the most amicable terms with them. Their offence against the Five Nations was that they had offered their aid not only to the French, but also to the Algonkins, their enemies. As soon as this alliance with the French was understood, the Five Nations, at first moderately, but afterwards peremptorily and violently, ordered them to leave the island of Hochelaga and remove to New York. The Wyandots having refused to obey this mandate, the Iroquois made war upon them, and so harassed them that they were compelled to seek shelter under the guns of Quebec, in which place, even, they were not safe, but were finally expelled from the valley of the St. Lawrence. The French themselves were fiercely attacked, and at one time became seriously afraid that they would be driven from the country.

The flight of the Wyandots from the St. Lawrence Valley, in 1659, led to a great displacement of tribes. They passed up the great Ottawa River, and across Lake Nipissing to the Manitoulin chain of islands in Odawa Lake, which hence received the appellation of Huron, their French *nom de guerre*. But, the New York Iroquois having pursued them thither, they fled to the rocky island of Tiedonderoga, called Michilimackinac by the Algonkins, with whom they were in close alliance, as they had originally been in Lower Canada. Remarkable evidences of their residence in the interior of this island, and also of their agricultural habits,

may still be traced in the large spaces which were cultivated, and which are yet very conspicuous. Of these, the area called by the French *Le Grand Jardin*, and the ground about *Sugar-Loaf* and *Arched Rocks*, will amply repay a visit from the curious. Pursued hither by the Iroquois, they took shelter on Lake Superior. Being followed to that retreat, the Iroquois were defeated by the Algics at *Point Iroquois*, in the Chippewa country. A sanguinary battle, followed by a massacre, was fought on the cape at the left-hand entrance into that lake, which has since been called *Point Iroquois*.

Prior to the flight of the Wyandots from the *St. Lawrence*, a nation of Algonkin lineage called by old writers *Utawawas* and *Atawawas*, and by modern ones *Odawas* and *Ottawas*, resided on the chain of islands in Lake Huron called *Manitoulines*, or *Islands of the Great Spirit*. Portions of this nation participated in the early wars in Lower Canada, and were taught the truths of the Christian religion by the missionaries. The parent tribe had for a long period dwelt on the islands of the *Great Spirit*, and the lake itself was in consequence called *Odawa Lake*. At the same period another leading tribe, of diverse lineage, called the *Assegun* or *Bone Indians*, resided on the upper parts of the lake. Their council-fire and tribal seat were established on the island of *Michilimackinac*. They occupied *Point St. Ignace*, and also the northern shores of the lake as low down as the influx of the *St. Mary's River*, and likewise extended their possessions westward and northward along the shores and islands of Lake Michigan.

To their position on the *Manitoulines* the *Ottawas* refer as the oldest traditional point in their history. Personal bravery, united with the power of performing miraculous or extraordinary feats through the influence of necromancy, was their great object of attainment, and formed a theme for boasting among their heroes. The origin of the tribe they attribute to a renowned personage whom they called *Sagima*. *Sagima* had been celebrated during his prime for deeds of prowess and wisdom, and for his great magic powers. But he was now tottering under the weight of accumulated years; his brethren had classed him as an *Akiwazi*, or one long above ground, and he was soon destined to take his long-anticipated journey to the land of the departed, or Indian paradise. *Sagima* resided with his wife, and had four sons,—namely, *Wau-be-nace*, *Waubas*, *Gitchie Wedau*, and the youngest, named after himself, *Sagima*. It is of the feats of the latter, who was the favorite son, that tradition speaks, for he was not only the pride of his parents, but was also endowed with all the intrepidity, wisdom, and magical power of his father. In his youth he was noted for his eccentricities and foolhardy exploits; when he reached the period of manhood he evinced great powers of endurance, frequently fasting ten days, and, after tasting a little food, renewing his fast; and when his future guardian spirit was revealed to him it was the *Great Serpent*, or *Gitchie Kinabik*, who lives under the ground and water.

At this time the *Asseguns* began to trespass on the territory of the *Manitoulines*, and killed some of their people. A war with this tribe was the result. Accompanying the warriors, at first as a young volunteer, and concealing the great powers

he felt conscious of possessing, Sagima performed feats which drew all eyes upon him. He soon became an efficient warrior, and in the end the deliverer of his country. In this contest the Manitoulines were aided by the Ojibwas, or Chippewas. The first great battle with the Bone Indians was fought on the peninsula called by the French *Détour*. Sagima then pursued his enemies westward to their intrenchments on the northern shore, near some mounds and bivouacs the remains of which are still to be seen northward of St. Ignace. From this position he dislodged them, and took possession of the territory up to Point St. Ignace, where the war terminated, and the Asseguns, crossing the strait to the headland called *Piquitong*, the locality where old Fort Michilimackinac was subsequently built by the French, there formed a village. Having conquered the country of the Bone Indians, the Ottawas gradually withdrew from the Manitoulines and located their tribal seat at St. Ignace. The following spring the Asseguns crossed over and killed an Ottawa woman who was planting corn. Sagima raised a war-party and crossed the strait to the Assegun village, which was found to contain only old men, women, and children, the warriors having gone up the *Cheboyan*, a river ten miles to the eastward. Sagima followed their trail, discovered their canoes hidden in the overhanging bushes, and waylaid them in a shallow, sandy bay. The returning Asseguns were attacked at a disadvantage, and a dreadful massacre followed.

After this event the Asseguns fled to the eastern shores of Lake Michigan, but they were finally pursued south to the banks of the *Washtenaw*, called by the French *Grand River*. This formed the limit of the conquests of the Ottawas, and thence they returned to their tribal seat at St. Ignace. The Chippewas, who had been their confederates in this war, settled on *Grand Traverse Bay*, and at some other locations to the westward, where relics of the two tribes still reside in villages.

During the prosecution of this war on the shores of Lake Michigan the Ottawas and Chippewas became involved in a quarrel with a tribe called by early writers *Mascoutins*, a term apparently derived from the phrase *Mush-co-dains-ug*, or *Little Prairie Indians*. These Indians appear to have allied themselves with the Bone Indians. *Chusco*, an aged Ottawa, conversant with their traditions, attributes to them the old cleared fields and the mounds on the Michigan coast, particularly those on *Grand River*. From this period the Asseguns and *Mascoutins* were confederates. The Ottawas and Chippewas, as soon as practicable, pursued them beyond *Washtenaw River* to *Chicago*, whence they fled towards the south and west; and from this point no further trace of them can be found in the Indian traditions.

In an official report of the Indian tribes made to the government of Canada in 1736, the *Mascoutins* are designated as occupying the locality south of *Green Bay*, and are rated at eighty warriors, which would indicate a population of four hundred souls. *Bouquet* and *Hutchins*, in their tables, formed in 1764, report them as occupying the same locality, and state their numbers at five hundred. Modern estimates make no mention of the tribe. In traits and habits the *Mascoutins* closely resembled the *Kickapoos*, and they possibly have been absorbed in that very nomadic, prairie-loving tribe.

Regarding the Asseguns, referred to in their traditions as the predecessors of the Algonkins on the upper waters of Lake Huron, it would be hazardous to offer any conjecture except one founded on philology, their name appearing to assimilate with the French term Osages, and they were very probably of the Dakota or Iroquois stock.

To the events preceding the Assegun wars we can add no chronology. It seems certain that they occurred prior to the flight of the Wyandots to the lakes, in 1649; for when, in this year, the latter reached the Manitoulin group, they found it vacated by the Ottawas, and located their residence on it; hence, as before mentioned, the lake received the name of Huron. Having been allies of the Ottawas and other Algonkins in the St. Lawrence Valley, they were welcomed as friends. Their residence on the island of Michilimackinac under Adario, in 1688, is mentioned by early writers, and, although they were obliged for a time to take shelter among the Chippewas of Lake Superior, the growth of the French colony of Detroit enabled the latter to invite them to locate themselves in that vicinity, where for so long a period they occupied a conspicuous place as the umpire tribe.

By this transfer of the Wyandots to the lakes the Algonkin tribes were in reality strengthened, for they came thither as friends. By the prior expulsion of the Asseguns and Mascoutins, the wide lake-basins had been cleared of all tribes who were adverse to their rule, and they had secured the free use of their lakes as well as of their hunting-grounds. They now began fearlessly to cross the broad waters in their canoes, and soon felt themselves established in the magnificent geographical empire of the great lakes. From the northern limits of Lake Huron, through the Straits of St. Mary to Lake Superior, and from Michilimackinac, around the far-spreading shores of Lakes Huron and Michigan, thence eastwardly to Detroit, and southwardly to the Ohio, there were no languages spoken but those which were derived, more or less recently, from the Algonkin. This generic language was of mild and easy utterance, and possessed a full vocabulary, containing but few sounds not readily enunciated by either the French or the English. The members of these tribes were people of good stature and pleasing manners, who readily adopted European modes of conducting their traffic and of transacting business. They borrowed from the French the complimentary term *bon jour* on meeting, having in their own language no equivalent for that of good-day. If we examine the Algonkin people which extended south from the site of Chicago to Kaskaskia and the mouth of the Ohio, and north to the Crees, near the Lake of the Woods, we shall find a singular agreement of character. There was no tribe in all the broad expanse of country named which did not recognize the French standard as the most desirable one in matters of civilization and religion.

The French now attempted, by taking formal possession of the Ohio Valley, to unite the extreme boundaries of New France and thus prevent the extension of the English colonies.

The expulsion of the Asseguns, or Bone Indians, and of the Mascoutins, from the lake region, in all probability occurred before the close of the sixteenth century,

or prior, at least, to the first landing of Europeans. No notice of it can be found in the works of the earliest writers; the Wasashas,<sup>1</sup> a bold, turbulent tribe, who may be thought to correspond in character with that people, having been at a primeval period located in the North, but after their flight to the South always on an affluent of the Missouri. Their traditions furnish nothing but an allegory representing that their origin was derived from a beaver and a shell. If these are symbols, they denote that they lived in a region abounding in trees (the bark of which was their food) and fish, and that their state of life was fortuitous from natural and not from historical causes.

It is uncertain at how early a period the French visited Lake Huron and the upper lakes, but their first journey thither probably occurred between the year 1608 and Champlain's surrender of Quebec to Kirk, in 1629. Whatever the period was, the Algonkins seem to have then exercised dominion in the country. The Mascoutins, who by the name appear to have been of Algonkin lineage, were then located in that territory. The Illinese occupied the valley of the Illinois, and also the left banks of the Mississippi from its outlet to the influx of the Ohio. The Miamis were seated in the St. Joseph's and Grand River valleys of Michigan, and the various bands called Michigamies on the shores of Lake Michigan. The Menomonies occupied the northern shores of Green Bay, and even as early as 1636 the Mascoutins had been driven to the country lying south of the banks of Fox River. The only acknowledged trans-Mississippian Indian tribe residing on Green Bay was that of the Winnebagoes, which, although of Dakota origin, had an Algonkin name and lived in amity with the Algonkins.

That the French succeeded in arraying the numerous and scattered tribes of the Algonkins against the English colonies, is well known to every reader of Americo-Indian history. Intercourse and habits made them one in feeling and policy. Although it has been suggested that the Indian tribes appeared to feel a sense of their ability to crush the primitive English colonies, yet they lacked the power of combination to make any general movement for that purpose. At every phase of their history they felt the necessity of having a European basis of power upon which to lean. In other words, they sought to be allies, and not principals, in the great contests with the colonies, and were in reality the flankers, and rarely or never the main body of fighting-men. From this preference for the French the Algonkin family of the Lenni Lenape may be excepted, for they were friends of the English prior to 1742. In a public council held at Lancaster during this year they were ordered by the Iroquois, in a very harsh manner, to remove from the lands they occupied, because they had sold them to Penn, or to other persons, without having received authority. They were directed to take up their residence in the West, and from this date the Delawares were regarded as being under French influence. Such suspicions gathered strength from year to year, and this influence followed them

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<sup>1</sup> It may be that Osages is a term derivative from Wasashas: if so, little stress can be laid on the supposed recognition.

westward, until they became residents of the Muskingum Valley, where the Christian Delawares were at length massacred.

It was the early-developed policy of the French to employ against the frontier settlements the Indian forces at their command, a power eminently calculated to annoy and harass, and without which it does not seem probable that the French could have so long maintained their ground against the British colonies. Indian warfare is conducted by a species of guerilla force, which in efficacy exceeds all other kinds of irregular warfare, not only on account of its sanguinary character, but also because of the suddenness of its attacks, its entire freedom from the annoyances of baggage, and the alacrity with which the warriors charge and disperse. There is no regular military arm which can at all cope with, or successfully check, these guerilla parties, as it is their policy never to risk an open battle; consequently, when the clumsy infantry and dragoon soldier is sent into the woods to cope with such a supple and nearly invisible enemy, he appears to be little more than a target for a ball or an arrow.

A review of the colonial policy of the French, from the days of Champlain to those of Montcalm, develops the fact that the Indian power was always one of their most effective means of offence. The great conflicts on land and ocean did not produce great results; but during all this period, extending over one hundred and fifty years, it was the Indian war-parties and marauding expeditions, which infested the frontiers from Virginia to New England, that committed deeds of the most atrocious violence. Men, women, and children sent unheralded into eternity at midnight by the war-club and the scalping-knife, blazing tenements, cruel and prolonged captivities, death at the stake, and murder in its most horrid forms, constituted the main incidents of this epoch.

An Indian considers one hundred miles but a short distance, and one thousand miles as not a long one to march, when the purpose he has in view is to glut his vengeance or gratify himself. He is not a man who pines for the enjoyments of home; there is not much to attach him to it; to camp in the woods is his delight, and the wilderness is his dwelling. Time passes lightly with him, and anything which cheats him of the very idea of its passage is pleasant. He is always at leisure, and death itself receives a rather friendly welcome. To journey to Fort Du Quesne, Erie, Oswego, Niagara, or Quebec for the trifling present of a gun, a blanket, a kettle, a pound of powder, a gorget, or a flag, was in point of enterprise considered as nothing for an Indian chief. To him, to whom time was nothing and wandering a pleasure, the toil was ten times overpaid by the reward. The Indian naturally esteems gifts, and habitually loves the giver. The Frenchman was to the Indian the *beau idéal* of all that was admirable in a foreign race, combining generosity with amiable friendliness and kindness of demeanor.

The French most surely extended their influence by multiplying forts on the frontiers. They had from an early period occupied positions on every important Western river or lake, and by taking formal possession of the Ohio Valley, in 1753, they consummated a long-cherished scheme, and environed the Western colonies with a

cincture as of scorpions. Western Virginia and Pennsylvania groaned under new inflictions of savage vengeance; and from this time the Indian forays on the Western frontiers became incessant, being unexampled in our history for their frequency, and for the barbarous inhumanity which characterized them,—murders, ambuscades, and tortures becoming the terror of the settlers. Not the least important feature in the policy which directed these Indian wars was the countenance they received from the French officials at Vincennes, Kaskaskia, Fort Chartres, Detroit, Miami, Sandusky, and other minor posts. It was these depredations, and the policy which directed them, that first brought Washington into the field.

The Gallic and Anglo-Saxon powers were now fairly pitted against each other, and it was evident that this new aspect of French aggression must soon lead to a general conflict. France or England must rule America. The British ministry had in some measure prepared for this struggle. The local commerce had necessitated the erection of Fort Loudon, in the Valley of Virginia. Fort Cumberland had been previously built on Wills Creek, Fort Stanwix at the head of the Mohawk, and Fort Anne on the sources of the Hudson. Fort Edward, also on the Hudson, and Fort William Henry, on Lake George, were soon afterwards constructed. These formed the chief defences in the middle of the eighteenth century, and after the close of Queen Anne's war the colonists were supported by occasional detachments of veteran troops who had served under the Duke of Marlborough and other distinguished officers. These forts served as defences to the frontiers, enabling the colonies to preserve their existence, but they were not sufficiently powerful to roll back the tide of aggression.

At this period, as already stated, France had seized and guarded by a series of skilfully-distributed posts the lakes and streams—those thoroughfares of the wilderness—between her settlements in the valley of the St. Lawrence and the mouth of the Mississippi. A fort at Niagara commanded the interior country, at Detroit the passage from Lake Erie to the north was guarded, and at St. Mary's hostile access to Lake Superior was barred. Michilimackinac secured the mouth of Lake Michigan; posts at Green Bay and St. Joseph protected the two routes to the Mississippi by the rivers Wisconsin and Illinois, while those on the Wabash and the Maumee gave France control of the trade from Lake Erie to the Ohio. French settlements were found at Kaskaskia and Cahokia, in Illinois, and a few small stockades were seen on the Mississippi.

To counteract this policy the English found it necessary to call in the aid of the Iroquois cantons. The Indian is more gratified with a present of ten dollars' worth of merchandise than if he were to receive twenty times the value in money as a permanent annuity. Early partakers of the benefits resulting from Anglo-Saxon proximity of settlement and commerce, the Iroquois became firm friends to all who belonged to that race. The warlike Mohawks were the most prominent tribe in the confederacy at the time of the discovery of the Hudson. They found a very good market for their furs, which rendered them affluent in every comfort of Indian life, and they adhered to their early relations with unchanging steadiness. After

being furnished with guns, the Mohawks revisited Lake Champlain, where they encountered the renewed energies of Canada, and in a short time induced all the cantons to join them. Another great advantage accrued to them at this period in the employment of fire-arms against their enemies at the South and West. The introduction of gunpowder into America revolutionized the entire Indian mode of life. Their expeditions not only became more lengthy, but were also characterized by greater frequency, and in a short time no tribe could withstand them. Ambition stimulated every canton, and before the surrender of the province to the English, in 1664, the council-fire at Onondaga burned still more brightly and fiercely. Unaided by this influence, New York, as well as the Northern and Central British colonies, could not have protected so wide a frontier without any extraneous aid. They frustrated the plan for establishing a mission at the old French fields, in Madison County, as also at Onondaga, in Western New York. They likewise defeated the armies of Frontenac and of Denonville.

An agency was also established in the Iroquois country, which, from little beginnings, at length systematically controlled this power for the protection and furtherance of the interests of the English colonies. This was the one which became so celebrated under the management of Sir William Johnson. Johnson emigrated to America in 1734, and, having undertaken the management of an estate in the Mohawk Valley for Sir Peter Warren, embarked in the fur-trade and learned the Indian language. He frequently accompanied the Iroquois delegates who went to Albany to transact business with the government, and therein evinced so much tact, and so intimate a knowledge of the Indian dialects, that in a few years the superintendency of this department of government in the British colonies was committed to his care. The Iroquois had been constantly gaining in power during the previous century, and the authority which they now exercised over the tribes in the North, South, and West enabled Johnson, through their means, to exert a controlling influence. He combined within himself the faculties of close observation, great prudence, judgment, decision, energy, and courage. By his judicious management of affairs, and of a large private estate, he at once acquired a just appreciation of Indian character, and great popularity with the Iroquois. His Indian policy imitated and even surpassed in efficiency that of the French. He paid the utmost deference to their ancient ceremonial, not to say Oriental, mode of transacting public business. He received their delegates and foreign ambassadors with great ceremony, listened to them patiently, answered them carefully, made them liberal and judicious presents, and ordered every attention to be paid to their personal wants. No Indian who came to him ever went away hungry or in want from his agency, and no one ever complained that he had not received an audience. The Indian is always greatly influenced by the respect with which he is received; no European can be more so. He has a high opinion of himself, of his position, and of his destiny; he does not know that he is a savage; he does not feel the want of our knowledge, our letters, our religion; he is a patient, courteous, dignified listener; he watches the features and expression of his interlocutor with great

attention, and is a good judge of general character; he is prone to approbateness, values approval, appreciates kindness, and is altogether reliable as a personal friend.

Such were the materials of the power which Johnson undertook to control. He regarded the proud, noble, but untutored Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca sachems, with their principle of cantonal representation and confederate unity, as in some measure a reproduction of the Amphictyonic Council. He sent formal messages to them requesting their attendance whenever occasion required it. This careful attention greatly pleased them. Meeting together in council, they transmitted the message to the most distant places. Under the honored title of Mingoes, portions of the Iroquois stock resided in the Ohio Valley, and served as diplomatic agents to communicate intelligence. The most distant valleys of the West, and the remotest lakes of the North, were thus made accessible; and the affairs of the Illinois, and of the tribes of Michilimackinac, Detroit, Niagara, and Oswego, were as well understood at his nominal seat on Tribes Hill, in the Mohawk Valley, as were those of Genesee, Albany, and the Cahootatea. The high rank which Johnson held in the New York militia caused him to be employed on some of the most important services, and he achieved several momentous victories in the war with the French. No one can peruse the history of New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, or Virginia, or even of the States farther South, from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the era of the Revolutionary War, without observing how intimately the Indian policy of these colonies was connected with the Iroquois supremacy, and how completely Sir William controlled it through a well-established system of subordinates. Governors of colonies thought it no derogation from their dignity to meet the delegated Iroquois sachems in general council, and the Iroquois sanction was deemed essential to all purchases of land and questions of boundary, even to the utmost limits of Virginia and Kentucky.

The struggle which was at this period impending on the Western frontiers was not only for the possession of supremacy on the Ohio, but in fact, as became apparent in a few years, for the control of the entire Mississippi Valley. It was a contest which would decide whether France or England should govern in North America. The Indians were so far a party to the contest that it was necessary for each nation to pay its court to them, and there was no surer method of acquiring their good will than by respecting their ancient mode of holding councils and paying due reverence to their ceremonial rites and customs. To smoke a national pipe, to deliver a belt of wampum beads, to present a chief with a medal or a flag, were in their eyes acts of the most momentous importance. To do nothing in a hurry, to deliberate slowly, to measure, as it were, the importance of events by the time devoted to the performance of their ceremonies, were to the Indians very pleasing evidences of capacity for negotiation. When an Indian orator arose and pointed to the zenith, to the nadir, to the place of the sun and moon, and to the cardinal points, he fancied himself to be surrounded by a pantheon of supernal and spiritual influences. He loved this pomp of ceremonies, and he felt complimented to see a European official respect them. Trifles lead to success.

It has been mentioned that the inroads of the Indians, which either preceded or succeeded the occupation of the Ohio Valley by the French, had the effect of bringing Washington into that field of adventurous action. He was but sixteen when he first began his explorations on the Alleghany chain. Five years of manly exercise and experience in the life of woodcraft, surveying, and exploration had given him a shrewd insight into Indian character, and prepared him for further and more important trusts in a department of service requiring, above all others, perpetual vigilance and precaution; and if, in the estimation of the Indians and the pioneers, he surpassed the others engaged with him, it was doubtless owing to the Indians' appreciation of the solidity of his character. Tanacharisson, who was the head sachem of the Mingo-Iroquois of the Ohio Valley, was the presiding chief in the first council or consultation in which Washington took part. In fact, Tanacharisson was well known among the tribes, and performed at the place of his residence the duties of a kind of *chargé-d'affaires*, just as the half-king, Scarooyadi, did on the Juniata, and Skilelamo on the Susquehanna. Favorably impressed from the first, the Indian chief remained a firm friend of the enterprising Virginian to the day of his death.

The double interest created by the fine soil and climate of Ohio, and by apprehension of the hostility of its native tribes, strongly directed the minds of Virginians to that quarter, and at sundry times they despatched agents to visit the country and report its position, its resources, and the feelings of the Indians. Among these reconnoissances, those of Croghan, Gist, and Trent constitute marked epochs in the history of Indian policy and sentiments. The result of these missions, which extended to the Wabash and the Scioto, denoted that French influence was predominant, and that the Algonkin tribes generally were in close alliance with that power, while the Mingoes expressed friendly opinions of the English. From a remark made by a Delaware sachem to one of their agents, it appeared to be a question, not whether the Indians possessed or wished to occupy any part of the country, but simply whether the French or the English should have possession of it. A year or two passed in rather fruitless efforts to obtain a better knowledge of Indian affairs in Ohio, and in endeavors to adjust matters on a firmer footing.

In 1749 a royal grant of six hundred thousand acres, on the Ohio River, was made to a number of English merchants and Virginia planters, who, under the name of the Ohio Company, had associated for the ostensible purpose of trade. The establishment of this company was the first intimation to the French of the intention of the English to prosecute their claims. They viewed it as a step towards wresting the Indian trade from them and breaking the connection between New France and Louisiana. They at once resolved on defensive measures, and seized some English traders near the present site of Pittsburg, whom they conveyed to Presque Isle, now Erie. In retaliation for this outrage, the Twightwees, a friendly tribe, seized some French traders and sent them to Pennsylvania. Finally, the French began the erection of posts on the south side of Lake Erie, sending troops across the lakes with munitions of war, and forwarding bodies of armed men from

New Orleans. One fort was built at Presque Isle, another at Le Bœuf (now Waterford, Pennsylvania), and a third at Venango (now Franklin, Pennsylvania), at the junction of French Creek with the Alleghany River.

The Ohio Company having complained of these aggressions, Governor Dinwiddie deemed it proper to send an agent to the French authorities at the post of Presque Isle, on Lake Erie, and committed the trust to Washington, whose experience on that frontier, together with his judgment and discretion, well qualified him for the task. Accompanied by a French interpreter, Washington left Williamsburg, the seat of government, on the 30th of October, 1753. He rode on horseback across the Alleghanies. At Cumberland Mr. Gist joined him as Indian interpreter, and at another point a second interpreter and four experienced woodsmen were added to his cavalcade. All the rivers were so swollen that he was compelled to swim the horses across. He reached the junction of the Monongahela and Alleghany Rivers (now the site of Pittsburg) without accident, and pointed out that spot as a suitable and desirable location for a fort. In that vicinity he found a Delaware sachem, named Shingiss, who gave him directions for finding Logstown, the residence of Tanacharisson, the half-king. He reached that place after sunset, but the chief was absent. He immediately sent runners to invite him to an interview, and the chief arrived at his lodge the next day. He discovered him to be intelligent, patriotic, and tenacious of his territorial rights. Washington received him with courtesy, and despatched messengers to some of the other chiefs to invite them to a council. They arrived the following day, when he laid before them the purport of his instructions from the Governor of Virginia, and requested guides to conduct him to the French posts, and a safe-conduct on the way. A pause then ensued. The council having deliberated formally on the matter, the half-king arose, assumed an oratorical attitude, and gave his assent, declaring that the English and themselves were one people, and that he intended to return the French belts; thus, in the usual form of Indian diplomacy, rejecting the French overtures. Three days were occupied in summoning the Indians from their camps and securing their compliance, after which Washington was furnished with the required guides and aids. He was accompanied also by the half-king, by Jeskakake, a Shawnee, and by another chief, named the Belt-Keeper, or White Thunder. They reached the post of Venango, a distance of seventy miles, in four days. This was but an outpost of the fortress near Presque Isle. After witnessing some of the peculiar manœuvres and intrigues of both French and Indian diplomacy, Washington proceeded to Presque Isle, where he was received with ceremonious politeness by the commandant, St. Pierre. The purport of these details is merely to demonstrate how the Indian character fluctuated under the operation of two diverse sets of counsels. Tanacharisson, the Mingo sachem, remained faithful to his professions, and informed Washington of the result of a secret council with St. Pierre, in which it was decided that a present of goods should be sent to secure the good will of his village at Logstown. The entire journey was fraught with unusual peril and hardship, being performed amid the severity of winter; and its results furnish us with a good view of Indian



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OHIO RIVER FROM THE SUMMIT OF GRAVE CREEK MOUND



character, swayed as it then was by the alternating emotions of hope and fear, and well illustrate the operation of motives of self-interest on the Indian mind. The mission was, however, unsuccessful. Early in the spring of 1754 the French under Contrecoeur took possession of the point at the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela Rivers, dislodging a party of men engaged in the same work under Captain Trent of the Virginia militia, and erected Fort Du Quesne. The English had been outgeneralled, and a fixed point established whence to control Indian action. The spirits of the Indian allies of the French had been raised to the highest pitch, and the power of the English colonists defied. This first overt act of hostility was the beginning of the Seven Years' French and Indian War, which terminated with the conquest of Canada.

## CHAPTER II.

### BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT.

CIVILIZED communities regard military success as, in most cases, the result of superior judgment, but with the Indians it is the effect of an impulsive, irresistible movement, under the operation of which judgment gives place to passion and they are incited to such infuriate action as to produce confusion in the ranks of the enemy. Fort Du Quesne had no sooner been established than it became a centre for the direction of Indian movements in the West. From far and near the Indians resorted to it. Feasts, dances, and the distribution of presents were the order of the day, and the vicinity resounded with shouts and songs. The frontiers of the English colonies were speedily subjected to Indian inroads. Dinwiddie, by his tardy movements, had lost his vantage-ground, and Virginia enterprise, though directed by its best men, failed to recover its former position. The year 1754 was characterized by alarms, murders, apprehension, the formation of plans, and their failure. There was no security on the frontiers from Carolina to Pennsylvania, nor in Western New York. The Catawbas and Cherokees had not been employed to counteract the movements of the Western Indians; this measure was not thought of in the zeal of the Ohio Company to effect settlements, or in the efforts of the local military forces to dislodge the French.

The Virginia Assembly voted ten thousand pounds sterling towards supporting the expeditions to the Ohio. The Carolinas voted twelve thousand pounds sterling. Three hundred men were to be raised, to be commanded by Colonel Joshua Fry, with Washington as his lieutenant. Arriving at Wills Creek April 20, Washington, learning that Trent's force had been dislodged, pushed forward with one hundred and fifty men to attempt to retrieve this loss, confident that Fry with a large force would speedily follow. Ascertaining from the half-king that a French force was about to attack him, he threw up an intrenchment near the Great Meadows, which he called Fort Necessity. On the 27th he surprised a French detachment of fifty men, and defeated them, De Jumonville, their commander, being killed. By the death of Colonel Fry at Wills Creek, the chief command of the expedition now devolved upon Washington, who, with only four hundred men, was marching to attack Fort Du Quesne, when, learning that the French had been reinforced and were marching towards him, he retreated to Fort Necessity, which he reached July 1, and which he at once proceeded to enlarge and strengthen. Two days later the French, seven hundred strong, under De Villiers, attacked the fort. After a brief defence, it was surrendered upon honorable terms. At the close of the year 1754, in the whole valley of the Mississippi there floated no other standard than that of France.

The year 1755 afforded but a gloomy prospect for the cause of the colonies. Never before, perhaps, had they been so boldly threatened by the combined power of the Indians and the French. The Alleghanies were the natural barriers between the East and the West. To retrieve their position in the West, and to open the way for future emigration beyond the Alleghanies, the British cabinet sent out two regiments of veteran troops, under the command of General Edward Braddock, a proud, highly disciplined soldier, who despised the Indians and deemed them incapable of making any impression on the solid columns of a regular army. He had learned the art of war on the battle-fields of Europe, and disdained all skulking and dodging, which form an essential element of success in Indian warfare. He underrated the colonial troops and frontiersmen, not only because they were not highly disciplined, but also because they had to some extent adopted the hunter mode of warfare. His landing at Alexandria (February 20), the glitter and parade of war which pervaded his movements, his councils with the colonial governors, and the fame of the expedition which was designed to cross the Alleghanies, filled the entire country. Braddock was clothed with the fullest powers by the king. Colonial governors waited upon him, and expectation had reached the highest pitch of excitement. Among those who were present at Alexandria was General William Johnson, charged by the New York colonial government with the control of Indian affairs in the Mohawk Valley and among the Iroquois. Braddock appointed him Superintendent-General of Indian affairs in America, clothed him with ample powers, and provided him with funds. Filling up his regiments with the best recruits, having an ample military chest, a well-arranged quartermaster's department, the most experienced guides and pioneers, and Washington himself as an aide in his personal staff, Braddock conquered every delay, and surmounted difficulties of a remarkable and novel character in conveying his troops and cannon over the intricate passes of the Alleghany range, and in reaching the dark and turbid waters of the Monongahela. But it is wonderful that, after this long and laborious march, during which a passage for his platoons had been cut through forests of thick trees, tangled with brushwood, and the artillery had been sometimes lowered over steep precipices by sailors with ropes, he should not have proposed to meet his savage foemen in the manner best calculated to defeat them, and that he turned a deaf ear to all the counsels of experience.

To Franklin, who told Braddock at Fredericksburg that the Indians were dexterous in planning and executing ambuscades, he replied, "The savages may be formidable to your raw American militia; upon the king's regulars and disciplined troops it is impossible they should make any impression. After taking Fort Du Quesne, I am to proceed to Niagara, and, having taken that, to Frontenac. Du Quesne can hardly detain me above three or four days, and then I see nothing that can obstruct my march to Niagara." Franklin's exertions, backed by his great influence in Pennsylvania, supplied the army with horses and carriages, for want of which it had halted at Fredericksburg, unable to move,—a feat that extorted praise from Braddock, and for which Franklin received the unanimous thanks of the

Assembly of Pennsylvania. Among the wagoners employed on this occasion was Daniel Morgan, the future hero of the Cowpens, who, by saving his wages as a day-laborer, had become the owner of a team.

Up to the fatal 9th of July, the army, in a slender line nearly four miles in length, marched through a narrow passage, twelve feet wide, cut through a dense forest into which the eye could scarcely penetrate.

Braddock's force consisted of about two thousand men, one thousand of whom were provincials, among them two companies from New York under Captain Horatio Gates. The advanced division, led by the general in person, consisted of twelve hundred men; the other, under Colonel Dunbar, remained in the rear. Braddock reached the junction of the Youghiogheny and Monongahela Rivers, within fifteen miles of Fort Du Quesne, July 8; at noon of the 9th they were but seven miles from the fort. A detachment of three hundred and fifty men, led by Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Gage, attended by a working party of two hundred and fifty, was advancing cautiously with guides and flanking parties towards the fort, followed by the general with the artillery, baggage, and the main body of the army, when a very heavy and rapid firing was heard at the front.

Contrecoeur, the French commander, informed of the approach of Braddock, and doubtful of his ability to maintain his post, had contemplated its abandonment, when Captain De Beaujeu proposed to head a detachment of French and Indians and meet the English while on their march. This plan was adopted, and on the morning of July 9, with less than nine hundred French and Indians, Beaujeu set out, intending to make the attack at the second crossing of the river. Arriving too late at this point, they posted themselves in the woods and ravines on the line of march towards the fort.

It was one o'clock when, under the rays of a July sun, the British reached the north side of the Monongahela. A level plain extended nearly half a mile northward to a rise, beyond which were higher elevations, thickly wooded, and furrowed by narrow ravines. Just as Gage with the advance was ascending this slope, a heavy volley from the unseen foe was poured into his ranks from the dark woods in his front. Gage's failure promptly to support his flanking parties lost the day. The British fired at random, while the concealed enemy, from behind trees and rocks and bushes, kept up his rapid and destructive volleys. Beaujeu, the French leader, was killed at the first return fire, and M. Dumas took his place. Braddock made all possible haste to relieve his advanced guard, but the panic-stricken soldiers fell back in confusion upon the artillery, and communicated their fright to the whole army. The general tried in vain to rally his troops. He and his officers were in the thickest of the fight, and exhibited indomitable courage. Washington ventured to suggest the propriety of adopting the Indian mode of warfare, each firing for himself without orders, but Braddock would not listen to him. For three hours he tried to form his men into regular columns and platoons, while his concealed enemy with sure aim was slaying his brave soldiers by scores. At length he received a wound which disabled him and terminated his life three days afterwards. Every mounted

officer except Washington was slain before Braddock fell, and the whole duty of distributing orders devolved upon him, while from recent illness he was scarcely fit to be in the saddle. Two horses were shot under him, and four bullets perforated his clothing. His Virginians, adopting, contrary to orders, the Indian mode of fighting, did more execution than all the others, and saved the remnant of the army. "That proud army which had that morning crossed the Monongahela in such gallant array, with drums beating and colors flying, fled like sheep before wolves, abandoning their cannon, their arms and ammunition, and even their wounded, to their savage foes." Of three companies, scarcely thirty men were left alive. Secretary Shirley and Sir Peter Halket were killed. Among the wounded were Colonels Burton, St. Clair, and Orne, Lieutenant-Colonel Gage, Major Sparks, and Brigade-Major Halket. Five captains were killed, and five wounded. Out of eighty-six officers, sixty-three were killed or wounded. The loss of privates was seven hundred and fourteen, one-half of whom were killed. Of the enemy, only three officers and thirty men were killed, and about the same number wounded.

This defeat was effected by the Western and Northern Indians, who were chiefly of Algonkin lineage. The French Indians from the lakes were present in great force, and it has been surmised that Pontiac himself was their leader. The Iroquois were not on the field in their tribal character, although some Mingoes and Senecas were present. Johnson had urged the necessity of sending the warriors with Braddock, but they declined. The utmost result of his efforts was that they promised not to oppose him.

It is an error to suppose that Braddock was the only one who placed no faith in the efficiency of Indian guerilla warfare. Educated military men in all ages of our history have been prone to undervalue the Indian system, and these opinions are held by some officers at the present day. While the battle is not always to the strong, it cannot be expected that David, with his sling, will always kill Goliath; but well-drilled armies must be efficiently protected on their flanks, and an accurate adaptation of means to ends must ever be preserved in the tangled forest, which cannot be penetrated, as well as on the level plain, where the view is uninterrupted. The heavy, camp-fed, clumsy-footed soldier is never a match in the forest for the light, active Indian warrior. A review of our Indian history from Braddock's day to the present era proves that a small Indian force in ambuscade will overmatch ten times its number of regular troops who adhere to the system of fighting in platoons. The regulars are either thrown into confusion, become panic-struck, are slaughtered in large numbers, or are totally defeated. Such was the result of Colonel Harmor's attempt to ford the Miami, and of St. Clair's to penetrate the Wabash woods. General Wayne, who was like a lion where there was an opportunity to fight, as at Stony Point, was obliged to abandon the ground on which Fort Recovery was subsequently built. During two entire years he contended against tribes of active warriors, whose fathers, nay, some of whom themselves, had fought against Braddock. It was not until caution had made him wise, and he had attained a true knowledge of Indian woodcraft, that he finally prevailed against them on the Miami of the Lakes.

It was there that he met the Miamis, Piankeshaws, and Weas, under Little Turtle, and the same leaders who had opposed Harmar and St. Clair. They were leagued with the Chippewas, Ottawas, Pottawatomies, Delawares, Shawnees, and other Algonkin tribes, who, with the Wyandots, had overthrown Braddock. It is, however, by no means certain that if the ambuscade so successfully and warily constructed in a wide field of heavy grass at the Miami Rapids had been laid in a dense forest, where horses would have been useless, the result would not have been very different.

It has been asserted that there were but six hundred and thirty-seven Indians engaged in the action which resulted in Braddock's defeat. These consisted principally of Ottawas, Ojibwas, and Pottawatomies, from Michigan; Shawnees, from Grave Creek and the river Muskingum; Delawares, from the Susquehanna; Abenakis and Caughnawagas, from Canada; and Hurons, or Wyandots, from the mission of Lorette and the Montreal Falls, under Athanase, a Canadian. This force, including the recreant Abenakis, was, as may be seen, entirely of the Algonkin family, with the exception of the Hurons, a segregated Iroquois tribe who had always sided with the French, and a few "scattered warriors from the Six Nations." To this force were added one hundred and forty-six Canadian militia and seventy-two regular troops, who fought according to the Indian mode. It is impossible that such a defeat could have occurred under ordinary circumstances; and the fact conclusively attests the efficacy of an Indian auxiliary force as a vanguard to regular troops in a wild forest country, where they can screen themselves from observation and bid defiance to the death-dealing artillery or the attacks of dragoons.

## CHAPTER III.

### KITTANNING DESTROYED—BATTLE OF LAKE GEORGE—CAPTURE OF OSWEGO AND FORT WILLIAM HENRY.

THE sachem commissioner, Tanacharisson, and his successor, Scarooyadi, had evinced a firm friendship for the English on the Ohio border, in conformity with the general policy of the New York Iroquois tribes, while they at the same time freely condemned the English for their tardy movements and their non-adoption of the Indian mode of warfare.

The consequences of the defeat on the Monongahela were most disastrous. Rumor rapidly disseminated the news in every direction, and all the colonies felt the effects of the blow. The dread of Indian massacres disturbed the quiet of every hamlet; nor was their alarm without due foundation. A band of one hundred and fifty savages crossed the Alleghanies and ravaged the frontiers of Virginia and Maryland. Foremost in these forays were the Delawares, under Shingiss, whose ire appeared to have received an additional stimulus from the recent triumph of the Gallic-Indian forces. The Delawares had long felt the wrong which they suffered in being driven from the banks of the Delaware and the Susquehanna, although it was primarily owing to their ancient enemies and conquerors the Iroquois, whose policy had ever been a word and a blow.

In 1756, the Delawares, after ravaging the Pennsylvania border, returned to their village at Kittanning, within thirty-five miles of Fort Du Quesne. Three hundred Pennsylvanians, under Colonel John Armstrong, of Cumberland, of Scotch Presbyterian descent, marched across the Alleghanies to destroy them. The brave Hugh Mercer, who at twenty-three had shared in the defeat of the Pretender at Culloden, and who afterwards fell at Princeton, commanded one of the companies. At daybreak of October 8, while the Delawares were reposing in fancied security, the attack was made. Jacobs, their chief, raised the war-whoop. The wigwams having been set on fire, some of the warriors, disdainful of captivity, sung their death-song in the flames. Jacobs and others were shot down while seeking to escape, and the town was utterly destroyed. Mercer, severely wounded, and separated from his companions, tracked his way by the stars to Fort Cumberland. For this exploit Colonel Armstrong was presented by the corporation of Philadelphia with a vote of thanks, a medal, and a piece of plate.

The Shawnees, friends and relatives of the Delawares, had been from the first a revengeful, warlike, roving people. Originating in the extreme South, they had flitted over half the continent, fighting with every tribe they encountered, until they reached the extreme shores of Lake Erie, where, under the ominous name of

Satanas,<sup>1</sup> they were defeated by the Iroquois, and thence fled to the Delaware, and subsequently to the Ohio Valley. From an early period they were avowed enemies of the colonies, and this enmity never ceased until after the overthrow, in 1814, of the wide-spread conspiracy of Tecumseh. Both tribes, in lineage as well as in language, were Algonkins, and adopted their policy, from first to last being cruel enemies in war, in peace treacherous friends.

While the gloom caused by the defeat of Braddock, and the evidences of Indian hostility, which assumed a tangible shape during the autumn and winter of 1753, still hung like a cloud on the Western frontier, an auspicious sign appeared in the East. The Iroquois threw the weight of their influence into the English scale. It having been a part of the original plan of the campaign to take Crown Point, on Lake Champlain, this enterprise was intrusted to General William Johnson, an officer of the New York militia, whose settlement in the Mohawk Valley, and influence with the Indians, have been previously mentioned. Johnson was placed in command of five or six thousand New York and New England militia, and a chosen body of Mohawk warriors under Soiengarahta, locally called King Hendrick.

Soiengarahta was a chief of high standing among the Mohawks, of approved wisdom, undoubted intrepidity, and a firm friend of the English. He had visited England, where the annexed portrait of him was taken, and had been presented at court. He united great amenity of manners, dignity of bearing, and mild features to the most determined courage and energy. He led two hundred Mohawks, who are described by the gazettes of the day as having on this occasion (the battle of Lake George) "fought like lions."

After laying the foundations of Fort Edward, Johnson proceeded to the southern shores of Lake Sacrament, which he re-named Lake George, in compliment to the reigning house of Hanover. He there located his camp in such a manner as to have the lake in his rear, and some impassable low grounds, or swamps, on his flanks. The Baron Dieskau, who opposed him, was a brave, dashing officer, possessing great spirit and strength of purpose, and, had he led men of similar mettle, would have readily taken the English camp. He had left Crown Point to attack the new Fort Edward with fifteen hundred men, of whom two hundred were drilled grenadiers and six hundred Canadians, the remainder being Algonkin Indians of various tribes.

The Canadians and Indians were so afraid of cannon that when within two miles of the fort they urged him to change his course and attack Johnson in his camp at Lake George. Ascertaining that Johnson was rather carelessly encamped, and probably unsuspecting of danger, Dieskau acceded to the request.

On being apprised of his approach, Johnson called a council of war on the morning of September 8, 1755. It was proposed to send out a party to meet the French. Hendrick's opinion was asked. "If they are to fight," said he, "they are

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<sup>1</sup> Colden. This war must not be confounded with that waged against the Eries, which took place a century earlier.

too few; if they are to be killed, they are too many." To the plan of separating the force into three divisions, his objections were equally forcible and shrewd. Taking three sticks, he remarked, "Put them together, and you can't break them; take them one by one, and you can break them easily." Twelve hundred men were sent out, under Colonel Ephraim Williams, to meet the enemy. Williams College, in Massachusetts, owes its origin to a bequest in this officer's will, made just before he left home. Before marching, Hendrick mounted a gun-carriage and harangued his warriors in a strain of eloquence which had a powerful effect upon them. He was then about sixty-five years old. His head was covered with long white locks, and he was regarded by his warriors with the deepest veneration. Colonel Seth Pomeroy, who listened to this speech, said that, although he did not understand a word of the language, the animation of Hendrick, the fire of his eyes, the force of his gestures, the strength of his emphasis, the apparent propriety of the inflections of his voice, and his naturalness of manner, were such that he himself was more deeply affected by this speech than by any other he had ever heard.

The French, advised by scouts of the march of the English, approached through a thick wood to Rocky Brook, four miles from the lake, with their line in the form of a half-moon. Into this perilous circle Colonel Williams unsuspectingly led his detachment, when a heavy fire poured upon its front and flanks at the same moment caused a terrible slaughter. Williams was killed, and Hendrick fell mortally wounded. Lieutenant-Colonel Whiting, who succeeded to the command, skilfully withdrew the survivors of the force. The firing being heard at Lake George, three hundred men were sent to reinforce the retreating column, and the pursuit was checked.

Johnson's camp was still without intrenchments. When the firing was heard, two or three cannon were hastily brought up from the margin of the lake, and some trees were felled for a breastwork, affording a slight protection to the militia, whose arms were fowling-pieces, not a bayonet among them. Dieskau's plan had been to rush on and enter the camp with the fugitives, but the Indians and Canadians halted and scattered wherever a shelter appeared. When within one hundred rods of Johnson, Dieskau halted, and placed the Indians and Canadians upon his flanks. The regulars, under his immediate command, attacked the centre at long range, but, having only small-arms, the effect was trifling. The Indians, under the fire of grape-shot from Johnson's field-pieces, soon broke and fled. Johnson, slightly wounded, left the field early in the action, and the battle was continued for five hours by Lyman, the second in command. The French held their ground steadily during all this time, but finally, abandoned by their allies and terribly galled by the English fire, they gave way, and were pursued in all directions. Dieskau, wounded and helpless, was found leaning against the stump of a tree. As the provincial soldier who discovered him approached, he put his hand in his pocket to draw out his watch as a bribe to allow him to escape. Supposing that he was drawing a pistol, the soldier gave him a severe wound in the hip with a musket-ball. Dieskau was afterwards exchanged, and died in Paris in 1767.

This victory revived the spirits of the colonies, and occasioned a feeling of joy far above its real merits or importance. Johnson was created a knight baronet, and voted five thousand pounds sterling by the English Parliament. He was, however, censured for not pursuing the enemy and capturing Crown Point, having simply contented himself with building Fort William Henry, on the site of his camp.

In August, 1756, Field-Marshal the Marquis de Montcalm, who had recently arrived at Quebec, and who had rapidly familiarized himself with the posture of affairs, with great celerity and secrecy concerted measures for the capture of Oswego. The fort, a large stone building surrounded by a wall, flanked by four small bastions, was commanded from adjacent heights. An outpost on the opposite bank was attacked, and its garrison were speedily driven into the fort, having first spiked their cannon. Occupying this height, Montcalm turned his guns upon the fort, soon breaching its walls, and killing Mercer, its commander. On the second day of the siege, just as he was preparing to storm the intrenchments, its garrison, about sixteen hundred in number, capitulated, and one hundred and twenty cannon, six vessels of war, and three hundred boats, besides abundant stores, fell into his hands. The works were immediately razed to the ground.

The colonists struggled on through periods of terror which followed in close succession. The defeat of Braddock was still fresh in the memory of all, when the announcement of the disastrous capture of Fort William Henry rang through the colonies with startling effect. In 1757, Montcalm, the active Governor-General of Canada, crossed Lake Champlain to its attack, with a force of six thousand French and Canadians, and about seventeen hundred Indians, collected from the Great Lakes and from the valley of the St. Lawrence. A person present on the 2d of August, when this force approached the fort, represents Lake George to have been covered with bateaux and canoes, which, combined with their banners and music, formed a scene of military display and magnificence, heightened by the wild and picturesque brilliance of the Indian costume, that has seldom been equalled.

The soldiers anxiously gazed over the walls of the fort at the approaching force as at a panorama. Montcalm disembarked about a mile and a half below the fort without interruption, and advanced in three columns. The Indians burned the English barracks, and scalped their stragglers. The Canadians, under Lacorne, occupied the road leading to the Hudson, and cut off the communication. De Levi, with regulars and Canadians, was at the north, while Montcalm, with the main body, occupied the skirt of the woods on the west side of the lake. On the 4th, Montcalm sent proposals to Munro for surrender, which the latter refused. He then brought up his artillery, and soon the first battery of nine cannon and two mortars opened upon the fort. Two days later a second battery was established, and by means of zigzags the Indians could stand within gunshot of the works.

During five days the fort was defended with intrepidity by Colonel Munro, who had a garrison of five hundred regular troops, supported by a body of provincials. It was closely besieged, while the Indians, encamped on the surrounding fields, made the forest ring with their shouts and war-songs, and illuminated the obscurity of

night with their numerous camp-fires. About seventeen hundred provincials, who were encamped outside the fort, took refuge within the works as soon as the enemy arrived. The defence was stoutly maintained, a hope being entertained that reinforcements, which had been demanded, would arrive from Fort Edward. Expresses were repeatedly sent to General Webb imploring aid, but he remained inactive and indifferent in his camp at Fort Edward, where he had four thousand men.

General Johnson was at last allowed to march with Putnam and his rangers to the relief of the beleaguered garrison, but when about three miles from Fort Edward Webb recalled them, and sent a letter to Munro saying that he could render him no assistance, and advising him to surrender. This letter unfortunately fell into Montcalm's hands just as he was about to suspend the operations of the siege preparatory to a retreat, his Indians having informed him of the movement of Johnson and Putnam and represented the English reinforcements to be as numerous as the leaves on the trees. This letter he at once sent to Munro, proposing an immediate surrender. Seeing the hopelessness of the case, half of his cannon having burst, and his ammunition and stores being nearly exhausted, the brave old soldier capitulated on the 9th. The fort was entirely demolished by Montcalm, and was never rebuilt.

One of the terms of the capitulation was that the army should be allowed to march out with their arms, but without ammunition, and, with all the camp-followers, should have a safe-conduct to Fort Edward. No sooner, however, had the English columns marched out of the gates and reached the plain than the Indians began to plunder them of their effects, and finally to strip both officers and men of their clothing. Resistance was followed by blows, and many, stark naked, were glad to escape with their lives. In vain did the troops, destitute of ammunition, claim protection from this outrage. Colonel Munro, after the pillage commenced, took shelter in the fort, and demanded that the terms of the capitulation should be enforced. The French have been blamed, perhaps justly, for not efficiently performing their engagements; but it is no easy matter to restrain marauding Indians. It has been asserted, but not proved, that a large number of the force which surrendered on this occasion perished subsequently,<sup>1</sup> but it is probable that the fears of an officer who narrowly escaped from this scene of pillage far exceeded his capacity for cool judgment. His statements of the carnage are certainly not sustained by any historical authority to which we have had access.

Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey, in a letter written August 24, 1757, observes, "Montcalm, under his own eyes, and in the face of about three thousand regular troops, suffered the Indians to rob and strip them, officers as well as men, of all they had, and left most of them naked." The nation that employs Indians in war places itself in the position of a person who taps a broad lake, leading the waters by a little stream through a sand-bank. When the current swells, he cannot control it, and the augmented flood sweeps everything before it.

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<sup>1</sup> Carver, p. 211.

## CHAPTER IV.

CAMPAIGNS OF 1758-59—GRANT'S DEFEAT—BOUQUET'S BATTLE—REDUCTION OF FORT DU QUESNE—CONFERENCE WITH THE IROQUOIS—CONQUEST OF CANADA—ITS INFLUENCE UPON THE HOSTILE TRIBES.

AFTER the defeat of Braddock the British interest with the Indians rapidly declined. As Indians judge from appearances alone, it was not an easy task to convince them that the English power had not permanently failed. Johnson, who in the spring of 1755 had been appointed by Braddock the Superintendent-General of British Indian affairs, began his new duties as soon as he reached New York, and labored earnestly to restore confidence among the Iroquois and Algonkin tribes. He was thoroughly acquainted with the geography of the country, as also with the Indian power and resources in America, from North to South, and as thoroughly conversant with the true character of the aborigines. In his speeches he stripped them of their guises, laid bare their secret impulses, and pointed out to them their interests in clear and bold terms. During sixty years, beginning with the foundation of New Orleans, in 1699, the French influence among the Indians had been on the increase. The noble enterprise of La Salle and his followers, who passed through the Great Lakes and down the Mississippi, singing as they went, the gay and sprightly manners of the French, their ready adaptiveness to a nomadic course of life, replete with novelty and breathing the spirit of personal independence, together with their entire political and religious policy, impressed the Indians with almost inexplicable emotions of pleasure and approbation. The French required no cessions of land, built no factories, traded with them in a free and easy way, and did not fill the Indian mind with the idea of the coming of a people who, by the progressive inroads of labor and letters, would eventually sweep them from the earth. Whatever was the cause, certainly no other European nation ever acquired so ample and wide-spread an influence over them.<sup>1</sup>

Immediately after returning from Alexandria, Sir William Johnson assembled a very large number of Indians—some accounts say twelve hundred—at his place on the Mohawk, and communicated to them the fact of his new appointment. He made them offers in this assembly for the purpose of restoring their lost confidence in the English and detaching them from the French interests, to inspire them with a just estimation of the power of Britain, and to interest them in the British cause,—objects in which he by perseverance succeeded. He eloquently pleaded for their

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<sup>1</sup> One of the Jesuit priests remarks that "the French did not convert the Indians, but turned Indians themselves."—*Halket*.

assent to his proposal to send a body of warriors with General Braddock, but in this he was unsuccessful. Good diplomatists at all times, they met him by a declaration that the Governor of Virginia, who was not a favorite, had, as in the case of the Ohio Company, intruded on their lands in the Ohio Valley, where their sachem, Tanacharisson, resided; also that it was a suddenly originated proposal, which required deliberation. They likewise, for reasons stated, declined accompanying General Shirley to Oswego, but agreed to assist him in the contemplated attack on Crown Point, to the command of the forces detailed for which purpose he had been appointed. The latter promise was promptly fulfilled, and at the defeat of Dieskau on the banks of Lake George, the Mohawks, under Hendrick, acquitted themselves in such a manner as to gain a high reputation.<sup>1</sup>

The victory at Lake George was the turning-point in the ascendancy of the British influence with the Iroquois and their allies, which had been at a very low ebb at the beginning of the French war, in 1744. The fame which followed this victory aided greatly in raising Johnson in the estimation of the Indians, and from this date the Indian political horizon began to brighten. In a letter to the Lords of Trade, dated September 28, 1757, Johnson points out their true policy, while he warns them of the deep-rooted dislike which the Indians entertained towards the colonial patentees, who had made the encroachments on their lands, of which the Indians complain. "By presents and management we may be able to keep some little interest yet alive, and induce some nations to a course of neutrality; but I am apprehensive that more expense, speeches, and promises (so often repeated and so little regarded) will never be able to effect a favorable revolution in our Indian interests and deprive the French of the advantages they have over us by their Indian alliances. I would be understood, my Lords, that there is no alternative by which we may possibly avail ourselves so as to keep an even hand with the Indians; but reducing the French to our terms would enable us to give law to the Indians."

This became the British policy. Belts and speeches were inadequate to the result; it was a contest between England and France which must be settled, and the nation that gained it would control the Indians. The triumph at Lake George, in which action Soiengaraha lost his life, seemed to presage events which were soon to take place. The taking of Fort William Henry and the outrages perpetrated upon the prisoners only gave a new impulse to the vigor with which England prepared to contest the supremacy.

No one understood better than Johnson the position of the two parties contending for supremacy; and in a general council convened at his Hall on the Mohawk, April 19, 1767, at which the Shawnees and other Algonkin tribes, as well as the Iroquois, were present, he presented the case in the following forcible manner:

"Brethren, listen, and I will tell you the difference between the English and the

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<sup>1</sup> Had it not been for the jealousy of General Shirley, and his counteracting counsels with the Six Nations, the force in this battle would have been much greater.—*N. Y. Hist. Col. Doc.*, vol. vii. p. 21.

French. The English desire and labor to unite all Indians into one general bond of brotherly love and national interest. The French endeavor to divide the Indians and stir up war and contention among them. Those who intend to destroy or enslave any people or nation will first endeavor to divide them. This you and all the Indians upon this continent know has always been, and continues to be, the endeavor of the French. But though this is a fact which I think all the Indians must certainly see, yet the French have found means, somehow or other, so to bewitch their understandings as to make many of them believe they love the Indians and mean well towards them. 'Tis very strange, brethren, that any one man, much more any number of men, who are not either mad or drunk, can believe that stirring up brethren to spill each other's blood, dividing them from one another, and making parties among them, are proofs of love and marks of friendly design towards them. Not less unaccountable is it, brethren, that the French should be able to persuade the Indians that building forts in the middle of their country and hunting-grounds is for their interest and protection. I tell you, brethren, and I warn you, that whatever good words the French may give you, how much soever they may now smile upon you, whatever presents they may now make you, your chains are in their pockets, and when their designs are ripe for execution they will take the axe out of their bosom and strike it into your heads. But this they know they cannot do until you have broken the Covenant Chain with your brethren the English and taken up the axe against them. 'Tis for this reason the French are always endeavoring, by lies, by presents, by promises, to stir up all Indians to fall upon the English settlements and destroy their best friends and faithful brethren; and many Indians have been so wicked and so foolish as, in spite of treaties and ancient friendship, to become the dogs of the French, and come and go as they command them.

“Brethren, if the Indians do not return to their senses they will see and feel, when it is too late, that they have ruined themselves, enslaved their posterity, and lost their country. They will find their country fortified by the French, not against the English, but against the Indians themselves.

“Brethren, what I have said, and am going to say, I say not to you only, but to all Indians; and I desire you will with this belt make it known among all the nations you have any acquaintance or connection with.

“Tell them, from me, to look at the French forts built and building through the middle of their country and on their best hunting-lands. Let them look at the French flags flying in their forts at all the great lakes and along the great rivers, in order to oblige them to trade with the French only, sell their skins, and take goods for them at what prices the French please to put on them. And it is a thing well known to all Indians that the French cannot sell them goods nearly so cheap as the English can, nor in such assortments and plenty.”

To renew the attempt of Braddock had been the original plan of General Shirley, but the following year passed in merely concerting measures. The plan of the campaign of 1758 contemplated the reduction of Crown Point, on Lake Champlain, and of Fort Du Quesne, on the Ohio. General Abercrombie, who undertook the

former, aided by a large army, suffered a repulse. Lord Howe fell while leading an attack, and when, in a few days, it was renewed against an impregnable breastwork of horizontal trees, they were compelled to retreat to Fort Edward. The Mohawks, who were present at this assault, looked on with amazement at this exhibition of heroic but injudicious bravery. As an episode to this siege, Colonel Bradstreet proceeded by a sudden march to Oswego, with the Iroquois in his train, and, crossing Lake Ontario in bateaux, on the 25th of August surprised and took Fort Frontenac, capturing a large amount of supplies, as well as arms.

The reduction of Fort Du Quesne was intrusted to General Forbes. He marched from Philadelphia with an army of five thousand eight hundred regulars and provincials, and a commissary and quartermaster's force of one thousand wagoners. Washington joined him at Fort Cumberland with his regiment of Virginians. At Raystown, Forbes sent Colonel Bouquet forward with two thousand men, but in a spirit of confidence Bouquet despatched eight hundred of this force, under Major James Grant, to make observations in advance. On September 14 the latter commander was surprised on hills overlooking the fort by M. Aubrey, with seven or eight hundred Frenchmen and an unnumbered force of Indians, his troops defeated with dreadful slaughter, and himself and nineteen other officers made prisoners and sent to Montreal. The retreat of the survivors was effected by the skill and energy of Captain Bullit, who with fifty men had been left in charge of the baggage. The loss in Grant's defeat was numerically greater, in proportion to those engaged, than that sustained in Braddock's. Thirty-five officers were killed or wounded. The prisoners taken by the Indians served, as it were, to surfeit their barbarity and cruelty and to disincline them towards proceeding farther, for after reaching Du Quesne they soon dispersed, and deserted the fort. Twelve hundred French and Indians, under De Vetric, attacked Bouquet's camp with great fury and obstinacy on October 12. The battle lasted four hours, when by a skilful ruse the enemy were repulsed after severe fighting. Colonel Bouquet's loss was sixty-seven killed and wounded. On the arrival of General Forbes the combined English force moved on with regularity, and on the 24th of November encamped at Turtle Creek, within twelve miles of the fort.

No Indians were descried by the scouts, and the night passed away without alarm. On the 25th, at an early hour, the army was put in motion, and as the advance-guard approached the location of the fort they observed large columns of smoke, and at intervals heard heavy explosions. The indications could not be mistaken. The fort had been abandoned, after being set on fire, its artillery being embarked for the Illinois and its infantry for Lake Erie. The defeat of Grant, and the prisoners captured, had proved an escape-valve for Indian barbarity. After practising the most inhuman tortures upon the prisoners, whose bleached skeletons lined the approach to the fort, and after rioting in debauch, they had, with their usual impatience, returned to their forest homes, leaving General Forbes to advance unmolested, and abandoning De Legneris, the French commander. On the 25th the column advanced in force, and the British flag was triumphantly planted on the fort

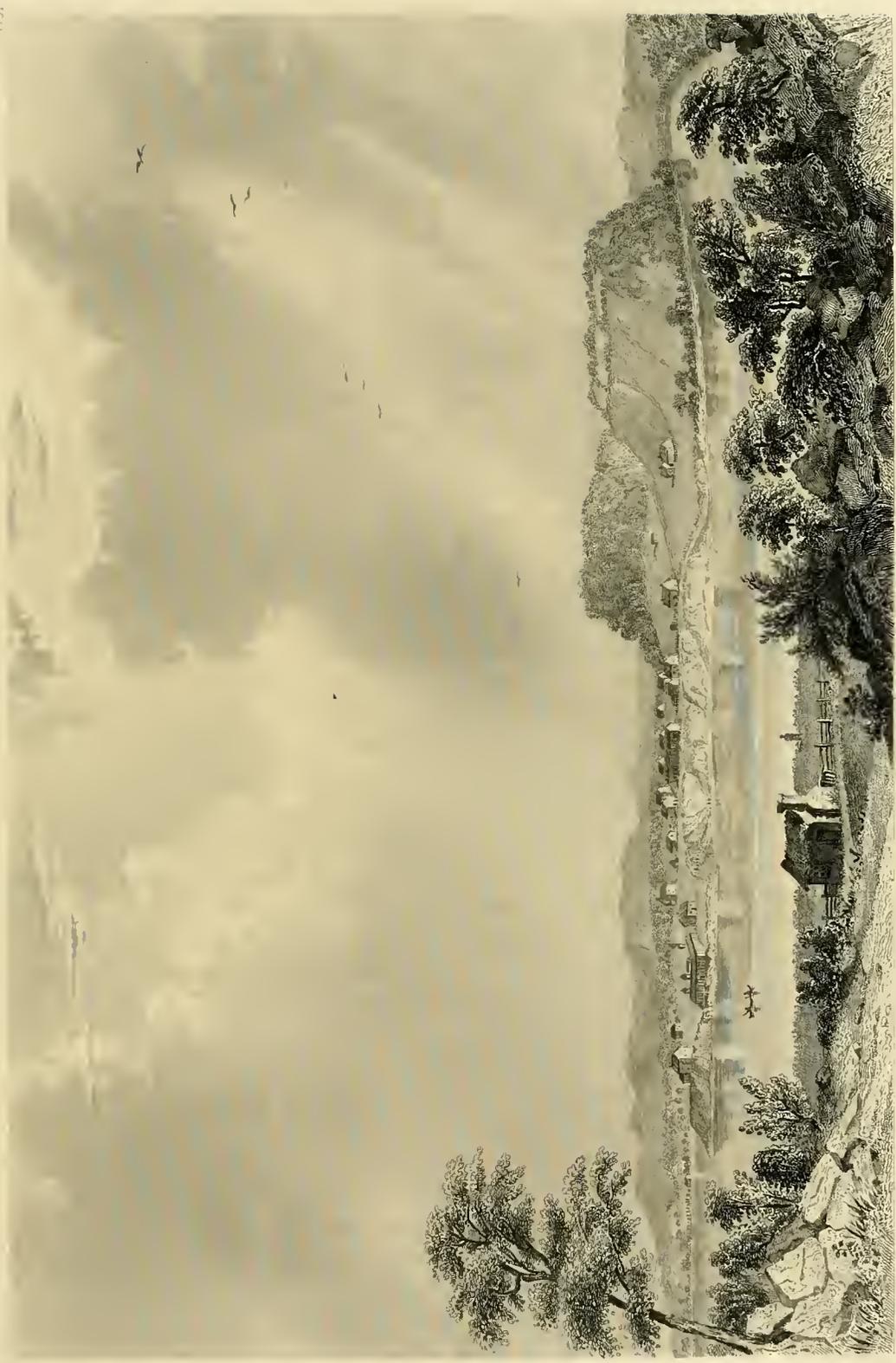
by General Forbes, who bestowed upon it the name of the celebrated British minister Pitt. The western line of the colonial frontiers was thus advanced to the river Ohio.<sup>1</sup> From this period Indian warfare found its principal field of development west of and beyond that border, well named the River Beautiful by the Indian tribes.

At the victory obtained on Lake George in 1755, a year so disastrous to the British army, the Mohawks alone, of the six Iroquois cantons, were present, with Johnson, their beloved Warraghiyagay, and two hundred warriors, headed by the great Soiengaraha. A far greater force had been expected from and promised by the Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Tuscaroras, and Senecas, but, owing to the influence of General Shirley, whose act appears to have been dictated by no higher motive than personal envy of Johnson's rising power with that people, these tribes withheld their respective quotas of warriors. A vacillating and indecisive policy had been pursued by them for some years, and while they were, to use symbolic language, in the chain of friendship with the English, and held the other tribes in check, in conformity with their own and the British interests, they were lukewarm in taking the field as the auxiliaries of the English armies. Johnson had endeavored, soon after his return from his conference with Braddock, to induce a body of the confederates to cross the Alleghanies with that officer, but they evaded the proposal. Cherishing from ancient times an ill feeling towards Assaragoa, their name for the Governor of Virginia, they regarded Braddock's advance as a Virginia movement. They deemed the Virginians land-robbers who coveted the Ohio Valley, and they were sufficiently good diplomatists to bring forward several weighty considerations on the subject. It happened while this negotiation was pending that they furnished Johnson with messengers to the authorities at Fort Cumberland. These Indian runners were there informed that a party of six of the warriors sent out by the Mohawks against the Catawbias had all been killed. This news exercised such a bad effect on the council that they neither promised nor furnished aid to Braddock, although they did not join the Indian forces on the Ohio to oppose him. Not a man of their people who bore the honored title of Mingo was in the battle of the Monongahela. Tanacharisson, called the Half-King, and Scarooyadi, his successor, evinced throughout a firm friendship for the English, first pledged to Washington during his perilous journey in 1753.

The Iroquois had from the remotest antiquity enjoyed the reputation of eloquent orators and expert diplomatists. But Johnson was not a man to be dazzled by words and speeches while the weightier matter of action was in abeyance. In a general conference with the Onondagas and more westerly tribes, held June 16, 1757, nearly two years subsequent to his victory on Lake George, in which the Mohawks had so nobly supported him, he alluded to this matter, and proceeded to dispose of some of their diplomatic subterfuges.

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<sup>1</sup> The elements of this word are the Iroquois exclamation *oh*, and *io*, a substantive termination of the exclamation for the beautiful in scenery. It is the same term as that heard in the Wyandot word Ontar-io.



Engraved by W. H. L. 1828

PITTSBURGH IN 1790  
BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.



“Brethren,” said he, “you tell me the reason you did not make use of the hatchet I sharpened for you last summer, when I was at Onondaga, and at which time I also painted and feathered your warriors for action, was because you found yourselves in danger from the Mississagies, and therefore were obliged to let my hatchet lie by you, and take care of yourselves.

“Brethren, this is the first time I have heard the Mississagies were your enemies, and I am surprised how it came about. It is but two years ago, at the great meeting here, that you brought down the chief man among the Mississagies, and introduced him to me as your great friend and ally, and told me that he and his people were determined to follow the example of the Five Nations. You then desired I would treat and consider him accordingly, which I did, and gave him presents to his satisfaction, and he took belts from me to his people. For what reason, therefore, you think yourselves in danger from the Mississagies I cannot comprehend, unless it is from some misunderstanding which I hear happened in the woods some few days ago between some of your people and them.

“Brethren, another reason you give me for your inactivity is that you are few in number and you daily hear yourselves threatened by your enemies. As to your numbers, had you taken my advice, given you many years ago, and often repeated, you might now have been a strong people. I should be glad to know who these enemies are, and what grounds you have for these fears.

“Brethren, you say that the English would first make a trial against their enemies, and that if we found we could not do without you, then we would call on you for your assistance. I have looked over the records, where all public speeches and business with the Nations are faithfully written down, and I find no such thing there, and I am very positive you must be mistaken; for from the first meeting I had with the Six Nations, after my return from Virginia, to this day, I have been constantly calling and exhorting them, as children of the Great King of England, as brothers and allies to the English, to join and assist His Majesty’s arms against our common enemy, the French; and the Six Nations have as frequently assured me they would act with us and for us; and you must know you have a great number of belts from me on this subject now in your possession. You tell me, though you don’t know from what quarter, that you expect in a few months to be attacked by some enemy, and that therefore you think your own preservation requires you to stay at home and be on your guard. What foundation you have for all these fears, so lately come upon you, you have not thought proper to inform me; and therefore I am at a loss about it, especially as I understand several parties of your young men are gone a fighting to the southward. Formerly you told me that if you had forts built at your towns, and some men to garrison them, you might then go to war with your brethren the English, and not be afraid for your old men, your wives and children, during your absence. These forts, though very expensive to the King your Father, were accordingly built for you, and if you had applied you might have had men to garrison them. Brethren, your conduct will, in my opinion, appear very ungrateful, and your reasonings very inconsistent, to the King your Father, and to all your

brethren, the English, when they come to their knowledge, as they soon will do; wherefore I would advise you to reconsider the matter and take it into your most serious consideration.

“Brethren, you say Captain Montour and Captain Butler brought you a message in my name, that I expected you would use the hatchet I had put in your hands against the French; that the message was laid before the council of Onondaga, who said they did not expect such a message from you, as the Covenant Chain was for the common safety both of us and you, and that if you were to leave your country unguarded it might end in your destruction.

“Brethren, it is certain the Covenant Chain was made for our common good and safety, and it is well known to you all that it speaks in this manner: *That the English and the Six Nations shall consider themselves as one flesh and blood, and that whenever any enemy shall hurt the one, the other is to feel it and avenge it as if done to himself.* Have not the French hurt us? Is not their axe in our heads? Are they not daily killing and taking our people away? Have not some of your nations, both to the southward and northward, joined the French against us? Nay, some of you, by your own confession, have gone out by yourselves and struck the English. Have you not now several of our people prisoners among you whom you conceal from me? Have you not, lastly, suffered the Swegachie Indians to come through your habitations and take one of our people from the German Flats? Let me ask you now if all this is behaving like brethren, and whether you ought not to be ashamed when you put us in mind of the Covenant Chain. Surely you dream, or think I have forgotten the old agreement between us, when you talk in this manner. I take you by the head, and rouse you from your lethargy, and bring you to your senses.

“Brethren, you say you must take care of yourselves, and not leave your country unguarded. When our brother’s house is on fire, will another brother look quietly on, smoke his pipe at his own door, and say he can’t help him because perhaps his own house may take fire? Does the Covenant Chain speak this language? Did your forefathers talk after this manner? Did I talk so to you when the Onondagas, Oneidas, and Tuscaroras sent me word last year that they expected the enemy were coming upon them? Did not I and your brethren run through the ice and snow, at two or three different times, to their assistance? Where and who are those enemies you so much dread? Let us know, do you want our assistance? if you are in danger, we know the Covenant Chain, and will be ready to defend or die with you. We won’t tell you to make one trial by yourselves, and that we must stay at home and take care of our own preservation.

“You always tell me ’tis for our mutual interest you go so often to Canada: I am apt to think you have brought these alarms and these fears with you from thence.

“Brethren, I must tell you that my orders from the King your Father are to take care of and supply with necessaries such good and faithful Indians as will go out and fight for him and his people; and that such and their families only has he empowered me to arm, clothe, and provide for, which I shall continue to do to all such as will go out upon service; and those I dare say will in the end find they have

acted more for their honor and interest than those who stay at home and smoke their pipes.

“Brethren, you have assured me that it is the unanimous resolution of the Five Nations to hold fast the ancient Covenant Chain made by our forefathers and yours. Brethren, our end of this chain is bright and strong, and we shall not be the first to let it go; but it seems to me that your end is grown very rusty, and without great care will be in danger of being eaten through, which I should be very sorry to see, as it would be the means, also, of extinguishing the fire here, and oversetting the Tree of Shelter.”

It was the policy of the British colonial government, in establishing a general and central superintendency at Fort Johnson, on the Mohawk River, not only to attach the Six Nations strongly to its interests, but also to govern the entire Indian country through their extensive influence over the other groups of tribes. This general policy had been understood and carried out by the colonial governors of New York from the beginning of the century, and indeed dates back to the Dutch, as it was pursued by them in 1664. Trade was principally conducted at the central point, Albany, but traders were allowed to visit remote places. The French traders from Canada obtained their best supplies from Albany, and the intercourse thus established upon and cemented by a triple interest—that of the tribes, the merchants, and the governing power—became a firm bond of union, and one that gained strength by the lapse of time. The metals, woollens, and other articles of real value which they received in exchange for their furs were so much superior to the products of the rude arts Hudson found in their possession in 1609, that it is doubtful even whether at this period many remembered that the Iroquois had ever used stone knives, axes, and pipes, or made fish-hooks of bones, awls of deer’s horns, and cooking-pots out of clay.

But, although a trade so mutually beneficial established a firm friendship, and the growth of every decade of the colonies added to its strength, it was not, in fact, until the abolition of the power of the Indian commissioners at Albany, who were frequently traders themselves, and the transfer of the superintendency of Indian affairs to the hands of Johnson, that an elevated and true national tone was given to the system. When Johnson was placed in the possession of power, he visited their remotest villages and castles, and built stockades in each of their towns to serve as places of refuge if suddenly attacked. In his anxiety to control the Algonkins and the Dionondades, or Quaghtagies, he had visited Detroit, and his agents had scoured the Illinois, the Miami, the Wabash, and the Ohio, before the French built Fort Du Quesne. When he could send them messages by the power of the king, or speak to them in his council-room with the voice of a king, he had also, as we may readily perceive from the records published at this late day, the judgment, firmness, and prudence of a king. No one, it would seem, could be better adapted to give solid advice to the Indians of all the tribes.

Johnson did not limit his attentions to the Six Nations. After the defeat of Braddock the entire frontier line of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia was left

unprotected. Invasion, rapine, and murder were the common inflictions under which groaned the entire interior country from the Ohio to the Susquehanna, and not a farm could be settled or a team driven on the road without incurring the risk of death or captivity. These murders having been chiefly attributed to the Shawnees and Delawares, who were still located on the sources of the Susquehanna, Johnson employed the Iroquois, who from an early period exacted allegiance from them as a conquered people, to summon their chiefs before him. A delegation of the principal men of these tribes attended in his council early in the spring of 1758, to whom he gave a detail of the acts complained of, placing them before them in their just light, and forewarning them of the inevitable consequences which would result from a repetition of such nefarious acts, and that not only Pennsylvania and Maryland but all the neighboring colonies would be aroused against them. At this council a delegation of Nanticokes, Conoys, and Mohikanders attended, who informed him that they lived at Otsiningo,<sup>1</sup> on the Susquehanna, where his messengers would always find them.

Addressing these nomadic members of the disintegrated and fast-decaying Algonkin group, as he did the Iroquois in the full strength of their confederacy, Johnson adopted a line of argument and diplomacy founded on high principles of national polity and guided by a true estimate of the Indian character. He frequently moved their sympathy by an Indian symbol where an argument would have failed. All causes of disaffection, whether arising from questions of trade, the encroachments of settlers, inhuman murders, or any other of the irregularities so common in the Indian country, were handled by him with calm judgment; and good counsels, and the most efficient practical remedies, through the means of agents, presents, and money, were judiciously dispensed.

The year 1759 was a brilliant period for the British arms. Braddock, Loudoun, Shirley, and Abercrombie had respectively exercised their brief authority as commanders of the British forces in America, and passed from the stage of action, leaving a clear field for the induction of a new military policy. Amherst, if not surpassing his predecessors in talent and energy, was at least more fortunate in the disposition of his forces, more successful in the execution of his plans, and especially so in the selection of his generals. The military spirit of the British nation was roused, its means were ample, and its commanders men of the highest capacity. France was about to be subjected to a combined attack on all her strongholds which would surpass anything previously attempted. The colonial struggle, which had been protracted through a century and a half, was about to terminate. Fort Niagara, where La Salle had first erected a palisade, and where Denonville had constructed a fortress, stood on the narrow promontory round which the Niagara pours its waters into the lower lake. It commanded the portage between Ontario and Erie, and controlled the fur-trade of the West. Here the first successful onset was made on July 1, when it was regularly besieged by General Prideaux, who was killed in one of the trenches while encouraging his men to more active exertions. Through this casualty Sir

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<sup>1</sup> Now Binghamton, New York.

William Johnson succeeded to the chief command, and vigorously prosecuted the plans of his predecessor. Learning that reinforcements, accompanied by a body of Indians from the lakes, had entered the Niagara Valley and were marching to the relief of the fort, he sent against them a detachment of troops, together with a large force of Iroquois, who valiantly met and defeated the enemy. He then summoned the garrison to surrender, which opened the gates of the fort on the 25th of July. Within a week from this time, Louisburg, which had been invested by Admiral Boscawen, succumbed to the military prowess and heroism of General Wolfe, who, having been promoted for his gallantry in this siege, ascended the St. Lawrence, and by a series of masterly movements, conducted with great intrepidity, captured Quebec, losing his own life on the Plains of Abraham, where also ebbed out that of his brave and able foe, Montcalm. The city surrendered on the 18th of September. De Levi, from the opposite point of the river, vainly attempted its recovery. In the spring of 1760, General Murray followed De Levi up the valley of the St. Lawrence to Montreal, and effected a landing at the lower part of the island, while General Amherst and a large regular force, together with Sir William Johnson and his Iroquois, disembarked at Lachine. The troops on the island made no resistance, and with its capture, on the 8th of September, the conquest of Canada was completed. The retention of the colony by the English was one of the chief results of the treaty of peace soon after concluded between France and England. The terms of the capitulation included the smaller posts of Le Bœuf, Detroit, and Michilimackinac, which were surrendered in the year 1761.

By the treaty of Paris, concluded February 10, 1763, France renounced all pretensions to the possessions she had claimed east of the Mississippi, and made over the same to Great Britain. Spain about the same time ceded Florida to England.

The ensuing fifteen years of Indian history are crowded with the records of interesting events. The great question among the Indian tribes had been, "Is England or France to rule?" In a memorial to the States-General of Holland, dated October 12, 1649, it is quaintly said, "The Indians are of little consequence." Whichever power prevailed was destined to rule them, and the controversy was now drawing to a close.

"Be not any longer wheedled, and blindfolded, and imposed on," said Sir William Johnson to the Iroquois, "by the artful speeches of the French, for their tongues are full of deceit. Do not imagine the fine clothes, etc., they give you are out of love or regard for you; no, they are only as a bait to catch a fish; they mean to enslave you thereby, and entail that curse upon you; and your children after you will have reason to repent the day you begot them. Be assured they are your inveterate and implacable enemies, and only wish for a difference to arise between you and us that they might put you all out of their way by cutting you from the face of the earth."

Champlain founded the city of Quebec in 1608, adopting the Algonkin catchword *kebik*, "take care of the rock,"<sup>1</sup> as the appellative for the nucleus of the future

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<sup>1</sup> The waters of the St. Lawrence at ebb tide run swiftly against part of the rocky shore.

empire of the French. One hundred and fifty-two years, marked by continual strife and negotiations, plots and counterplots, battles and massacres, all having for their object supremacy over the Indian tribes, had now passed away. Wolfe and Montcalm were both dead. The empire of New France, reaching from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico, would thenceforth have a place only on the page of history. But had the Indians derived any advantage from the contest? Had they, in fact, struggled for any definite position, or had they only fought on the strongest side, anticipating better usage, more lucrative trade, greater kindness, or more even-handed justice from one party than was to be obtained from the other? Was this hope well defined and permanent, or did it fluctuate with every change of fortune, with the prowess of every warlike, or with the tact of every civic, character who trod the field? Did they not vacillate with every wind, being steady only in the preservation of their chameleon-like character, true when faithfulness was their only or supposed interest, and false or treacherous when, as frequently happened, the current of success changed?

Two prominent races of Indian tribes existed in the North and West from the earliest settlement of the colonies,—namely, the Algonkins and the Iroquois. The Algonkins trusted to the French to enable them to prevent the English from occupying their lands. The Iroquois looked to the English for aid to keep the French off their possessions. When the long struggle was over, and the English finally prevailed, the Indian allies of the French could hardly realize the fact. They did not think the King of France would give up the contest after having built so many forts and fought so many battles to maintain his position. They discovered, however, that the French had been defeated, and they at length became aware that with their overthrow the Indian power in America had departed. The tribes of the far West and North were required to give their assent to what was done, which they did grudgingly. The name of Saganosh had been so long scouted by them that it appeared to be a great hardship to succumb to the English. Nadowa, the Algonkin name for Iroquois, had also from the earliest times been a word of fearful import to the Western Indians, and their shout was sufficient to make the warriors of the strongest villages fly to arms, while their families hid in swamps and fastnesses. Both the English and the Iroquois were now in the ascendant.

In a review of the history of this period it will be found that nine-tenths of the Western Indians were in the French interest. The Shawnees, ever, during their nomadic state, a vengeful, restless, perfidious, and cruel people, had left central Pennsylvania as early as 1755–59, in company with or preceding the Delawares. After the defeat of Braddock, and down to the close of Wayne's campaign of 1795, their tracks in the Ohio Valley had been marked with blood. The Delawares, during the year 1744 and subsequently, were in truth driven from central Pennsylvania, not by the Quakers and Germans, but by the fierce and indomitable Scotch-Irish and English settlers. Unfortunately for this people, they had the reputation of siding with the French. After the massacre of Conestoga, the Iroquois, who had once held sway over the whole course of the Susquehanna, fled back to Oneida and other kindred



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cantons. That portion of the Western Iroquois who bore the name of Mingoes, and were once under the rule of Tanacharisson, the half-king, and subsequently of Scarooyadi, were charged with unfriendliness after the stand taken by Logan. The numerous Miamis, Piankeshaws, and Weas of the Wabash were from the first friendly to the French. The Wyandots, or Hurons, of Sandusky and Detroit, who had been driven out by the Iroquois with great fury, and who took shelter among the French and the French Indians, had always been hostile to the English colonies. The numerous and wide-spread family of the Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pottawatomies had exerted a very varied influence on the English frontiers.

Turning our inquiries to the Illinois tribes, had they not from the remotest times found their worst foes in the Iroquois? For an answer consult La Salle and Marquette. The Peorias, the Cahokias, and the Kaskaskias had from the first discovery of the country dealt with French traders, and were thought to be imbued with French sympathies. The Winnebagoes of Green Bay, representing the bold prairie tribes of the Dakota stock west of the Mississippi, at all periods were the friends of the French. Intimate relations had been maintained with the Kickapoos, and with the wandering tribes of the Maskigoes, by the French missionaries and traders. Among all the Algonkin tribes, the Foxes and the Sauks, who had in 1712 assailed the French fort at Detroit, were the only enemies of the French, and they previous to the conquest of Canada had been driven to the Fox River of Wisconsin. On the west the French were in alliance with the Osages, Missouriis, Kansas, Quappas, and Caddoes; and on the south with the Cherokees, Choctaws, and Muskokis.

All the necessary arrangements for taking possession of the military posts lately occupied by the French were promptly and efficiently made by General Amherst. Niagara having been garrisoned from the time of the conquest, Major Robert Rogers was sent thence to Detroit in September, 1760. This detachment was followed by Sir William Johnson, the Superintendent-General of Indian affairs, who placed the intercourse with the Indians on a proper footing. Rogers afterwards proceeded to Michilimackinac, where his proceedings subjected him to severe censure. Forts Chartres, Vincennes, Presque Isle, and the other minor posts were garrisoned by English troops. The Indians were still numerous, although they had suffered greatly in the war. The Indian trade yet required arrangement, and the commanding officers of these isolated Western posts at all times had far more need of the counsels of wisdom than of military strength, and required more skill in the arts of Indian diplomacy than in the active duties of the field.

The country was at that time one vast forest, its Indian population so thinly scattered that one might travel whole weeks without seeing a human form. Here and there in some rich meadow the Indian squaws, with their rude implements of husbandry, sowed their scanty stores of maize and beans. The condition of the Indians had not been improved by contact with civilization. The Six Nations of Western New York had already begun to decline. Many of the Delawares were on the Muskingum, in numerous scattered towns and villages. Along the Scioto were the lodges of the Shawnees. To the westward, along the banks of the Wabash and

the Maumee, dwelt the Miamis. The Illinois, ruined by their love of fire-water, were scattered and degraded. The Wyandot villages along the Detroit and in the vicinity of Sandusky were the abodes of industry, and had a neat and thrifty appearance.

Scattered along the eastern seaboard were the English settlements, of which Albany, New York, was far the largest frontier town. This was the point of departure of the traders to the Lake region or bound on the hazardous journey to the Western wilderness. Their route lay up the Mohawk to Fort Stanwix, the head of river navigation, thence overland to Wood Creek, carrying their canoes. Embarking here, they followed its devious course until, at the Royal Block-house, they entered the Oneida, which they crossed at its western extremity, and, descending the Oswego, finally emerged upon Lake Ontario. From the middle colonies the principal trail to the Indian country was from Philadelphia westward over the Alleghanies and descending to the valley of the Ohio. No sooner had peace been proclaimed than scores of adventurous fur-traders, transporting their merchandise on the backs of horses, plunged into the forests, crossing mountains and fording streams in pursuit of gain. Their outfit consisted of blankets and red cloth, guns and hatchets, liquor, tobacco, paint, beads, and hawks' bills. In the southern portion of the present State of Illinois were to be seen the old French outposts Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Vincennes. Farther up on the Wabash stood the little village of Ouantenon, whence a trail through the forest led to Fort Miami, on the Maumee, the site of the modern Fort Wayne. From this point the river was the road to Lake Erie. Here Sandusky lay to the right, and farther north, through the Strait of Detroit, was the fort of that name. Farther east, beyond the Alleghany, were Forts Presque Isle, Le Bœuf, and Venango.

## CHAPTER V.

### WAR WITH THE CHEROKEES.

WHILE these fundamental changes were taking place in the relations and prospects of the tribes of the North, those of the South remained quiescent, relying for security on the power of the French. Either instigated by hostile counsels, or indulging their natural proclivities for rapine and murder, the Cherokees of South Carolina had committed several outrages on the frontier settlements. The folly and arrogance of Governor Lyttleton precipitated an unnecessary conflict. At the close of the year 1759, having obtained from the legislature authority to raise a large body of men with which to bring the tribe to terms, he promptly marched into the Cherokee country at the head of eight hundred provincials and three hundred regular troops. This incursion, following as it did upon a long period of inactivity and supineness, so much intimidated and surprised the tribe that, being then entirely unprepared for open war, they did not hesitate to sue for peace, which was granted them in too much haste, without understanding the true nature of the Indian character and policy.

It has been remarked by Major Mante that "the Indians are of such a disposition that unless they really feel the rod of chastisement they cannot be prevailed on to believe that we have the power to inflict it; and, accordingly, whenever they happened to be attacked by us, unprepared, they had recourse to a treaty of peace as a subterfuge, which gave them time to collect themselves. Then, without the least regard to the bonds of public faith, they, on the first opportunity, renewed their depredations. Negotiations and treaties of peace they despised, so that the only hopes to bring to reason their intractable minds, and of making them acknowledge our superiority and live in friendship with us, must arise from the severity of chastisement."<sup>1</sup>

At this time the territory of the Cherokees extended from Fort Ninety-Six, on the Carolina frontiers, and Fort Prince George, on the Keowee branch of the Savannah, to the main sources of that river, and across the Appalachian chain to and down the Cherokee or Tennessee River and its southern branches,—a country replete with all the resources requisite in Indian life, possessing a delightful climate, and abounding in fertile sylvan valleys. The tribe was accused of operating against the Southern frontier under the influence of the French, who supplied them with arms and ammunition.

The treaty concluded with Governor Lyttleton refers to certain articles of amity

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<sup>1</sup> Mante's History of the Late War in North America, p. 289: London, 1772.

and commerce entered into with these people at Whitehall, September 7, 1730, as well as to another pacification of November 19, 1758, and then proceeds with the precision of phraseology of the old black-letter lawyers to rehearse grievances of a later date, for all of which transgressions the tribe stipulate to make amends, and promise future good conduct. They actually delivered up two Cherokees who had committed murders, promised the surrender of twenty others, and gave twenty of their principal chiefs as hostages for the due performance of the terms of the treaty. To this formal document the great chief of the nation, Attakullakulla, and five other principal chiefs, subsequently affixed their assent and guarantee.

Although these hostages were envoys whose persons were by the laws of savage and civilized men sacred, they had been arrested and imprisoned by Lyttleton till twenty-four men should be delivered up to condign punishment for the murders. This was an outrageous violation of plighted faith, and was felt by the chiefs to be a deep disgrace, and one of their number resolved to effect their rescue. This treaty, moreover, was not made by chiefs duly authorized, nor had it been ratified in council, nor could Indian usage give effect to its conditions.

Lyttleton had scarcely returned home, when the Cherokees renewed their ravages. They attacked with great fury the settlement of Long Cane, sparing neither planter, cattle, buildings, women, nor children. They were particularly severe on English traders. This attack was repeated by a party of two hundred warriors, who extended their depredations to the forks of the Broad River, where they surprised and killed forty men. Inspired by their success, they made an attack on Ninety-Six, but, the fort proving too strong, they proceeded to the Congaree, spreading devastation by fire and sword. Lyttleton, on the receipt of the earliest news of these irruptions, sent an express to General Amherst asking for reinforcements.

On the 18th of February, 1760, the Cherokees assembled around Fort Prince George, on the Keowee, and attempted to surprise it. While the garrison was gazing at the force from the ramparts, a noted chief, called Oconostata, approached, and desired to speak to Lieutenant Coytmore, the commandant, who agreed to meet him on the banks of the Keowee River, whither he was accompanied by Ensign Bell and Mr. Coharty, the interpreter. Oconostata said he wished to go down and see the governor, and requested that a white man might be allowed to accompany him. This request being assented to, he said to an Indian, "Go and catch a horse for me." This was objected to, whereupon the chief carelessly swung a bridle which he held three times around his head. This being a secret signal to men lying concealed, a volley was instantly poured in, which mortally wounded Coytmore, who received a ball in his breast, and inflicted deep flesh-wounds on the others.

This treachery aroused the indignation of Ensign Miln, commanding the garrison of the fort, who determined to put the twenty Cherokee hostages, and also the two murderers, in irons. But the first attempt to seize the assassins was instantly resisted; the soldier who was deputed to effect it was tomahawked and killed, and another was wounded. This so exasperated those within the fort that all the hostages were immediately put to death. The enraged savages at once devastated the Carolina

frontier. Men, women, and children were butchered, and the war-belt was sent to the Catawbas and other tribes, inviting them to their aid in exterminating the English. In the evening the Indians fired two signal-guns before the fort, and, being ignorant of the manner in which the hostages had been disposed of, shouted to them, "Fight strong, and you shall be aided." The works were then invested, and an irregular fire maintained all night, with but little effect, however. On searching the room which had been occupied by the hostages, several tomahawks were found buried in the ground, which had been stealthily conveyed to the prisoners by their visiting friends.

Meantime, Amherst, immediately on the receipt of Governor Lyttleton's express, had despatched to his relief six hundred Highlanders, and an equal number of English soldiers, under Colonel Montgomery, afterwards Earl of Eglinton. On reaching Charleston, Montgomery immediately took the field. The celerity of his movements against the Cherokees took them completely by surprise. On the 26th of May he reached Fort Ninety-Six, and on June 1 passed the Twelve-Mile Branch of the Keowee with his baggage and stores, and, conveying them up amazingly rocky steeps, he pushed on night and day, marching eighty-four miles before taking a night's rest. Having progressed forty miles farther, he constructed a camp on an eligible site, and, leaving his wagons and cattle, with his tents standing, under a suitable guard of provincials and rangers, he took the rest of his troops lightly armed and directed his course towards the Cherokee towns. Thus far his scouts had discovered no enemy and his rapid advance had been unheralded. His first object was to attack Estatoe, a town some twenty-five miles in advance, and for this purpose he set out at eight o'clock in the evening. After marching sixteen miles, he heard a dog bark on the left, at the town of Little Keowee, about a quarter of a mile from the road, of the location of which his guides had not informed him. He immediately detached a force with orders to surround it and to bayonet every man, but to spare the women and children. This order was strictly executed; the men being found encamped outside the houses were killed, and their families captured unharmed. In the mean time the main force marched forward to Estatoe, in which they found but ten or twelve men, who were killed. This town comprised about two hundred houses, which were well supplied with provisions and ammunition. Montgomery, determining to make the nation feel the power of the colonies, immediately attacked the other towns in succession, until every one in the lower nation had been visited and destroyed. About seventy Cherokees were killed, and, including the women and children, forty were taken prisoners. Only four English soldiers were killed, and two officers wounded. Montgomery then returned to Fort Prince George, on the Keowee, where he awaited proposals of peace from the Cherokees, but, hearing nothing from them, he resolved to make a second incursion into the middle settlements of the nation. He marched his army from the fort on the 24th of June, and, using the same despatch as on the previous occasion, in three days he reached the town of Etchowee. The scouts discovered three Indians as they approached this place, and took one of them prisoner, who attempted to amuse the colonel with the tale of their being ready to

sue for peace; but he, not crediting the story, marched cautiously forward for a mile, when his advanced guard was fired on from a thicket, and in the *mêlée* its captain was killed. Montgomery, hearing the firing, ordered the grenadiers and light infantry to advance, who steadily pushed forward through an ambuscade of five hundred Indians, rousing them from their coverts. As they reached more elevated and clearer ground, the troops drove the Indians before them at the point of the bayonet. Placing himself at the head of his force, he proceeded towards the town, following a narrow path, where it was necessary to march in Indian file, the surrounding country being well reconnoitred in advance by his scouts. On reaching Etchowee it was found to have been abandoned. After encamping on the open plain, Montgomery ordered out detachments in several directions, who performed gallant services, driving the enemy across a river, killing some, and taking several prisoners, after which, scattering their forces, they inflicted upon the Indians a severe chastisement. He then returned to Charleston by way of the fort on the Keowee, and rejoined Amherst in the North.

The Cherokees being disposed to retaliate these severe irruptions of Colonel Montgomery, the month of August had not elapsed before they began to give unmistakable proofs of unabated hostility. Fort Prince George they had found too strong for them, but the garrison of Fort Loudoun, on the confines of Virginia, being reduced in numbers and in great want of provisions, was immediately besieged. After sustaining the siege until reduced to extremity, the commanding officer, Demere, with the concurrence of all his subordinates, very unwisely surrendered the fortification to his savage foe, August 6, 1760. The result of this ill-advised capitulation soon became apparent, the garrison and men being ruthlessly attacked before they had proceeded any distance from the fort, and both officers and privates cruelly massacred. Captain Stuart was the only officer who escaped, his salvation being due to the intervention of Attakullakulla himself, the leader of the attacking party.

Notwithstanding the reduction of Canada, the Indians in remote districts still continued their opposition to the English power. This was particularly the case with the Cherokees, whom French emissaries kept in constant excitement, and who continued their hostilities. Carolina raised twelve hundred men, under Colonel Henry Middleton, his subordinates including Henry Laurens, Francis Marion, William Moultrie, Andrew Pickens, and Isaac Huger, all destined to become distinguished for patriotic service in the coming Revolution. Lieutenant-Colonel James Grant joining them with two regiments, and some Chickasaw and Catawba Indians as allies, made a force of two thousand six hundred men. They reached Fort Prince George May 29, 1761. On the 10th of June, at Etchowee, where Montgomery had fought them, the Cherokees were gathered, well supplied with arms, and presenting a formidable front. They had the advantage of a superior position, and for three hours the contest was severe and bloody. Finally the bayonet was employed, and so effectually that they gave way, falling back inch by inch, until, completely overpowered, they fled, hotly pursued by their conquerors. A large number were slain. The English loss was fifty. Following up his victory, Grant laid Etchowee in ashes;

corn-fields and granaries were destroyed, and the people were driven to the barren mountains. The spirit of the nation was broken, and, through the venerable Attakullakulla, the chiefs humbly sued for peace. A treaty of amity was concluded, and the Cherokees remained peaceful until the Revolution.

The unnecessary cruelty shown by the white man on this and many similar occasions is evident when we consider that these barbarities exposed to the worst privations of famine only those portions of the savage population who had never offended, or who were least guilty,—the women and children, the sick and the aged. The warrior and hunter could easily appease his hunger by procuring game from the contiguous forests, or he could wander off to remoter tribes, resources not available to the weak, the helpless, and the old.

In October, 1763, the French surrendered the post of Mobile. A congress of the Southern tribes—the Catawbas, Cherokees, Creeks, Chickasaws, and Choctaws—was held at Augusta, Georgia, November 10, 1763, and peace with the Indians of the South and Southwest was ratified.

## CHAPTER VI.

### CONSPIRACY OF PONTIAC—DETROIT BESIEGED—FRONTIER POSTS CAPTURED— DALZELL'S DEFEAT—BATTLE OF BUSHY RUN—RELIEF OF FORT PITT—SIEGE OF DETROIT RAISED.

OTHER tribes besides the Cherokees at this time manifested dissatisfaction or broke out into open hostility. The Shawnees and Delawares of the Ohio Valley had been inimical to the colonies ever since their expulsion from Pennsylvania in 1759. The entire mass of the Algonkin tribes of the upper lakes and to the west of the Ohio deeply sympathized with the French in the loss of Canada. They hoped that the French flag would be once more unfurled on the Western forts, and this feeling, we are assured by Mante,—a judicious historian of that period,—had been fostered by the French, whose mode of treatment of the Indians he at the same time commends. "For," he continues, "it soon appeared that at the very time we were representing the Indians to ourselves completely subdued and perfectly obedient to our power, they were busy in planning the destruction not only of our most insignificant and remote forts, but our most important and central settlements."<sup>1</sup> Under this impression, General Amherst had ordered to the West, to keep the Indians in check, the regular forces which had been employed against Niagara, Quebec, and Montreal. Little more was done in 1761 than to supply garrisons to the forts at Presque Isle, Detroit, and Michilimackinac, by which, though the country was occupied, its native inhabitants were not overawed.

These log forts, with picketed enclosures, situated at points widely remote from one another, were often left dependent on the Indians for supplies, and served only to notify the red man of the design to occupy the country which for ages had been his own. The small garrisons consisted only of an ensign, a sergeant, and a dozen men. To the affable and temperate Frenchman had succeeded the arrogant Englishman, driving away their Catholic priests, and introducing the hitherto prohibited traffic in rum.

Fort Pitt, the most important post west of the Alleghanies, had been occupied from the period of its capture in 1758, but, its garrison having been reduced by the Indian wars in the West, it was on May 27, 1763, invested by the Shawnees and Delawares and their confederates. The defection of the Western tribes was found to be very great, extending from the Ohio Valley to the whole series of lakes and throughout the valleys of the Illinois, Miami, and Wabash.

The plot was discovered in March by the officer in command at Miami. Amherst,

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<sup>1</sup> Mante's History of the Late War, pp. 479-81.

who held the Indians in supreme contempt, and who had contributed to their alienation by his arbitrary conduct towards them, while preparing reinforcements, hoped the Indians would be too sensible of their own interests to conspire against the English, and wished them to know that in his eyes they would make "a contemptible figure;" "yes," he repeated, "a contemptible figure." It was Amherst's inhuman suggestion that for the reduction of the disaffected tribes the smallpox should be sent among them.<sup>1</sup>

At this time there was living in the vicinity of Detroit an Ottawa chief possessing more than ordinary intelligence, ambition, eloquence, decision of character, power of combination, and great personal energy, named Pontiac. In subtlety and craft he was unsurpassed.<sup>2</sup> Pontiac was of middle height, with a figure of remarkable symmetry. His complexion was unusually dark, and his features, though void of regularity, were expressive of boldness and vigor, which, united with an habitually imperious and peremptory manner, were indicative of unusual strength of will. Major Rogers speaks of him in terms of high praise. "He puts on," he says, "an air of majesty and princely grandeur, and is greatly honored and revered by his subjects." His conspiracy was an heroic attempt to avert the swift decline which the conquest of Canada by England clearly foreshadowed for his race. He appears to have been the originator of this scheme of a Western confederation against the English, for on November 7, 1760, on the first advance of the relief of the French garrison, when Major Rogers, who led the troops, had reached the entrance to the Straits of Detroit, Pontiac visited his encampment, and, employing one of those bold metaphors which the Indians use to express much in a few words, assuming an air of supremacy, he exclaimed, "I stand in the path." "To form a just estimate of his character, we must judge him by the circumstances in which he was placed; by the profound ignorance and barbarism of his people; by his own destitution of all education and information; and by the jealous, fierce, and intractable spirit of his compeers. When measured by this standard, we shall find few of the men whose names are familiar to us more remarkable for all things proposed and achieved than Pontiac." To him the conduct of the plot had been left. It had been secretly discussed in their councils for about two years, during which time he brought the principal tribes of the region into the scheme. While the treaty of peace between France, England, and Spain was being signed at Paris, February 10, 1763, the Indian tribes were preparing for immediate action. The tribes which formed the nucleus of this plot were the Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawatomies, and the two bands of Hurons residing on the river Detroit. From facts gleaned after the submission of the tribes to General Bradstreet, in 1764, it appears that this combination was more extensive than had been supposed, and that the Miamis, Piankeshaws, Weas, Senecas, and several tribes of the Lower Mississippi had also been committed. The remaining tribes of the Iroquois were kept quiet by the strenuous

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<sup>1</sup> Amherst to Bouquet: *Parkman's Conspiracy of Pontiac*, ii. 29.

<sup>2</sup> *Parkman's Conspiracy of Pontiac*, i. 202.

efforts of Sir William Johnson. The time appointed for a general rising having arrived, the whole line of posts on that frontier, comprising twelve in number, extending from Forts Pitt and Niagara to Green Bay, were simultaneously attacked, and, either by open force or by *finesse*, nine of them taken. The most singular mode of attack among the whole was that practised at Fort Michilimackinac. The fortress at that period occupied the apex of the peninsula of Michigan, where it juts out into the strait in a headland (called Piquitinong). It consisted of a square area, having bastions built of stone, surrounded with pickets, which were closed by gates, and was capable of being defended by its garrison of thirty-five men against any attack. But stratagem was resorted to. The king's birthday (June 4) having arrived, the Ojibwas and their confederates engaged in a game of ball, the most exciting sport of the red man, on the level boulevard which led from the landing up by the fort into the village. The gates were open, and the discipline of the garrison was relaxed. The squaws had entered the fort and remained there. Etherington, the commandant, with one of his lieutenants, stood unsuspectingly outside the gate, watching the game. It had lasted some hours, when, throwing the ball close to the gate, they seized the two officers and carried them into the woods, while the rest rushed into the fort, grasped their hatchets which their squaws had hidden under their blankets, and in a moment killed an officer, a trader, and fifteen men. The rest of the garrison and all the English traders were made prisoners, and robbed of all they possessed. The tomahawk was applied so rapidly that not a drum was beaten or a rank formed, and the place became the scene of one of the most startling massacres; but of three hundred Canadians in the fort not one was molested.

Detroit was selected by Pontiac for the display of his own arts of siege and attack. The fort was under the command of Major Gladwyn, who had a garrison of two complete companies of infantry, numbering one hundred and twenty-two privates and eight officers. There were also within its walls forty French traders and *engagées*. The fort was a large stockade, about twenty feet high and twelve hundred yards in circumference, standing within the limits of the present city, on the river-bank, commanding an extensive prospect above and below. Its three pieces of artillery and three mortars were of small calibre, and so badly mounted as to be useless. Two armed vessels lay in the river. Detroit was the largest of the inland settlements, its climate and fertility attracting alike the white man and the savage. Both banks of the river were occupied by a numerous French population, dwelling upon productive farms; "indolent in the midst of plenty, graziers as well as tillers of the soil, and enriched by Indian traffic."<sup>1</sup> The Pottawatomies dwelt about a mile below the fort, the Wyandots a little lower down on the east side of the strait, and five miles higher up, on the same side, the Ottawas. Pontiac invested the place May 9, 1763, with a total force of four hundred and fifty warriors, who had been instructed at the councils, drilled under his own eye, and painted and feathered for battle. But an attack was not his first move; he aimed to take the fort by a deeply-laid plot,

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<sup>1</sup> Parkman.



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Pl 53

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RUINS OF OLD FORT MACKINAC, 1753.

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which was in effect to visit the commandant at his quarters, accompanied by a limited number of warriors bearing concealed weapons, to smoke with him the pipe of peace, and to present him with a formal address, which was to be accompanied by a belt of wampum, the most solemn and honored custom in Indian diplomacy. This belt was worked on one side with white and on the other with green beads. Having finished his speech with the white side turned towards his auditor, the reversal of it in his hands to the green side was to be the signal of attack. The plan was well devised, and must have succeeded had it not been revealed to the commandant on the previous evening.

On the day appointed, Pontiac appeared at the gates with his three hundred aboriginal fellow-conspirators, demanding an audience. He was freely admitted, but in passing the esplanade observed an unusual display of the military. The garrison was under arms, and the sentinels doubled, a circumstance which aroused Pontiac's fears, but his covert inquiries were met by a ready answer that "it was to keep the young men<sup>1</sup> to their duty, and prevent idleness." The language employed by one who has collated the local traditions on the subject while they were still within reach may here be quoted. "The business of the council then commenced, and Pontiac proceeded to address Major Gladwyn. His speech was bold and menacing, and his manner and gesticulations vehement, and they became still more so as he approached the critical moment. When he was on the point of presenting the belt to Major Gladwyn (and turning it in his hands), and all was breathless expectation, the drums at the door of the council suddenly rolled the charge, the guards levelled their pieces, and the officers drew their swords from their scabbards. Pontiac was a brave man, constitutionally and habitually. He had fought in many a battle, and often led his warriors to victory. But this unexpected and decisive proof that his treachery was discovered and prevented, entirely disconcerted him. Tradition says he trembled. At all events, he delivered his belt in the usual manner, and thus failed to give his warriors the concerted signal of attack. Major Gladwyn immediately approached the chief, and, drawing aside his blanket, discovered the shortened rifle, and then, after stating his knowledge of the plan, turned him out of the fort, and, unwisely perhaps, permitted him to make his escape."

Foiled in his attempt to take the garrison by stratagem, Pontiac commenced an open attack, and his followers began to assail the scattered English settlers in its vicinity, while on every side could be heard the startling sassaquon, or war-whoop. A widow and her two sons were immediately murdered on the common. A discharged sergeant and his family, cultivating lands on Hog Island, were the next victims. Taking shelter behind buildings contiguous to the fort, an incessant fire was maintained against it, which was continued for several days, blazing arrows being discharged by the Indians, which set fire to some buildings within the walls. Determination of purpose marked every act, while the savage yells of the natives, and the continual reports of murders and outrages, filled the garrison with apprehensions.

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<sup>1</sup> "Young men," with the Indians, is an equivalent phrase for warriors, when speaking on such topics.

The abandonment of the fort and embarkation of the troops for Niagara was contemplated, but the plan was opposed by the prominent French inhabitants, who were better acquainted with the true character of Indian demonstration and bluster, and particularly with the real dangers of such a voyage. A small vessel was, however, despatched to Niagara on the 21st of May, soliciting aid both in provisions and men through a country entirely occupied by Indians. The Indians unabatedly continued their attacks, absolutely confining the garrison within the walls, and preventing them from obtaining supplies of wood and water. Pontiac meantime conceived the idea of decoying Major Campbell into his camp under the pretence of renewing pacific negotiations. This gentleman was favorably known to the Indians as the immediate predecessor of Major Gladwyn, who had but recently relieved him in the command of the fort. By the advice of those most conversant with the Indian character, Pontiac's request was acceded to, and Major Campbell went to his camp, accompanied by Lieutenant McDougal. But all the projects of Pontiac were set at naught by an unforeseen occurrence. In one of the sorties from the fort an Ottawa of distinction from Michilimackinac had been killed, and his nephew, who was present, determined to avenge his death. Meeting Major Campbell one day, as he was walking in the road near the camp of Pontiac, the savage immediately felled him to the earth with his war-club, and killed him. This act was regretted and disavowed by Pontiac, who, by the detention of Major Campbell, sought only to secure ulterior advantages through the person of his hostage.

On the 16th of May some Hurons and Ottawas presented themselves at the gate of the fort at Sandusky. Ensign Paulli, the commander, ordered seven of them, as old acquaintances and friends, to be admitted. At a given signal, as they sat smoking, Paulli was seized and bound. As he was borne from the room he saw the dead bodies of his massacred garrison lying wherever they had happened to fall. The traders were also killed, their stores plundered, and the fort burned. Paulli was taken to Detroit, whence he afterwards escaped.

At the mouth of the St. Joseph's, accessible only to boats around the promontory of Michigan, a Jesuit mission had, at the conquest of Canada, given place to an English ensign, with a garrison of fourteen soldiers and some traders. On the morning of May 25, a party of Pottawatomies approached the fort and were admitted. Suddenly a cry was heard in the barracks, Schlosser, the commanding officer, was seized, and the garrison—excepting three men—were massacred. The survivors were taken to Detroit and exchanged.

In the forest near Fort Wayne stood Fort Miami, garrisoned also by an ensign and a few soldiers. On May 27, Holmes, its commander, was informed that Detroit had been attacked, and communicated the intelligence to his men. An Indian woman pretending that a squaw in a neighboring cabin was ill and required to be bled, he went on the errand of mercy, and was shot. The sergeant following was taken prisoner, and the soldiers—nine in number—surrendered.

Fort Ouantanou, just below Lafayette, Indiana, fell on the 1st of June. Its commander having been lured into an Indian cabin and bound, his men surrendered.

The prisoners were received into the houses of the French, who had procured the favor by gifts of wampum to the victors.

The fort at Presque Isle, now Erie, was the point of communication between Pittsburg and Niagara and Detroit. It was garrisoned by twenty-four men, was quite tenable, and could easily have been relieved. Nevertheless, Ensign Christy, after two days' defence, overcome with terror, surrendered on June 22.

Le Bœuf, attacked on the 18th, kept the foe at bay until midnight, when the block-house was set on fire. The brave commander escaped with his garrison to the woods. On their way to Fort Pitt the fugitives passed the ruins of Venango. No living soul had escaped to tell its fate.

The fury of the savages was not limited to the attack of stockades. They massacred and scalped more than one hundred traders, murdered husbandmen and laborers in the field, and did not spare even the children in the cradle. They menaced Fort Ligonier, and, passing the Alleghanies, carried devastation as far as Bedford. For hundreds of miles from north to south, houses, cattle, and other property were destroyed, and a thrifty population was suddenly reduced to beggary and despair. Two thousand persons were killed or carried off, and nearly as many families were driven from their homes.

Anticipating succors to be on their way to Detroit, the Indians kept vigilant watch at the mouth of the river. This duty appears to have been committed to the Wyandots. Towards the end of May a detachment of troops from Niagara, having charge of twenty-three bateaux laden with provisions and supplies, encamped at Point Pelée, on the north shore, near the head of Lake Erie, wholly unconscious that any danger awaited them. Their movements had, however, been closely reconnoitred by the Indians, who, having formed an ambuscade at this place, furiously attacked them near daybreak. During the resulting panic, the officer in command leaped into a boat, and, accompanied by thirty men, crossed the lake to Sandusky. The rest of the detachment were killed or taken prisoners, and all the stores fell into the enemy's hands. The prisoners were reserved to row the boats. On the 30th of May the first of the long line of bateaux was seen from the fort as it rounded Point Huron, on the Canada shore. The garrison crowded the ramparts to view the welcome sight, and a gun was fired as a signal to their supposed approaching friends. But the only response was the gloomy war-cry. As the first boat came opposite to the little vessel anchored off the fort, the soldiers rowing it determined to recapture it. While the steersman headed the boat across, another soldier threw overboard the Indian who sat on the bow. In the struggle both were drowned, but the boat was rowed under the guns of the fort. Lest the other captive rowers should imitate this example, they were landed by the Indians on Hog Island, and immediately massacred.

News of the treaty of peace concluded at Versailles February 10, 1763, between France and England, reached Detroit on the 3d of June, while these events were in progress. From the French who were assembled on this occasion the intelligence received a full and prompt acquiescence, as a conclusive sovereign act, but the

Indians continued the siege. Pontiac, finding he could not take the fort, proposed to the French inhabitants to aid him, but they refused. About this time the vessel which had been despatched to Niagara by Major Gladwyn arrived at the mouth of the river with supplies and some sixty men. The winds being light and baffling, the Indians determined to capture her, and a large force left the siege and proceeded to Fighting Island for that purpose. While the vessel was lying at the mouth of the river the Indians had endeavored to annoy her by means of their canoes, but the wind had forced her to shift her anchorage to this spot. The captain had ordered his men below decks, to keep the Indians in ignorance of his strength, having apprised them that a loud stroke of a hammer on the mast would be a signal for them to come up. As soon as night fell, the Indians came off in their canoes in great force, and attempted to board her, but a sudden discharge of her guns disconcerted them. The following day the vessel dropped down to the mouth of the straits, where she was detained six days by calms. Meantime, Pontiac, determining to destroy her, floated down burning rafts, constructed of the timbers from barns destroyed by the Indians, dry pine, and a quantity of pitch added to make the whole more combustible. Notwithstanding two such rafts were sent down the river, the vessel and boats escaped them. A breeze springing up on the 30th of June, the vessel was enabled to hoist sail, and reached the fort in safety.

General Amherst, the commander-in-chief, was fully sensible of the perilous position of the Western posts in consequence of the Indian hostility, and, though weakened by the force withdrawn for the Indian war in the West, prepared to send at the earliest period reinforcements to Forts Pitt, Niagara, and Detroit. The relief destined for the latter post was placed under the orders of his secretary, Captain Dalzell, who, after relieving Niagara, proceeded to Detroit in armed bateaux, at the head of a force of three hundred men. To the joy of all concerned, this reinforcement arrived at Detroit on the 29th of July, when the place had been besieged upwards of fifty days. Captain Dalzell, who brought this timely accession to the garrison, proposed a night assault on Pontiac's camp, which the commandant assented to, although with some misgivings. Two hundred and fifty men were selected for this duty, and with this force Captain Dalzell left the fort as secretly as possible at half-past two o'clock on the morning of the 31st. At the same time two boats were despatched to keep pace with the party and, if necessary, take off the wounded. The darkness of the night rendered it somewhat difficult to discern the way, and made it impossible to keep the proper distance between the platoons. After marching about two miles, when the vanguard had reached the bridge over the stream which has since been known as Bloody Run, a sudden fire was poured in by the Indians, creating a temporary panic among the troops, from which, however, they soon recovered. The intense darkness completely obscuring the enemy, a retreat was ordered, when it appeared that there was a heavy force in the rear, through which the column had been allowed to pass. The English were, in fact, in the midst of a well-planned ambushade. Dalzell displayed the utmost bravery and spirit in this emergency, but was soon shot down and killed. Grant, on whom the command

devolved, was severely wounded. The Indians were concealed behind the wooden picketing which lined the fields and sheltered the buildings of the *habitans*; but as the day began to dawn the troops were enabled to discern their perilous position. They then embarked some of their wounded in the boats which had accompanied them, and, concentrating their forces, retreated towards the gates of the fort, which they entered in compact order. The loss in this attack was fifty-nine killed and wounded, being nearly one-fourth of the sallying party. It was a decided triumph for the Indians, who thenceforth pressed the siege with renewed vigor.

As the season for hunting approached, the Indians gradually dispersed, the siege languished, and was finally abandoned. There is no previous record in Indian history of so large a force of Indians having been kept in the field for so long a period; and this effort of the Algonkin chief to roll back the tide of European emigration was the most formidable that was ever made by any member of the Indian race. Rogers styles Pontiac an emperor. He certainly possessed an energy of mind and powers of combination equalling those of any other chief of his race. Opechancanough possessed great firmness, and was a bitter enemy of the white race, Sassacus fought for tribal rights and supremacy, the course of Uncas was that of a politician, Pometakom battled to repel the people whose education, industry, and religion foredoomed his own; but Pontiac took a more enlarged and comprehensive view, not only of the field of contest, but also of the means necessary for the retention and preservation of the aboriginal dominion. At a later period, Brant merely fought for and under the direction of a powerful ally, and Tecumseh but re-enacted the deeds of Pontiac after the lapse of fifty years, when the scheme of repelling the whites was preposterous.

The struggle of the Indians, in conjunction with the French, for supremacy in America, may be said to have commenced in 1753, when Washington first originated the idea among the Western tribes that the Virginians were taking preliminary steps to cross the Alleghanies, the limit of the English settlements, and open the route for the influx of the entire European race. This notion may be perceived in the addresses of Pontiac. "Why," he exclaimed, repeating, as he alleged, the words of the Master of Life, "why do you suffer these dogs in red clothing to take the land I gave you? Drive them from it, and when you are in distress I will help you." The policy of driving back the English accorded well with the views of the French, who carefully encouraged it, and first developed it at the repulse of Washington before Fort Necessity, and gave to it a new impetus the following year at Braddock's defeat, an event which had the effect of arousing the passions of the Indians. From this date they became determined opponents of the spread of British power, and always formed a part of the French forces in the field. Such was their position under Montcalm, at Lake George, in 1757, and also at the sanguinary defeat of Major Grant in 1758. The epoch for making this struggle could not have been better chosen had they even been perfectly conversant with the French and English policy, and the result was ten years of the most troublesome Indian wars with which the colonies were ever afflicted. As time pro-

gressed, it became evident that the long colonial struggle between the two crowns must terminate. If the English were defeated, not only the French but the Indians would triumph, while it was equally true that if the French failed the Indian power must succumb. Pontiac perfectly understood this, and so informed his confederates. This question was settled by the peace of Versailles; but the Indians did not feel disposed to drop the contest. Detroit was still closely invested; Fort Pitt, built by General Stanwix, in 1759, upon the ruins of Fort Du Quesne, was also beleaguered, and the only road by which relief could reach it passed through dreary tracts of wilderness and over high mountains. It was likewise located on a frontier, the inhabitants of which lived in continual dread of the Indians. Its garrison consisted of three hundred and thirty soldiers, traders, and backwoodsmen. On the night of July 27 the fort, which had been besieged since the 27th of May, was fiercely attacked, and for five days and nights a constant fire was kept up from all sides, though with slight result. Fire-arrows were frequently shot at it, in the hope of setting it on fire. The guns of the fort were effectively used until the approach of succor caused the Indians to decamp.

General Amherst ordered Colonel Bouquet to relieve this post with the remnants of two regiments which had returned in a feeble and shattered condition from the siege of Havana. The route lay through Pennsylvania, by way of Carlisle and Fort Bedford, and many discouragements were in the way. Troops and supplies came forward slowly. He reached Fort Bedford on the 25th of July, and thence pushed on to Fort Ligonier, relieving that post from a threatened siege. As soon as the Indians who were besieging Fort Pitt heard of his approach, they left that place and prepared to oppose his march. Bouquet had disencumbered himself of his wagons, as also of much heavy baggage, at Fort Ligonier, and moved on with alacrity, conveying his provisions on horses. On entering the defile of Turtle Creek, on August 5, his advance had proceeded but a short distance when it was briskly attacked on both flanks. A severe and desperate battle ensued, which admitted of several manœuvres and gave occasion for the display of Bouquet's gallantry. Captains Graham and McIntosh, of the regulars, were killed, and five officers wounded. As the day closed, an elevation was gained, on which the troops bivouacked. At daybreak the following morning the Indians surrounded the camp and commenced a lively fusillade, making frequent charges, and alternately attacking and retreating. This became very annoying to the troops, who were greatly fatigued and destitute of water. They fought in an extended circle. At length the colonel resorted to the ruse of withdrawing two companies from the outer line and making a feint of retreating. By this movement he decoyed the Indians into a position where they were promptly charged with the bayonet and repelled. Their retreat soon became a rout, which involved a part of the Indian forces hitherto unengaged.

This was one of the best-contested actions ever fought between the white man and the Indian. The savages displayed the utmost intrepidity, and the English would have been defeated had it not been for their coolness and the skilful conduct of their officers.

Bouquet then advanced to Bushy Run, where there was an abundance of water; but he had hardly posted his troops when the Indians again commenced an attack, which was, however, speedily repulsed. The loss in these actions amounted to fifty men killed and sixty wounded, almost one-fourth of his command.

After these battles the Indians did not renew the siege of Fort Pitt, but withdrew beyond the Ohio, and four days subsequent to the action at Bushy Run Bouquet entered Fort Pitt.

Meantime, the Indians were still closely besieging Detroit, and the garrison began to suffer from fatigue and want of provisions. A vessel, manned by twelve men and in charge of two masters, was despatched from Fort Niagara during the latter part of August with stores for its relief. It reached the entrance to Detroit River on the 3d of September, when, the wind being adverse, the crew dropped the anchor. About nine o'clock in the evening the boatswain discovered a fleet of canoes approaching, containing about three hundred and fifty Indians. The bow gun was fired, but too late, as the canoes had by this time surrounded the vessel. The Indians immediately cut the cable and began to board her, notwithstanding the fire from the small arms and also from a swivel. The crew then seized their pikes, a new weapon of defence with which they were provided, and, fighting with great bravery and determination, killed and wounded more than twice their own number of the foe, who were already leaping over her bulwarks. Some of them had gained her deck, when Jacobs, the mate, called out to blow up the schooner. Catching the meaning of his words, the Indians leaped overboard, panic-stricken, to escape the threatened explosion. The ship at the same time swinging around enabled the crew to use their guns effectively. The master and one man were killed, and four men wounded; but, a breeze springing up, the other seamen hoisted sail, and brought the vessel safely to Detroit. For this brave act each of the crew was presented with a silver medal.

The garrison being thus provided with supplies, the further efforts of the Indians proved of no great consequence. As the season for hunting approached, the savages mostly dispersed, except some small parties who watched the fort and prevented any egress from it. Open war never being carried on by the Indians during the winter, Major Gladwyn made such a judicious disposition of his means as prevented any surprise during that season.

Fort Niagara had not been attacked, although its garrison was weak; but its precincts were continually infested by hostile Indians, which made it necessary to send out large escorts with every train despatched from it. To rid the Niagara Valley of this annoyance and open the route to Schlosser, a detachment of ninety men was directed to scour the surrounding country. Owing to the inconsiderate ardor of the officer in command, and also to his ignorance of Indian subtlety in time of war, the detachment was decoyed into an ambuscade, in which he and all his men, with the exception of three or four, were killed.

## CHAPTER VII.

### EXPEDITIONS OF BOUQUET AND BRADSTREET—PACIFICATION OF THE TRIBES— DEATH OF PONTIAC.

THE campaign of 1763 had the effect rather to inspire than to depress the hopes of the Indians. The English forces had been withdrawn to further projects of conquest in the West Indies, thus leaving but few troops on the frontiers. Forts Pitt and Detroit had for many months been closely invested by the tribes, who completely debarred ingress and egress. The determination evinced by the forces of Pontiac at Detroit, his attacks on the shipping sent to its relief, the sanguinary encounter at Bloody Run, in which Dalzell was slain, and that at Bushy Run, where Colonel Bouquet was so actively opposed, together with the utter destruction of a detachment of ninety men and its officers on the Niagara portage, afforded an additional stimulus to the efforts of the Indians. These successes not only served to inflate the Indian pride, but likewise denoted a feeble military administration on the part of the British commander.

General Amherst was of opinion that more vigorous action and a more comprehensive and definite plan were required for the campaign of 1764, while at the same time the ministry had crippled his powers by withdrawing nearly all his regular troops. Under these circumstances he called for aid from the colonies, determining to send Colonel Bouquet with an efficient army against the Western tribes, who were beleaguering Fort Pitt and overawing the valleys of the Ohio, Miami, Scioto, and Wabash, and at the same time to direct Colonel Bradstreet to proceed with a large force in boats against the Northwestern tribes at Detroit. To enable him to carry out his plans, he appealed earnestly to the respective colonial legislatures for troops, which were cheerfully supplied. Sir William Johnson determined to hold a general convention of the tribes at Fort Niagara, in connection with the Bradstreet movement, and to endeavor to induce as many Indians as possible to accompany that officer on his expedition to the vicinage of the upper lakes. Having made these arrangements, Lord Amherst, who had zealously and efficiently prosecuted the war against Canada, solicited leave to return to England, and was succeeded in the command by General Gage, an officer of very moderate abilities, who, a few years later, as commander-in-chief of Massachusetts, inaugurated the hostile movements which brought on the Revolutionary War.

It being necessary to conduct the operations of Bradstreet's detachment by water, that officer superintended the work of constructing a flotilla of bateaux at Schenectady, on a plan of his own invention, each boat having forty-six feet keel and being sufficiently capacious to contain twenty-seven men and six weeks' provisions. As

soon as this immense flotilla was ready, it was ordered to Oswego, where Sir William Johnson had directed the Indians to assemble. Bradstreet's force of all descriptions, on reaching Oswego, numbered about twelve hundred. These vessels were employed to transport the heavy stores to the mouth of the Niagara, and the Indians in their canoes followed the extended train of bateaux along the Ontario coasts, making the usual landings at the Bay of Sodus<sup>1</sup> and Irondequoit. They arrived at Fort Niagara in the beginning of July. This concourse of boats and men was, however, in reality the smallest part of the display.

A large number of the Indian tribes had been summoned to a council by Sir William Johnson, who had collected seventeen hundred Indians at Niagara. Never before had such a body of Indians been congregated under his auspices. The council was held in Fort Niagara. He had brought with him the preliminary articles of a treaty of peace, amity, and alliance which had been prepared by him at Johnson Hall, where it had received the signatures of several of the leading chiefs. Major Gladwyn had sent Indian deputies from Detroit, and various causes had combined to swell the attendance at this great convention. Henry relates that one of Sir William's messages reached Sault Ste. Marie, at the foot of Lake Superior, and induced the tribe there located to send a deputation of twenty persons. The Senecas, however, whose conduct had been equivocal during the war, did not make their appearance, although their deputies had signed the preliminary articles at Johnson Hall. Sir William sent to their villages on the Genesee repeated messages for them, which were uniformly answered by promises. But promises would not serve, and, consequently, Colonel Bradstreet authorized the baronet to send a final message announcing that if they did not present themselves in five days he would send a force against them and destroy their villages. This brought them to terms; they immediately attended the convention, and at the same time surrendered their prisoners. A formal treaty of peace was then concluded.

Colonel Bradstreet desired to depart immediately, but Sir William begged him to postpone his march until he had finished with the tribes and given them their presents, for although he had just concluded a treaty of peace with them he had no faith in their fidelity, and feared that if the troops were withdrawn they would attack the fort. With this request Bradstreet complied. He at length departed, taking with him three hundred Indian warriors as auxiliaries, although he was conscious they accompanied him rather in the character of spies. Sir William, having accomplished this important pacification, returned home, and on the 6th of August Colonel Bradstreet proceeded on his protracted expedition along the southern coasts of Lake Erie. His intentions, as publicly announced, were to conclude peace with such tribes as solicited it, and to chastise all who continued in arms. Being detained by contrary winds at l'Anse aux Feuilles, he there received a deputation from the Wyandots of Sandusky, the Shawnees and Delawares of the Ohio, and the bands of the Six

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<sup>1</sup> In a manuscript journal of this expedition, written by John McKenny, an orderly in the 44th, or Royal Scots, and in our possession, this bay is called Onosodus, which appears to be the aboriginal term.

Nations residing on the Scioto Plains. The sachems deputed by these tribes presented four belts of wampum as an earnest of their desire for peace, and in their speeches to Bradstreet excused their respective nations for the murders and outrages committed, on the usual pretext of not being able to restrain their young warriors, or of not being aware of the real state of facts, at the same time soliciting forgiveness for the past and promising fidelity for the future. Variable weather delayed Bradstreet for some days, but he was at length enabled to proceed, and on the 23d of August reached Point Petite Isle, where intelligence reached him that the Indians collected on the Maumee were resolved to oppose his progress. He immediately determined to attack them in that position, whither Pontiac had then retired; but while yet on Lake Erie, pursuing his course to the mouth of the Maumee, he received a deputation from the Indians of that stream, who requested a conference at Detroit. Visiting the Bay of Maumee, and finding the Indian camp abandoned, he returned to Point Petite Isle, and from this position detached Captain Morris, at the head of a body of men, with directions to march across the country and take possession of the territory of the Illinois, which had been ceded to England by the treaty concluded at Versailles in 1763.<sup>1</sup> Bradstreet then proceeded to the head of Lake Erie, and, entering the Straits of Detroit, reached the town and fort on the 26th of August. Never previously had so large a force, accompanied by so much military display, been seen in that vicinity. The long lines of bateaux and barges, filled with their complement of military, with their glittering arms, their colors flying, drums beating, and bugles sounding, were followed by those containing the attachés of the quartermaster's and commissary's departments, and by the fleet of canoes containing the three hundred auxiliary Mohawks and Senecas, together with the deputies of the surrounding tribes. Indians always judge from appearances, and every attendant circumstance indicated that the British government, which could send so numerous and well-appointed a force to so distant a point, must in itself be strong. Bradstreet determined to land his army on the plain extending from the fort along the banks of the river, and as detachment after detachment filed past with military exactitude to its position in the extended camp, the gazing multitudes of red men realized the peril of their past position and trembled for the future. The commander did not take up his quarters in the fort, but directed his marquee, on which the red cross of England was displayed, to be pitched in the centre of this vast encampment. The 7th of September was appointed for the meeting of the council, when the aboriginal deputies were received, decked out with all their Oriental taste, and bearing their ornamented pipes of peace. The first tribes on the ground were the Ottawas and Chippewas, who had been the head and front of Pontiac's offending. They were represented by Wassong, attended by five other chiefs, whose respective names were Attowatomig, Shamindawa, Ottawany, Apokess, and Abetto. Wassong made his submission in terms that would not have been discreditable to a philosopher or a diplomatist. He excused his nation for their participation

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<sup>1</sup> It appears from Parkman's "Conspiracy of Pontiac" that this duty was ill performed.

in the war, laid the blame where it properly belonged, and then, appealing to the theology which recognizes God as the great ruler of events, who orders them in wisdom and mercy, promised obedience to the British crown. While speaking, he held in his hand a belt of wampum having a blue and white ground, interspersed with devices in white, green, and blue, which, at the close of his speech, he deposited as a testimonial of the truth of his words. He then, holding forth a purple and mixed belt, in the name of his people tendered their submission, depositing this belt also as their memorial. Shamindawa then addressed the council in the name of Pontiac, saying that he regretted what had happened, and asked that it should be forgiven, adding that it would give him pleasure to co-operate with the English. He concluded by praying for the success of the Illinois mission, as though he considered it a perilous undertaking. The Hurons, who had been actively engaged in the war, next presented their submission, and affixed to the treaty the emblematic signature of a deer and a cross. A Miami chief, whose signature was a turtle, next presented himself in the name of his nation, to concur in the terms acceded to by the Ottawas and Chippewas. The Pottawatomies and Foxes then affixed their signatures by the pictograph of a fox, an eel, and a bear. The Mississagies were represented by Wapacomagot, and signified their acquiescence by tracing the figure of an eagle with a medal round its neck. The entire number of Indians present at the conclusion of the treaty with Colonel Bradstreet has been estimated at nineteen hundred and thirty.<sup>1</sup>

Bradstreet, having closed his negotiations with the Indians, reorganized the militia, and established the civil government in the French settlements on a firm basis, prepared to return to Sandusky, with the view of complying with his instructions from General Gage, directing him to bring the Shawnees and Delawares to terms. On reaching Sandusky he received letters from General Gage censuring him for offering terms of peace to the Shawnee and Delaware delegates, and for his general course in concluding treaties of peace with the Indians without consulting Sir William

<sup>1</sup> Mante, p. 526. The warriors present, and their numerical force, were as follows:

Ottawas.....	220	
Chippewas.....	300	
Saukies.....	50	
Hurons.....	80	
		650
<i>Saginaws, including those of St. Joseph.</i>		
Chippewas.....	150	
Pottawatomies.....	450	
		600
<i>Of Sandusky.</i>		
Hurons.....	200	
Miamis.....	250	
Weas.....	230	
		680
Total.....		1930

Johnson, who was the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and with whom he was directed to put himself in communication. This is the first instance of that collision of authority between the officers of the military and Indian service of which the entire subsequent history of our Indian affairs affords abundant examples down to the present day. Prior to this period, Bradstreet had left a relief of seven companies in the fort at Detroit, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell. Two companies under Captain Howard, together with a detachment of artillery and two companies of the recently-organized militia, were at the same time ordered to re-occupy Michilimackinac. To supply that post effectually, a vessel, under command of Lieutenant Sinclair of the Fifteenth Regular Infantry, was directed to enter Lake Huron. This, it is declared, was the first English vessel that ever attempted the passage,<sup>1</sup> and the voyage appears to have been considered an intrepid feat, from which we may reasonably infer that the name of the lake and river Sinclair (St. Clair) was derived.<sup>2</sup> Sinclair, tradition asserts, was the commandant of Michilimackinac prior to the arrival of Captain Robinson, who held the command on the island in 1783, when a façade of its mural precipices fell down.

The post of Michilimackinac was in 1764 situated on a northern headland of the peninsula of Michigan, jutting into the straits, opposite to and in sight of the island, and also of Point St. Ignace. This was the point which had been selected by Marquette as the site of a mission, and in its simple graveyard his remains were interred after his decease at the little river bearing his name on the east shores of Lake Michigan.<sup>3</sup> By order of General Amherst, the French garrison was relieved after the capture of Montreal, and the troops sent for that purpose were led by Major Rogers, the partisan, who had been succeeded by Major Etherington at the time of the massacre in 1763. At the date of the massacre the Indians did not burn the fort, which, as the traders lived within it, would have destroyed their goods, and it was, therefore, reoccupied in 1764, the walls, bastions, and gates remaining entire. Tradition asserts that this fort was visited and supplied by vessels for seven years subsequently. The alarm produced by the American Revolution appears to have caused the transfer of the fortification to the island, which, tradition affirms, was made about the year 1780. The Michilimackinac of the French was, therefore, located on the apex of the peninsula, that of the English on the island.

Michilimackinac had from an unknown period been regarded by the aborigines as a sacred island, consecrated both by their mythology and their history. It was believed to be the local residence of important spirits of their pantheon, and its caverns as well as its cliffs were calculated to favor this idea. They landed on it with awe, and its precincts were preserved from the intrusion of European feet. The bones found

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<sup>1</sup> It was originally made by the "Griffin," under La Salle, in 1678.

<sup>2</sup> The entire river from Huron to Erie was called Detroit by the early French writers.

<sup>3</sup> After their removal to the island, his bones were interred in the Catholic church-yard, but a question of title springing up many years subsequently caused them to be again disturbed, after which they were reinterred at La Crosse, Michigan.



Drawn by Capt. G. Eastman, U.S.A.

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in its caves, its deep subterranean passages, the regular heaps of superimposed boulders, and the evidences of cultivation still to be seen in many isolated spots, surrounded with impenetrable foliage, denote that it had not only been occupied from very early times, but that its occupancy was connected with their earliest history, superstitions, and mythology.

Traditions which have been carefully sought out mention that the English were the first nation who were permitted to occupy its sacred shores with troops, by whom a fort, in the form of a talus, owing to the shape of the cliff, was placed on its edge. A village was laid out on the narrow gravel plain below. The harbor, though small, possesses a good anchorage, and is sheltered from all winds except those from the east. Merchants who supplied the traders to a wide extent of country east, west, and north located their places of business on the island. The traders fitted out annually by these merchants held intercourse with the tribes of Lake Superior, Michigan, Green Bay, the Mississippi, and the Illinois. British capital and enterprise established this trade on a new footing, and from this time forth it became a trade-centre for a vast country, the Indians travelling thither a distance of one thousand miles in their canoes, bearing with them their weapons and the tokens of their bravery and decorated with all their feathers and finery. Detroit, Vincennes, Kaskaskia, Cahokia, St. Louis, Prairie du Chien, St. Peters, Chegoimegon, the vicinity of the Lake of the Woods, and Lake Winnipeg, as well as the valley of the Saskatchewan, became mere dependencies of the new metropolis of Indian trade, Michilimackinac.

The great object of the campaign of 1764 was, however, not yet accomplished. The North was safe, but in order to establish a permanent and general peace with the Indians it was requisite that the war should be vigorously and successfully prosecuted in the South and West. Both the British commanders intrusted with the pacification must be triumphant. They must prove to the Indians the ability of the English not only to take but also to hold Canada. Pontiac was not the only aboriginal chief who had doubted this ability.

The plan of Sir Jeffrey Amherst to bring the Western Indians to terms after the final conquest of Canada was well devised. Had he directed but a single operation against them, both the Southwestern and Northwestern tribes would have united to oppose it, but by sending a controlling force, under Bradstreet, to the Northwest, through the great lakes, to Detroit, and at the same time another under Bouquet from the present site of Pittsburg to the Tuscarawas and the Muskingum, against the tribes of the Southwest, he effectually divided their force, and demonstrated to them the power and energy of the government claiming their submission, whose military prowess had caused the time-honored French flag to be struck at Quebec, Montreal, Niagara, and Du Quesne. His successor, General Gage, merely carried out this plan, though, if we may credit the testimony of a contemporary officer, without much appreciation of the necessary details.

The offer of terms of peace to the Shawnees and other Southwestern tribes dubiously represented in the month of August, 1764, as made by Colonel Bradstreet while on his way to Detroit, was deemed by the other officers in the field to be a vain-

glorious assumption of power and an unnecessary interference with the civic duties of Sir William Johnson. But Bradstreet's ardor and promptitude as a commander created a very favorable impression on the Indians in the region of the lakes, and his expedition to that then remote point inaugurated one of the soundest features of the British Indian policy.

Bradstreet did not leave Detroit until the 14th of September, and on the 18th he reached Sandusky Bay, where he detached a party with orders to destroy a settlement of Mohicans in that vicinity under Mohigan John; but the Indians eluded them. Single delegates from the Delawares, Shawnees, and Scioto-Iroquois, accompanied by a Tuscarora Indian, here met him, and made statements which, it is conceived, were not entitled to any weight, but were dictated by the spirit of Indian subtlety which anticipated coming evil. He then proceeded with his army to Upper Sandusky, where a Wyandot village had been destroyed the previous year by Captain Dalzell. Here he received letters from General Gage disapproving of his offers of peace to the Delawares and Shawnees. He had been directed to attack the Wyandots of Sandusky, and also the Delawares and Shawnees, then residing on the Muskingum and Scioto. The route to the former river, he was correctly informed, was up the Cuyahoga, and to the latter up the Sandusky. Both the carrying-places were stated to be short, and the choice of either was left to him. But on making trial of the Sandusky the water appeared to be too low, and his guides led him to think that from the shortness of the portage his provisions could be transported on men's shoulders. The portage between the Cuyahoga and the Tuscarawas fork of the Muskingum was found to be at that season equally impracticable. In this dilemma, and to enable him to act as a check on the Delawares and Shawnees, against whom Bouquet was marching, Bradstreet determined to encamp on the Sandusky portage. He opened a communication with Colonel Bouquet, who was advancing from Pittsburg at the head of his army; and by occupying this position he likewise exerted a favorable influence towards concluding a general peace with the Western Indians, which effect resulted from that movement. From Indians who visited his camp he learned that the Delawares and Shawnees were already tired of the war and sought to make a peace on the best terms they could obtain. They were the more anxious on this point because of the threat of the Six Nations, who were strongly in the English interest, to make war on them. To them such a war was far more to be dreaded than the English armies, for they trembled at the very mention of the Iroquois. Everything, indeed, pointed to a favorable termination of the war.

During the autumn and winter of 1763-64 Bouquet had remained in garrison at Fort Pitt, where the Indians did not molest him. But experience had demonstrated that the subtlety and agility of the savages, and their superior knowledge of the topographical features of the wilderness, required a degree of caution on the march beyond what would have been necessary in opposing civilized troops. The force destined for Bouquet reached Fort Pitt on the 17th of September, while Bradstreet was on his way from Detroit to Sandusky, but the former did not leave Fort Pitt until the 3d of October. He had under his command fifteen hundred men,

furnished with every needful supply. Having become an adept in the use of field-maps, guides, and forest arts, he marched slowly and surely, his army covering a large space in the forest, and indicating great strength of purpose as well as confidence of success. All this was observed and duly reported by Indian spies. The Indians, moreover, were aware that Bradstreet was on the Sandusky at the head of even a larger force. To employ an Indian simile, these armies appeared like two converging clouds, which must soon overwhelm them.

On the 6th of October the army reached Beaver River, where they found a white man who had escaped from the Indians. He stated that the latter were in great alarm, and that those located along Bouquet's line of march had concealed themselves. On the 8th the troops crossed the Little Beaver River, and on the 14th encamped on the Tuscarawas. A competent observer, who visited the country in 1748, reported the number of Indian warriors then in the Ohio Valley at seven hundred and eighty-nine. Of these there were Senecas, one hundred and sixty-three; Shawnees, one hundred and sixty-two; Wyandots, one hundred and forty; Mohawks, seventy-four; Mohicans, fifteen; Onondagas, thirty-five; Cayugas, twenty; Oneidas, fifteen; and Delawares, one hundred and sixty-five. These figures would indicate an aggregate population of a fraction under four thousand, and it is not probable that the number had varied much in sixteen years. While encamped on the Tuscarawas, two men arrived who had been sent by Bouquet from Fort Pitt as messengers to Colonel Bradstreet. On their return they had been captured by the Delawares and conveyed to an Indian village sixteen miles distant, where they were detained until the news arrived of Bouquet's advance with an army. From information subsequently received through Major Smallwood, one of the captives was finally surrendered by the Indians, a report being circulated that Bouquet was advancing to extirpate them. The effect of this news on the Indians implicated was to determine them, with the connivance of a low-minded French trader, to massacre all the prisoners in their hands. The two messengers, however, were liberated, and commissioned to tell Colonel Bouquet that the Shawnees and Delawares would visit him for the purpose of proposing terms of peace. Accordingly, their deputies arrived two days subsequently, and brought information that all their chiefs were assembled at the distance of about eight miles. The following day was appointed for a conference at Colonel Bouquet's tent. The first delegation which advanced comprised twenty Senecas, under the direction of their chief, Kigaschuta; next came twenty Delawares, marshalled by Custaloga and Amik; and then six Shawnees, led by Keissnautchta, who appeared as the representative of several tribes. Each chief tendered a belt of wampum, accompanying its presentation by a speech which embraced the usual subjects of Indian diplomacy, excusing what had been done during the war, placing all the censure on the rashness of their young men, promising to deliver up all their captives, soliciting a cessation of hostilities, and pledging future fidelity to their agreements.

Bouquet realized the advantage of his position, and a day was appointed for his answer, which, when given, embraced all the points in question. He spoke to them

as one having full authority, accused them of perfidy, upbraided them for having pillaged and murdered English traders, and charged them with killing four English messengers who carried a commission from the king. He also spoke to them of the audacity of their course in besieging the king's troops at Fort Pitt. The whole tone of his address was elevated, truthful, and manly. He concluded by informing them that if they would deliver up to him all the prisoners, men, women, and children, then in their possession, not even excepting those who had married into the tribes, furnish them with clothing, horses, and provisions, and convey them to Fort Pitt, he would grant them peace, but on no other terms.

He then broke up the conference and put his army in motion for the Muskingum, it being a more central position, and one from which, if the Indians faltered in carrying out their engagements, he could the more readily direct his operations against them. While the army was encamped on the Tuscarawas, the Delawares brought in eighteen white prisoners, and also eighty small sticks, indicating the number still in their possession. The army broke ground on the Muskingum on the 25th of October, and on the 28th Caughnawaga Peter arrived with letters from Colonel Bradstreet. During the ensuing week the camp was a scene of continual arrivals and excitement. During the month of November the Indians of the various tribes delivered up their captives. Such a scene was perhaps never before witnessed, and certainly nothing like it ever afterwards took place. They surrendered of Virginians thirty-two men and fifty-eight women and children, and of Pennsylvanians forty-nine men and sixty-seven women and children. Major Smallwood, an officer who had been captured the previous year near Detroit by the Wyandots, was likewise restored to his friends. These comprised all who had escaped the war-club, the scalping-knife, and the stake; old and young were indiscriminately mingled together in the area. A solemn council ensued, at which Custaloga represented the Delawares, and Kigaschuta the Senecas. The latter began:

"With this belt" (opening the wampum) "I wipe the tears from your eyes. We deliver you these prisoners, the last of your flesh and blood with us. By this token we assemble and bury the bones of those who have been killed in this unhappy war, which the evil spirit excited us to kindle. We bury these bones deep, never more to be looked or thought on. We cover the place of burial with leaves, that it may not be seen. The Indians have been a long time standing with arms in their hands. The clouds have hung in black above us. The path between us has been shut up. But with this sacred emblem we open the road clear, that we may travel on as our fathers did. We let in light from above to guide our steps. We hold in our hands a silver chain, which we put into yours, and which will ever remain bright and preserve our friendship."

Similar sentiments were expressed by the other speakers, and a general cessation of hostilities resulted; the terms of pacification were agreed on, hostages were demanded and furnished, and six deputies were appointed to visit Sir William Johnson. Bouquet set out on his return to Fort Pitt, which he reached on the 28th of November. From this point the rescued captives were sent to their

respective homes. Bradstreet also returned, by way of Lake Erie, to Fort Niagara and Albany, a part of his army having marched thither by land. An effectual termination was thus put to the hostilities of the Indians against the British government consequent upon the conquest of Canada.

The subsequent career of Pontiac may here be briefly noticed. After abandoning the siege of Detroit, he withdrew, in November, to the Maumee, whence, during the following year, he made numerous journeys westward, visiting different tribes to obtain their co-operation in his plans, stirring them by his eloquence and imbuing them with his own fierce spirit. With four hundred warriors at his back, he sought St. Ange, the French commandant of Fort Chartres, and demanded arms, ammunition, and troops, a request which that officer was forced to decline. He even sent an embassy to D'Abadie, Governor of Louisiana, with the same object, but with no other result than the good advice to make his peace with the English.

Recognizing at length the fact that his cause was lost, Pontiac wisely concluded to accept the counsel, and with his chiefs journeyed to Oswego to meet Sir William Johnson, and sealed his submission by a treaty concluded with him July 30, 1766. This "champion of his race" was assassinated in April, 1769, while carousing at Cahokia, Illinois, by an Illinois Indian, who is said to have been bribed to commit the act by an English trader for a barrel of whiskey. The body was buried with the honors of war by his friend St. Ange, commandant of St. Louis.

## CHAPTER VIII.

LOGAN—DUNMORE'S EXPEDITION—BATTLE OF POINT PLEASANT—PEACE CONCLUDED—INDIAN TRADE—CAPTAIN JONATHAN CARVER—CENSUS OF THE TRIBES.

THE peace concluded with the Indians, influenced as they were by the presence of large armies, and compelled thereto by the force of circumstances, was not consonant to their feelings, and exercised only a temporary restraint upon their actions. Canada having submitted to the British arms, they had no longer their ancient ally to rest on, and they had finally submitted, in 1764, to a power which they could not continue to oppose, assuming the garb of peace and breathing words of submission while their hearts still glowed with desire for war and plunder. The fire was merely smothered. This state of quasi amity and friendship continued for several years subsequent to the expeditions of Bradstreet and Bouquet. These expeditions had, however, been the means of making geographical explorations which had developed districts of country inviting in all their natural characteristics, and which possessed a deep and fertile soil, and in consequence the desire for their acquisition by an agricultural people became ardent and absorbing. The Indians were very soon regarded as a mere incumbrance on the land, and life was freely ventured in its acquisition.

The project for the settlement of Kentucky originated in 1773. A resolution was formed to make the attempt early in the following spring, notwithstanding the fact that the country was occupied by Indians who had committed some mischief and were suspected of hostile intentions. The mouth of the Little Kanawha was selected as the place of rendezvous. Reports of a very alarming nature deterred several persons from joining in the attempt. About eighty or ninety fearless and enterprising men met at the rendezvous, among whom was George Rogers Clarke, the future conqueror of Illinois. The explorers remained encamped at this point for several days, during which time a small party of hunters, who had gone out to obtain supplies of meat for the camp, were fired on at a point on the Ohio below their camp. This act betokened a state of hostile feeling among the Indians. It being deemed necessary to select a commander, Captain Michael Cresap was chosen, who had acquired a wide reputation as a warrior during the previous year, and who was known to be then on the Ohio above with a party. They had purposed attacking a Shawnee town located on the Scioto River at a place called Horsehead Bottom, but Cresap opposed it, on the ground that, although appearances on the part of the Indians were very suspicious, there was no open war, and that, being yet early in the spring, it was most prudent to await further developments. This advice was followed, and the whole party accompanied

him up the river to Wheeling,<sup>1</sup> at which place they established their headquarters. The numbers of the armed explorers were quickly augmented by the surrounding settlers, a fort was erected, and, after some negotiations with the commander at Pittsburg, acting under the authority of Lord Dunmore, the existence of a state of war was publicly announced.

This period of Indian history requires a moment's further attention, as a war with the Shawnees, Delawares, and Mingoes was on the point of commencing. A foul deed was committed a few days subsequently by some reckless and unprincipled traders, or vandal scouts, who, according to Colonel Sparks, unknown to Cresap, stole on Logan's lodge and cruelly murdered his family. This crime introduced on the scene of action the celebrated chieftain Logan, whose misfortunes have excited wide-spread sympathy, and whose simple eloquence has electrified the world.

Logan was born at Shamokin, on the Susquehanna, a spot whose precincts have been hallowed by the good deeds of the benevolent Count Zinzendorf and his followers, who there founded the mission of Bethlehem.<sup>2</sup> Logan's father, whose name was Shikelimo, was an Iroquois, of the Cayuga tribe. Logan himself was a tall, active man, of noble appearance and humane sentiments, and was kind and peaceful in disposition and character. The murder of his family and his relations on the Ohio, in 1774, was not the result of the expedition from Virginia which has just been described, but was attributable to the inordinate desire for acquisition on the one hand, and the feeling of exasperation on the other, which have so long characterized the remote sections of the frontiers. The event occurred two days after the final decision at Wheeling, and at a time when uncommonly great excitement existed. Two canoes from the west bank of the Ohio stopped at a trader's station at the mouth of Yellow River, some twenty miles below Wheeling. There is no evidence that the armed frontiersmen at the station knew that either Logan's wife or sister, or any relative of his, was among the number of these trading visitors, and the atrocious act must be regarded as a result of the then prevalent and rancorous hatred of the Indian race. The victims were shot down in their canoes while crossing the Ohio, not because they were obnoxious as individuals, not because they were of the family of Logan, but simply because they were Indians. Such is the generally acknowledged version of this base transaction. But Colonel Sparks, while exonerating Cresap from complicity in this foul deed, either personally or through any orders or permission given to his men, reveals an entirely new feature in the case. No member of Logan's family was in the two canoes which stopped at Baker's Bottom, but they were killed in Logan's own lodge, on Mingo Bottom, during his absence on a hunting excursion. The cowardly deed was done by some of Cresap's men who had stolen away from his camp contrary to his wishes while he was journeying from Wheeling to Pittsburg, and against his express orders, which were to

<sup>1</sup> This Indian (Delaware) name is a derivative from *wcel*, a human head, and *ing*, a place,—there being a tradition that the Indians had fixed a human head on a pole at this place.

<sup>2</sup> Logan had married a Shawnee wife, spoke that language, lived with the tribe, and was frequently regarded as a Shawnee.

respect Logan's residence and not to attack it. Not only was this so, but when Cresap heard the firing he immediately ran in the direction whence the sounds proceeded, and interposed his authority to stop the massacre. There is another misstatement which requires correction. The pusillanimous attack on the canoes at Yellow Creek was not committed by the men of Cresap's command, then on the Ohio, far less by Cresap himself, or by his orders. On the contrary, not only was Cresap a brave and worthy man, distinguished for his services in the Indian wars of that period, as well as during the Revolution, which succeeded it, but he was also a friend of Logan, and, according to George Rogers Clarke, opposed an attack on Logan's house at Mingo Bottom.

The force congregated at Wheeling soon became engaged in a struggle with the Indians. A day or two after their arrival at that place, some canoes containing Indians were discovered descending the river under shelter of the island. They were pursued for fifteen miles, when a battle ensued, in which a few men were killed and wounded on each side. Hostilities having thus commenced, the entire country soon swarmed with armed Indians, and the settlers, to insure their own safety, were compelled to huddle together in block-houses.

An express was despatched to Governor Dunmore, at Williamsburg, with information as to the position of affairs on the frontiers. The legislature being then in session, measures were at once adopted for repelling the Indians. Early in the month of June a force of four hundred men, collected in Eastern Virginia, reached Wheeling, whence they descended the river to the Indian town of Wappatomica, but without effecting anything, as the town was deserted and the Indians had fled. In this expedition the men suffered much for want of food. After various manœuvres and much countermarching, during which several Indian towns were burned and a few men killed, Indian subtlety proving more than a match for English discipline and rash confidence, the army returned to Wheeling and was disbanded.

A more formidable expedition, however, was organized at the seat of the Virginia government, of which Governor Dunmore announced his determination to assume the command. By the 1st of September, 1774, a force numbering from one thousand to twelve hundred men was organized, under the immediate command of Colonel Andrew Lewis. After marching nineteen days through the wilderness, Lewis reached Point Pleasant, at the mouth of the Great Kanawha, where he was to have been joined by Dunmore, but instead thereof he received despatches from him changing the plan of operations and directing him to proceed to the Scioto River. At daybreak on the 10th of October, while preparing to comply with this order, his camp was suddenly attacked by a body of one thousand Shawnees and their allies, led on by the Shawnee chief Monusk, or Cornstalk, and a fiercely-contested battle ensued. The Indians exhibited great daring, rushing to the encounter with a boldness and fury which have seldom been equalled, and, as usual, accompanying their onslaught with tremendous noise and shouting.

The battle continued with unabated fury until one o'clock in the afternoon, the Indians slowly retreating from tree to tree, while the gigantic Cornstalk encouraged

them with the words, "Be strong! be strong!" The peculiarity of the ground—it being the point of junction of two rivers—made each retreat of the enemy advantageous to the Virginians, because, as the Indian line extended from river to river, forming the base of an equilateral triangle, it was lengthened, and consequently weakened. The belligerents rested within rifle-shot of each other, and kept up a desultory fire till sunset.

Colonels Charles Lewis and Fleming were killed, and the troops were obliged to give ground for a time, but, a reinforcement being ordered up, the Indians were in turn compelled to fall back, and under cover of darkness fled across the river. The Indians engaged were Shawnees, Delawares, Wyandots, and Mingoos.<sup>1</sup> Among the leaders of the latter was Tah-ga-yu-ta, or Logan. The Virginians acknowledge a loss of one hundred and fifty men, and the Indians are estimated to have lost two hundred warriors. Indian history nowhere records a more obstinately contested battle. Neither party could fairly claim the victory. The loss of the Virginians would have been much greater had they not adopted the tactics of the natives, darting from tree to tree with the spring of a cougar, and taking aim with the precision of woodsmen.

Having properly interred the dead, and erected and garrisoned a temporary fort, Lewis moved forward to the Scioto, but in the mean time Lord Dunmore had reached that stream by way of Pittsburg, and had established a camp about seven miles southeast of Circleville, which he called Charlotte, at the mouth of a small stream known as the Sippi.<sup>2</sup> At this camp the Indians were collected, and a treaty of amity was concluded, by which the Shawnees agreed to deliver up their prisoners without reserve, to restore all horses and other property which they had carried off, to hunt no more on the Kentucky side of the Ohio, to molest no boats passing on the river, to regulate their trade by the king's instructions, and to deliver up hostages. Colonel Lewis was greatly irritated because Dunmore would not allow him to crush the enemy within his grasp, and the Virginians, eager for revenge, almost mutinied.

In the council Cornstalk spoke with a manly tone and demeanor which excited remark, adroitly charging upon the whites the outbreak of the war, especially citing the murder of the family of Logan. All the tribes which had been engaged in the battle were there represented, except the Mingoos. The latter being under the influence of Logan, who had entered into this war with the most revengeful feelings, were restrained by him from coming forward. Lord Dunmore sent for the chief, but he declined attending, and transmitted to him this speech, which has given to his name a literary immortality :

"I appeal to any white man to say if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry, and I gave him not meat; if ever he came cold or naked, and I gave him not clothing. During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained in his tent, an advocate for peace; nay, such was my love for the whites, that those of my own

<sup>1</sup> The Iroquois of the Ohio were thus named.

<sup>2</sup> *Sippi* is the Shawnee name for a creek.

country pointed at me as they passed by, and said, 'Logan is the friend of white men!' I had even thought to live with you, but for the injuries of one man. Colonel Cresap, the last spring, in cold blood and unprovoked, cut off all the relations of Logan, not even sparing my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any human creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it—I have killed many—I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country, I rejoice at the beams of peace; but do not harbor the thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one."

Logan had ever been the friend of the white man, but on the perpetration of the cruel deed the spirits of his kindred clamored for vengeance. He went upon the war-path with a few followers, and added scalp to scalp until the number was thirteen,—equalling that of the Indian victims. "Now," said the chief, "I am satisfied for the loss of my relations, and will sit still."

The subjugation of the Indians being at length effected, from this period we may trace the progress of the British towards a monopoly of the Indian trade, which tremendous engine of power was destined ultimately to operate in elevating or depressing the tribes, in accordance with the will of those who directed its movements. The trade with the Indians was a boon at which commerce clutched with an eager hand. To secure the coveted prize no hardship was considered too severe, no labor too onerous; dangers and difficulties were laughed at, and life itself was regarded as of little value. The Indians were incited to new exertions in pursuing the chase, little heeding that they were destroying their main resource for the sustenance of life, for when the fur-bearing animals were annihilated their lands became in a great measure valueless to them. In the hands of the English, Quebec, Montreal, Detroit, Michilimackinac, and the Mississippi towns not only equalled their progress under the French, but became still greater centres of trade. Though New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston contributed their capital to the extension of this trade, the above-named original interior towns of the traders still held their prominent position. The tribes scattered over the continent felt severely the effects of this ever-extending empire of trade; they were literally driven from the face of the earth by the rabid and uncontrolled pursuit of wealth through the medium of the fur-trade, which so long promised riches to those who engaged in it.

Sir William Johnson, who had been during forty years the Mæcenæ of the Indians, and who knew the disastrous effects which unlicensed trade would have on Indian society, early saw the importance of so systematizing and controlling it that it might become an element not only of power but of prosperity to the colonies and to the Indians. His letters and memoirs on this subject furnish abundant proof of his comprehensive views and of his integrity of character. Indeed, his activity during his entire management of Indian affairs gave evidence that he shrank from no duty. In 1761 he visited Detroit for the purpose of placing matters there on a proper basis, and his agents had for years traversed the Ohio, the Scioto, the Maumee, and

other districts of the West, collecting information, and transmitting to him the details of every occurrence. To him the British government owed a heavy debt of gratitude.

Nothing was more important in the readjustment of Indian affairs, and for securing their good will, than a proper organization of the fur-trade. Prior to the conquest of Canada, the English traders had been principally confined to the sources of the streams flowing into the Atlantic, but after this era their operations were extended indefinitely west and north. Under the French authority a variety of regulations and limitations had been enforced, extraordinary privileges and monopolies of particular districts having been specially granted. Something of the same kind was attempted at the commencement of the English domination after the fall of Canada, the power of granting licenses to trade on the frontiers having been at first exercised by the commanding officers of posts. From the time of the capture of Quebec the Indian trade had been in a state of confusion, and before the final surrender of the remote districts the Indians had been prevented from obtaining their regular supplies of goods, wares, and merchandise, which had now become necessary to their comfort. They had long previously lost their old arts, and had become familiarized to the use of metallic cooking-vessels, woollens, arms, and ammunition.

The several memoirs and letters which Sir William Johnson, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, addressed to the Lords of Trade on the subject before referred to, are good indications of the importance he attached to the correction of irregularities in the fur-trade, of his care in placing before the government the elements on which an equitable system could be established, and of his solicitude for its early formation. When the Canadas were added to the area of his jurisdiction it required some time to establish on a proper footing the new relations with all the distant tribes which the occasion required. His great object was to secure political influence with the tribes, and for this purpose he had personally visited Detroit, Oswego, and Niagara. He kept in pay three deputies, who traversed a great part of the West, reporting to him the result of their observations and inquiries; and in the New York publications now before us there is abundant evidence that he omitted no occasion of keeping the government advised concerning the true position of Indian affairs. It was not until after the return of the successful armies of Bradstreet and Bonquet, in the autumn of 1764, that an Englishman could with any safety carry goods into the newly-conquered districts. The very appellation "English trader" was detested by the Northern tribes, and instances occurred where Englishmen were obliged to conduct their operations in the names of the Canadian guides and interpreters in their employ. Even the mere uniform of an English officer or soldier was loathed by them. "Why," said Pontiac, in 1763, "do you suffer those dogs in red clothing to remain on your land?"

We are told that trade at Michilimackinac began in 1766. In 1765, Alexander Henry, who had escaped the massacre at Michilimackinac, obtained a license granting him the monopoly of the trade on Lake Superior, and after one year's sojourn there returned, bringing with him one hundred and fifty packs of beaver, each weighing

one hundred pounds, besides other furs. Captain Jonathan Carver,<sup>1</sup> on his arrival there in 1766, found this place to be the great centre of the English trade. At first it was limited to Chegoimegon and Comenistequoia, on Lake Superior, until Thomas Curry, obtaining guides and interpreters, penetrated as far as Fort Bourbon, on the Saskatchewan, and returned the following year with his canoes so amply filled with fine furs that he was enabled to retire from the business. James Finley followed his track the next year to Nipawee, reaping equal profits, and was succeeded in the enterprise by Joseph Frobisher. The way being thus opened, others braved the attendant dangers and hardships, and ardently pursued the business. Thus was inaugurated the Northwest fur-trade, which during half a century proved of more real value than any gold-mines. It is no marvel that every toil was encountered in its pursuit, and health, and often life itself, freely sacrificed to it.

The fur-trade in the West also vigorously commenced about this period. It had been carried on, by means of pack-horses, across the Alleghanies, from Philadelphia and Baltimore to Fort Pitt, from the period of its capture; but until after the return of the expedition of Bouquet, in 1764, the territory beyond the Ohio could not be penetrated without incurring the greatest risks. At length, under the treaty of Versailles, British authority was established on the Mississippi, and in September, 1765, Captain Sterling left Fort Pitt for the Illinois, with one hundred men of the Forty-Second Regiment, in boats, and relieved the French garrison of Fort Chartres. The trading-posts of Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Vincennes, and Peoria were thus brought within the defined limits for trading operations. The following year Matthew Clarkson opened a trading station at Fort Chartres under the auspices of a mercantile house in Philadelphia.

A line of British posts at this period extended from Fort Chartres, in Illinois, by way of Pittsburg, to Niagara, Oswego, and Fort Stanwix, and thence, pursuing the line of trade, up the lake to Detroit and Michilimackinac. The tribes, being thus restrained, made no further efforts to originate hostile combinations. They had lost many men in the war which began in 1755; they had been foiled in all their schemes, from South Carolina to the Straits of Michigan; and, although they had evinced great energy and activity under the direction of Pontiac, their efforts invariably

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<sup>1</sup> Captain Jonathan Carver, of Connecticut, who had commanded a company of provincials in the French war in 1763, undertook the exploration of the territory on the borders of Lake Superior and the country of the Sioux beyond it. Up to the time of his return to Boston, in October, 1768, during which period he had travelled nearly seven thousand miles, he had explored the bays and rivers opening into the great lake, and had also obtained accounts of the great river Oregon, which flows into the Pacific. To make these discoveries known, as well as the richness of the copper-mines of the Northwest, and to claim a reward for his services, also to recommend English settlements on the Western shores of the continent, and to propose opening by aid of lakes and rivers a passage across the continent as the best route for communicating with China and the East Indies,—a feat accomplished a century later by opening the Pacific Railroad,—Carver went to England, where, disappointed in his efforts for compensation, and reduced to extreme destitution, he ended his days in 1780. His travels were published in 1778, and the commiseration awakened by the story of his sufferings, made known to the public by Dr. Lettsom, led to the establishment in London of the "Literary Fund," a benevolent institution for the relief of poor authors.

resulted in defeat. Such evidences of the possession of power on the part of the British were also developed as to prove to them that the latter, though slow in action and sometimes erring in their movements, had perseverance, energy, and ability sufficient to baffle all their efforts. The Indians had likewise suffered greatly within a few years in the cessation of trade, which had been necessarily interrupted.

Having conquered Canada, one of the first things necessary for the management of Indian affairs by Great Britain was to ascertain the names and numerical strength of the Indian tribes that had been transferred to her jurisdiction, which task was undertaken by Sir William Johnson, the British Superintendent of Indian Affairs. As a central point he began with the population of the Iroquois, who were then, and had long been, the objects of his special care. In a census table prepared by him in 1763 for the Lords of Trade, he represents the number of men capable of bearing arms among the Mohawks at 160, the Oneidas at 250, the Onondagas at 150, the Cayugas at 200, the Senecas at 1050, and the Tuscaroras at 140. He places the outlying band of Oswegatchies (Ogdensburg) at 80, and the Caughnawagas (St. Regis) at 300; making a total of 2330 warriors, who (according to the usual rules of computation) would represent an aggregate population of 11,650 souls. He computes that of Conoys, Tuteloes, Saponeys, Nanticokes, and other conquered and dismembered tribes then living in the Iroquois country, there were 200 men, or 1000 souls.

After leaving the area of New York, there is less reliance to be placed on the census, which was made up, not from actual enumeration, but from the reports of persons journeying among or trading with the tribes, and from the statements of parties supposed to be best informed on the subject. Sir William Johnson estimates the Adirondacks at 150 men, or 750 souls; the Abenakis at 100 men, or 500 souls; and the various tribes of Hurons, or Wyandots, of Canada, at 240 men, representing a population of 1200 souls. This enumeration would allow to the Indians of Canada below Lake Ontario, and to the Iroquois of New York, including the nations conquered by them and residing among them, 2820 fighting-men, or 14,100 souls, a total which is believed to be a little above the actual numbers.

But if the population of the region with which Sir William was least acquainted, namely, the lower St. Lawrence Valley, was sometimes overestimated by his informants, that of the Great West, beyond the Alleghanics and along the upper lakes, if we except errors of synonymes, is believed to have been returned with excellent judgment.

The attempt to estimate the numerical force of the Pontiac confederacy during that year must be considered to have been made under great disadvantages. Johnson had himself visited Detroit, the seat of this confederacy, in 1761, and gathered the elements of his estimates from persons resident there.

The Wyandots, or Hurons, of Michigan, are rated at 250 men, or 1250 souls; the Ottawas, dispersed in various localities, at 700 men, or 3500 souls; the Chipewas, among whom are included the Mississagies of the region of Detroit, at 320 men; and those of Michilimackinac at 400 men, together making an aggregate of

8350. The Pottawatomies of Detroit are set down as comprising 150 warriors, and those of St. Joseph 200, both conjoined representing a population of 1750 persons.

In the valley of the Ohio, and the region of country immediately west of it, the means for making an enumeration were more ample and reliable.

The Shawnees are estimated, with apparently good judgment, at 300 men, or 1500 souls; and the Delawares, with nearly the same probable accuracy, at 3000 persons, which would give them 600 fighting-men.

The Miamis of the Wabash Valley, under their Iroquois name of Twightwees, are numbered at 230 men, the Piankeshaws at 100 men, and the Weas at 200 men, making 2650 souls. In the same general district there are enumerated 180 Kickapoos and 90 Mascoutins, a tribe of prairie Indians who appear in all the earliest estimates, but who have since lost that designation. The name would indicate that they were Algonkins. These add to the estimate 1350 persons.

In the region of Green Bay, comprising the present area of Wisconsin, the Menomonies are computed at 110 men, or 550 souls. This estimate is duplicated under their French synonyme of Folsavoins. But, irrespective of this mistake, the number of Menomonies at that time would not seem to be overrated at 1100 souls. The Winnebagoes, called by the French Puans, are rated at 360 men, or an aggregate of 1750 individuals, which is not excessive. The Sanks are enumerated as having 300 fighting-men, or a population of 1500 souls, a probable excess; and the Outagamies, or Foxes, 320 warriors, or 1600 souls. These two tribes had united their fortunes after their unsuccessful attack, in 1712, on the fort of Detroit, which act procured them the hatred of the French.

The aggregate of these enumerations and estimates of the Western and Northern tribes reaches 24,050 individuals. Add to this the 14,100 of the Eastern or home table of Sir William's superintendency, and there is presented a gross population of 38,150 souls. This does not include the Southern tribes, and those residing on the west banks of the Mississippi, both of which groups of tribes were beyond his jurisdiction, and also outside of the limits of the territory ceded by the treaty of Versailles, concluded February 10, 1763.

Means for testing this estimate were furnished by the respective expeditions of Bradstreet and Bouquet in 1764. The estimate of the former, as given by Major Mante, related only to the tribes assembled at, or living within, a circle of five or six days' march from his camp. This computation furnished data for an aboriginal population of some 9500 persons, of which number 1930 are set down as warriors.

The statistics of the Indian population collected by Colonel Bouquet, and published at Philadelphia in 1766, proceed to the other extreme. Instead of confining the enumeration to tribes which were visited, contiguous, or known, Bouquet not only extended it to tribes residing beyond the region and outside of the limits of the British territory, but also frequently, under various synonymes, duplicated or triplicated the same tribes.

After discarding these redundancies, limiting the estimate of the tribes to the ratio of that of Sir William, and correcting the evident confusion existing between

the number of fighting-men and the gross population of the tribes, as in the note,<sup>1</sup> the table of Bouquet does not exhibit, on the same area, a great variance from the corresponding parts of the superintendent's list. He does not show that the entire Indian force in the West residing east of the Mississippi River numbered over 30,950 souls, or 6210 fighting-men. To these he has added 11,350 Southern Indians, comprising the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, and the small tribes of the Catawbias and Natchez, who are estimated at 2250 warriors. As if to evidence the peril from which he had escaped, or to show the force that could be brought against the British frontiers, the Sioux, Kansas, and wild prairie tribes of Upper Louisiana, west of the Mississippi, are introduced into the estimates. Thus, the entire number of fighting-men in his estimates is set down at 56,500, which, by the data he furnishes, would indicate a gross population of 283,000 souls,—not a very extravagant computation.

<sup>1</sup> Table of comparisons between Colonel Bouquet and Sir William Johnson.

	BOUQUET.	JOHNSON.	
		Warriors.	Men, etc.
Nipissing.....	400 } 300 }	300	1500
Algonkins.....	300 }		
Wyandots.....	300	300	1500
Chippewas.....	5000	1000	5000
Ottawas.....	900	900	4500
Mississagies.....	2000	400	2000
Pottawatomies.....	350 men.	350	1750
Puans.....	750	150	750
Mascoutins.....	500	100	500
Sauks.....	400	150	750
Miamis.....	350 men.	350	1750
Delawares.....	600 "	600	3000
Shawnees.....	500 "	500	2500
Kickapoos.....	300 "	300	1500
Weas.....	400	400	2000
Piankeshaws.....	250	250	1250
Kaskaskias.....	600	120	600
Catawbias.....	150	100	500
Cherokees.....	2500 souls.	500	2500
Chickasaws.....	750 men.	750	3750
Natchez.....	150 "	100	500
Choctaws.....	4500 souls.	900	4500

## PERIOD V.

### THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

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#### CHAPTER I.

##### STATE OF THE INDIAN TRIBES—BRANT—ACTION OF CONGRESS—INVASION OF CANADA, AND DEFEAT AT THE CEDARS.

OHIO was the first of those talismanic names which, dating back as early as 1750, in the days of Franklin and Washington, influenced the spread of the American population over the entire West. But the country so attractive to a civilized people was in possession of fierce, savage tribes, who flitted through the wilderness like the genii of Arabic fable, acknowledging neither the laws of God nor those of man. England was the first to teach to such of these Western tribes as hovered around her colonies the principles of industry, arts, and letters, and the incalculable advantages of the habits of civilization over barbarism. She was the first, also, by the aid of her fleets and armies, to bring these savage hordes to effectual terms, and to make them aware that the plough was superior to the tomahawk. She exercised supervision over a wide and exposed frontier through the medium of lines of forts and agencies, and re-established on better principles the fur-trade, that powerful stimulus to energetic action among the Indians. But after effecting this object by a lavish expenditure of blood and treasure, and after having compelled the savages to acknowledge the British sway, this power would seem to have been acquired by Britain only that it might be wielded against the Americans; for, after controlling this Indian influence during the brief period of fifteen years, it was directed against the colonies by the mother-country, and proved, if not one of the most potent, at least one of the most inhuman auxiliaries of a despotic government in its efforts to coerce and crush a brave and liberty-loving people.

To ascertain the precise strength of this Indian force had been an object with the British government after the conquest of Canada, and it also became a point of much moment to the colonies on the breaking out of the Revolution. The results of the efforts made by the British authorities to determine their numbers have just been stated. The first reliable estimates obtained by the colonies were made under the auspices of the War Department while the government was located at Philadelphia. The elements of the following schedule are extant in the handwriting of Mr. Madison :

FORCE OF THE INDIAN NATIONS ON THE OCCURRENCE OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

I. IROQUOIS.

Tribes.	Warriors.	Gross Pop.	Locality.
Mohawks.....	100	500	Mohawk Valley.
Oneidas and Tuscaroras.....	400	2000	Oneida County, New York.
Onondagas.....	230	1150	Onondaga Castle, etc., New York.
Cayugas.....	220	1100	Cayuga Lake, etc., " "
Senecas.....	650	3250	Seneca Lake to Niagara, " "
	<u>1600</u>	<u>8000</u>	

II. IROQUOIS OF THE WEST.

Wyandots.....	180	900	Detroit and Sandusky.
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III. ALGONKINS.

Ottawas.....	450	2,250	Miami River to Michilimackinac.
Chippewas.....	5,000	25,000	Lakes Huron, Michigan, and Superior.
Mississagies.....	250	1,250	North of the lakes.
Pottawatomies.....	450	2,250	Detroit, St. Joseph's, and Wabash.
Miamis.....	300	1,500	St. Joseph's of Miami, etc.
Piankeshaws, Weas, under the name of } Musketoons, etc.	800	4,000	Wabash River, etc.
Menomonies.....	2,000	10,000	West of Lake Michigan, etc.
Shawnees.....	300	1,500	Ohio, etc., have been exceedingly active.
Delawares, } Munsees }	600	3,000	Muskingum, etc.
	<u>10,150</u>	<u>50,750</u>	

IV. DAKOTAS.

Sioux.....	500	2500	Upper Mississippi.
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V. APPALACHIANS.

			Authorities.
Cherokees.....	500	2,500	Hutchins, vol. iii. p. 555.
Chickasaws.....	150	750	" " "
Choctaws.....	900	4,500	Smith, " "
Catawbas.....	150	750	Hutchins, " "
Natchez.....	150	750	" " "
Muscogees {	600	3,000	" " "
Alabamas.....			
Cowetas.....	700	3,500	" " "
	<u>3150</u>	<u>15,750</u>	

RECAPITULATION.

	Warriors.	Gross Population.
1. Iroquois of New York.....	1,600	8,000
2. Iroquois of the West.....	180	900
3. Algonkins.....	10,150	50,750
4. Dakotas.....	500	2,500
5. Appalachians, Southern tribes.....	3,150	15,750
	<u>15,580</u>	<u>77,900</u>

It is evident from scanning these details that access had been obtained to persons conversant with the locations and population of the Indian tribes. Compared with the more general estimates of Bouquet, made in 1764, they present a commendable approach to accuracy. If the strength of some tribes is overrated, that of others is correspondingly underrated, leaving the average of the Indian force that could by any probability be brought into the field very near the true standard. The Sioux, for instance, might with a much nearer approach to accuracy have been rated at 10,000, but there was no probability that more than 500 warriors could, under the most favorable circumstances, be brought into action. In fact, it is believed that in those days not a man of that stock had ever drawn a bow against the whites, unless it be possible that stray warriors of their ethnological connection the Winnebagoes had wandered to Wyoming or Stanwix. The Iroquois Six Nations are enumerated as having 350 warriors less than they are rated in the estimate of Sir William Johnson, made in 1763; but the later estimate probably a little underrates their actual decline in thirteen years under the combined influence of trade and alcohol. The Chippewas are overestimated at 5000 men, for the report covers only a limited area of their lands, without tracing their scattered bands over a very wide and remote field. The enumeration of the Menomonies, who occupied the present area of Wisconsin, is also, under any circumstances, in excess; but this very nomadic people were in the habit of hunting over an extended territory on the upper Mississippi, where they were accompanied by their intimate associates the Sauks, who have no place in the estimate. The Foxes, the Kickapoos, and their allies the Mascoutins, the aggregate population of which three tribes is computed at 2950 in Johnson's tables, are also entirely left out in this estimate, so that what was overrated on the one hand was, with a considerable approach to accuracy, counterbalanced on the other. Nor is it probable, as Mr. Madison has stated in a note attached to the estimate, that his aggregate of 12,430 warriors was above the truth, or that this number of Indians was employed in the contest. It has been estimated that the number of fighting Indians employed by Great Britain during the Revolutionary War was 770.

Congress, after its primary organization, placed the subject of the Indian intercourse in the hands of commissioners, under the direction of the Secretary of War. The trust was an arduous one, perpetually fluctuating in its aspects, and requiring great knowledge of the Indian character, as well as an accurate conception of the geographical features and natural resources of the country. It was evident from the first that the Six Nations would side with the mother-country, from whom it was earnestly desired to detach them, and to persuade them to remain neuter in the contest. This was the policy prescribed by Washington, and was urged upon them by Rev. Samuel Kirkland, who resided among the Oneidas. He was charged personally by the President to impress upon them the importance of pursuing a neutral line of policy; for then, no matter which party proved triumphant, the Indian interests would not receive injury; but if they were involved in the struggle, their interests would be likely to suffer. This reasoning prevailed with the Oneidas and

Christian Indians under the energetic and popular chief Skenandoah. A portion of the Tuscaroras also sided with the Americans.

The ancient tribe of Mohicans of the Housatonic, whose history has been impressed upon popular memory by their long residence at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, had been for a long period classed among the followers of the gospel, but, as the martial spirit of the era aroused all their warrior feelings, they enlisted themselves on the side of the colonies, and furnished an efficient company of spies and flankers for the American army. About fifty of them were encamped at Watertown during the siege of Boston.

Directing the view to the West, there was but little encouragement in the prospect. The Delawares, who had finally abandoned Central Pennsylvania in 1749, influenced thereto partly by annoyance at the continued encroachments of the settlers, but more by fear of the Iroquois tomahawk, were arrayed in opposition to the colonies.

The Shawnees, who claim a remote Southern origin, appear to have divided in their primary emigration to the North, a part of the tribe pursuing the route within the range of the Alleghanies to the territory of the Lenni Lenape, or Delawares, directly north, and a part descending the Kanawha to the Ohio Valley, whence they ascended the Scioto River to Chillicothe, which became their Western centre. Others located themselves a little below the influx of the Wabash, at a spot now called Shawneetown, Illinois.

There is a circumstance of much interest connected with the history of this tribe. According to the account of the Mohican chief Metoxon, that tribe was originally connected with the Delawares, but, being a restless and quarrelsome people, had involved themselves in inextricable troubles while in the South, and, in the chief's language, had returned to sit again between the feet of their grandfather.

Those of the tribe who had reached their ethnological affiliated relatives the Delawares had either preceded the latter, or accompanied them, across the Alleghanies.

That portion of the Senecas, and of other tribes of the Iroquois, who had emigrated West, or who possibly held a footing there from remote times, were called Mingoes.<sup>1</sup> They were regarded as generally taking part with the Western Indians in their hostilities. When Washington visited their chief Tanacharisson, at Logstown, in 1753, this sachem expressed himself as being friendly to the Virginians, and it is believed that this particular branch of them were not included among those who formed the ambuscade against General Braddock three years subsequently.

Of the Chippewas, Ottawas, Mississagies, and other Algonkin nations embraced in the preceding estimate, it is not known or believed that any of them were friendly to the American cause. They had been firm friends of the French, but after the offence which has been mentioned they transferred their allegiance to the British. It requires to be noticed, however, that being more remote from the scene of conflict

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Heckewelder informs us that this term is derived from Mengwe, the Delaware name for the Six Nations, and that the Dutch term Maaqua is derived from the same source.—Phil. Trans., vol. i., *Hist. Ind.*

than any other tribe, if we except the Mississagies of Canada, there was only one point from which they could have been employed against the Americans, viz., from the central location of Fort Niagara, which was officially visited by the Western tribes, even from Michilimackinac and Lake Superior. Sir William Johnson died in 1774, about the time of the occurrence of the tea riot in Boston. The title and office descended to his son John, whose mansion at Johnstown having been taken in January, 1776, by a body of New York militia under Generals Schuyler and Herkimer, and himself placed on his parole, he fled to Canada, carrying with him the Mohawk tribe. Subsequently Fort Niagara became the seat of the royal influence, where marauding, plundering, and scalping parties were organized, to use the expressive epithet of Sir John's father, "painted and feathered" for war.

The seven hundred and seventy tomahawks and the like number of scalping-knives which the British Indians could wield in this war with the colonies were actively employed on the frontier settlers of New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. The savages were incited to greater activity in their bloody deeds by rewards paid for the scalps of the unfortunate victims. For a handful of energetic but undisciplined militia to oppose a powerful nation on the seaboard, possessing as she did every means of offence that ships and armies could furnish, was a great and hazardous undertaking, but to encounter the Indians at the same time on the frontiers required a skilful policy. There was a twofold enemy to cope with. It had occupied England, with all her influence and political tact, backed by all her means, a period of fifteen years to wean the affections of the tribes from the French and to attach them to the British crown. All this the colonies now attempted to undo. The Indians were told that the colonies had taken up the mace, and had begun to wield the sovereignty against the mother country; that it was a contest of son against father. By the British party it was represented that the Americans were weak in numbers, as well as impoverished in finances, and that their generals and leaders were destined to pay the forfeit of their rebellion on the gallows. The Indian, being no casuist, no statesman, no judge of the justice or of the rights of nations, thought that the oldest, the strongest, and the wisest should prevail, and therefore he resolved to fight on the side of Britain. Fifteen years had elapsed after the fall of Canada before the English were enabled to secure the friendship of the Indians and to cement their interests; it was consequently impossible to effect a sudden rupture between them. They neither understood nor appreciated the principles involved in the contest, which was represented to them, by those whose interest it was to do so, as a family quarrel between a father and a son; and, so far as we can collate their expressed opinions, they contended that the father was in the right. But, whether in the right or in the wrong, they believed the British to be the stronger, the wealthier, and the most willing and able to benefit them. The Americans, it was urged, would be very likely to trench upon their rights by locating themselves upon their lands, though the Indians had need of but little for the purpose of cultivation, which they regarded as one of the heresies of civilization. They merely required the domain that on it might be raised deer, bears, and beaver, which animals the migrations from the

Atlantic shores, already beginning to cross the Alleghanies, would drive away. They lived on the flesh of these animals, and by the sale of the skins and furs they procured all else that was necessary to their subsistence. This was a popular strain, on which their speakers could dilate. They had frequently spoken to Warrahiagey on the subject, and opposed the concessions of lands on the banks of the rivers flowing into the Atlantic, made to the colonists by the British governors. They asserted that these patented lands were theirs, and had never been sold. It was an old theme, which had now been invested with renewed vitality.

To conciliate the tribes, therefore, became the cherished policy of the revolted colonies. The Americans represented to them that they were not parties to the contest, and that no matter who succeeded they could only be subordinates. They were, therefore, counselled to neutrality, which, however, required a stretch of ratiocination beyond their ability. The Indian character is formed by war, war is the high-road to honor and renown, and even those tribes which had professed their belief in the truths of Christianity could not be wholly restrained from taking up the tomahawk.

The Mohicans of Stockbridge, as we have said, ranged themselves on the side of the Americans, and performed good service as scouts throughout the contest. The Oneidas did the same. The voice of the popular chief Skenandoah was heard in favor of the rising colonies, and the watchful attention and quick eye of Attatea, known as Colonel Louis, carefully noted the approach of hostile footsteps during the great struggle of 1777, and gave every day the most reliable information of the march and position of the enemy. The residue of the Six Nations acted the part of fierce foes along the frontiers. The Shawnees and Delawares were also cruel enemies. Their fealty to the British cause, it was asserted, was further cemented by a promise that their allies would stand by them and would never consent to a peace which did not make the Ohio River the boundary of the colonies.

Fortunately for the cause of humanity, the great battles of the Revolution were fought on the open plains and cultivated parts of the country, which, being denuded of forests, were unfavorable to the employment of Indian auxiliaries. The battles of Concord and Bunker Hill, Guilford, Long Island, White Plains, Saratoga, Monmouth, Trenton, Camden, King's Mountain, the Cowpens, Brandywine, Germantown, and Yorktown, were the great features of the conflict. But wherever a detached column was marched through forests, or occupied an isolated fort, the war-cry resounded, and the details of the war give evidence that there were other and more dreaded enemies to be encountered than the sword and the bayonet, the cannon and the bomb.

The superior military skill and success of the Iroquois gave them a prominent position in Indian warfare. At the period of the Revolution, circumstances had placed them under the sway of the noted and energetic chief Thayendanagea, more familiarly known as Joseph Brant. We have the speculations of an ingenious and ready writer, who labors to prove that Brant was by the regular line of descent a Mohawk chieftain. It is, however, certain that he was not the son of a chief, and

by the Iroquois laws of descent he could not be a chief if the son of a chief, the right of inheritance being exclusively vested in the female line. Brant was, in fact, a self-made man, owing his position to his native energy, talents, and education. The Mohawks had lost their last and greatest sachem, Soiengarahta, called King Hendrick, in 1755, at the battle of Lake George. Little Abraham, who succeeded him in authority, was a man of excellent sense and fine talents, but possessed no reputation as a warrior. The institutions of the Iroquois were guarded by many rules and regulations prescribed by their councils and customs, but they were, nevertheless, of a democratic character, and under the sway of popular opinion recognized and rewarded great talent and bravery. In 1776 no one could compete with Brant in these qualifications. In addition to his natural physical and mental energy, he had been well educated in early life, could read fluently, and was a ready writer. Raised under the eye and the influence of Sir William Johnson, he never dreamed of questioning the fact that Great Britain was beyond all other nations powerful, strong, and wise, and must prevail. He crossed the ocean in February, 1776, and offered to the British Secretary, Germaine, the support of the Six Nations "to chastise the New England people."

In June, 1775, a petition was laid before the Continental Congress from settlers in Western Virginia, who, "fearing a rupture" with the Indians, desired that commissioners might attend a meeting of the Indians at Pittsburg on behalf of the colonies of Virginia and Pennsylvania. Congress at the same time made provision for the appointment of boards of commissioners to superintend Indian affairs in behalf of the colonies. It designated three Indian departments,—the Northern, Southern, and Middle; the first to embrace all the Six Nations and all the Indians northward of them; the second to include the Cherokees and all to the south of them; and the third to include all between the other two departments. These commissioners were empowered to treat with the Indians in the name and on behalf of the colonies, with the object of preserving peace and friendship with them, to seize and confine any of the agents of Great Britain found inciting them to acts of hostility, and also to expend moneys appropriated for their benefit. In the following year Congress passed resolutions to import suitable Indian goods to the amount of forty thousand pounds sterling, to regulate all details of trade with them, and that the Commissioners of Indian Affairs be directed to consider of proper plans in their respective departments for the residence of ministers and school-masters for the propagation of the gospel and the cultivation of the civil arts among the Indians.

In March, 1778, Congress resolved that General Washington be empowered, "if he thinks it prudent and proper," to employ four hundred Indians in the service of the United States, and at the same time Brigadier-General McIntosh was directed to assemble at Fort Pitt fifteen hundred Continental troops and militia, and "proceed without delay to destroy such towns of the hostile tribes as he in his discretion shall think will most effectually tend to chastise and terrify the savages, and to check their ravages on the frontiers." This latter resolution was prompted by the incursion into

Wyoming by "Senecas, Tories, and other banditti," and rumors that other similar expeditions were in contemplation.

During the invasion of Canada, in the spring of 1776, a body of three hundred and ninety Americans, under Colonel Bedell, of New Hampshire, occupied a small post at the "Cedars," a village on the north side of the St. Lawrence, fifteen miles above Montreal. Early in May a detachment from Detroit, under Captain Forster, of one hundred and forty Canadians and regulars, and five hundred Indians, under Brant, appeared before it, and in the absence of Bedell summoned Major Butterfield, its commander, to surrender. The fort and garrison were at once given up by the cowardly major. Meanwhile, Major Henry Sherburne, who had been sent to its relief, ignorant of its surrender, while approaching the fort fell into an ambuscade, and the entire party was either killed or captured.

As soon as General Arnold, upon whom the command in Canada devolved on the fall of Montgomery, heard of these disasters, he marched with seven hundred men to chastise the enemy and release the prisoners. Arriving at St. Annis, he received positive assurances from the British commander that if he persisted in his design of attacking him it would be out of his power to prevent the savages from putting their prisoners, four hundred and seventy-four in number, to death. Major Sherburne confirmed the statement that a massacre had already been agreed on. A cartel for an exchange of prisoners was signed. Congress refused to ratify this agreement coercing its officers by suspending the bloody Indian hatchet over their heads, except upon such terms as the British government would never assent to. The waters of oblivion were, however, allowed to flow over the transaction. The prisoners were finally released by General Carleton, and the hostages at Quebec were sent home on parole.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE JOHNSONS—ST. LEGER INVADES NEW YORK—FORT STANWIX—BATTLE OF ORISKANY.

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON died suddenly, from the effects of an attack of apoplexy, in the year 1774, at a time when reflecting minds deemed a speedy rupture between the colonies and the British crown inevitable. This gentleman had been forty years in rising to that position in Indian affairs which left him no rival or peer in America. During about twenty years of this period he had been the official head of the Indian department in America, being commissioned by the crown and acknowledged by all the commanding generals. Intimately acquainted with the mental characteristics, the wants, the wishes, and the fears of the Indians, he had, as it were, with one hand wielded the power of government in keeping them in subjection to the laws, and with the other exercised the duties of a Mentor in teaching them how to promote their own best interests. No man in the whole scope of our colonial history can be compared to him. He had a presentiment of his death, which occurred at a most critical period. Great Britain had lavished on him high honors, and he was held in the highest respect by the Indians.

Those who have investigated the proceedings and the character of Sir John Johnson, his son and successor, of Guy Johnson, his deputy, of Colonel Claus, and of the various subordinates who thenceforth controlled the direction of Indian affairs, have arrived at the conclusion that this important interest was managed in a bad way if their object was to serve the crown. The encouragement of murders and massacres was well calculated to arouse the deepest hostility of the colonists and to cement them in the closest bonds of unity against the oppressions of the British. Numbers of persons previously lukewarm in the cause were driven to take an active part in the contest by deeds of blood and Indian atrocity. The several conferences held in the office of the British Indian Department during the years 1775 and 1776 proved the incapacity of Sir William's successors to control great events. The Six Nations were as a body the friends of the British, and did not like to see their officials, in public councils, and by public letters to committees and corporations, palliating or denying acts which they had secretly approved and had stimulated them to perform. Guy Johnson, the Deputy Superintendent, and his subordinates, tampered with the authorities, and became involved in inextricable difficulties, evincing little discretion or devotion to the best interests of the Mohawks. The jarring elements of that period could not be pacified by duplicity, and Sir John fled with the Indians, first to Fort Stanwix, then to Oswego, and finally to Niagara, which became the active

head-quarters of the Indian superintendency, and the rendezvous for their marauding and scalping parties.

The colonial public was at this time in a furor of excitement, the people impelling their local governments to vigorous action. The error of the British government, from first to last, was its rigid adherence to its ideal rights of sovereignty, conceding nothing itself, but demanding from the colonies the most unqualified submission. It was ready to forgive and pardon, but never to redress grievances while possessing the power to coerce. The policy adopted at St. James's palace was carried out at Johnson Hall and at every intermediate point, the British maxim being that the weak must submit to the strong, and that might makes right. No sooner had the Mohawks, Tuscaroras, Onondagas, and Cayugas migrated with the fugitive Indian Department, and rallied with the powerful Senecas around their superintendent in Fort Niagara, than efforts were made to induce the Iroquois to attack the border settlements. During a conference with the Indians at Oswego, Guy Johnson had excited them to take up the hatchet against the Americans by inviting them to come and drink the blood of an American and feast on his roasted body. This expression, although but an Indian figure of speech for an invitation to a feast of an ordinary character, furnished a formidable weapon to the Revolutionists, who construed its meaning literally, and represented the deputy superintendent as a monster of cruelty in thus rousing these savages to action.

The first incursion of this kind was the expedition of Colonel Barry St. Leger against the inhabitants of the Mohawk Valley.

The year 1777 has been made ever memorable by the expedition of General Burgoyne, whose coming was heralded by a threat to march through the country and crush it at a blow. A fine and well-appointed army of ten thousand men, indeed, appeared to be sufficient of itself to make the people quail; but it was accompanied by hordes of the long-separated, but now reconciled, Algonkins and Iroquois, who ranged over the country not as auxiliaries on the field of battle, but to destroy the quiet of domestic life by their devastations, and to chill the heart's blood of the colonists by their atrocities. The fate of Miss Jane McCrea may serve as an incident to illustrate the singular barbarity of this warfare, and its effects on the popular mind. Burgoyne was proud of his management of the Indians, of whom he had detachments from seventeen tribes. On the 3d of August they brought in twenty scalps, and as many captives, and Burgoyne praised their activity. The Ottawas wished to return home, but on the 5th of August he took a pledge from all the warriors to stay through the campaign.

Simultaneously with the invasion of the northeastern borders of New York by Burgoyne, St. Leger, accompanied by a compact body of regulars, a park of artillery, and a large number of Indians under Sir John Johnson, entered it from the west. In addition to these, Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton, of Detroit, in obedience to orders from the British Secretary of State, Germaine, sent out at different times fifteen several parties, aggregating two hundred and fifty-nine warriors, with thirty white officers and rangers, to desolate the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia.

St. Leger left Oswego with a total force of seventeen hundred men, including one thousand Indians, the latter consisting chiefly of Senecas, Tuscaroras, Mississagies,—an Algonkin tribe nearly identical with the Chippewas, from the northern end of Lake Ontario,—and fugitive Mohawks, from the Mohawk Valley, under Thayendagea, or Brant, who now began to take a more active part in the contest. In his youth he had been a pupil at Dr. Wheelock's school, was employed as an interpreter and translator at the missionary station at Fort Hunter, and also as an under secretary at Johnson Hall. As the active and influential brother of the Indian wife of Sir William, he had been constantly rising in the esteem of his people, until he assumed the position of popular leader, when he became the hero of the Iroquois. He combined with great personal activity and a fine manly figure a good common education, undoubted bravery, and an intimate acquaintance with the manners and customs of civilization, and, what was of still more importance to his success, he possessed a thorough knowledge of the geographical features and population of the Mohawk Valley and its environs, together with a good idea of their power, disposition, and resources. He was thus by no means a feeble enemy. Although lacking that comprehensive judgment which was necessary to form an estimate of the true character of the contest, and the unflinching nerve and decision requisite for the control of events, yet he was, after the death of Sir William, fully equal in these particulars to Sir John Johnson and the other managers of British Indian affairs. But he possessed in perfection all the subtlety, subterfuge, and art, and, when he grasped the tomahawk in active war, all the cruelty, of the forest savage.

St. Leger, who was to sweep the valley of the Mohawk and then join Burgoyne at Albany, pursued his route up the Oswego River to the junction of the Seneca and Oneida, at Three River Point; thence up the Oneida River, through the lake of that name, along Wood Creek and across the portage to Fort Stanwix, on the Mohawk. As he progressed, his forces were augmented by the Cayugas and the Onondagas. Fort Stanwix, built in 1759, was the only point at which there was any probability that this invading force would be stopped, and this fortification, though well constructed and protected by earthworks against artillery, was not only in a dilapidated condition, but was garrisoned by only four hundred State troops, under Lieutenant-Colonel Gansevoort, subsequently increased, however, to some seven hundred. The enemy entertained no doubt that the fort would surrender at discretion, and, as the army deployed before the eyes of the garrison, column after column, with banners flashing in the sun, followed by battalions of light artillery and hordes of Indians, the Americans experienced a feeling similar to that which moved David when he laid aside his armor and stepped down into the valley to meet Goliath.

“The 3d of August was a day of deep interest, and revealed a military pageant which made a striking impression. It was a calm and beautiful morning when the enemy took up their line of march from Wood Creek. The intervening ground was an open plain of wide extent, most elevated towards its central and southern edge. Gansevoort's men were paraded on the ramparts, looking in the direction whence the Oneida sachem had told them the enemy would appear. Music soon was heard, and

the scarlet color of their uniforms next showed itself. They had taken their standards from their cases that morning, and as color after color came into view, and they unfurled them to the breeze, an intense degree of interest was felt, but scarcely a word was uttered. To many of the men who had newly enlisted the scene was novel. Some of them had served the year before under Montgomery, others in the movements at Ticonderoga and Crown Point under St. Clair. Some veterans dated their service in prior wars under Sir William Johnson, Prideaux, and Bradstreet; there were others who were mere lads of seventeen. The Indians, spreading out on the flanks, gave the scene an air of terror, for their loud yells were heard above the British drum and bugle. The whole display, the exactitude of the order of march, the glitter of banners, the numbers present, and the impending danger of the contest were designed for effect upon the American garrison. Not a gun was, however, fired; the panorama was gazed at in silence."

Never was an investment more complete. The artillery deployed on the south, and took up their position within cannon-shot. The Royal Greens and Loyalists, under Sir John, lined one bank of the Mohawk, the shores and woods being occupied by Brant and his myrmidons. Every avenue was watched by the Indians. Death was the penalty of every attempt to venture a distance of over two hundred yards from the works. Many atrocities were committed by the Indians on officers, men, and even on children, who were captured outside the pickets. The sentinels soon became expert in watching for every cannon fired, and by a warning cry announced the coming of shot or shell. It became evident that the calibre of the enemy's guns was too light to make an impression on the fort, and the garrison made up in diligence what they lacked in power. Sometimes a shell exploded in the hospital, scattering destruction around, and occasionally a man was shot down on the ramparts or on the esplanade. The garrison had not sufficient ammunition to return a brisk fire, but there was one thing they never lacked,—a heroic determination to defend the work at all hazards. The striped flag, which had been hastily made partly out of a camlet cloak, was duly hoisted and lowered every morning and evening, with the firing of the gun that marked the beginning and the close of day. There was not a heart that quailed; they well knew that in addition to the ordinary casualties of war, if the garrison was taken, the Indians would perpetrate the most inhuman massacre. The fort was bravely defended by its garrison, whose intrepidity, firmness, and military endurance had been previously tested.

The siege of Fort Stanwix had continued but three or four days, when an American scout entered it with the intelligence that General Herkimer, at the head of an army of militia, was on his way to relieve it. The same intelligence from Brant's sister to the besiegers caused them to plan an ambush for the relieving force.

Consternation had paralyzed the inhabitants of the Mohawk Valley while the danger was yet distant, but the peril seemed to diminish the moment it came near. A desire for security compelled men to take up arms. If Fort Stanwix fell, the Mohawk Valley would be swept with fire and sword, and General Nicholas Herkimer, who commanded the militia, issued his proclamation summoning them to arms.

Three regiments, numbering eight hundred men, the entire strength of the valley, promptly responding, rendezvoused at Fort Dayton, whence they marched to Oriskany, which was distant but a few miles from the fort.

Brant, who figured as the leader of the Iroquois, had called into requisition all his local knowledge of the route, and all the peculiar art of the Indians in war, that he might decoy General Herkimer and his army into an ambuscade. The system of tactics pursued by the Indians is not to engage in a battle in compact ranks, but to screen themselves, either under the darkness of night or through the intervention of forests, and if in this way a good assault can be made their courage sometimes becomes equal to a contest in very open order, or even to a charge on the field of battle. But in this instance the chief evidently only sought to serve on the flanks, and to fall on the Americans unawares or at a disadvantage. Such is the Indian idea of military triumph. On the evening of the 5th the savages filled the woods with yells. Next morning, divesting themselves of their blankets and fur robes, they went forth, supported by Sir John Johnson and some of his royal Yorkers, by Colonel Butler and his rangers, by Claus and his Canadians, and by Lieutenant Bird and a party of regulars. General Herkimer reached the valley of the Oriskany August 6, at ten o'clock in the morning. The crossing at this stream was surrounded by low grounds, traversed by a causeway, and beyond it were elevated plateaus, covered with forests, which overlooked it. The Americans saw nothing to excite suspicion. Herkimer had entered this pass, which was within six miles of the fort, about an hour before noon, and two regiments had descended into the valley, but before his vanguard had reached the opposite elevation a heavy fire was suddenly poured in from all sides, accompanied by horrid yells, and the pass in his rear was immediately closed by the enemy. At the same moment that he was surprised in front by Johnson, the Indians fell upon his flanks, rushing in with their tomahawks after using their guns. The Americans were completely entrapped in an ambuscade, and for a few moments there was nothing but confusion and panic; the men fell thickly, and the army was threatened with utter annihilation; but they flew to the encounter like tigers; patriot and Tory grappled with each other in deadly struggle. The dark eye of the Indian flashed with delight at the prospect of revelling in human blood, and the Tory sought to immolate his late neighbor who had espoused the hated cause of the Revolution. Falling back without confusion to better ground, the Americans resumed the fight against superior numbers. General Herkimer was wounded and fell from his horse early in the action; a ball had pierced his leg below the knee, and killed his horse under him. His men were falling thickly around him; Colonel Cox was killed, and the yells of the savages resounded in every direction; but the firmness and composure of the general were undisturbed. His saddle was placed near a tree, and he was seated on it, his back being supported by the tree. Here he issued his orders, and drawing from his pocket his tobacco-box, and lighting his pipe, he smoked calmly while the battle raged around. After some forty-five minutes had elapsed, the men began to fight in small circles,—a movement worthy of notice, since it was the only mode of contending successfully with the

surrounding enemy, who outnumbered them two to one. From this time the Americans gained ground. A slight cessation in the firing was taken advantage of by the enemy, who ordered a charge. Bayonets were crossed, and a desperate struggle ensued, which was arrested by a sudden and heavy shower of rain, which fell in a massive sheet during one entire hour. The combatants were thus separated. Herkimer's men then, under his direction, chose a more advantageous position, and formed in a large circle. They were from the first as expert as the Indians in firing from behind trees, but the latter, as soon as they saw the smoke of a discharge, would run up and tomahawk the soldier before he could reload. The Americans then placed two men behind each tree, and after one fired the other was ready to shoot down the advancing savage. The fire of the militia becoming more effective, the enemy began to give way, when Major Watts came on the ground with another detachment of the Royal Greens, chiefly composed of fugitive Tories, and the fight was renewed with greater vigor than before. The contending parties sprang at each other from the lines with the fury of enraged tigers, charging with bayonets, and striking at each other with clubbed muskets.

A diversion was now made which became the turning-point in the contest. One of Herkimer's scouts having reached the fort with the news of his position, its commander immediately resolved to make a sally for the relief of the army, detaching for that purpose Lieutenant-Colonel Marinus Willett. The troops were paraded in a square, and the intelligence communicated to them. Colonel Willett then descended to the esplanade and addressed the men in a patriotic manner, concluding with the words, "As many of you as feel willing to follow me in an attack, and are not afraid to die for liberty, will shoulder your arms, and step out one pace in front."<sup>1</sup> Two hundred men volunteered almost at the same moment, and fifty more, with a three-pounder, were soon after added to the force. The rain-storm, which came up suddenly, hindered their immediate march, but as soon as it ceased they issued from the sally-port at a brisk pace, and, rushing down upon the camp of Sir John, carried it at the point of the bayonet, drove the enemy through the Mohawk, and captured all their camp-equipage and public stores, together with five British flags. Colonel Willett then turned his arms against the Mohawk camp, and swept through it, returning to the fort with twenty-one wagon-loads of spoils. The sound of this rapid and severe firing arrested the attention of the belligerents after the cessation of the rain. By a change of caps with a company of men, whose dress in this respect resembled that of the Americans, Major Watts attempted to palm off on the patriots a detachment of his troops as an American reinforcement, but the subterfuge was quickly discovered, and the fight was resumed with bitter enmity. The Indian exclamation of *Oonah!* was at length heard, and the enemy retired, leaving Herkimer in possession of the field. Those who have most minutely described this battle relate instances of personal heroism which would not disgrace the Iliad.

The Indians, who had suffered severely, fought with great desperation. One

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<sup>1</sup> Verbal account of the late Colonel Lawrence Schoolcraft, one of this number.

hundred of their number lay dead, thirty-six of whom, comprising several chiefs, were Senecas, who had been present in the greatest numbers. When they returned to their lodges and told the story of the slaughter of their chiefs, their villages rang with the howls of mourners and yells of rage. The fighting had become desultory, when suddenly the Senecas, who feared the arrival of American reinforcements, shouted their word for retreat, and commenced to move off, followed by the Loyalists; while the reviving shouts and more spirited firing of Herkimer's men resounded in every direction. Thus ended one of the most severely contested battles of the Revolution. Though not a victory for the Americans, neither was it a defeat, as it has been usually called, for they were left in undisputed possession of the field, which was not visited again by the enemy, either white or red. They constructed forty or fifty litters, on which they conveyed the wounded to their homes. Their loss was about one hundred and sixty killed, besides the wounded and prisoners. Among the number was General Herkimer, who reached in safety his own house, where he died about ten days after the battle from the result of an unskilful amputation of his leg. A monument was decreed by Congress to Herkimer, who, in the opinion of Washington, "first reversed the gloomy scene" of the Northern campaign. Gansevoort was rewarded by a vote of thanks and a command; Willett by public praise and "an elegant sword."

The siege of Fort Stanwix was prosecuted during sixteen days after the battle of Oriskany. There appearing to be no further prospect of relief from the militia, it was resolved to send information of the condition of the fortress to the commandant of the army at Saratoga. Colonel Willett volunteered with a single companion, Lieutenant Stockwell, to undertake this perilous duty. Creeping through the closely-guarded Indian lines at night, he picked his way through woods and unfrequented paths to Fort Dayton (now Herkimer), whence he proceeded to Saratoga. General Schuyler immediately ordered Arnold, with a detachment of nine hundred men and two pieces of artillery, to march to its relief. But before this force reached its destination an apparently trivial circumstance caused St. Leger to break up his encampment and suddenly retreat. Among a company of Tories who had been captured one night in an unlawful assembly at Little Falls was one Hon Yost, a Mohawk half-breed, who had with others, including the noted Butler, been condemned to death by a court-martial. When Arnold arrived at Fort Dayton, the mother of this man, who was a simpleton, but on this account regarded with more favor by the Indians, besought him with piteous supplications to avert his doom. Arnold was at first inexorable, but eventually said that if Hon Yost would, in glowing terms, announce his approach in St. Leger's camp before Fort Stanwix, he would grant him a reprieve from the gallows. The event proved Arnold's sagacity. Hon Yost represented to St. Leger that he had narrowly escaped, and had been hotly pursued; in proof of which assertion he exhibited his coat that he had hung up, fired at, and perforated with bullet-holes. He exaggerated the force of Arnold's detachment in every particular, and, as he spoke Mohawk fluently, he advised the whole Indian force to fly instantly. A perfect panic prevailed. Deaf to the entreaties

of St. Leger and of their superintendents, the Indians robbed the British officers of their clothes, plundered the boats, and made off with the booty. The morning after his arrival, which was the 22d of August, the men on the ramparts of the fort beheld with surprise a sudden movement in the enemy's camp. Not only were the Indians in full retreat, but also St. Leger, Sir John Johnson, and Brant, with all their host of Indians and Tories, though Arnold was not within forty miles of them. The tents were left standing, and the whole train of artillery, including the mortars, was abandoned. The following day General Arnold marched into the fort, with General Larned of the Massachusetts line, and was received with salutes and huzzas. During twenty-one days the siege had been closely maintained, and as closely contested. The firmness and endurance of the garrison excited admiration throughout the country, and imparted new spirits to the friends of the Revolution, who had been so recently depressed by Burgoyne's invasion. It was the first of a series of victories, beginning in the most gloomy period of the contest, the year 1777. When the smoke of the Revolution cleared away, and memory reverted to the times that tried men's souls, the site of this fort, afterwards rechristened Fort Schuyler, was named, and has since been called, Rome,<sup>1</sup> in allusion to the bravery of its defence.

This triumph was followed in October by the surrender of Burgoyne. The employment of Indian allies had failed. They had melted away continually after the battle of September 19, while, through the zeal of Schuyler, and contrary to the policy of Gates, a small band, chiefly Oneidas, joined the American camp. Early the following year, on the 6th of February, France joined the colonies, entering into a treaty of amity, commerce, and alliance with them, and from that moment the success of the patriots ceased to be problematical.

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<sup>1</sup> Oneida County, New York.

## CHAPTER III.

### EMPLOYMENT OF INDIANS IN WAR—ADDRESS OF CONGRESS TO THE TRIBES— MASSACRES OF WYOMING, CHERRY VALLEY, AND ULSTER.

No contest which occurred during the struggle of the Revolution was of so much importance to a wide extent of country as that of Fort Stanwix, in which the Indians were relied on by the British as auxiliaries, and possessed in reality so much power to control the result. It is doubtful if of the seventeen hundred men announced at Oswego as composing the besieging force, more than seven hundred were regular troops. Of these the royalists, commanded by Sir John Johnson, formed one regiment; while the Senecas, the Mississagies, the fugitive Mohawks, and the Cayugas and Onondagas, should not be estimated at less than one thousand warriors. A patriot present at that siege, who was likewise a close observer on the frontiers throughout the war, has asserted that in rancor and cruelty a rabid royalist was equal to two ordinary Indians, for while he was actuated by the same general spirit of revenge, he possessed an intimate knowledge of neighborhoods and families, which he attacked in the assumed guise of a savage.

The policy of employing savages at all in war admits of no defence. The scalping and the indiscriminate slaughter of both sexes are the most horrid traits of savage life. None but a weak and bigoted prince, counselled by a short-sighted and narrow-minded premier, would have adopted this system as a part of the extraneous means of reducing the colonies to subjection. The Indians could never be relied on by British generals, or employed for any other purpose than that of covering their flanks and imparting to the contest a more bitter and vindictive character. If the latter was the object sought, the end was fully answered. The men of the present generation have not forgotten the acts of fiendish cruelty perpetrated by the Revolutionary Tories and their Indian allies.

From the beginning of the contest Congress had made strenuous efforts to persuade the Indian tribes to remain neutral. Commissioners were intrusted with the management of Indian affairs in the North and South. Active and influential men were delegated to visit the savages in their own country, and instructed to reason with them on the subject. These visits were repeated in the years 1775, 1776, and 1777, with what partial effects has been seen; the Oneidas, and their guests and allies, the Tuscaroras and Mohicans, who had long previously acknowledged the good results of Christian teaching, being the only tribes which acquiesced. There was some reason to expect that the Shawnees and Delawares would preserve a neutral position; the object was not one to be relinquished so long as a hope of success remained. The defeat the Indians had suffered at Fort Stanwix appeared to open

the way for another formal conciliatory effort. With this view, on the 3d of December, 1777, the Committee on Indian Affairs reported the following address, which, while couched in terms suited to the comprehension of the Indians, at the same time appeals to their ancient pride and best interests, reviewing the grounds of controversy between the two powers, and presenting in a proper light the principles by which they should be guided :

“**BROTHERS OF THE SIX NATIONS:** The great council of the United States now call for your attention. Open your ears, that you may hear, and your hearts, that you may understand.

“When the people on the other side of the great water, without any cause, sought our destruction, and sent over their ships and their warriors to fight against us and to take away our possessions, you might reasonably have expected us to ask for your assistance. If we are enslaved, you cannot be free. For our strength is greater than yours. If they would not spare their brothers of the same flesh and blood, would they spare you? If they burn our houses and ravage our lands, could yours be secure?

“But we acted on very different principles. Far from desiring you to hazard your lives in our quarrel, we advised you to remain still, in case and at peace. We even entreated you to remain neuter, and under the shade of your trees and by the side of your streams to smoke your pipe in safety and contentment. Though pressed by our enemies, and when their ships obstructed our supplies of arms and powder and clothing, we were not unmindful of your wants. Of what was necessary for our own use we cheerfully spared you a part. More we should have done had it been in our power.

“**CAYUGAS, SENECA, TUSCARORAS, AND MOHAWKS:** Open your ears and hear our complaints. Why have you listened to the voice of our enemies? Why have you suffered Sir John Johnson and Butler to mislead you? Why have you assisted General St. Leger and his warriors from the other side of the great water by giving them a free passage through your country to annoy us, which both you and we solemnly promised should not be defiled with blood? Why have you suffered so many of your nations to join them in their cruel purpose? Is this a suitable return for our love and kindness? or did you suspect that we were too weak or too cowardly to defend our country, and join our enemies that you might come in for a share of the plunder? What has been gained by this unprovoked treachery? what but shame and disgrace? Your foolish warriors and their new allies have been defeated and driven back in every quarter, and many of them justly paid the price of their rashness with their lives. Sorry are we to find that our ancient chain of union, heretofore so strong and bright, should be broken by such poor and weak instruments as Sir John Johnson and Butler, who dare not show their faces among their countrymen; and by St. Leger, a stranger, whom you never knew! What has become of the spirit, the wisdom, and the justice of your nations? Is it possible that you should barter away your ancient glory and break through the most solemn treaties for a few blankets or a little rum or powder? That trifles such as these should prove any

temptation to you to cut down the strong tree of friendship, by our common ancestors planted in the deep bowels of the earth, at Onondaga, your central council-fire!—that tree which has been watered and nourished by their children until the branches had almost reached the skies! As well might we have expected that the mole should overturn the vast mountains of the Alleghany, or that the birds of the air should drink up the waters of Ontario!

“CAYUGAS, SENECA, ONONDAGA, AND MOHAWKS: Look into your hearts, and be attentive. Much are you to blame, and greatly have you wronged us. Be wise in time. Be sorry, and mend your faults. The great council, though the blood of our friends who fell by your tomahawks at the German Flats cries aloud against you, will yet be patient. We do not desire to destroy you. Long have we been at peace, and it is still our wish to bury the hatchet and wipe away the blood which some of you have so unjustly shed. Till time shall be no more, we wish to smoke with you the calumet of friendship around your central fire at Onondaga. But, brothers, mark well what we now tell you. Let it sink deep as the bottom of the sea, and never be forgotten by you or your children. If ever again you take up the hatchet to strike us, if you join our enemies in battle or council, if you give them intelligence, or encourage or permit them to pass through your country to molest or hurt any of our people, we shall look on you as our enemies, and treat you as the worst of enemies, who cover your bad designs under a cloak of friendship, and, like the concealed adder, only wait for an opportunity to wound us when we are most unprepared.

“BROTHERS: Believe us, who never deceive. If, after all our good counsel, and all our care to prevent it, we must take up the hatchet, the blood to be shed will lie heavy on your heads. The hand of the thirteen United States is not short; it will reach to the farthest extent of the country of the Six Nations; and, while we have right on our side, the Good Spirit, whom we serve, will enable us to punish you, and put it out of your power to do us further mischief.

“ONEIDA AND TUSCARORA: Harken to what we have to say to you in particular. It rejoices our hearts that we have no reason to reproach you in common with the rest of the Six Nations. We have experienced your love, strong as the oak, and your fidelity, unchangeable as truth. You have kept fast hold of the ancient covenant chain, and preserved it free from rust and decay, and bright as silver. Like brave men, for glory you despised danger; you stood forth in the cause of your friends, and ventured your lives in our battles. While the sun and moon continue to give light to the world we shall love and respect you. As our trusty friends, we shall protect you, and shall at all times consider your welfare as our own.

“BROTHERS OF THE SIX NATIONS: Open your ears, and listen attentively. It is long ago that we explained to you our quarrel with the people on the other side of the great water. Remember that our cause is just. You and your forefathers have long seen us allied to those people in friendship. By our labor and industry they flourished like the trees of the forest, and became exceedingly rich and proud. At length nothing would satisfy them unless, like slaves, we would give them the power

over our whole substance. Because we would not yield to such shameful bondage, they took up the hatchet. You have seen them covering our coasts with their ships, and a part of our country with their warriors; but you have not seen us dismayed: on the contrary, you know that we have stood firm like rocks, and fought like men who deserved to be free. You know that we have defeated St. Leger and conquered Burgoyne and all their warriors. Our chief men and our warriors are now fighting against the rest of our enemies, and we trust that the Great Spirit will soon put them in our power, or enable us to drive them all far beyond the great waters.

“BROTHERS: Believe us that they feel their own weakness, and that they are unable to subdue the thirteen United States. Else why have they not left our Indian brethren in peace, as they first promised and we wished to have done? Why have they endeavored, by cunning speeches, by falsehood and misrepresentations, by strong drink and presents, to embitter the minds and darken the understandings of all our Indian friends on this great continent, from the North to the South, and to engage them to take up the hatchet against us without any provocation? The Cherokees, like some of you, were prevailed upon to strike our people. We carried the war into their country, and fought them. They saw their error, they repented, and we forgave them. The United States are kind and merciful, and wish for peace with all the world. We have, therefore, renewed our ancient covenant chain with their nation.

“BROTHERS: The Shawanese and Delawares give us daily proofs of their good disposition and their attachment to us, and are ready to assist us against all our enemies. The Chickasaws are among the number of our faithful friends. And the Choctaws, though remote from us, have refused to listen to the persuasions of our enemies, rejected all their offers of corruption, and continue peaceable. The Creeks are also our steady friends. Oboylaco, their great chief, and the rest of their sachems and warriors, as the strongest mark of their sincere friendship, have presented the great council with an emblem of peace. They have desired that these tokens might be shown to the Six Nations and their allies, to convince them that the Creeks are at peace with the United States. We have therefore directed our commissioners to deliver them into your hands. Let them be seen by all the nations in your alliance, and preserved in your central council-house at Onondaga.

“BROTHERS OF THE SIX NATIONS: Hearken to our counsel. Let us who are born on the same great continent love one another. Our interest is the same, and we ought to be one people, always ready to assist and serve each other. What are the people who belong to the other side of the great waters to either of us? They never come here for our sakes, but to gratify their own pride and avarice. Their business now is to kill and destroy our inhabitants, to lay waste our houses and farms. The day, we trust, will soon arrive when we shall be rid of them forever. Now is the time to hasten and secure this happy event. Let us, then, from this moment join hand and heart in the defence of our common country. Let us rise as one man and drive away our cruel oppressors. Henceforward let none be able to separate us. If any of our people injure you, acquaint us of it, and you may depend upon full

satisfaction. If any of yours hurt us, be you ready to repair the wrong or punish the aggressor. Above all, shut your ears against liars and deceivers, who, like false meteors, strive to lead you astray and to set us at variance. Believe no evil of us till you have taken pains to discover the truth. Our council-fire always burns clear and bright in Pennsylvania.<sup>1</sup> Our commissioners and agents are near your country. We shall not be blinded by false reports or false appearances."<sup>2</sup>

This overture produced no change in the policy of the Indians: in public councils as well as in private their ears were filled with reasonings and persuasions of a very different character. Ever judging from appearances, and from what was tangible and visible, they were impressed with the power, means, and ability of the British government to subdue the colonies. They contrasted its resources with those of the thirteen States, struggling, as it were, in the grasp of a giant, and from that comparison drew the conclusion that, however courageous and resolute the colonists were in battle, they were few in numbers and lacking in means. It being a cardinal principle with the Indians to adhere to the strongest party, they remained unmoved by all the arguments addressed to them.

It would be foreign to the plan of the present work to describe in detail the scenes of Indian outrage and massacre which marked the Revolutionary contest, the object being to present prominent facts. The character of the Indians did not appear in any new light; as the war advanced, they swept over the country like a pestilence, frequently like infuriated tigers springing across the borders and spreading death and devastation where domestic happiness had previously reigned. Any hope that might have been entertained of mollifying their hatred proved to be a delusion. The Iroquois, who were the principal actors in this murderous warfare, were in nearly every instance led on by their chieftain Brant. Sometimes, however, parties of the various tribes of Algonkin lineage from the West were in the practice of visiting the head-quarters of the British Indian Department at Fort Niagara. At this place most of the war-parties were formed, supplied, and equipped. Thither they also returned to report their success, bringing their prisoners with them to pass through the terrible ordeal of the gauntlet, and there likewise they received rewards for the scalps they had taken.

In the early summer of 1778 the movements of Brant and his warriors upon the upper waters of the Susquehanna, and of the Tories in the valley of Wyoming, had aroused the people of that region to a sense of the perils incident to their exposed situation. Apprehension was felt that some of the Loyalists who had left the valley and joined the forces of Colonel John Butler would return and wreak their vengeance on the inhabitants. Atrocities had been perpetrated in the neighborhood of Tioga, and the Indians at Conewawah (now Elmira, New York) were in constant communication with the Tory settlers. The attention of Congress had been often called to their danger, weakened as they had been by drafts upon their able-bodied men for the Continental army, nearly all of whom were absent in service. The remaining

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<sup>1</sup> Then the seat of government.

<sup>2</sup> Journal of Congress.

population, in dread of the savages, were voluntarily building six forts, or stockades, requiring great labor. Aged men, exempt by law from military duty, were formed into companies to garrison these forts, while the whole of the militia were in constant requisition as scouts and guides. Such was the condition of Wyoming when the Tory and Indian expedition was prepared for its destruction.

It was at Niagara that the plan of the incursion into the valley of Wyoming originated. Towards the close of June, 1778, Colonel John Butler, the commanding officer of that post, ordered three hundred men, principally Loyalists, to set out on an expedition to the Susquehanna, accompanied by a body of Indians, eleven hundred in all, of diverse tribes, under Gi-en-gwa-tah, a Seneca chief. Arriving at Tioga Point, they embarked in floats, or on rafts, and reached the scene of conflict on the first day of July.

Landing on the west side of the river, about twenty miles above Wyoming, they entered the valley through a notch from the west, not far from the famous Dial Rock, and killed three men near Fort Jenkins. Butler made his head-quarters at Wintermoots Fort, whence he sent out scouts and foragers. All the preparation in their power had been made by the people to withstand the foe. A company of forty or fifty regulars and a few militia, under Captain Hewett, composed the military force with which to oppose the enemy. Old men, boys, and even women seized such weapons as were at hand. Colonel Zebulon Butler, an officer of the Continental army, who happened to be at home, was made commander-in-chief. Forty Fort (so called from the first forty Yankee pioneers of Wyoming) was made the place of rendezvous, and thither the women and children fled for safety.

On the morning of July 3 a council of war was held here. The odds were fearful, and there was no alternative but to fight or submit to the tender mercies of the Indians and the more savage Tories. Colonels Butler and Denison, and Lieutenant-Colonel Dorrance, were in favor of delay, hoping for the arrival of reinforcements. Others, having little hope of succor, advised meeting the enemy at once. Already Fort Jenkins had been captured, and the other stockades would doubtless share its fate. The surrender of Forty Fort and the valley had been demanded by Colonel John Butler, and the uplifted hatchet was ready to descend upon the heads of those families that had not succeeded in reaching the fort. Prompt action seemed necessary, and the majority bravely but rashly decided to march out and give battle to the invaders.

The plucky little American force, numbering between three hundred and four hundred, approached the enemy's lines, eleven hundred strong, about four o'clock, the afternoon being intensely hot, and gave battle, advancing a step at each fire. Soon the enemy's left, where John Butler was posted, began to give way, but it was at once supported by a flanking party of Indians, who, from their concealment, kept up a galling fire. For half an hour the Americans maintained the conflict against vastly superior numbers, when the Indians on their left flanked Colonel Denison, and he was thus exposed to a murderous cross-fire. His order to his men to fall back to a more favorable position was mistaken for an order to retreat, and they

fell back in confusion. Every effort to rally the fugitives was ineffectual. Riding along the line, exposed to the fire of the contending parties, and seemingly unconscious of danger, Colonel Zebulon Butler besought his troops to remain firm. "Don't leave me, my children," he exclaimed, "and the victory is ours." All that bravery and devotion could do was done by Butler and Denison, but it was too late. Every captain had been killed, and the line broke and fled, some to the fort, and some to Monocacy Island, nearly a mile off. A scene of horror ensued. Only sixty escaped the rifle, the tomahawk, and the scalping-knife. The prisoners were either tortured or butchered in cold blood. Colonel Butler escaped to Wilkesbarre Fort, and Colonel Denison to Forty Fort, where he prepared to defend the fugitive women and children. He surrendered next day, however, there being no hope of a successful defence, the other stockades having fallen, and the people of the valley having generally fled from the scene. The terms of capitulation were soon violated, the Indians before night having spread through the valley, plundering the few people that were left, and burning the abandoned dwellings. The Tory commander endeavored to restrain them, but his orders were utterly disregarded. The village of Wilkesbarre was also burned, and the terrified inhabitants fled to the mountains. Except the few who gathered about the fort at Wilkesbarre, the settlement, which presented one wide scene of conflagration, massacre, and ruin, was wholly abandoned by its former inhabitants, and remained so for months. Terribly as the valley had suffered, it continued to be harassed and devastated by the savage foe until peace was proclaimed.

It was then believed, and it has since been frequently asserted, that Brant led the Indians on this occasion; but it is doubtful whether he was actually present, though he probably approved of the movement, if he was not the instigator of it. This chief was known to cherish such a deadly hatred of the Revolutionists, and had been so frequently connected with the incursions and midnight massacres perpetrated on the frontiers, that in the popular estimation no injustice has been done to his bad reputation in the use which has been made of his name by the poet Campbell. A melancholy catalogue, indeed, would be a detail of the enterprises in which Brant was the leader and principal actor. Though the voice of contemporary history might be stifled regarding his conduct as the leader of the massacre in Cherry Valley, his sanguinary attacks upon Saratoga, German Flats, Unadilla, and Schoharie, as well as the murder of the wounded Colonel Wisner and the inhuman butchery of the wounded at Ulster, will during all future time illustrate the way in which he hovered around the frontiers of New York and Pennsylvania, like the genius of evil, with the enraged Aquinoshioni in his train. If the responsibility for acts committed depends upon the cultivated moral perceptions of the individual, then the great partisan Mohawk will have much more to answer for than his kindred generally, as he not only received a scholastic and religious education, but was for a long time domiciliated in the family of Sir William Johnson, in which he officiated as an assistant secretary, and where he became familiar with the maxims and usages of refined society.

The recovery of the Mohawk Valley was of such importance to the Johnsons, Butlers, and other refugees who accompanied them to Canada as to incite them to extraordinary efforts for the accomplishment of that object. The exposed condition of Cherry Valley and the settlement upon Schoharie Creek had caused the erection of three fortifications,—stone houses surrounded with an embankment of earth and stockaded, affording protection to the women and children. Each of these was manned by a company of soldiers, with a small brass field-piece. A fort was erected in the Oneida country, Forts Schuyler and Dayton were strengthened, and Fort Plain was afterwards enlarged and more strongly fortified. In May, 1778, the village of Springfield, ten miles west of Cherry Valley, had been destroyed by Brant. Cobleskill, in the Schoharie Valley, met the same fate on July 2, after the defeat of a small party of Americans under Captain Brunk, and on the day following Wyoming was devastated. The settlement at Genesee Flats was destroyed towards the close of the summer. Scalping-parties continued to infest the Schoharie and neighboring settlements until late in September, when their depredations were checked for a time by the presence of troops from the main army.

Walter, the son of Colonel John Butler, who after a year's imprisonment had escaped from Albany, thirsting for revenge, obtained from his father the command of a detachment of his rangers, and permission to employ them, in conjunction with Brant, against the settlements in Tryon County. Their united forces amounted to about seven hundred men. Information of the movement was sent to Cherry Valley and the Schoharie forts, but the presence of the Pennsylvania troops had lulled the people into fancied security, and the warning was disregarded.

Cherry Valley, the most important settlement near the head-waters of the East Branch of the Susquehanna, was garrisoned by two hundred and fifty Massachusetts troops, under Colonel Ichabod Alden. On November 8 he received a despatch from Fort Schuyler, informing him that he was to be attacked by a large force of Indians and Tories, then assembled upon the Tioga River. Treating the matter with unconcern, Alden refused to permit the alarmed inhabitants to move into the fort, but on the 9th sent out scouting-parties in various directions. Early on the following morning his quarters, which were outside the fort, were surrounded by the enemy, and he was tomahawked and scalped while attempting to escape. Sixteen soldiers and thirty-two of the inhabitants, mostly women and children, were killed. Every house was plundered and burned. The captured women and children, being found cumbersome, were sent back next day. The inhuman conduct of Walter Butler, the leader of this foray, condemned even by the savage Brant, has consigned his name to eternal infamy. His after-career was cruel but brief, and when in 1781 he was slain by the Oneidas on the banks of the West Canada Creek, his body was left to decay, while his fallen companions were buried with respect.

## CHAPTER IV.

### HOSTILITIES WITH THE WESTERN INDIANS—THE SHAWNEES—CORNSTALK—FORT HENRY—CONQUEST OF SOUTHERN ILLINOIS—FORT LAURENS.

ALTHOUGH the Iroquois formed, as it were, the "Tenth Legion" of the hostile Indians employed in the war, yet the Western savages had from the beginning evinced their hostility to the colonies, and were implicated to a greater or less extent in the contest against them. This was, as we have seen, the position of the important tribes of the Delawares and Shawnees, then occupying the present area of the State of Ohio. These tribes had originally emigrated west of the Alleghanies with embittered feelings against the English colonists generally. They had accepted the treaty of peace offered them in rather a vaunting spirit by Colonel Bradstreet on Lake Erie in 1764, but subsequently renewed their hostile inroads, and in the autumn of the same year, on the banks of the Muskingum, again submitted to the army under Colonel Bouquet, delivering up, as a test of their sincerity, a large number of prisoners, men, women, and children.

The Delawares had not held a definite tribal position for a long period, even from the middle of the eighteenth century. They were supposed to be in league with the French, and it was an erroneous policy in Count Zinzendorf and the Moravian Brethren not to set the colonies right on this subject, laboring as they did from their advent in 1740 for the benefit of the Delawares, and knowing that there was a suspicion resting on them of being favorable to the French interests. This was the cause of the expulsion of this tribe from Chicomico, in Southern New York, in 1744, and of their removal to the Susquehanna. It was likewise the occasion of their ultimate flight westward to the banks of the Muskingum, and of the unfortunate massacre of their people at Gnadenhütten. But though the proclivities of the Delawares were long uncertain, those of the Shawnees were not; they assumed an openly hostile attitude. The latter tribe had at an early period been inimical to the English colonies, but, being vanquished, they had transferred their hatred to the Americans the moment the Revolutionary contest commenced. In 1755 they were the most bitter assailants of Braddock; in 1758<sup>1</sup> they massacred the garrison of Sybert's Fort, on the Potomac; they had from the year 1763 most strenuously opposed the settlement of Kentucky; they had in 1774 taken the most prominent part in resisting the expedition of Lord Dunmore; and, according to the best local authorities,<sup>2</sup> between the years 1770 and 1779 the activity and bitter hostility of this celebrated tribe converted the left banks of the Ohio, along the borders of

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<sup>1</sup> De Hass's History of Western Virginia, 1851, p. 208.

<sup>2</sup> Doddridge, Withers, De Hass.

Pennsylvania and Virginia, into an aceldama. Brave and dauntless, but vacillating, their ruling passion was a love of war, blood, and plunder. Tradition affirms that in ancient times they had fought their way from Florida to Lake Erie; and desperately did they oppose the advance of the Anglo-Saxon race into the Ohio Valley. Their central location was at Chillicothe, on the Scioto River, which appears to have been from a period long antecedent a metropolis of Indian power. Their influence controlled the entire valley, and they lived on strict terms of amity with the Delawares, the Mingoes, or Ohio Iroquois, the Hurons, Ottawas, Chippewas, and Miamis.

The Shawnee chief Cornstalk was friendly to the colonists, and his voice and influence were for peace, and his efforts in that behalf were very valuable. He was a man of great energy, courage, and good sense, and very reliable. The trouble and confusion then existing about him led him to cross the Ohio River in 1777 to talk matters over with the commander of a post at the mouth of the Big Kanawha. The Americans, believing that the Shawnees were inclined to unite with the British, determined to retain him and Red Hawk, a subordinate chief, who was with him. Cornstalk spoke freely of the condition of affairs, and said to Captain Arbuckle, the commander, that unless he and his friends could have assurances of protection from the "Long-Knives" they might be compelled "to go with the stream." This friendly visit worked differently from what he expected. He was not permitted to depart. Next day an Indian on the opposite shore hailed the fort. He was brought over, and proved to be the son of Cornstalk, who was anxious for his father's safety. The son was also secured as a hostage. A few days later a white hunter was killed by unknown Indians. The cry was instantly raised, "Kill the red dogs in the fort!" Arbuckle attempted, it is said, to prevent this, but his life was threatened. The mob rushed to the place where the captives were confined. Cornstalk met them at the door, and was pierced by seven bullets. His son and Red Hawk were also slain. "From that hour," says Doddridge, "peace was not to be hoped for."

The Ohio Valley, with its beautiful scenery, its genial climate, and its exuberant fertility, had been from its earliest discovery a subject of contention between the Indians and the white race. Red men had fought for it among themselves for many years, as is proved by its antiquities, and the whites succeeded to the controversy. The feet of Washington trod its soil as early as 1753, when the charter of George II. was granted for its occupancy. Although the primary object of its exploration, and of the commissioners and armies which crossed the Alleghanies and entered its borders, was the furtherance of governmental policy, it is very evident that there were aboriginal minds of sufficient penetration to foresee that the acquisition of the territory, and the spread of the arts and commerce of civilized life, were the ultimate ends in view. This may readily be perceived in the harangues of Pontiac to the tribes of the Northwest in the year 1763, as well as in those of Tenuskund at Wyoming and of Buckongaheela at Kaskaskia. Every movement of the whites towards the West was regarded by thinking Indian minds as having the same object in view.

Prior to the expedition of McIntosh, a friendly Delaware chief, Koquathaheelon, or White Eyes, had used his influence to prevent the tribes from raising the hatchet,

but an opposite influence was exercised by Captain Pipe, and the nation became divided. Such was the state of affairs among the Delawares in the spring of 1778. About this time three noted Loyalists, McKee, Elliot, and Girty, fled from Fort Pitt to the Delawares and used their utmost efforts against the American cause. Captain Pipe was so much influenced by their counsel that in a large assemblage of warriors he concluded a harangue by declaring "every one an enemy who refused to fight the Americans, and that all such ought to be put to death." Koquathaheelon boldly opposed him, denounced the policy, and sent a formal message to the Scioto, warning the Indians against the counsels of the fugitives Girty and McKee. This for a while had the effect of keeping the Delawares neutral; but the tribe finally decided to raise the hatchet against the struggling colonies.

Both the Delawares and Shawnees were greatly influenced in their councils by the Wyandots of Sandusky, a reflective, clear-minded people, who had once been at the head of the Iroquois while that nation resided on the Kanawaga, and who still held a kind of umpirage in Western Indian councils. It was against the local residence of this tribe at Sandusky that General Lachlan McIntosh was directed by Congress to proceed. He had during the spring, with a small force of regulars and militia, descended the Ohio from Fort Pitt to the Beaver River, where he erected on a commanding position a fort called McIntosh. It intercepted Indians ascending or descending the Ohio, as well as interior marauding parties who reached the river at this point. The force assigned him for the expedition against Sandusky was one thousand men. But such were the delays in organizing it and in marching through a wilderness to the Tuscarawas, that after reaching its banks he there constructed a fort called Laurens, and, garrisoning it, returned to Fort Pitt.

In the summer of 1777, Simon Girty, who, with two other Tory emissaries, Elliot and McKee, had been confined by the patriots at Pittsburg, and who was inflamed with the spirit of revenge, collected about four hundred Indian warriors at Sandusky, and marched towards Limestone, now Maysville, on the Kentucky frontier. Fort Henry, a small work near the mouth of Wheeling Creek (now Wheeling), was garrisoned by about forty men under Colonel Sheppard. Girty, undiscovered by Sheppard's scouts, appeared before the fort with his followers early on the morning of September 26. Fortunately for the settlers around the fort, they had scented danger on the previous evening, and taken refuge within its walls.

The first onset was upon a reconnoitring party under Captain Mason, who was drawn into an ambuscade, losing half his men. Of Captain Ogle's party of twelve who sallied out to the assistance of Mason, only four escaped, and the little garrison was reduced to only twelve men and youths, among whom Colonel Sheppard and Ebenezer and Silas Zane were the most prominent. Ebenezer Zane, twenty years later, founded Zanesville, Ohio. Girty demanded the unconditional surrender of the fort. Although outnumbered forty-fold, Colonel Sheppard told the scoundrel that it should never be surrendered to him or to any other man while there was an American left to defend it. To the fire of the Indians, kept up for six hours, the sharpshooters from within replied with fatal effect. At noon they fell back, and the firing

ceased. To replenish their almost exhausted stock of ammunition, the daring feat of bringing a keg of powder to the fort was successfully accomplished by an intrepid young woman, a sister of the Zanes. While returning at full speed with the keg in her arms, the Indians sent a volley of bullets after her, but not a ball touched her person.

At half-past two o'clock the attack was renewed. An attempt to force the gate was abandoned after six of their number had been shot down. Approaching darkness did not end the conflict. The Indians converted a hollow maple log into a field-piece, and after dark conveyed it within sixty yards of the fort. It was bound with chains, filled to the muzzle with stones, pieces of iron, and other missiles, and discharged against the gate of the fort. The log burst into a thousand fragments, scattering its projectiles in all directions. Several Indians were killed, but not a picket of the fort was injured. This failure discouraged the assailants, and the conflict ceased for the night. Early next morning Captain Swearingen and fourteen men arrived and fought their way into the fort, and soon after Major McCulloch arrived with forty mounted men. His followers entered the fort in safety, but he, becoming separated from them, was obliged to fly in the opposite direction, and narrowly escaped.

Hopeless of success after this augmentation of the garrison, Girty and his savage band, setting fire to the houses and fences, and killing three hundred head of cattle belonging to the settlers, raised the siege and departed. Not a man of the garrison was lost during the siege, while the loss of the enemy was between sixty and one hundred. The courageous defence of Fort Henry was one of the most remarkable incidents in the long and brilliant record of our border warfare, but it has been unaccountably overlooked by most of our historians.

The erection of Forts McIntosh and Laurens, on the banks of the Beaver and Tuscarawas Rivers, demonstrated to the Indians that they would be held accountable for their actions. But a more important military movement, one which has had a permanent and predominant influence on the history of the West, was originated in the year 1778. Western Virginia having suffered dreadfully from the inroads of the Shawnees, Delawares, and Mingoës, General George Rogers Clarke was commissioned by the State authorities to invade the country of the Illinois. His enterprise, courage, and tact were strongly exemplified in this expedition. He descended the western slope of the Alleghanies by the river Kanawha, the mouth of which was his point of rendezvous, with a force not exceeding two hundred men. The fort at this point was then invested by Indians, whom he successfully routed with the loss of only one man. His next object of attack was Kaskaskia, Illinois, from which he was separated by a wilderness one thousand miles in extent. But he had a force of picked men whom no lack of means could discourage, and whose heroic ardor no opposition of natural impediments could dampen. Descending the Ohio to its falls, he erected a small fort on Corn Island, in their vicinity, which he garrisoned with a few men, and then continued his course down the river to within sixty miles of its mouth, where he landed his men, and with only four days' provisions commenced

his march across the wilderness to the Illinois country. He was six days in reaching Kaskaskia, during two of which his little army was destitute of provisions. Reaching the town at midnight, and finding the garrison and inhabitants asleep, he carried it by surprise, taking the commandant, Rocheblave, prisoner, whom he immediately sent under guard to Richmond, together with important letters and papers implicating persons in power. The fort was found to be sufficiently strong to have been defended against a force of one thousand men. The following day, finding horses in the vicinity, General Clarke mounted about thirty of his men, under Captain Bowman, and sent them against the upper towns on the banks of the Mississippi. They took possession of the French towns and villages as high up as Cahokia, and in the course of three days thereafter no less than three hundred of the French inhabitants took the oath of allegiance to the American government. Leaving a garrison at Kaskaskia, General Clarke then proceeded across the country to Vincennes, on the Wabash, which he also surprised and captured. The march was long, the season inclement; the track lay through an unbroken wilderness and overflowed bottoms. His stock of provisions was scanty, and had to be carried on the backs of his men. He could muster only one hundred and thirty men, but he succeeded in inspiring this handful with his own heroic spirit. The difficulties were much greater than he anticipated. For days his route led through the drowned lands of Illinois, his stock of provisions became exhausted, his guides lost their way, and the most intrepid of his followers at times gave way to despair. Emerging at length from these difficulties, Vincennes was completely surprised, the governor and garrison became prisoners of war, and, like their compatriots at Kaskaskia, were sent on to Virginia. This post was in the heart of the Miami country, which had been the seat of French trade, and had been established as a mission in 1710. Its importance was so much felt by Governor Hamilton, of Detroit, that he suddenly mustered a force and recaptured the place. General Clarke, who was at Point Pleasant (West Virginia), on hearing of this, although it was then winter, determined to retake the post, and, with a resolute party of men, who during their march frequently waded through water breast-high, executed his purpose, also making Hamilton prisoner. This man was a rough, bad-tempered, and cruel officer, who had excited the ire of the Indians by his malignancy.

The effect of these movements on the mass of the Indians was more important in a political view than it appeared to be. Kaskaskia and Vincennes had been mere outposts to Detroit, which was a depot for the prisoners taken by the Indians, and where they received the rewards for the scalps they brought in.

The effect upon the Delaware nation of the operations during this year, of which Fort Pitt was the centre, was to promote the conclusion of a treaty of peace, which was signed on the 17th of September, 1778, by the chiefs Koquathaheelon, or White Eyes, Pipe, and Killbuck, before Generals Andrew and Thomas Lewis. This was the first of a long list of treaties with the Indian tribes, in which the nations, when pressed by war, sometimes made a virtue of necessity, and conceded points which on some occasions the want of popular support, and again the lack of power in their

governments, did not enable them to comply with, although the aboriginal delegates who gave their assent to them did so with full integrity of purpose. It is certain that the Delaware nation was soon afterwards engaged in hostilities against the United States, for besides the recognition of this fact by the treaty of Fort McIntosh, dated June 21, 1785, a supplementary article to that treaty provided that the chiefs Kelelamand, White Eyes, and one or two other persons of note, who took up the hatchet for the United States, should be received back into the Delaware nation, and reinstated in all their original rights without any prejudice.

Fort Laurens, erected on the Tuscarawas in 1778 by General McIntosh, at the terminus of his march against Sandusky, was left in command of Colonel Gibson, with a garrison of one hundred and fifty men. It was the custom of the garrison to put bells on their horses and send them out to graze in the vicinity, where they were visited and looked after. This being observed by the Indians who infested the surrounding forests, they stole all the animals, first removing the bells from their necks. Selecting a spot suitable for an ambuscade, the bells were tied to the stalks of stout weeds or flexible twigs, and the Indians, lying down on the ground, carefully shook them, so as to simulate the noise they would make while the horses were cropping grass. The stratagem succeeded. Of a party of sixteen men sent to catch the animals, which were supposed to have strayed, fourteen were shot dead, and the other two were taken prisoners: one of the latter returned after the termination of the war, but his comrade was never more heard of. Flushed with the success of this manœuvre, the entire body of Indians towards evening marched across the prairie in full view of the garrison, but at a safe distance. Eight hundred and forty warriors were counted from one of the bastions, painted and feathered for war, and appearing to make this display as a challenge to combat. They then crossed the Tuscarawas, and encamped on an elevated site within view of the fort, where they remained for several weeks watching the garrison. While located at this spot they affected to keep up a good understanding with the officers of the fort through one of those speaking-go-betweens who have been so fruitful of mischief in our military history. At length, their resources failing, they sent word that if a barrel of flour was supplied to them they would on the following day submit proposals of peace. The flour being duly delivered, the whole gang immediately decamped, removing to some part of the forest where so considerable a body could more readily obtain subsistence.

It has ever been a fatal mistake to put trust in Indian fidelity under such circumstances. A party of spies were left by the Indians in the woods. As the supplies of the garrison began to diminish, the invalids, amounting to ten or a dozen men, were sent to Fort McIntosh under an escort of fifteen men, commanded by Colonel Clark, of the line. This party had proceeded but two miles when they were suddenly surrounded by the Indians, and all killed except four, one of whom, a captain, succeeded in effecting his escape to the fort.

The garrison now experienced severe suffering from hunger, the fort being in a remote position, so that it could be supplied only by means of trains of pack-horses, convoyed through the wilderness by expensive escorts. Fortunately, General

McIntosh arrived with supplies and seven hundred men; but the joy produced by his arrival wellnigh proved a fatal misfortune, as the salute of musketry fired from the ramparts caused a stampede among the horses of the pack-trains, which, running affrighted through the forest, scattered their burdens of provisions and flour on the ground. When McIntosh departed from the fort he left Major Vernon in command, who, being finally reduced to great straits, and finding himself surrounded by a powerful and treacherous enemy, abandoned the fort, and returned with his command to Fort McIntosh. These transactions furnish material for a good commentary on the treaty of Fort Pitt, concluded on the 17th of the preceding September. The Delawares, who signed this treaty, occupied the entire valley of the Muskingum, of which the Tuscarawas is a branch, and, being generally under the sway of the Wyandots of Sandusky, had in fact no power to carry out, even if they possessed the authority to conclude, such a treaty.

The erection of Fort Laurens was, in truth, a monument of the failure of the military expedition against Detroit, projected with so much confidence at that time, and its abandonment may be regarded as an admission of the uselessness of the position as a check upon the Indians.

While these movements were going forward on the Tuscarawas and in the forests surrounding Fort Laurens, the Indians perpetrated a series of heart-rending murders along the river Monongahela.<sup>1</sup> A recital of these atrocities would only serve to prove that no trust could be placed in any public avowal of friendship by the savages, whether professed in conferences or by formal treaties.

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<sup>1</sup> De Hass's *History of Western Virginia*, p. 208; Wheeling, 1851. *Chronicles of Border Warfare*, Clarksburg, Virginia, 1831. It appears from this author that fifteen persons in Western Virginia of the name of Schoolcraft (connections of the writer) were killed or carried into captivity by the Shawnees during this period.

## CHAPTER V.

### BATTLE OF MINNISINK—SULLIVAN RAVAGES THE IROQUOIS TERRITORY—INDIAN AND TORY RAIDS IN WESTERN NEW YORK—CHEROKEE HOSTILITIES—MASSACRE OF THE MORAVIAN DELAWARES.

THE frequency and severity of the attacks made by the Iroquois on the frontiers of New York and Pennsylvania induced the Americans to make a sudden descent during this year on the Onondagas. The execution of this enterprise was committed to Colonel Van Schaick by General James Clinton, the commanding officer in that district. Five hundred and fifty-eight men, accompanied by Lieutenant-Colonel Willett, and furnished with every necessary supply, embarked in thirty bateaux on Wood Creek, west of the Fort Stanwix summit, and, passing rapidly through Oneida Lake and River, landed during the night at the site of old Fort Brewerton, whence they pressed swiftly forward, using every precaution to prevent an alarm. The surprise would have been complete but for the capture of a warrior near the castle. As it was, however, thirty-three warriors were killed, and the rest fled in the utmost consternation, leaving behind them all their stores, arms, and provisions. The castle and village were burned, and the country devastated within a circuit of ten miles. The army then returned to Fort Stanwix, or Schuyler, without the loss of a man.

It is doubtful whether such retributive measures are attended by any advantages. The Onondagas determining to retaliate, Brant placed himself at the head of three hundred warriors of that and other tribes, who attacked Schoharie and its environs, which had so frequently, since the commencement of the Revolution, been the scene of every species of Indian outrage,—the property of the inhabitants plundered, their houses burned, and themselves murdered and scalped. It appeared as if the Mohawk Indians, and their beau-ideal, Brant, could never forgive the sturdy patriotism of the people of that valley.

Palatine, in the Mohawk Valley, was at the same time attacked by parties of Indians from the Canada border, and many persons killed; but no event which occurred during this year made so deep an impression on the public mind as the battle and massacre at Minnisink, a fertile island in the Delaware River, which had long been the camping- and council-ground of the Lenape and of the Southern Indians in their progress to the Hudson Valley by way of the Wallkill. Few places have better claims to antiquarian interest than the town of Minnisink, or "The Place of the Island."

Having reached the vicinity of this town on the night of July 19, with sixty warriors and twenty-seven Tories disguised as Indians, Brant attacked it while the inhabitants were asleep, burned two dwelling-houses, twelve barns, a small stockade

fort, and two mills, killed several of the inhabitants, took others prisoners, and then ravaged the surrounding farms, driving off the cattle and horses to the place where he had left the main body of his warriors. When intelligence of this outrage reached Goshen, the excitement became intense. A militia force of one hundred and forty-nine men instantly marched from Orange County in pursuit, and overtook the enemy on the second day.

Their leader, Colonel Tusten, well acquainted with the craftiness and skill of Brant, opposed the measure, as too hazardous with their small force. He was overruled, and Colonel Hathorne, of the Warwick militia, Tusten's senior, joining them with a small reinforcement just before the battle, took command. At Half-Way Brook they came upon the Indian encampment of the previous night, its numerous watch-fires still smoking, indicating a large force. The two colonels, with the more cautious of the company, were for discontinuing the pursuit, but they were opposed by a large majority, and all pressed eagerly forward. At nine o'clock on the morning of the 22d the enemy were in sight, moving towards a fording-place. Hathorne so disposed his men as to intercept them, but Brant, perceiving his design, wheeled his forces, and, gaining a deep ravine which the whites had crossed, took up an advantageous position in their rear, and then formed an ambuscade.

Disappointed in not finding the enemy, the Americans were marching back, when they were fired upon. A desperate contest ensued, lasting from eleven in the morning until sunset, when the ammunition of the Orange County men failed. The Indians were greatly superior in numbers, and one-third of Hathorne's troops became separated from the rest at the commencement of the action. A final attack broke the hollow square of the Americans, who retreated. One hundred and two had fallen, and seventeen, who were wounded, were placed under Dr. Tusten's care behind a rocky point. The Indians rushed upon them furiously and tomahawked them all, notwithstanding their appeals for mercy. Brant himself sunk his tomahawk in the head of Colonel Wisner, one of the wounded, and his savage cruelty on this occasion remains one of the darkest stains upon his memory.

It is probable that this atrocity was one of the immediate causes of the expedition under General Sullivan, which marched against the Iroquois cantons during the following year.

While these events were occurring in New York, a body of two hundred Indians and one hundred refugee Royalists, under the command of McDonald, appeared on the borders of Northampton County, Pennsylvania, where they burned many houses and committed several murders. A few days subsequently they invested Freeland's Fort, on the Susquehanna, the garrison of which was too weak to defend the works, which had served principally as a shelter for women and children while the men were attending to the duties which they owed their country. Captain Hawkins Boon, who with thirty men was stationed in the vicinity, marched to the relief of the fort, and, upon finding that it had been surrendered, valiantly attacked the besiegers, and was killed, together with eighteen of his men. This affair happened about the same time as the tragic events of Minnisink.

The war had now continued nearly five years, and the operations of the British army during that period, north, south, east, and west, had proved a severe tax on the military resources and strength of the country. But these sacrifices to patriotism and high principles were considered as nothing compared to the sufferings caused by the savage auxiliaries of the British armies, who were utter strangers to the laws of humanity. The Americans bitterly reproached their foes for paying their Indian allies a price for the scalps they took, and it cannot be doubted that the censure was justly deserved.

It was the opinion of Washington that the cheapest and most effectual mode of opposing the Indians was to carry the war into their country. These tribes, nurtured in the secret recesses of the forest, were thoroughly acquainted with every avenue through their depths, and thence pounced upon the unguarded settlements when least expected, flying back to their lairs in the wilderness before an effective military force could be concentrated to pursue them. By these inroads, Washington observes, the Indians had everything to gain, and very little to lose, whereas the very reverse would be the case if their towns and retreats were visited with the calamities of war.

Conformably to these views, the year 1779 witnessed the march of the well-organized army of General Sullivan into the heart of the country occupied by the Iroquois confederacy at a season when their orchards and fields were fully laden with grain and fruits. It was a part of the plan of the expedition to penetrate the country to Niagara, and break up "the nest of vipers" there. Sullivan had gallantly aided Washington in the capture of Trenton, and was selected for this service after mature consideration.<sup>1</sup> His entire force consisted of two divisions, one of which, under General James Clinton, marched from Central New York northwardly through the Mohawk Valley, and the other, from Pennsylvania, ascended the Susquehanna. Clinton, with five brigades, proceeded with great rapidity across the country from Canajoharie, his *point d'appui* on the Mohawk, to Otsego Lake, carrying with him two hundred and twenty bateaux, all his stores, artillery, and a full supply of provisions. From this point he followed the outlet of the lake into the Susquehanna, joining General Sullivan and the Pennsylvania troops at Tioga Point. Their total force amounted to five thousand men. It included the brigades of Clinton, Hand, Maxwell, and Poor, together with Proctor's artillery and a corps of riflemen. After the delays incident to the collection and regulation of such a body of troops, the army proceeded up the river late in August, and ascended the Chemung branch to Newtown, at present called Elmira. The enemy, anticipating the movement, had prepared to oppose the army by erecting a breastwork across a peninsula in front of the place of landing, thus occupying a formidable position. Brant commanded the Iroquois, mustering fifteen hundred warriors, who were supported by two hundred regular British troops and rangers, under Colonel John Butler, Sir John Johnson, and some of the other noted Royalist commanders of that period. This force was so

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<sup>1</sup> Gates had been at first proposed.

disposed among the adjoining hills, and screened by brush, thickets, and logs, as to be entirely concealed, and it was so covered by a bend in the river that only the front and one flank were exposed to the fire of the assailants. That flank rested upon a steep hill or ridge running nearly parallel with the river. Farther to the left was another ridge, running in the same direction, and passing in the rear of the Americans. Detachments of the enemy were stationed on both hills, having a line of communication, and they were so disposed that they might fall upon the assailants' flank and rear as soon as the action should commence. Their connecting fortification was so disposed that both flanks of the army would be exposed to an enfilading fire. The army landed on the 29th of August, and the enemy's position was discovered by the advance guard, under Major Parr, at eleven o'clock in the morning. General Hand immediately formed the light infantry in a wood within four hundred yards of the Indian breastwork, where he remained until the rest of the troops came up. While these movements were in progress, small parties of Indians sallied from their intrenchments and began a desultory firing, as suddenly retreating when attacked, and making the woods resound with their savage yells. Their intention evidently was to induce the belief that they were present in very great numbers, and were the only force to be encountered. Judging truly that the hill on his right was occupied by the Indians, Sullivan ordered Poor with his brigade to attempt its ascent, and to endeavor to turn the enemy's left flank, while the artillery, supported by the main body of the army, attacked them in front. Both orders were promptly executed. The ascent being gained, the Americans poured in their fire, while the enemy for two hours withstood a heavy fire directly in front. Both the Indians and their allies fought manfully, but the Americans pressed on with great determination. Every tree, rock, and thicket sheltered an enemy, who sent forth his deadly messengers. The Indians yielded slowly, and, as it were, inch by inch, being frequently driven from their shelter at the point of the bayonet. Such obstinacy had not been paralleled since the battle of Oriskany. Brant, the moving and animating spirit of the Indians, urged on the warriors with his voice, and their incessant yells almost drowned the noise of the conflict, until the quickly succeeding and regular reverberations of the artillery overpowered all other sounds. It was remarked by an officer who was present that the roar of this cannonade was most commanding and "elegant." The Indians still maintained their ground in front, though the tremendous fire from Poor's brigade had so thinned their flank that a reinforcement of a battalion of rangers was ordered up to sustain it. In vain did the enemy contest the ground from point to point, endeavoring to maintain a position. This officer at length ascended the hill and attacked them in flank, a move which decided the fortunes of the day. Observing that they were in danger of being surrounded, the yell of retreat was sounded by the Indians, and red and white men, impelled by one impulse, precipitately fled across the Chemung River, abandoning their works, their packs, provisions, and a quantity of arms. The action had been protracted and sanguinary. Contrary to the Indian custom, some of their warriors who had fallen were left on the battle-field, and others were found hastily buried by

the way. The American loss was but six killed and fifty wounded. A large part of Sullivan's force was not brought into action at all.

This battle, as subsequent events proved, decided the result of the campaign. It vindicated the opinion of Washington that the Indians must be encountered in their own country, and it effectually destroyed the Iroquois confederacy.

The results of the campaign may be easily demonstrated. The Indians, having fled in a panic, never stopped until they reached the head of Seneca Lake, whence they scattered to their respective villages. They did not rally, as they might have done, and oppose Sullivan's forces at defiles on the route. The Americans pursued them vigorously, with four brass three-pounders and the entire disposable force. The army encamped at Catherine's Town on the 2d of September, and began to destroy villages, corn-fields, and orchards in the surrounding country, continuing the work of devastation through the Genesee country and the Genesee Valley. On the 7th of the month the army crossed the outlet of Seneca Lake, and moved forward to the capital of the Seneca tribe, Kanadaseagea, now Geneva. This place contained about sixty houses, surrounded with gardens, orchards of apple- and peach-trees, and luxuriant corn-fields. Butler, the commandant of the defeated rangers, had endeavored to induce the Senecas to rally here, but in vain. They fled, abandoning everything, and the torch and axe of their foes were employed to level every tenement and living fruit-tree to the ground.

From this point the army proceeded to Canandaigua, where were found twenty-three large and "elegant" houses, mostly frame, together with very extensive fields of corn, all of which were destroyed. The next point of note in the march was Honeoye, a village containing ten houses, which were burned. Here a small post was established as a depot. As General Sullivan advanced towards the valley of the Genesee, the Indians determined again to oppose him, and, having organized their forces, presented themselves in battle-array between Honeoye and Conesus Lake. They attacked the advance-guard in mistake, supposing it to be the entire force, but, having seen it fall back on the main army, they did not await the approach of the latter. In this affray they captured a friendly Oneida, who was inhumanly butchered by a malignant chief named Little Beard. At this time, also, Lieutenant Boyd, who had been sent out with twenty-six men to reconnoitre Little Beard's town, was captured, and most inhumanly tortured, notwithstanding his appeal to Brant as a Masonic brother.

The army moved forward to the flats of the Genesee, where the Indians made a show of resistance. General Clinton immediately prepared to attack and surround them by extending his flanks, but, observing the object of his movement, they retreated. The army then crossed the Genesee to the principal town of the Indians, containing one hundred and twenty-eight houses, which were burned, and the surrounding fields destroyed. It was these fertile fields which had furnished the savages with the means of carrying on their predatory and murderous expeditions. General Sullivan had been instructed to make them feel the strength of the American arms with the bitterness of domestic desolation, for which purpose detachments were sent

out at every suitable point to lay waste their fields, cut down their orchards, destroy their villages, and cripple them in their means. In carrying out these orders not less than forty Indian towns were burned, and the tourist who after the lapse of a hundred years visits the ruins caused by these acts of military vengeance is forcibly reminded of the spirit of destruction which descended upon the Indian villages and orchards. Having accomplished one of the objects of the expedition, the army recrossed the Genesee on the 16th of September, passed the outlet of Seneca Lake on the 20th, reached the original rendezvous at Tioga on the 30th, and within a fortnight returned to their respective points of departure. Why Sullivan did not extend his victorious march to Niagara, the head-quarters of the Tories and Indians, the breaking up of which would have secured a period of repose to the white settlements, is not clearly understood. The terrible chastisement inflicted by him, while it awed the Indians, did not crush them. It strengthened their hatred for the white man, and extended it through the tribes upon the Lakes and in the valley of the Ohio. Washington was named by them An-na-ta-kaw-see, taker of towns, or town-destroyer.

Towards the close of this year a detachment of seventy men from the Kentucky district of Virginia, under Major Rodgers, was surprised by the Shawnees while ascending the Ohio River. On approaching the mouth of the Licking River they discovered a few hostile Indians standing on a sand-bar, whilst a canoe was being propelled towards them, as if its occupants desired to hold friendly intercourse. Rodgers, who was on the alert, immediately made his boat fast to the shore, and went in pursuit of the Indians he had seen. They proved to be only a decoy to lead him into an ambush. The moment he landed and commenced an assault on the small party, an overwhelming number of the enemy issued from their concealment, poured in a heavy and deadly fire, and then rushed forward with their tomahawks, instantly killing Rodgers and forty-five of his men. The remainder fled towards the boat, but the Indians had anticipated them by its capture. Retreat being thus cut off, they faced the foe, and fought desperately as long as daylight lasted, when a small number succeeded in escaping, and finally reached Harrisburg. The details of the escape of Benham, who was shot through the hips on this occasion, possess a thrilling interest.

The expedition of Sullivan against the Iroquois proved so destructive to them that they were compelled to seek food and shelter from the British authorities at Niagara. The adherence to the American cause of the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, living on their lands, had occasioned ill feelings to be entertained by the other Iroquois against them. Every persuasion had been used in vain to induce them to join the royal standard. Their conduct at Oriskany, and their hospitality to the missionary Kirkland, had been the subject of sharp remonstrances by Guy Johnson, who peremptorily ordered Kirkland to leave the country. Although but few of these tribes joined General Clinton's division in the Genesee campaign, and those only as guides, yet when the Senecas captured the faithful guide, Honyerry, at Boyd's defeat, in their rage they literally hewed him in pieces. General Haldimand, of

Canada, had in a special written message threatened vengeance on the Oneida tribes for deserting, as he termed it, the British cause, and thus forgetting the wise counsels of their old and respected but deceased friend Sir William Johnson. This purpose, notwithstanding the severity of the winter, he executed, with the assistance of Brant and a force of Tories. Suddenly attacking the village of Oneida Castle, they drove the Indians from this ancient seat, burned their dwellings, their church, and their school-house, and destroyed their corn, as well as every other means of subsistence. The Oneidas fled to the Lower Mohawk, where they were protected and supported during the rest of the war.

In the month of May Sir John Johnson entered Johnstown with five hundred regulars, a detachment of his own regiment of Royal Greens, and about two hundred Indians and Tories. Marching from the direction of Crown Point through the woods to the Sacondaga, they entered the valley of the Mohawk at midnight entirely unheralded. This foray was one of the most shocking transactions of the whole war. The Indians roved from house to house, murdering the inhabitants, and plundering, destroying, and burning their property. Among the number of those slain by the savages were four octogenarians, whose locks were silvered by age, including the patriot Fonda, of the Mohawk Valley. Cattle and sheep were driven off, and horses stolen from their stalls. Sir John recovered the plate which had been buried in his cellars in 1776, and then retraced his steps to Canada, after having left a lasting mark of his vengeance on the home and familiar scenes of his childhood and the country of his youth, notwithstanding his father had there risen to power and greatness from an obscure original, and that his bones were there buried. The Mohawk Valley had been subjected to the twofold vengeance of the Indians and the Tories, who rivalled one another in their deeds of cruelty and vandalism, until it presented as denuded an appearance as a swept threshing-floor. The flail of warfare had beaten out everything except that sturdy patriotism which increased in strength in proportion to the magnitude of its trials. This attack was conducted in a stealthy and silent manner. No patriotic drum had sounded the call to arms. The enemy advanced with the noiseless tread of the tiger, and returned to their haunts with the tiger's reward,—blood and plunder.

Some allowance must be made for the complicity of the aborigines in this predatory warfare, on account of their ignorance and their natural lack of humane feelings. This will not, however, apply to men educated in the principles of civilization. Even Thayendanagea, the Typhon of the Revolution, found apologists for the greatest of his enormities, and we have certainly high authority for the palliation of crime in those who know not what they do. But nothing can excuse the conduct of those who perpetrate crimes with a clear moral perception of the enormity of their deeds.

Scarcely had Sir John Johnson and his myrmidons returned in safety to Canada when the nefarious business of plunder, murder, and arson was resumed in the Schoharie Valley, which had ever been deemed one of the richest agricultural regions in the vicinity of the Mohawk. From the year 1712, the period of its first settle-

ment by Europeans, it had been celebrated for the beauty and fertility of its lands, and for the rich abundance of its cereals, the crops of which during the year 1780 had been more than ordinarily profuse.

The troops designed for this foray, and collected at La Chine, were landed at Oswego, and marched across the country to the Susquehanna. They consisted of three companies of Royal Greens, two hundred rangers, a company of yagers, armed with short rifles, and the effective force of the Mohawks. They were joined at Tioga by the Senecas under Cornplanter. The whole force has been estimated at from eight hundred to fifteen hundred men, with three pieces of artillery; each man was supplied with eighty rounds of ammunition. Sir John commanded the regulars, and Brant the Iroquois. Their appearance in the Schoharie Valley was heralded by the smoke of burning dwellings, barns, and hay-stacks, and by the wild tumult of savage warfare. Three small stockaded forts were erected in the valley, which were but feebly garrisoned, and ill supplied with ammunition. The principal attack was made on the central fort, but the resolution of its garrison, weak though it was, supplied the place of military skill. A flag of truce sent forward by the enemy with a summons to surrender was fired upon, which act appeared to be conclusive evidence to the marauders that every preparation had been made to give them a warm reception. The enemy ravaged the entire valley with fire and sword. Families were murdered, the houses, barns, and church burned, and cattle and horses<sup>1</sup> driven off, while the air resounded with the war-whoops of the savages. Of wheat alone eighty thousand bushels were estimated to have been destroyed. One hundred persons were killed, some of them in the most cruel manner, and many were carried into captivity. The enemy, after committing all the devastation possible, sped on to the Mohawk Valley, where their operations embraced a still wider range. On reaching their destination the forces of Sir John were augmented by trained parties of Loyalists; and the march through the valley became a scene of rapine and plunder, the forces being divided, one portion taking the north and the other the south side of the river, thus leaving no part of the doomed section unvisited, or free from the ruthless inroads of the Indians.

While the Northern Indians were thus plundering and destroying the frontier settlements, those at the South also broke out into open hostility.

Tory emissaries had been among the Cherokees, one of the most active and influential of whom was John Stuart, His Majesty's Indian Agent for South Carolina. When, early in 1776, the British attacked Charleston, the Overhill Cherokees began a series of massacres upon the Western frontier. The common peril caused a general rising of the people of Eastern Tennessee and Southwestern Virginia and the Carolinas. The Indians received a check on July 20 at Island Flats,

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<sup>1</sup> While these devastations were in progress, Lawrence Schoolcraft, a young minute-man in the fort, having a fine horse in a neighboring field, went out to look after him. He observed an Indian, mounted on the animal, riding towards him. Crouching behind a clump of bushes, he fired at the savage, who fell from the horse, which the young man then rode back to the fort in triumph.

losing forty warriors. Next day a party was repulsed from Fort Watauga by James Robertson and his garrison. Colonel Christian, with the Virginia and North Carolina levies, soon recovered the upper settlements on the Tellico and the Tennessee, and the Cherokees sued for peace, which was granted. Towns like Tuskega, where a captive had lately been burned alive, were reduced to ashes. The warriors of the lower settlements poured down upon the South Carolina frontier on July 1, killing and scalping all who fell into their power, without distinction of age or sex. The terrified inhabitants fled to the few stockades for protection. Colonel Williamson, commanding the district of Ninety-Six, with about five hundred men, in a skirmish with the Indians discovered thirteen white men—Tories disguised as savages—wielding the tomahawk and scalping-knife. This was the beginning of the fierce hatred between Whig and Tory which soon produced such bitter results of domestic feud in South Carolina.

While marching to attack a force of Indians and Tories at Oconoree Creek, Williamson fell into an ambush. His men were thrown into disorder, but were soon rallied through the skill and coolness of Major Hammond, and were finally victorious. Again ambushed by his wily enemy near the present town of Franklin, Williamson repulsed the foe and destroyed the towns and crops. So severe was the punishment that five hundred Cherokee warriors fled to Florida. At the same time General Rutherford, of North Carolina, with a large force, crossed the Blue Ridge at Swannanoa Gap and laid waste the fertile valley of the Tennessee, joining Williamson September 14. The Cherokees were compelled to submit to the most abject humiliation, and to cede to South Carolina all their lands beyond the mountains of Unacaya, now the fertile counties of Greenville, Anderson, and Pickens, watered by the tributaries of the Savannah, the Saluda, and the Ennoree.

In 1781 the Cherokees again became restive, and made incursions into South Carolina. With a large number of disguised white men, they fell upon Ninety-Six, spreading desolation. General Andrew Pickens, at the head of four hundred mounted militia, rapidly penetrated their country and burned thirteen of their villages, killing a large number, and taking nearly seventy prisoners. Even the speed and decision of Montgomery were excelled. The Indians could not withstand the terrible onset of the cavalry, but fled in consternation, and immediately sued for peace. They promised never to listen to the British again, and for a long time afterwards they remained quiet.

The years 1780 and 1781 were characterized by these inroads, which could always be traced to the machinations of the Tories, whose chief object was to make the patriots of the Revolution suffer not only all the evils of civilized but also all the horrors of savage warfare. But the Revolution could not be suppressed by acts of savage vengeance, to which the barbarian allies of British despotism were impelled by the Indian prophet at his midnight orgies, by unwise counsels in high places, or by the desire of winning the price offered for deeds of blood and cruelty.

Before the close of the year 1780 it became evident to every one except the Indians, who neither understood nor studied cause and effect, that the chances of

ultimate success preponderated in favor of the colonies; and after the surrender of Cornwallis this surmise became an absolute certainty. To every one but this infatuated race it was apparent that the struggle had been maintained at the cost of national exertions which even the British crown could not maintain, and the words of Lord Chatham were regarded in England as but little less than the words of inspiration.

While the negotiations preliminary to the formation of a treaty of peace were in progress, there existed a state of Indian excitement on the frontiers which made it the duty of every settler to deem his log cabin a castle and constitute his wife and children the custodians of an armory. The Lowlands of Scotland were never more completely devastated by the raids of their fierce neighbors the Celts, than were the unfortunate frontiers of Virginia by the Indians. These details are, however, the appropriate theme of local history: our attention is required by another topic.

The Mohicans, and their relatives the Delawares, were at an early period benefited by the benevolent labors of the Moravian Brethren. Unfortunately, as we have previously mentioned, this excellent society, even for twenty years before the conquest of Canada, had held the reputation of being politically identified with the French; and, still more unfortunately for the peace of the Delawares, this preference was alleged to have been transferred to the British crown after the conquest. There does not appear to be a particle of reliable evidence of either the former or the latter preference; but the populace had formed this opinion while the Delawares lived east of the Alleghanies, and the impression became still stronger after they migrated to the Ohio Valley. Although these Delaware converts resided permanently in towns located on the Muskingum, they were peremptorily ordered, by the Indians in the British interest, encouraged thereto by the local authorities, to abandon their habitations and remove to Sandusky and Detroit, under the evident apprehension that these converts would imbibe American sentiments. It was very manifest that they neither engaged in war nor were ever encouraged thereto by their teachers, but expressly the contrary. The Munsees, a Delaware tribe, however, took refuge on the river Thames, in Canada, and the so-called "Christian Indians," pure Delawares, of the Moravian persuasion, did the same. This appears to have been the result of political necessity, and, if originally at the solicitation or through the counsel of men in authority, that motive soon ceased to have much effect. In 1735 the "Christian Indians" migrated through the Straits of Michilimackinac to rejoin their parental tribe in the West. Some of the Munsees had previously united with the Stockbridges at Green Bay, in Wisconsin, and others followed them. The majority of the Delawares in the West were enemies to the Americans, which made it the more easy to convey the impression that the Muskingum Delawares were also inimical.

But, however the question of political preference of the Moravian Delawares may be decided, it is certain that in 1782 the common opinion among the people of Western Virginia and Pennsylvania was that they were strongly in the British interest. Nothing short of this could have justified—if anything could be alleged, even at that excited period, in palliation of that action—the expedition of Williamson against the Muskingum towns. It was to no purpose that the hardy forester was

told that these Christian Delawares were taught and professed the doctrine of non-resistance and peace towards all men. A majority of the frontiersmen not only had no faith in such a doctrine, but could not realize the fact that an Indian, whose natural element was war, whose very nature was subterfuge, subtlety, and duplicity, could subscribe to the doctrines of peace and good-will without danger of relapsing into his original condition at the sight of blood or the sound of a rifle.

It happened that some hostile Indians from Sandusky made an incursion into the settlements on the Monongahela, committing a series of shocking murders. Infuriated at these outrages, a body of one hundred or two hundred men, all mounted and equipped, set out from the Monongahela, under command of Colonel D. Williamson, in quest of the murderers. They directed their march to the settlements of Salem and Gnadenhütten, on the Muskingum. The vicinity of the latter place was reached after two days' march, and on the morning of the following day the party divided into three sections, entering the town simultaneously at different points. They found the Indians laboring peaceably and unsuspectingly in the fields, gathering up their bundles preparatory to their return to Sandusky. A message from the commander at Pittsburg had apprised them of the march of Williamson's force and warned them to be on their guard, but, conscious of their innocence, no alarm had been excited by this intelligence. Williamson approached the settlement with friendly professions, proposed to the Indians a plan of deliverance from their oppressors the Wyandots of Sandusky, and induced them to deliver up their arms, axes, and working implements, as well as to collect at a place of rendezvous, preparatory to a proposed march to Pittsburg. At this rendezvous they found themselves completely in the power of their enemies, who began to treat them roughly; but neither resistance nor flight was now possible. They were next accused of horse-stealing and other acts of which they were entirely guiltless. It was then determined in a council composed of Williamson's followers to decide their fate. He paraded his men in line, and then put the question, whether they should be sent to Pittsburg or shot, requesting those who were in favor of their removal to step in front. The majority condemned them to death; sixteen or eighteen were in favor of mercy. The Delawares, whose fate had thus been summarily decided, knelt down, prayed, and sung a hymn, whilst a consultation was being held as to the mode of putting them to death. Not an imploring word was uttered, not a tear shed. They submitted silently to their fate, and were successively struck down with a mallet. Ninety-six unarmed Indians were thus slain. Sixty-two of the number were adults, one of them a woman, and the remaining thirty-four children. The demoniacal troop then returned to their homes, giving plausible but false reasons for the atrocities committed, which were published in the newspapers.

## CHAPTER VI.

### BORDER WARS OF KENTUCKY—BOONESBOROUGH ATTACKED—BOWMAN'S EXPEDITION—ESTILL'S DEFEAT—BATTLE OF THE BLUE LICKS—THE CREEKS ATTACK GENERAL WAYNE.

ON the 1st day of April, 1775, the stockade fort of Boonesborough, on the west bank of the Kentucky River, near the mouth of Otter Creek, was begun. In 1774, James Harrod, a resolute backwoodsman, and a skilful hunter, had led a party of forty-one to Harrodsburg, and during the summer built there the first log cabin in Kentucky. Seventeen delegates from the four settlements—Boonesborough, Harrodsburg, Boiling Springs, and St. Asaph's—met together at the first-named place, and formed the colony of Transylvania, now the Commonwealth of Kentucky, on the 23d of May, 1775, a treaty having been made the previous winter with the Cherokees for the land between the Ohio, the Cumberland Mountains, and the Cumberland and Kentucky Rivers. Before this time it was the common Indian hunting-ground, lying between the Cherokees, Creeks, and Catawbias of the South and the Shawnees, Delawares, and Wyandots of the North, and it was also the scene of occasional bloody encounters between these warlike and hostile tribes. No permanent settlement existed within its borders when first occupied by the white men, but reports of the inexhaustible fertility of its soil had reached Virginia and North Carolina, and very soon parties of emigrants were on their way thither.

No name is better known in the pioneer annals of America than that of Daniel Boone. As a hunter and surveyor he had more than once explored "the dark and bloody ground," as Kentucky afterwards came to be called, and had passed entire seasons alone in its solitary recesses. At this period he was in the prime of life, having attained the age of forty, and his fame as a hunter and explorer, as well as his reputation for sagacity, judgment, and intrepidity, was unsurpassed. Boone was five feet ten inches in height, robust and athletic, fitted by habit and temperament for endurance, his bright eye and calm determination of manner inspiring confidence, while such was the kindness of his nature that he is said never to have wronged a human being, not even an Indian.

The fort at Boonesborough was the special object of Indian hatred. It was the first fortification built in that region, and it at once excited their jealous fears. The settlement was incessantly harassed by flying parties of Indians, who waylaid and shot at the men working in the fields or while hunting. Few ventured beyond the protection of the fort. In December, 1775, a party of Indians assailed it, but were repulsed. On the 7th of July following, one of Boone's little daughters and two

other girls who were amusing themselves near the fort, were seized and carried away by the Indians, but were speedily rescued by Boone and his companions.

An attack made on April 15, 1777, was easily repulsed. Another and fiercer assault by two hundred Indians was made July 4, with a similar result. Logan's Fort, built early in 1776 near the present town of Stanford, and Harrodsburg, were at the same time attacked.

February 7, 1778, Boone, with twenty-seven men, was captured while making salt, and taken to Detroit, where the British commander, Colonel Hamilton, vainly offered his captors a ransom of one hundred pounds sterling. He was then taken to Chillicothe, and adopted into the tribe, and soon succeeded in thoroughly ingratiating himself with the Indians. Learning that an expedition was preparing against Boonesborough, he made his escape, travelled one hundred and sixty miles in less than five days, and appeared before the garrison at Boonesborough like one risen from the dead. The fort was at once repaired and strengthened, and in ten days was ready for a siege. Distant settlements were abandoned, and the forts were put in fighting order; but the escape of Boone disconcerted the Indians, and delayed their enterprise for several weeks.

On the 8th of August five hundred Indians and Canadians, under Captain Duquesne and the Indian chief Blackfish,—the most formidable expedition of the war,—appeared before the fort, then garrisoned by sixty-five men. Harrod's and Logan's forts, menaced at the same time by strong detachments, could afford them no assistance. Summoned to surrender, a truce of two days was granted the garrison by Duquesne in which to consider the matter. The time thus gained was well employed in collecting the horses and cattle within the fort. At its expiration, Boone returned this answer: "We are determined to defend our fort while a man is living. We laugh at your formidable preparations, but thank you for giving us notice, and time to provide for our defence." Duquesne next proposed to the garrison to send out nine chosen men to make a treaty. This was agreed to, and a conference was held sixty yards in front of the fort. At its close, Boone and each of his eight companions, under the pretext of a friendly handshaking, were grasped by two or three stalwart Indians. But they had mistaken their men, and were easily shaken off by the sturdy backwoodsmen, who succeeded in regaining the fort under the protecting rifles of the garrison, who had from the first suspected treachery on the part of the Indians. For nine days and nights the savages persevered in their attack, employing all means known to them to effect its capture, setting it on fire, and even attempting to undermine it. One hundred and twenty-five pounds of bullets were picked up around the fort after their departure, besides what stuck in the logs of the fort,—“certainly a great proof of their industry,” as Boone himself says. This memorable siege was the last sustained by Boonesborough, and it saved the Kentucky frontier from depopulation. The enemy decamped on the tenth day, having lost thirty men killed, and a much larger number wounded. The garrison had two killed and four wounded. The capture of the British forts at Kaskaskia and Vincennes soon followed. This blow, striking at the root of the evil, cut off the supplies of arms and

ammunition constantly being furnished the Indians, and checked their annual predatory incursions.

In 1779, Colonel Bowman led an expedition consisting of the flower of Kentucky against Chillicothe. Colonel Benjamin Logan was second in command, and Harrod, Bulger, Bedinger, and other brave officers held subordinate positions. The surprise was complete, and the plan of attack well concerted. Logan's division, taking the position assigned to it, awaited the signal for attack, which was to proceed from Bowman. Hour after hour passed, and the opportunity for a decisive victory, that would have spread consternation throughout the Indian tribes and repressed their incursions for a long time, was lost through the imbecility or fears of the commander-in-chief. Logan's division, left unsupported by Bowman, at length retreated in disorder, and the rout quickly became general. Some of the subordinate officers, with daring bravery, charged the enemy on horseback, and covered the retreat, but the failure was as complete as it was unexpected and disgraceful.

A formidable expedition, consisting of English and Indians, under Colonel Bird, was organized in 1780. Cannon were employed for the first time in Kentucky, and Ruddle's and Martin's Stations were destroyed, and their garrisons taken. This was retaliated by Colonel Clarke, who, in the autumn of that year, invaded the Indian country in Ohio, defeated the Shawnees in a pitched battle at Pickaway, laid waste their villages, and destroyed their corn-fields with ruthless severity.

Indian hostility was unusually active in Kentucky in 1782. A party of Wyandots committed shocking depredations near Estill's Station in May of that year. Captain Estill, with an equal force, pursued and overtook them at Hinckstone's Fork of Licking, near Mount Stirling, and here occurred one of the best-fought battles of the war. The creek ran between the two parties, who, behind trees and logs, maintained for hours a close and deadly conflict. One-third of the combatants had fallen, when Lieutenant Miller, with a few men, undertook, by making a *détour*, to gain the enemy's flank and close the battle. The Indian leader, perceiving the movement, with the rapid decision that marks the great commander, and wholly contrary to the usual Indian tactics, crossed the creek in his front, and throwing his whole force upon Estill, now weakened by the absence of Miller, overpowered him and forced him from the ground. He and nearly all his men were killed, and it was poor consolation that an equal loss had been inflicted on the enemy. This bloody little fight, memorable for the military skill of the Indian commander, created a sensation at the time far beyond its real importance, and was followed by stunning blows from the same quarter in rapid succession.

The disastrous battle of the Blue Licks, which occurred August 19, 1782, spread mourning throughout the Kentucky border. A large force of Indians and a few Canadians, having been repulsed from Bryant's Station, were pursued across the Licking River by one hundred and sixty Kentuckians, under Colonels Todd, Trigg, and Boone, the latter of whom advised waiting for Colonel Logan, then on his way to join them. Had the advice been taken, the result would have been very different. The enemy was before them, and a rapid retreat or a battle against fearful odds was

inevitable. Further deliberation was ended by Major McGary, who spurred his horse into the stream, waved his hat over his head, and shouted, "Let all who are not cowards follow me!" Dashing into the deep ford, the gallant band crossed the stream and pressed forward to close with the concealed enemy. Suddenly a withering and murderous fire was poured upon them by the unseen foe, by which the right wing was broken, the enemy rushing up and gaining their rear, and in spite of the heroism of the survivors they were overpowered and compelled to seek safety in flight. The river was difficult to cross; many were killed just entering it, some in the water, others after crossing and while ascending the cliffs. Some escaped on horseback, a few on foot. Seventy-seven were killed, among them Colonels Todd and Trigg and Major Harlan, and a few wounded. Some of the fugitives reached Bryant's Station the night after the battle, and were there met by Colonel Logan at the head of four hundred and fifty men. This terrible blow, the last that was struck by the Indians for the recovery of their Kentucky hunting-grounds, only brought sure and speedy retribution upon their heads. General Clarke's expedition, in September, 1782, was exterminating in its character; the Chillicothe towns on the Scioto were destroyed, their plantations were laid waste, and peace was secured to Kentucky, no formidable war-party ever afterwards invading it.

The last blow which the Indians inflicted upon the regular troops of the colonies was dealt by the Creeks of Georgia. As the contest was drawing to its close, the troops of both parties moved towards the South. During the occupation of Savannah, General Wayne was encamped with an army about five miles from that city, engaged in watching the motions of the enemy. Guristersigo, a distinguished Creek leader of Western Georgia, projected a secret expedition against the resolute hero of Stony Point, who anticipated no danger from an Indian foe distant from him nearly the entire breadth of Georgia. The Indian chief, undiscovered, reached a point near the object of attack before daybreak on the 24th of June, with three hundred warriors.

Wayne, who was a cautious and watchful officer, had been on the alert against the enemy from Savannah, whence he expected an attack; and his men, who had been harassed by severe duty, slept on their arms on the night of the 23d, so as to be ready for action. They were suddenly aroused at midnight by the war-whoop, and the warriors of Guristersigo attacked them with such fury and in such numbers that the troops seemed to be unable to withstand their onset. They intended to fall upon the American pickets, but ignorantly attacked the main body. The infantry at once seized their arms, and the artillery hastened to their guns. General Wayne and Colonel Posey, who had lain down in the general's tent, instantly arose, and proceeded to the scene, the latter leading his regiment of infantry to the charge, thereby restoring confidence and order in the line. At that moment Wayne's horse was shot dead under him, and he saw his cannon seized by the savages. They were soon recaptured, and a fierce hand-to-hand struggle ensued, in which the tomahawk and rifle proved no match for the bayonet. General Wayne at the same time charged at the head of the cavalry, who cut down the naked warriors with their broadswords,

and by turning their flank put them to flight. The Creeks fought with desperation, and none with greater courage than Guristersigo, who, by his voice and example, gave animation to his men, seventeen of whom fell around him. He continued to fight with heroic desperation, until he finally fell, pierced with two bayonet-wounds and one from the thrust of a spontoon. Upon his fall the Indians fled, and were pursued far into the forest, many being killed with the bayonet. Wayne's loss was slight. In September Colonels Pickens and Clarke completed their subjugation. Weary of the conflict, the Indians ceded all their lands south of the Savannah and east of the Chattahoochee to the State of Georgia as the price of peace.

## PERIOD VI.

### POST-REVOLUTIONARY.

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#### CHAPTER I.

##### INDIAN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES—TREATIES WITH THE TRIBES.

A DEFINITIVE treaty of peace was signed at Versailles January 14, 1783. As the Indians had fought for no national object, they received no consideration in this instrument. It contained no provision for their welfare,—a fact of which they had been forewarned by the Americans,—as it would have contravened the policy of Europe to recognize the national character of a people whom they had so long regarded as mere savages. The Americans, who succeeded to their guardianship, treated them as quasi nationalities, devoid of sovereignty, but having an absolute possessory right to the soil and to its usufruct, with power to cede this right, to make peace, and to regulate the boundaries to their lands, by which the aboriginal hunting-grounds were so defined that they could readily be distinguished from the districts ceded. Thus was at once laid the foundation of that long list of Indian treaties which record our later Indian history and accurately mark the progress of our settlements between the Atlantic and the Pacific. Under this policy commenced that system of annuities by which, as their exhausted hunting-grounds were ceded, they were supplied with the means of subsistence,—a system designed to promote their gradual advance in agriculture and arts, as well as their improvement in manners, morals, education, and civilization.

The proper management of Indian affairs had been an object of deep and constant concern to Congress, and North and South the duty was for many years intrusted to a board of commissioners composed of men of the highest experience, judgment, and wisdom. Nor were the means of the provisional government lightly taxed for the accomplishment of this object. By reference to the records of the Treasury Department during this time we have ascertained that between the period of the Declaration of Independence and the 4th of March, 1789, embracing the era of the Revolution, the sum of \$580,103.41 was disbursed on account of the expenses of treaties with, and of presents to, the Indian tribes, and this was done while, during part of the time, the army had neither shoes nor clothing. There was then no means of obtaining an accurate account of their numbers, but an estimate prepared by Mr.

Madison rates their total force during the contest at twelve thousand four hundred and thirty fighting-men, a very large part of whom were under British influence. This estimate may, as the author says, have been above the truth, but it was far more reliable than the exaggerated enumeration published only ten or eleven years previous by Colonel Bouquet, who reported the number of warriors at fifty-six thousand five hundred.

The question as to the policy to be pursued with tribes who contemned all the maxims and principles of civilized life was one presenting many difficulties. History had demonstrated the instability, cruelty, and treachery of their character. Ever subject to be influenced by those whose interest it was to mislead them, inclined to mistake their rights and true position, and to be turned aside from the pursuit of noble and permanent objects to those that were temporary and illusive, civilization itself appeared to them as one of the most intolerable of evils, and they were as much opposed to the labors of the plough and the loom as they were to the science of letters and the doctrines of Christianity.

Although the task of reclamation was difficult, it was neither hopeless nor discouraging, and, whether pleasant or otherwise, it became one of the earliest subjects for the exercise of governmental powers. To acknowledge sovereignty of the Indians in the vast territories over which they roamed would have been simply ridiculous, but the recognition of their right to the soil replaced in their hands the means of advancing to prosperity and happiness. As this would be a gradual process, supplying from decade to decade the loss suffered from the depreciation in value of their hunting-grounds, by the resources arising from their voluntary cession, the system seemed well suited to their wants, and well adapted to secure permanent peace on the frontiers. The only real difficulty encountered was in the adjustment of its details, and this difficulty was complicated by the removals of the tribes, by infelicity of situation owing to advancing settlements, and by the temptations to indulgence in idleness, dissipation, and savage customs. Frequently the very accumulation of their annuities became the means of their depression, and of accumulated perplexities. It will be seen by scanning the statistics of the tribes in the West that the members of many of those tribes which possessed the largest funds in government securities, and particularly of those small tribes which received per capita the largest annuities in coin, were the most idle, intemperate, and demoralized.

The treaty of Versailles having ignored the national existence of the Indians, they were compelled to negotiate directly with the Republic. The Iroquois, or Six Nations, who had been the most determined enemies of the Americans, made the first treaty in which the question of territory was mooted, which was concluded and signed at Fort Stanwix October 22, 1784, in presence of the commissioners, Oliver Wolcott, Richard Butler, and Arthur Lee. By the terms of this instrument they ceded a strip of land beginning at the mouth of Oyonwaye Creek, on Lake Ontario, four miles south of the Niagara portage path, and running southerly to the mouth of the Tehosaroro or Buffalo Creek, thence to the Pennsylvania line, and along its north and south boundary to the Ohio River. They relinquished any claim by right

of conquest to the Indian country west of that boundary. Their right of property in the territory situate in the State of New York eastward of the Oyonwaye line, embracing the fertile region of Western New York, remained unaffected, and the territory of the Oneidas was guaranteed to them. By this treaty the tribes who had fought against the colonies covenanted to deliver up all prisoners, white and black, taken during the war, and as a guarantee that this should be done six chiefs were held as hostages. This treaty was finally confirmed by all the Iroquois sachems in a council held by General St. Clair at Fort Harmar, on the Ohio, January 9, 1789.

New York had been the principal arena of the Iroquois development. According to the earliest traditions, they originally entered it by way of the Oswego River, and assumed separate names and tribal distinctions after their geographical dispersion over it. Their confederation, under the title of Aquinoshioni, is by far the most interesting example of political development among the North American tribes.

The Revolutionary War, having in effect dissolved the confederation, left the sovereignty of the individual States intact, and therefore to New York alone could cessions of territory be rightfully made. These cessions began shortly after the negotiation of the initial national treaty at Fort Stanwix in 1784. On the 28th of June, 1785, at a convocation of the chiefs and sachems held at Herkimer, the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, in consideration of the payment in hand of a sum of money and goods, ceded a tract of land on the New York side of the Susquehanna River, including Unadilla.

At a council held with the Onondaga sachems by George Clinton, Esq., and his associate commissioners, September 12, 1788, the Onondaga tribe ceded all their lands within the State, making such reservations as covered their castle and residences. By a separate article of this treaty they ceded to the State the salt spring tract. Large payments were made in coin and goods, and a perpetual annuity of five hundred dollars in silver was granted.

By the terms of a treaty concluded with the Oneida sachems at Fort Stanwix, before the same commissioner, September 22, 1788, the Oneidas ceded all their lands within the State, with the exception of ample reservations for their own use, and the right to lease part of the same. Five thousand dollars in money, goods, and provisions were then paid to them, and a perpetual annuity of six hundred dollars was granted.

This treaty with the Oneidas contained an important provision sanctioning the arrangements previously made by them in behalf of the expatriated Indians of New England, and others of the Algonkin group, who had been allowed to settle on their lands. The title to a tract of land two miles in breadth and three in length in the Oriskany Valley was confirmed to the tribes that assumed the name of Brother-tons and were under the care of Rev. Samson Occum. Another tract, six miles square, located in the Oneida Creek Valley, was confirmed to the Mohicans of the Housatonic, bearing the name of Stockbridges, who were under the charge of the Rev. Mr. Sergeant.

On the 25th of February, 1789, the Cayuga sachems assembled at Albany, and

ceded all their lands within the State, with the exception of one hundred square miles, exclusive of the area of Cayuga Lake, a reserve of a fishing site at Scayes, and one mile square at Cayuga Ferry. One mile square was granted to the Cayuga chief Oojaugenta, or Fish-Carrier. Two limited annuities, amounting to five hundred dollars and six hundred and twenty-five dollars respectively, and a permanent annuity of five hundred dollars, were granted by the State.

These agreements to pay the tribes in coin, goods, and provisions were scrupulously complied with, and have been continued to the present day, every attention and respect having been manifested by New York for the habits and wants of the Indians, who have likewise received special gratuities. These transactions constituted the first practical lesson in civil polity and the details of public business which the Iroquois received. The respect paid to their sachems, the care and accuracy with which the titles of the respective tribes to their lands were inquired into, and the good faith with which the State at all times fulfilled its engagement, rendering and requiring even-handed justice, formed an example which was not lost on a people celebrated from early days for their political position and influence. Civilized life was regarded by them with greater respect than heretofore, and a newly-felt influence caused them to act with a stricter sense of responsibility than they had done in past times.

Hitherto their chiefs and sachems had, as independent representatives of free and proud tribes, visited the districts of Eastern and Southern New York, either for political or commercial purposes, without paying much regard to a state of society which did not suit their preconceived ideas. But from this period the aspect of things changed. They resided exclusively on small reservations, which were soon surrounded by farmers, merchants, manufacturers, mechanics, and professional men, who presented to them daily and hourly an example of the beneficial effects of thrift, and demonstrated that only the idle and vicious lagged behind in the general race to the goal of prosperity. Private rights were strictly protected, and those over whom the ægis of the law was extended were taxed for its support. The debtor had his choice either to meet his obligations or be placed in durance until his creditor was satisfied. There was but one rule and one law for all. Little attention was given to the Indians. Wise in their own conceit, regarding proficiency and excellence in the arts of war and hunting as the limit of all attainments, they hated education, deemed voluntary labor equivalent to slavery, and despised morality, as well as the teachings of the gospel. If such a people rapidly disappeared, the magistrates felt little or no sympathy for their fate; the merchants merely sold them what they could pay for, and the majority of the citizens, who remembered their cruel and treacherous conduct during the Revolution, were glad to see them pass away and give place to a superior race.

The public functionaries of the State government, however, regarded their condition from a higher point of view. They were deemed an unfortunate yet not criminal people, who had been misled, but who could not be condemned for lacking political or moral wisdom. Their title to the territories was undisputed, and was



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freely acknowledged and respected by all. Another aspect of the position of the Iroquois after the Revolution might likewise be presented. That contest had produced a disastrous effect on them, having by means of its continual alarms and excitements diverted their attention for an extended period from their usual pursuits. They had so long waylaid the farmer at his plough, and the planter in his field, that their corn-fields were in retaliation devastated, their orchards felled to the ground, their villages burned, and themselves often reduced to extreme poverty and destitution. The State authorities, however, interfered in their behalf, and under the treaties just mentioned rescued them from want by the payment to them of annuities in money and goods.

The General Government also took this view, and a commissioner of high standing<sup>1</sup> was appointed to meet the tribes during the autumn of 1794 at Canandaigua, in Western New York. This convocation was numerously attended by all the tribes who had been actors in the war (except the Mohawks), including the Stockbridges. The noted Oneida chief Skenandoah attended, with a delegation of his people. The war chief Little Beard, or Sequidongquee, marked for his cruelties during Sullivan's campaign, represented the Genesee Senecas.<sup>2</sup> The celebrated orator Sagoyewatha, or Red Jacket, first distinguished himself at this council. Honayawus, or Farmer's Brother, represented the central Niagara Indians, and Kiantwauka, or the Cornplanter, those of the upper Alleghany. The Tuscaroras sent the Indian annalist, Cusic; the Housatonics, Hendrik Aupumut.

The treaty was concluded November 11, and recognized the principles of all prior treaties. It provided for the payment of a gratuity of ten thousand dollars in money and goods, which were to be delivered on the ground. A permanent annuity of four thousand five hundred dollars, payable in coin, clothes, cattle, implements of husbandry, and the services of artificers, was likewise stipulated for. All the attendant circumstances of this convocation were imposing, and its results auspicious, being marked by the development of a kindly feeling for the Union by the Indians.

<sup>1</sup> Timothy Pickering, Esq.

<sup>2</sup> The word Seneka, or Seneca, has been a puzzle to inquirers. How a Roman proper name should have become the distinctive eognomen for a tribe of American Indians it is not easy to say. The French, who first encountered them in Western New York, termed them, agreeably to their system of bestowing nicknames, Tsonontowans; that is, Rattlesnakes. Being one of the members of the Five Nations, they, like all the others, bore the generic name of Iroquois. The Dutch, who recognized them in the trade established on the site of Albany as early as 1614, appear to have introduced the term as the catchword of trade, from which the word is derived. This numerous and warlike tribe appears to have had a partiality for the use of vermilion as a war-paint. This article is called by the Dutch cinnabar (*vide* "Nieuw Zak Woorden Boek," Dordrecht, 1831). From some notices of the early times we learn that the pronunciation of the letter *l* in this word was changed to that of *k* or *g*, from which it may be inferred that they were named *Sin-ne-kars*. In one of the oldest maps, published at Amsterdam, the word is written *Sen-ne-caas*. The double *a* in the Dutch language assumes the sound of *a* in *make*; which is precisely the sound still retained. All the early New England writers consulted adopted this sound, with little variation.

In Lawson's "Travels in the Carolinas in 1700" he calls them *Sinnegars*, and sometimes *Janitos*, and identifies them as a tribe of the Iroquois. The Senecas call themselves Nundowa, or "People of the Hill," from an eminence at the head of Canandaigua Lake.

The organization of a territorial government northwest of the Ohio exercised a favorable influence on Indian affairs. The majority of the tribes on that border were tired of war, having lost as many warriors by disease as by casualties in battle. The marching of armies had frightened away the large game, and disorganized the Indian trade. They had been fighting, also, as they now began to see, for a phantom; for, granting that they imagined themselves to have been engaged in preventing the colonies from progressing beyond the Ohio (as they had been taught by foreign traders, whose interests in the West would have suffered by the extension of the settlements), they could not fail to understand that it had never constituted an object with the British government, as it received no consideration in the treaty concluded at Versailles. The Wyandots, Delawares, Chippewas, and Ottawas were the first of the Western tribes to express a desire for peace. They united in a treaty concluded with the commissioners, George Rogers Clarke, Richard Butler, and Arthur Lee, at Fort McIntosh, on the Ohio, January 21, 1785. This treaty was important principally as inaugurating a system of dealing with the tribes by written contracts. It evinced the disposition of the government to treat them with friendly consideration, at the same time demonstrating that it possessed the means of enforcing its mandates. Boundaries were established between the Wyandots and the Delawares, who agreed upon the Cuyahoga and the Tuscarawas as the division-line, the treaty thus giving them an idea of the necessity of establishing and respecting geographical limitations.

None of the Southern tribes had been so much involved in hostile proceedings as the Cherokees, who resided nearest the scene of conflict, and had participated in some of the forays and outrages committed on the Ohio. They also at an early period expressed a desire for peace.

On the 25th of November, 1785, a treaty was concluded with them at Hopewell, on the Keowee fork of the Savannah. The commissioners were Benjamin Hawkins, Andrew Pickens, and Joseph Martin. By this treaty a firm friendship was declared to be established, the surrender of prisoners and negroes was stipulated for, and a definite boundary-line was fixed within which the fur-trade should be conducted exclusively under an American system of license or authority. A similar policy controlled the Choctaws and Chickasaws. The former tribe entered into negotiations with the same commissioners on the 3d of January, 1786, and the latter on the 10th of the same month. The Southwestern frontiers were thus placed in a condition of security by the proceedings of a commission composed of energetic men well acquainted with the character of the Indians, by whom they were held in great respect.

There was still another tribe which had been a scourge of the frontiers, no one organization having evinced such unmitigated hatred and unrelenting cruelty as the Shawnees. Bearing a name indicating a Southern origin, they had from the first resisted with desperate fury all attempts of the frontiersmen of North Carolina and Virginia to extend their settlements beyond the Ohio River. With the agility and subtlety of the panther, they crept stealthily through the forests and sprang sud-

denly on their victims. They fought at the battle of Kanawha with an intrepidity unsurpassed in Indian warfare. Virginia had in every decade of her existence as a colony been obliged to repel their incursions. After the lapse of twelve years from the conclusion of their treaty with Lord Dunmore, on the Scioto, in 1774, their chiefs assembled at the mouth of the Great Miami, signified their submission, and on January 31, 1786, signed a treaty of peace. By its terms they agreed to surrender all the prisoners in their possession, and were assigned a territorial position south of the line fixed for the Wyandots and Delawares by the treaty of Fort McIntosh of January 21, 1785.

Various disturbing elements exercised an influence on the powerful Creek nation during the entire Revolutionary contest; and, after pursuing a fluctuating policy, which called for perpetual vigilance on the part of the authorities of Georgia and South Carolina, their hostility was clearly evinced by the formidable night-attack made under Guristersigo on the camp of General Wayne, near Savannah, in 1782. But when the issue of the Revolutionary contest became a fixed fact, the Creeks expressed a wish to enter into friendly relations with the Union. For this purpose, in the year 1790, a delegation, comprising twenty-four of their most distinguished chiefs, visited the seat of government, then located at the city of New York. This delegation represented all the principal towns and septs from the Coosawhatchie and Chattahoochee to the sources of the Altamaha; it also embraced a delegation of the Seminoles, and was headed by Alexander McGillivray, who had during many years exercised a controlling influence over this nation. The distinctions of Upper, Middle, and Lower Creeks were insisted on, they being regarded as so many septs. General Washington received the delegates with comity, and deputed General Knox, Secretary of War, to treat with them. After a full discussion of all the questions involved, the terms were agreed on, and the treaty was signed August 7, 1790. The most important of its provisions was the establishment of boundaries. It contained the usual professions of amity, and stipulated for the surrender of prisoners taken during the war, whites and negroes, many of the latter being refugees. These refugees in the Indian territories furnished the nucleus of slavery among the Creeks, Seminoles, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Cherokees. The Africans were not adopted as members of the tribes, but held as persons in servitude, and by performing the field-labor enabled these tribes to pursue agriculture without being themselves compelled to engage in manual labor. To induce the Creeks to make greater advances towards civilization, a clause was inserted providing that they should be furnished from time to time with cattle and agricultural implements. This wise provision has had the effect of rendering the nation wealthy in animals and stock, thus enabling them to make further progress in the social scale.

After all the negotiations were concluded, the government appointed a special agent to accompany the delegates to their homes and report on their condition. This agent, Major Caleb Swan, performed his task skilfully, being a cautious and shrewd observer; and, after his return, he communicated to General Knox a valuable report, accompanied by a map of the country, a detailed account of their principal places of

residence, and a carefully prepared and comprehensive view of their manners and customs. He gave the names and designated the locations of fifty-two towns, which were estimated to contain from twenty-five thousand to thirty thousand souls. Of these, between five thousand and six thousand were reported to be gun-men, or warriors. It may be remarked, *en passant*, that the confederacy of the Creeks is well deserving of study as an illustration of Indian political and social order.

By some of the older writers the Creeks are called Muscogulgees, a term which has apparently been shortened to Muskokis. The English appellation of Creeks was derived from a geographical feature of the country originally occupied by them, which is remarkable for its numerous streams. The appellations of Alabama and Okechoyatte were borne by them at an early period. Their language is one of the most musical of the Indian tongues, but agrees with the other languages in its principles of synthesis, its coalescence of the pronoun with the noun, and its agglutinative quality.

Politically speaking, the Creeks possess a standing and influence second to none of the other tribes, being one of the most strongly characterized families of the aboriginal race, and one from whom we may expect great development.

## CHAPTER II.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NORTHWESTERN TERRITORY—WAR WITH THE WESTERN TRIBES—HARMAR'S DEFEAT—SCOTT'S EXPEDITION—ST. CLAIR'S DEFEAT—CONFERENCE WITH BRANT—WAYNE'S CAMPAIGN—VICTORY OF THE MAUMEE RAPIDS—PACIFICATION OF GREENVILLE.

ONE of the earliest objects of attention on the part of the government, under the old Articles of Confederation, had been the incorporation of the Indian territory northwest of the Ohio. No sooner had the war terminated than all eyes began to be directed to that quarter as the future land of promise to the Union, which expectations have been most amply fulfilled, for it has been emphatically the Mother of States, the most prominent among them being the stalwart commonwealths of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. General Arthur St. Clair was appointed by Washington the first governor of the territory. The most important topic which called for his attention was the state of the Indian tribes, which question he found to be surrounded with peculiar difficulties. None of the tribes had suffered so little by the war as the Miamis, Weas, and Piankeshaws of the Wabash. For several years the Indians exceeded in numbers the settlers, who were located at various prominent points; and, consequently, the frontier settlements were entirely at the mercy of the savages. It was therefore necessary to strengthen the bonds of amity with the Indians by treaty stipulations. When the treaty system was introduced in negotiations with the Indian tribes, who could neither read nor write, an expectation of security and advantage from such instruments was indulged far beyond what the moral character of the aborigines and their actual appreciation of the advantages secured to them ever justified. Still, this system promised the surest means of attaining success. From the earliest traditionary times it had been the custom of the Indians to hold formal meetings of their chiefs for the purpose of adjusting their affairs, to which the greatest ceremony and solemnity were given by smoking the sacred weed and by the exchange of wampum-belts. The like ceremony and solemnity were used by the commissioners and commanders to whom these negotiations were intrusted on concluding the treaties, by exchanging the *muzzinieguns*<sup>1</sup> on which the verbal agreements had been written. To renew and extend these obligations was, according to Indian phraseology, to tighten the chain of friendship.

On the 9th of January, 1789, nearly three months before the adoption of the present Constitution, General St. Clair concluded a treaty with a large delegation of the Six Nations assembled at Fort Harmar, at the mouth of the Muskingum. The

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<sup>1</sup> Meaning treaties or graphic papers.

chief object of this treaty was to renew and confirm that entered into at Fort Stanwix in 1784. To secure order, a body of United States troops was encamped there, under Colonel Harmar, and the treaty of Fort McIntosh of January 21, 1785, was reconfirmed by the original parties to it, to whom was added a delegation from the Pottawatomies and Sacs.

From an explanatory article appended to this treaty it appears that the Wyandots accused the Shawnees of having laid claim to lands that did not belong to them, these lands being a part of the Wyandot domain. The respected Wyandot chief Tarhe was present at the negotiation of this treaty. It was affirmed by the Wyandots that the Shawnees, who signed the treaty of peace concluded at the Miami, had been guilty of injustice; and they further averred that "the Shawnees have been so restless, and caused so much trouble, both to them and to the United States, that if they will not now be at peace, they (the Wyandots) will dispossess them, and take the country into their own hands; for the country is theirs of right, and the Shawnees are only living upon it by their permission."

In 1789, General St. Clair also negotiated a treaty with the Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas, Chippewas, Sacs, and Pottawatomies, through the chiefs assembled at Fort Harmar. This treaty has been called "a piece of Indian diplomacy which the Indians never intended to abide by any longer than suited their convenience." These assemblages, however, were convened in pursuance of the pacific policy of Washington, and had their effect. This last treaty of the confederated nations of the lake, the Ojibwas, Ottawas, Kickapoos, Weas, Piankeshaws, Pottawatomies, Eel River Indians, Kaskaskias, and Miamis, refused to acknowledge as binding. They wished the Ohio to be the perpetual western boundary of civilization, and would not sell an acre north of it.

Our Indian relations were at this time in a very critical state. By the terms of the treaty of peace, Great Britain was to evacuate all the posts and forts held by her without delay. From complications not then anticipated, she retained possession of the frontier posts for a number of years. This fact gave the impression to the Indians that the controversy was not yet closed, and their minds were poisoned by those about the posts. The British purposely aided and abetted them in their hostility to the United States. Brant, their leader, formed them into a confederacy, and visited England to obtain the support of the British government in case of war. Emigration flowed over the Alleghanies with great rapidity, and the lands to which the Indian title had been extinguished were daily filling up. The nucleus of the future State of Ohio had been established at Marietta in 1788. Collision could not be avoided between two races so antagonistic in habits and feelings as the Anglo-Saxon and the Indian. Murders were committed, which were retaliated by similar outrages. It became evident that an open Indian war must speedily ensue. The Delawares, the Shawnees, and the Wyandots having measured swords, to their cost, with the British, as also with the colonies, it was clear that the issue would not be with either of these tribes. Hostile demonstrations were apprehended from the Miamis and their co-tribes, the Weas and Piankeshaws. The residence of these

tribes was located in the Wabash Valley, one of the most genial regions in the West. Possessing an extraordinarily fertile soil, which yielded large quantities of corn, grain, and fruit, with exuberant forests abounding in deer, bears, and other animals, their population was remarkably vigorous, while their insolence knew no bounds. In September, 1790, Colonel Josiah Harmar was directed to advance into their country and endeavor to bring them to terms. Such a march, encumbered with stores and supplies, through a wilderness destitute of roads, was in itself an arduous undertaking. The pioneer work of an army has always been one of the severest duties of a Western campaign: it is the toil and the triumph of the quartermaster's department. Roads must be made, bridges built, provisions packed, arms and ammunition carried; every delay must be endured, every difficulty overcome. On October 19, with a force of thirty regulars and four hundred and eighty militia, Colonel Harmar, who had reached the elevated grounds forming the present site of Fort Wayne, which are washed by the river Maumee, whose swift but shallow rapids are easily forded, engaged the Indians and was defeated. Observations made on the rising grounds beyond the stream on the 22d disclosed the presence of the enemy, whose demonstrations were intended to convey the idea that they were in force in that quarter. But this proved to be only a decoy: they had crouched down in the thick undergrowth and weeds, and were concealed along the western shore. The army was directed to cross the stream at this rapid, but had not proceeded far when a heavy fire of musketry was poured in, accompanied by the most frightful cries. The men were rallied by spirited officers, Major Wyllis and other brave officers being killed in this effort. The fire of the Indians was continued and well sustained, they being plentifully supplied with guns and ammunition. The line having faltered and fallen back, the retreating columns were marched to an elevated position, where they were reorganized. The loss in the two engagements amounted to one hundred and eighty-three killed and thirty-one wounded.<sup>1</sup> On the side of the Indians the loss was fifteen or twenty. So severe a defeat could not be repaired without a reinforcement, and Harmar determined to return to the banks of the Ohio, which he did without further molestation from the Indians.

Washington expressed doubts as to the justice of an offensive war upon the tribes of the Wabash and Maumee. Instead of assuming the offensive in 1790 and 1791, government should have sent commissioners of high character to the Lake tribes, and in the presence of the British ascertained their causes of complaint and offered fair terms of compromise. That such a step would have been wise and just is acknowledged by its subsequent action, and it was surely more likely to be effective before the savages had twice defeated the army than afterwards.

Only three tribes aided the colonies to any extent in the Revolutionary contest,—the Oneidas, the Tuscaroras, and the Mohicans. Thus far, treaties of peace had been concluded with the recreant Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas in the North, with the Creeks, Chickasaws, Choctaws, and Cherokees in the South, and with the

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<sup>1</sup> Metcalf's Collection of Narratives of Indian Warfare in the West, p. 109.

Wyandots, Delawares, Shawnees, Chippewas, Ottawas, Pottawatomies, and Sacs in the West; but the seven latter, who bore a very questionable character, could not be relied on, while the Miamis, Weas, and Piankeshaws of the Wabash were in open hostility. They had during the previous year defeated Harmar at the joint sources of the Great Miami of the Ohio and the Miami of the Lakes. The river Maumee formed the grand medium of Northern Indian communication with the Ottawas of the lower part of that valley, the Wyandots of Sandusky and Eastern Michigan, and the Chippewas of Detroit, as well as other Lake tribes, who were in the practice of joining the Wyandots, Delawares, and Shawnees in their inroads on the Ohio frontiers.

The Miamis were an active, bold, and numerous race, who, under the name of Twightwees, had been the objects of special attack by the Iroquois ever since the era of the French occupancy. They had been driven by them to more southerly and westerly locations than those which they had formerly inhabited, and were now the undisputed masters of the Wabash Valley. During the fierce and sanguinary warfare of 1782, when so many expeditions were sent against the Shawnees, Wyandots, and Delawares, the Miamis received no specific notice, but appear to have been included in the widely-diffused Ottawa and Chippewa race, whom they resemble in features, manners, customs, and language. General James Clinton, during the campaign against the Six Nations, in 1779, observed that the sympathy existing between the races, even where they were placed in antagonistic positions, was so great that but little reliance could be placed on them in exigencies. When war broke out, it required close observation to discriminate very particularly between the grades of hostility, if indeed there was any at all, existing among the different members of affiliated tribes. Nor did the Indians make any distinction between the various races of the whites. It was, in truth, a war of races; an attempt, if we may so term it, of the descendants of Japhet to shackle the wild sons of Shem and to "dwell in his tents."

The earliest movement of any note in the campaign of 1791 against the Wabash Indians and their allies was made by the expedition intrusted to General Charles Scott, of Kentucky. On the 23d of May in that year, General Scott set out from the banks of the Ohio with a total force of eight hundred and fifty men, a part of whom were regulars, under command of Colonel James Wilkinson, but by far the largest part of his army consisted of brave and experienced mounted volunteers. The month of June was passed in traversing the vast extent of forest-land watered by the tributaries of the Wabash River. On the 1st of August he reached the vicinity of Ouiattonon, the largest of the Miami towns. This place was promptly attacked, several warriors were killed, and the Indians, under a severe fire from the riflemen, were driven across the Wabash, their landing being covered by the warriors belonging to a village of Kickapoos, who maintained a constant fire. A detachment under Colonel Hardin having been ordered to cross the river at a point lower down, did so unobserved by the Indians, and stormed the Kickapoo town, killing six warriors and taking fifty-two prisoners. The following morning five hundred men were

directed to capture and destroy the important town of Kithlipecanuk, located on the west bank of the Wabash, at the mouth of Eel River, a distance of eighteen miles from the camp. After demolishing the Indian towns and villages, devastating their corn-fields and gardens, and killing thirty-two warriors, besides taking fifty-eight prisoners, General Scott returned to the Ohio, which he reached on August 14 without the loss of one man, and with but five wounded.

This detail is but a necessary preface to what follows. The Indians, being a people of imperturbable character, are but slightly affected by those lessons of military warfare which are not fraught with calamities of a continuous character. They dexterously avoid the danger they cannot resist, and when no longer threatened they at once return to their former acts of pillage and atrocity. Some more formidable and permanent efforts were evidently necessary to bring the tribes to terms, and "to secure the great object of the campaign, the establishment of a strong military post at the Miami village at the junction of the St. Mary's and St. Joseph's Rivers." In this connection it is well to remember that by the terms of St. Clair's treaty, three years before, this territory was confirmed to the Indian nations "forever," "the said Indian nations to punish all intruders as they see fit." For the purpose above mentioned, Arthur St. Clair was commissioned a major-general in the army of the United States early in March, 1791.<sup>1</sup> Washington was very anxious on the subject, and urged on the general the importance of proceeding with all practicable promptitude.

St. Clair was a disciplined soldier, who, having served under Wolfe, Monckton, and Murray, and through all the campaigns of the Revolutionary war, enjoyed the confidence of Washington as a man of undoubted bravery and prudence. On the 15th of May he reached Fort Washington, now the site of Cincinnati. The delays attending the arrival of troops and supplies and the organization of the army gave rise to complaints, the whole summer being passed away in this manner. Fort Hamilton, the point of support on the Great Miami, was not completed until the 13th of September, and the month of October had arrived before the different corps of troops and levies were all mustered into service. On the 13th of October the army had advanced forty-four miles from Fort Hamilton, and encamped on an eligible spot, where St. Clair built Fort Jefferson. Then advancing with caution and order, on the 3d of November he arrived at a stream twelve yards in width, which he supposed to be the St. Mary's, one of the principal sources of the Maumee, but which was in reality a branch of the Wabash. It being four o'clock in the afternoon when the army reached this stream, St. Clair proceeded up its banks nine miles, and encamped on an eligible piece of ground in military order. He had designed constructing a breastwork at this place for the security of his baggage, but before he could effect this purpose the Indians, half an hour before sunrise the following morning (the 4th), made a furious attack on his lines. They were in great force, the slowness of St.

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<sup>1</sup> See "A Narrative of a Campaign against the Indians, under the Command of Major-General St. Clair," Philadelphia, 1812, p. 1.

Clair's march up the stream having allowed them an opportunity to concentrate all the forces of their allies.

St. Clair was governor of the Northwest Territory. Old and infirm, he suffered so severely from gout as to have to be carried about on a litter. The proximity of the foe was communicated to General Richard Butler, second in command, but not to St. Clair. The latter was particularly unpopular in Kentucky, and, as none would volunteer under him, one thousand men were drafted, who were compelled to serve "under a gouty old disciplinarian" whom they disliked, and in conjunction with a regular force which they regarded as doomed to destruction in Indian warfare. Many in consequence deserted, an entire regiment leaving him on May 1, and at the time of the battle only two hundred and fifty Kentuckians remained in camp.

Unfortunately, the Indians, who were led into action by the valiant Wapacomegat,<sup>1</sup> a Mississagie, first encountered the militia and raw troops, who immediately fled through the line, pursued by the Indians, thus producing irremediable confusion. The Indians were checked, however, by a spirited fire from the front line, but in a few moments that and the second line were vigorously attacked, and the soldiers of the artillery corps, who formed the centre, were shot down at their guns. The slaughter was terrific on every side, and the confusion extended to the centre. At this moment St. Clair ordered the front line to charge, which they did very gallantly, under the command of Colonel Darke. The Indians fled several hundred yards, but again rallied when the troops returned to their position. At this time the second line also charged with effect, but the fire of the Indians was very galling, and produced greater confusion because of the large number of officers killed and wounded. The artillery were silenced, all the officers being killed but one, and he was wounded. The Indians simultaneously attacked front, flanks, and rear. General Butler was killed, as also Colonel Oldham, and Majors Hart, Ferguson, and Clarke. More than one-half the rank and file of the army had fallen, and the extermination of the rest seemed inevitable. The combat had lasted from about six o'clock to nine A.M.,<sup>2</sup> when General St. Clair led a charge through the Indian line in the rear, under cover of which the remains of the army retreated in disorder until they reached Fort Jefferson. The camp and the artillery were precipitately abandoned, and the men threw away their arms and ammunition. The army had originally consisted of about fourteen hundred men, of whom six hundred and thirty-two were killed and two hundred and sixty-four wounded, including sixty-four officers, a loss equal to that experienced at Braddock's defeat.

The effects of this defeat were most disastrous to the Western settlements. Immigration was checked, and dismay prevailed along the entire frontier. After a thorough investigation, a committee appointed by Congress completely vindicated General St. Clair from the charges made against him.

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<sup>1</sup> This chief had attended the general peace convention and submitted to the British under General Bradstreet in 1764. See Mante.

<sup>2</sup> At this period of the year the sun rises in this latitude at thirty-two minutes past six.

Before St. Clair's army set out on its ill-fated expedition, a "talk" was held at Niagara between Brant, the Mohawk chief, with some fifty other Indian deputies, and General Benjamin Lincoln, Beverly Randolph, and Colonel Timothy Pickering, United States Commissioners, with the object of running a new boundary-line to take in Indian lands north of the Ohio.

The reader will bear in mind that the treaty of Fort McIntosh, made January 21, 1785, was with the Wyandot, Delaware, Chippewa, and Ottawa nations only, and that St. Clair's treaty of 1789 was with the above-named and the Pottawatomic and Sac nations only. Other Northwestern tribes had no part in either. In the ordinance of 1787 establishing the Northwestern Territory, the following provision is found: "The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and in their property rights and liberty they shall never be invaded or disturbed unless in just and lawful wars, authorized by Congress; but laws founded in justice and humanity shall from time to time be made for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them."

The final reply to the talk of the commissioners at Niagara was adopted in a general council of the confederate Indian nations held at the Maumee Rapids, August 13, 1793. Among other things, they said, "Governor St. Clair, your commissioner in the beginning of the year 1789, after having been informed by the general council of the preceding fall that no bargain or sale for any part of their Indian lands would be considered binding unless agreed to by a general council, nevertheless persisted in collecting together a few chiefs of two or three nations only, and with them held a treaty for the cession of an immense country, in which they were no more interested than as a branch of the general confederacy, and who were in no manner authorized to make any grant or concession whatever. That part of these lands which the United States now wish us to relinquish, and which you say is settled, has been sold by the United States since that time."

In answer to the proposal to give the Indians a large sum of money for their lands, they replied that money was of no value to them, and to most of them was unknown, and that no consideration would induce them to sell. They also pointed out a very simple mode by which the settlers might be removed and peace secured. "Divide," said they, "this large sum of money which you have offered us among these people. Give to each, also, a proportion of what you say you would give to us annually over and above this large sum of money. They would most readily accept of it in lieu of the land you sold them. If you add, also, the great sums you must expend in raising and paying armies, you will certainly have more than sufficient for the purpose of repaying these settlers for all their labor and all their improvements. We want peace. Restore to us our country, and we shall be enemies no longer. Let the Ohio be the boundary-line between us."

To this document, signed by the deputies of the principal Western tribes, the commissioners made no reply: indeed, they could make none; and the only alternative was a resort to arms. It cannot be denied that the invasion and occupation of the ter-

ritory northwest of the Ohio River was made anterior to any arrangement with the natives for that purpose. The arguments and facts presented by them to our commissioners could be answered only by the military power, and, unable to contend successfully with this, the red men were ultimately compelled to yield the required boundary.

The effect produced in Philadelphia, then the capital, by the intelligence of St. Clair's defeat was electric. Washington had never counselled half-way measures with the Indians, and this result had disappointed his expectations. Knox, his Secretary of War, had no personal experience in Indian warfare. It was of the utmost moment to make another effort, as early the following spring as possible, to gain the ascendancy in the West, where the plan of establishing a chain of forts between Cincinnati and the Miami villages had been thus overthrown. An examination of the list of officers experienced in savage military manœuvres resulted in the choice of General Anthony Wayne, whose decision of character was well known. He had in 1782 led a successful cavalry charge against a night-attack of the Creeks near Savannah. Firm and cautious, but of chivalrous daring, nature had bestowed on him the talents and energy necessary to cope with the Western Indians.

Prior to the march of General Wayne, Washington resolved to make another attempt to bring the hostile Indians of the West to terms by negotiation. For this purpose Colonel Hardin and Major Trueman, two experienced men, were appointed commissioners, and directed to visit the towns on the Scioto. But these officers were both waylaid and killed while descending the Ohio, and thus the overture failed. Various peace-makers were sent into the Indian country, but their overtures were rejected one after another by the victorious savages. General Wayne's movements were also delayed by another object of pressing moment, which was to intercept a threatened invasion of Louisiana from Kentucky. For this purpose he was detained at Fort Massac during a portion of the year 1793, after which he contented himself with ascending the Miami Valley, six miles above Fort Jefferson, where he established himself in a fortified camp called Greenville.

It is unnecessary to detail here the process of organizing the new army, or the difficulties and delays it encountered. Wayne was determined not to be defeated; and defeat, when operating against an enemy so subtle as the Indians and so intimately acquainted with the peculiar geographical features of the surrounding country, could be guarded against only by the most untiring vigilance, prudence, and caution. The season for active operations was spent in collecting the forces on a remote frontier and bringing them into the field. It was necessary to proceed slowly, as roads must be opened, bridges built, and block-houses erected to serve as points of supply and communication. A large corps of pioneers was required to be constantly employed, which it was necessary to protect by a strong force of cavalry and riflemen. The delays arising from these causes were the subject of unjust complaint in the newspaper press of that period. Two armies had been defeated in endeavors to penetrate the great wilderness to the Wabash,—a country well suited to the operations of a savage foe, but abounding in obstacles to the progress of a civil-

ized army, encumbered with baggage, cannon, and stores, who must have a passable road, and could not cross a stream of even the third magnitude without a bridge. The army was systematically employed in this difficult and laborious service, ever distasteful to volunteers, who composed a part of the forces. This labor, however, was the forerunner of success. Every day devoted to these toils, and to the discipline of the army, rendered it more active, efficient, and fit for the purpose in view. Wayne then took possession of the grounds where St. Clair had been defeated in 1791, and, having built Fort Recovery, wintered his army there.

On the 30th of the following June this fort was invested by a large body of Indians under Little Turtle, the successful commander in the battle with St. Clair, whose spies had closely reconnoitred it, while the main force lay near by under cover. They had noticed that at certain times the horses of the officers were admitted into the fort through the sally-port, and on one of these occasions they followed them with a desperate onset, knowing that the outer gates would be opened. The troops, however, being well disciplined, repelled this assault of a prodigious force of the hitherto concealed Indians. The following day they made the forest echo with their whoops, renewing the attack in greater force and with greater violence, but they were again repulsed with loss.

Fort Recovery was located near the head of the Maumee, and formed the key of the route to the Northwest, this valley being at that time the great thoroughfare of the Northwestern Indians from Detroit and the upper lakes, through which, with great vindictiveness, they had so long poured their infuriated hordes over the fertile regions of the Ohio Valley and the settlements west of the Alleghany chain. The area of their attacks embraced not only the present limits of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, but all Western Pennsylvania, Virginia, Kentucky, and part of Tennessee. It was from these States that Wayne drew all his levies and volunteers, who were imbued with such hatred of the savages, consequent upon a vivid remembrance of Indian cruelties, that it required a man like Wayne to restrain them. Rash courage and vindictiveness are but poor qualifications for an encounter with Indians in a forest, as many a partisan commander has realized to his cost.

A fortnight after the last Indian attack, Wayne continued his march down the Miami Valley. An impenetrable forest lay before him, through which nothing but an Indian footpath or a trader's trail could be discerned. But every company of his men was in itself a phalanx, and the order of march was such as to set surprise at defiance. In four days he reached the junction of the river Au Glaize with the Maumee, where he built Fort Defiance. Crossing the Maumee at this point to its west banks, he continued his march to the head of the first rapids, called Roche du Bout, or the Standing Rock. At this place a temporary work was constructed wherein to deposit the heavy stores and baggage, and he then pushed forward in the same order, and with like vigilance, for the principal Indian towns at the lower rapids.

Using the figurative language of the Indians, General Wayne's army resembled a dark cloud moving steadily and slowly forward. He had driven them one hundred

and fifty miles from their fighting-ground on the river St. Mary's, and the sources of the Wabash, and it appeared impossible for them to oppose him in battle. At every point of attack they had found him prepared. They said of him that he was a man who never slept, and they named him the Strong Wind. They had found it impossible to stay the impetuosity of his march, and it was doubted in their councils whether a general battle should be hazarded, but, after much discussion, this measure was resolved on. The place selected was Presque Isle, a thickly-wooded oasis, such as is common to prairie districts in the West, encompassed by low and grassy meadow-lands, the upper part of which was encumbered by old, fallen timbers, where horses could not be employed, and here was fought the battle of the Maumee Rapids. On the 20th of August the Indians arranged their forces in three lines, within supporting distance, and at right angles with the river. Wayne knew not whether they would fight or negotiate, as offers of peace had been made to them. His army marched in compact columns, in the usual order, preceded by a battalion of volunteers so far in advance that timely notice could be given to the troops to form in case of an attack. This corps had progressed about five miles when they received a heavy fire from the concealed enemy, compelling them to fall back on the main army, which immediately formed in two lines. General Charles Scott, with his mounted volunteers, was directed to turn the right flank of the enemy by a circuitous movement, while Captain Campbell, with the legionary cavalry, effected the same object on the left flank by following an open way close to the banks of the river and between it and the cliffs of Presque Isle. The first line of infantry was ordered to advance with trailed arms, rouse the Indians from their coverts in the grass at the point of the bayonet, and then deliver a close, well-directed fire. These troops were promptly followed by the second line, the martial music of drums and trumpets giving animation to the scene. The whole of these movements were executed with alacrity and entire success. The Indians fled precipitately, and could not be rallied by their leaders. The army pursued them for two miles through the woods, and the victory obtained was complete. Wayne had about two thousand men under his command in this contest, not one-half of whom were engaged. His loss in killed and wounded was one hundred and thirty-three men. Captain Campbell was killed at the head of his legion, and Captain Van Rensselaer was shot through the body, but recovered. For a distance of two miles the forest was strewn with the dead bodies of the enemy, among which were recognized some of their white allies. The red men were denied entrance into the British fort at Maumee, the officers of which were compelled to witness the burning of the towns and the destruction of the Indian settlements in the valley. The houses, stores, and property of the British Indian agent McKee, a principal stimulator of the Indian war, were also destroyed. General Wayne was highly incensed against the garrison of Fort Maumee, and sought to give them cause for open hostilities. There being a fine spring near the fort, the conversations at which could be overheard on the ramparts, the general rode around the fort to it with his staff, dismounted, took off his hat, and drank of the water, at the same time using expressions of indignation against the allies of the Indians, who

had first incited them to attack him, and had then closed their gates against them. Those who are aware of the general's enthusiastic character need not be told that he expressed himself energetically. At the junction of the St. Joseph and St. Mary he built Fort Wayne, completed October 22, 1794, which was well fortified and strongly garrisoned. The savages made no further effort to oppose the course of the victorious army, which finally, after laying waste the corn-fields and villages for fifty miles on each side of the Maumee, returned to Greenville, where it went into winter quarters.

The object for which the Indians had fought had proved to be illusory, and their defeat on the Maumee terminated their struggle for the possession of the country northwest of the Ohio. They appear to have learned the truth of this from their late reverses, and in a short time thereafter they determined to bury the hatchet and smoke the pipe of peace.

It had been the policy of Washington's administration to employ force against the Indians only when absolute necessity required it, and compulsory measures were never adopted until after every other means of accommodating existing differences had failed. The Indians were to a certain extent regarded as public wards. The assassination of Hardin and Trueman on the Ohio, with the olive-branch in their hands, after the defeat of St. Clair and previous to the expedition of Wayne, is evidence of the insufficiency of this conciliatory policy. Even after Wayne had reached Roche du Bout, and but a day or two before the decisive battle, he tendered overtures of peace to the Indians, of which, however, it is affirmed that they were kept in ignorance by foreign agents.

In response to the renewal of these overtures the Indians crowded to Wayne's camp, at Greenville, during the summer of 1795. Their necessities during the preceding winter had been very great, in consequence of the total destruction of their crops, and, as the English, on whom they were dependent, had not supplied their wants, they were in a starving condition. The entire area embraced between the banks of the Ohio and Lake Erie, luxuriant with indigenous vegetation, had been the scene of the marching and countermarching of war-parties and armies from the period of the conclusion of the sham treaty made with Lord Dunmore in 1774, and the no less unreliable one signed at Fort McIntosh in 1785, but during the five years which had just closed it had been almost constantly trodden by hostile feet. The bitter chalice which they had so long held to the lips of the people of Kentucky, Pennsylvania, and Virginia was now being drained by themselves. After the demonstration at the Maumee Rapids they fled to their wintering-grounds in the extensive forests of Lake Erie, Michigan, and Canada. The local foreign traders of these precincts, the commandants of posts, who had counselled them to war, could no longer be regarded by them as oracles. The Indians had been unable to keep the whites east of the Ohio; nay, it began to be perceived by these subtle sons of the forest that the white race could not be confined within the limits fixed by the treaty of Versailles. During the winter and spring they exchanged prisoners and prepared to treat upon preliminaries, which were agreed upon in January. Before the month

of July arrived, the savage, with altered feelings, entered on the forest-paths that led to Greenville, where the American chief was seated, surrounded by all the panoply of war, with the emblems of peace intermingled.

Foremost among the tribes who turned their steps to his camp were the proud and influential Wyandots, who had so long been regarded as wise men and umpires among the tribes of the West. Driven from the St. Lawrence Valley in 1659 by the Iroquois, they had for a century and a half held a high position in the West, sustained a part of the time by France, their earliest and most constant friend, and, after the conquest of Canada, by the English. They were astute, reflective, and capable of pursuing a steady line of policy, which had been, with some lapses, the stay of those Western tribes who were willing to tread in their footsteps. This tribe was the last to assent to the scheme of Pontiac, and when the confederation was broken up by Great Britain they adhered to that power with extraordinary devotion.

In their train followed the Delawares, who had been, since the time they first fled from Pennsylvania and crossed the Alleghanies, bitter enemies of the settlers in the West. Thither also came the Shawnees, the most vengeful and subtle of all the Western tribes. Every day witnessed the arrival in the surrounding forests of delegates, decked with all their peculiar ornaments of feathers, paint, silver gorgets, trinkets, and medals. The Chippewas, Ottawas, Pottawatomies, Miamis, Weas, Kickapoos, Piankeshaws, and Kaskaskias were all present. The entire official power of the Algonkins was on the ground. Each delegation carried the pipe of peace and expressed pacific desires. The whole camp presented a gorgeous display of savage magnificence, and for the number and variety of costumes the scene has probably never since been equalled in America. All came bending to Wayne, who on the 16th of June met them in council.

A treaty was signed on the 3d of August, which constitutes the first example of a thoroughly reliable treaty-stipulation of any great importance in the history of the Indians. The draft of this treaty, perhaps the most important ever made between the red men and the Americans, sent to General Wayne from the War Department, was drawn up under the supervision of Washington, and appears to have been full and elaborate. It established the system of boundaries and reservations and introduced the fundamental regulations as to trade and intercourse with the tribes which have been embodied in all subsequent treaties. A donation of twenty thousand dollars in goods, and a permanent annuity of nine thousand dollars, payable in merchandise at invoice prices, to be divided *pro rata* among the different nations, were granted to the Indians.

Having traced the negotiation of treaties from their first inception under the American government to this important period, when the Indians buried the hatchet, it will not be necessary to pursue the subject further. Subsequent negotiations with the tribes are connected with a lengthy detail of dates, names, and figures, which are readily accessible in the volumes containing the treaties between the United States and the Indians. The treaty of Greenville forms a definite era in the Indian history from which the tribes may be viewed. Both parties regarded this peace as a final

conclusion of the aboriginal war which, following the close of the Revolution, had spread, as it were, a bloody mantle not only over the Ohio Valley, but over the entire region to the northwest of it. The position attained by the United States through this treaty had been the result of at least a decade of years, characterized by wars and negotiations, in which the sword and the olive-branch had either failed of effect or produced only temporary results; and the length of time the treaty was observed by the aborigines is in part attributable to the full assent it received from the united judgment of the principal chiefs of all the leading tribes who were parties to it. On the part of the Wyandots it received the signature of the venerated Tarhe, or the Crane; on that of the Delawares, it was subscribed to by the gifted Bukongehelas; the Shawnees assented to it through the venerable Cutthewekasaw, or Black Hoof, and Weyapiersenwaw, or Blue Jacket; Topinabi, or Thupenebu, signed it for the Pottawatomies, and for the Miamis it was signed by Meshekunnoghquoh, or the celebrated Little Turtle,—the latter of whom, with the Shawnee chief Blue Jacket, had been the marshal or leader of the Indians at the final battle on the Maumee. As long as these chiefs, the last of the forest-kings, lived, this peace was observed.

The lake posts were surrendered by the British in 1796, and American garrisons replaced those of the English at Niagara, Presque Isle, Maumee, Detroit, Michilimackinac, and Green Bay. The Indians, who are quick at recognizing the nationality of a flag, began to accommodate their visits and addresses to this new state of affairs. The government also sought as much as possible to divert the Indian trade from foreign hands into those of the Americans; but this was a difficult matter, and it required time to effect it. Along the Georgia and Carolina borders this trade had been concentrated in the hands of, and continued to be carried on principally by, enterprising and talented Scotchmen, who intermarried with the Indians. The most noted of these were McIntosh, McGillivray, Ross, and Weatherford, the latter somewhat better known as the Black Warrior of 1814. Throughout Louisiana, in all its amplitude of extension north and west, the French exercised the controlling influence; and this was especially the case in the territory now constituting the States of Arkansas, Tennessee, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa. In the basins of the upper lakes, and at the sources of the Mississippi River, British and Scotch factors for many years controlled the trade and influenced the tribes.

## CHAPTER III.

### EXPLORATIONS OF LEWIS AND CLARKE—LIEUTENANT PIKE—ELEMENTS OF DISCORD—TECUMSEH AND THE PROPHET ORGANIZE THE TRIBES FOR A CONFLICT WITH THE UNITED STATES—BATTLE OF TIPPECANOE.

MR. JEFFERSON, on being called to occupy the Presidential chair in 1801, felt the importance of the claim which the existing state of the Indian tribes had upon his attention, and his views were of the most comprehensive character. To him we owe the passage of the fundamental act to preserve peace on the frontiers and regulate intercourse with the Indian tribes. By this act the boundaries of the Indian country and the operations of the laws in it are clearly defined. Regulations are established for the government of the Indian trade. The territory of the tribes is protected from depredations by the whites, who are permitted to visit it for no other purpose than trade or mere transit through it. The jurisdiction of courts is established, and the methods of proceeding are particularly pointed out. In fine, a system of policy is laid down calculated to advance the prosperity of the Indians and at the same time to secure the speedy settlement of the Western lands.

The act establishing the Northwest Territory was the first step towards the induction of this practical mode of teaching among the Indians,—teaching by example. However slight the effect of its lessons may have been on the remote tribes and bands, they were not wholly inoperative even there, while at points within the civil jurisdiction they carried with them a monition which caused them to be obeyed.

The commonwealth of Ohio was the first organization of the kind in the West, and the extension of State sovereignty west of the Ohio River insured to that area an expansion which has had few parallels in history. While Ohio heralded to the Western tribes the rule of government and law, Louisiana, by a wise forecast of executive policy, came in at this critical time to confirm and greatly extend the system. In fifty years the limits of the Union had reached the shores of the Pacific Ocean. Neither men nor States practise what is not conceived to be best suited to promote their prosperity. By offering to the Indians the protection of the laws and the benefits of intercourse with civilized society, the highest assurances were given that we were sincere and sought only to advance them in the scale of knowledge and happiness. But, as the Indian is an extraordinarily suspicious being, the good faith of this offer has ever been doubted by him, and some sinister purpose has been supposed to be concealed.

To ascertain the character and extent of Louisiana, and the numbers of the Indian tribes within its area, Mr. Jefferson despatched expeditions up the Missouri and Mississippi. The first was led by Merriwether Lewis and William Clarke, cap-



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tains in the army, both of whom were commissioned for that purpose. They left St. Louis May 14, 1804, and ascended the Missouri through the territories of the Osages, Kansas, Otoes, and Sioux to that of the Mandans, where they wintered. The following year they continued their route through the countries of the Teton Sioux, Crows, and Blackfeet to the source of the Missouri, in the Rocky Mountains, and, crossing this range, they followed the course of the Columbia to the point where it flows into the Pacific. Retracing their steps from this remote position, they descended the Missouri to St. Louis, where they landed September 23, 1806. This was the first important exploratory expedition sent out by the government, and its results, while they evinced the great personal intrepidity of the explorers, were suited to convey an exalted opinion of the value and resources of this newly-acquired section of the Union. It was found to be a difficult task to enumerate the Indian population of the Columbia Valley, owing to the confusion of synonymes and other causes; consequently overestimates were inevitable. The aboriginal population was rated at eighty thousand, and the distance travelled, from the mouth of the Missouri to that of the Columbia, on the Pacific, is estimated at three thousand five hundred and fifty-five miles. The observations made by Mr. Lewis on the Indian trade disclosed gross irregularities, which were directly traceable to the era of Spanish rule, and such modifications were suggested as would tend to place the natives in a better position. The amount of information obtained by the officers of this expedition constituted a valuable addition to our knowledge of the Indians and their country; and the observations of General William Clarke, joined to his acquired experience, admirably qualified him for the duties of the office to which he was in after-time appointed,—that of Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis, on this frontier.

At the same period Lieutenant Z. M. Pike, U.S.A., was commissioned to explore the sources of the Mississippi. He started from St. Louis with his expedition on August 5, 1805, and, according to his own estimate, reached a point two hundred and thirty-three miles above the Falls of St. Anthony, where the accumulated snow and ice prevented his farther progress by water. He then proceeded on snow-shoes to Sandy Lake, and was thence drawn by teams of dogs to Leech Lake, the largest southerly source of the Mississippi River. Commerce with the Indians was found to be entirely in the hands of the British traders, who wielded an influence adverse to the institutions of the United States. Early in the spring of 1806, Lieutenant Pike descended the Mississippi River, arriving at his point of departure on the 30th of April. His estimates of the Indian population of the Upper Mississippi give a total of eleven thousand one hundred and seventy-seven souls, including Chippewas, Sacs, Foxes, Iowas, Winnebagoes, Menomonies, and the various scattered bands of Dakotas, called Yanktons, Sissetons, and Tetons.

A considerable addition was thus made to our knowledge of the character and habits of the extreme Western and Northern Indians, and the duties of the Indian Department were thereby greatly increased. The State of Ohio was admitted into the Union in 1803, at which period the Territory of Indiana was organized, and General William Henry Harrison appointed its Governor, as well as, *ex officio*, Super-

intendent of Indian Affairs. Harrison had served as an aide to General Wayne in his Indian campaigns, and entered upon the duties of his office with the additional experience acquired under this redoubtable chief, his skill in military tactics being fully equalled by his knowledge of the aboriginal character, which, combined with his address and activity, soon made him respected as a plenipotentiary at their council-fires. For many years he shared with General Clarke, of St. Louis, the onerous and responsible duty of preserving peace on the frontiers.

Two or three elements of discord had existed in the Indian communities located along the frontiers from the outbreak of the Revolution, which were not extinguished by its successful termination, and still smouldered after the close of the Indian war in 1795. Among these was the preference of the Western tribes for the British nation, arising, perhaps, from the conquest of Canada, but kept up by political fallacies. England had secured the good will of the French residents, in whose hands the important commerce with the Indians was concentrated and still remained. The possession of the Indian trade has ever exercised a controlling influence on the policy of the Indians, which is wielded not by ministers plenipotentiary or high secretaries of state, but by the little local traders on the frontiers, petty clerks, interpreters employed by commercial houses, and *coureurs du bois*, who never fail to make their principles square with their interests; and it is a matter of little moment to the limited ambition of this class who influence the destinies of courts or of nations, provided they be permitted to control the traffic in beaver-skins.

While the French held Louisiana, no counter-interests disturbed the harmony of their intercourse with the natives; but when the government was vested in the Spanish crown the rival interests of the Spanish and French merchants had produced discord between their subordinates, which extended also to the Indians. The cession of Louisiana to the United States calmed these troubles, all differences were forgotten, and the contending parties readily accommodated themselves to the American system. But in Florida there was never the least abatement in this strife for commercial supremacy, the thirst for gain acknowledging no nationality. On the contrary, during the short period when Florida was held by the British crown, a new feature was developed in the character of the Indian trade, which imparted to it additional vigor and system. We have in a preceding page alluded to this fact, which was the introduction of the Scottish element among the aboriginal population. One of its most important results was the intermarriage of the Scotch traders with the native females, which gave a permanent character to their influence and had a beneficial ethnological effect on the chiefs and ruling families of the native race. While the Galphins, the Millidges, and their compeers reaped the harvest of trade, the McIntoshes, the McGillivrays, and other chiefs of their race, by infusing their blood into the aboriginal current, gave to the Creeks, Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, and Seminoles a higher social and national character. The fact that this intermixture of the races was coincident with the employment of African slave labor by the higher Indian class was merely incidental. The negroes fled into the Indian territory to escape servitude in the Southern States, and voluntarily assumed the performance

of labor as an equivalent for the shelter, support, and comparative ease and enjoyment Indian life afforded them.

Along the entire northern borders, southward to the line of demarcation designated by the treaty of Versailles, and throughout Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois, as well as the present areas of Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota, British capital and enterprise were the great basis and stimulus of the Indian traffic. The limits of this trade had receded very far to the northwest after the victories of Wayne: Maumee, Vincennes, Kaskaskia, Detroit, and Michilimackinac no longer formed centres for the trade. There had been, up to the commencement of Mr. Madison's administration, no public effort made to prevent foreigners from pursuing their traffic with the Indians north of the shores of Lakes Huron and Michigan. One of the peculiar characteristics of the Indians is that they are wont to give their attention to the lowest order of counsellors, not because of any preference they have for an inferior grade of intellect, but from a natural suspicion that persons in higher positions are always governed by sinister motives; and suggestions from these subordinate sources would appear sometimes to be invested with importance in the precise ratio that they are removed from plausibility or truth. Whoever has, either as a plenipotentiary or a commissioner, passed through the ordeal of an Indian council controlled by the diverse interests of the trade and of the half-breed relations and *protégés* of the tribes will appreciate the force of this remark.

For years after the treaty of Greenville, few difficulties occurred with the Indians. But as settlements extended and encroached upon their domain, it was deemed necessary to renew our treaty relations with them. Between 1803 and 1809 six treaties, all of them for cessions of land, were made, and Wayne's treaty of 1795, with all its excellent provisions for the government and protection of the Indian, was substantially obliterated, vast bodies of the land assured by it to the Indian nations being transferred to the white man and the original proprietors dispossessed. As cession after cession of land was obtained from the Indians by this almost constant process of treaty-making, Tecumseh and his brother, the Prophet, as well as other leading Indians, became alarmed, and set about reviving the confederacy and forming a union of the tribes to prevent further cessions as well as settlements on their lands. Tecumseh protested strenuously against the cession of the Wabash lands at Fort Wayne in 1809, justly insisting upon the recognition of the principle that no cession could be valid unless sanctioned by a council representing all the tribes which were parties to the Wayne treaty of 1795 as one nation. Though the Shawnees were specially interested in these Wabash lands, not a Shawnee signed the treaty. While disclaiming any intention of making war on the United States, he declared it to be his unalterable resolution to oppose any further incursions of the whites upon the territory of the Indians.

Conspicuous among the heroic names of the century stands that of the Indian chief Tecumseh. For years he labored with enthusiasm upon a grand, arduous, and unselfish project, enlisting in it by his personal magnetism great multitudes of various tribes, contending for it with unflinching valor long after there had ceased to be a hope

of success, and finally dying fighting for it to the last, falling with his face to the enemy and covered with wounds. His parents had emigrated from the Tallapoosa region in Alabama about the middle of the last century to the valley of the Miami, and there Tecumseh was born, near Springfield, Ohio, about the year 1770. He gave evidences of the possession of a superior nature when, at the age of sixteen, he first saw a prisoner burnt. He expressed his detestation of the act in such powerful terms that the party resolved never to burn another prisoner. In a fight with some Kentuckians on Mad River, when he was twenty, he is said to have run at the first fire; yet in the wars ending with Wayne's victory, in 1795, he had certainly won distinction. He surpassed his tribe in the arts and feats which Indians honor, winning renown as orator, hunter, and ball-player. His skill in hunting is attested by the story that in a contest with the best hunters of the tribe he returned at the end of three days with thirty deer-skins, while none of his competitors brought in more than twelve. He was well educated, could read and write, and had a confidential secretary and adviser named Billy Caldwell, a half-breed, who was afterwards head chief of the Pottawatomies. It was the sale of the favorite hunting-ground on the Wabash that gave Tecumseh such deep offence and led to the conception of his great design. He proclaimed the great principle that no single tribe could rightfully sell any portion of the lands which, as he claimed, belonged to the red men as a common possession. "The Great Spirit," said he to General Harrison, "gave this great island to his red children. He placed the whites on the other side of the big water; they were not contented with their own, but came to take ours from us. They have driven us from the sea to the lakes; we can go no farther. They have taken upon them to say this tract belongs to the Miamis, this to the Delawares, and so on; but the Great Spirit intended it as the common property of all. Our father tells us that we have no business on the Wabash, that the land belongs to other tribes; but the Great Spirit ordered us to come here, and here we will stay."

General Harrison could not recede, Tecumseh would not. The utmost the general could do was to refer the dispute to the President. "Well," said Tecumseh, "as the Great Chief is to determine the matter, I hope the Great Spirit will put sense enough into his head to induce him to give up this land; it is true he is so far off he will not be injured by the war; he may sit still in his town and drink his wine, while you and I will have to fight it out!" His words were prophetic.

For four years Tecumseh devoted himself to the task of preparing the tribes for a general war. In this work, while displaying eloquence of the highest character in descanting upon the Indian's wrongs and the white man's encroachments, he acquired an astonishing ascendancy over the savage mind. General Harrison, who was long his adviser and ultimately was his conqueror, spoke of him as "one of those uncommon geniuses who, but for the proximity of the United States, might have founded an empire that would have rivalled in glory Mexico or Peru. He is constantly in motion. You see him to-day on the Wabash, and in a short time hear of him on the shores of Lake Erie or Michigan, or on the banks of the Mississippi, and wherever he goes he makes an impression favorable to his purpose." His plan was

to surprise and capture Forts Detroit, Wayne, Chicago, St. Louis, Vincennes, and the adjacent American posts, and to unite all the tribes east of the Mississippi.

In the spring of 1811, Tecumseh, leaving his affairs in the hands of his brother the Prophet, went to the South, preaching his crusade and sowing the seeds of future wars in Florida among the Seminoles, in Georgia and Alabama, among the powerful Creeks and Cherokees, and in Missouri among the tribes of the Des Moines, holding the war-council and delivering his impassioned "talk." He returned in November, 1811, only to learn that his brother, disregarding his own prudent counsels, and puffed up with self-importance, had rashly attacked Harrison's army and met with the disastrous defeat of Tippecanoe.

The prestige of the Prophet, who had promised certain victory, was gone forever among the Northern Indians. Tecumseh's chosen warriors, the nucleus of the great army he had hoped to lead, were killed or dispersed. An opening was, however, unexpectedly afforded him by the breaking out of the war between Great Britain and the United States. In a few days he was in the field. His scheme of uniting the tribes was at once adopted as a part of the system of carrying on the war by the British generals, who took him into high favor, and who testify in strong language to his quick intelligence, his military abilities, and his high courage. A commission as brigadier-general was given him in the British army. The first blood shed in the war was shed through him, and the first advantage gained by the British was due to his assistance. Such were his zeal and activity, and such his knowledge of Indian nature, that the news of our disasters in Canada was whispered among the Creeks in Alabama before they had been heard of by the white settlers. He was present at the siege of Fort Meigs, and at the second assault he headed two thousand warriors. The fall of 1812 again found Tecumseh, accompanied by the Prophet and a retinue of thirty warriors, haranguing the Creeks in the midnight council, and this time with prodigious effect. Now he could point to the successes of the British in the North, now he could give certain promises of assistance from the English and from the Spanish in Florida, and now he spoke with the authority of a British agent and officer.

As we have already seen, considerable influence had been at this period attained by the Shawnee prophet Elkwattawa over the entire body of tribes. This person, though belonging to the reservation of his tribe at Wappecanotta, had located his residence principally on the Wabash, in the vicinity of the mouth of the Tippecanoe River, which became the centre of his power, and whence emanated his oracular revelations. By the recital and interpretation of dreams, by fasting, and by an assumed indifference to all worldly considerations and rewards, he had attained a high position and influence. Elkwattawa had lost one eye, which defect he concealed by wearing a black veil or handkerchief over the disfigured organ. He affected great sanctity, did not engage in the secular duties of war or hunting, was seldom seen in public, devoted most of his time to fasting, the interpretation of dreams, and offering sacrifices to spiritual powers, pretended to see into futurity and to foretell events, and announced himself to be the mouth-piece of God. The Indians flocked to him

from every quarter; there was no name that carried such weight as his. They never ceased talking of his power or expatiating on the miracles he wrought; and the more extraordinary the revelations he made, the more readily were they believed and confided in. He combined a remarkably clear conception of the Indian character with great shrewdness and astuteness. It being essential to his purposes that he who was the concentrated wisdom of the Indian race should have no rival, the minor priests and powwows became but the retailers of his words and prophecies; and when one was found who disputed his authority or resisted his power he did not proceed against him in a direct manner, but insidiously operated upon the superstitions of the Indian mind. In this way he disposed of Tarhe, the venerable sachem of the Wyandots, who, being accused of witchcraft, was condemned to be burned at the stake. The very knowledge that he possessed such an indomitable will increased the fear and respect entertained for him by the Indians,—a respect which was, however, based on an implicit belief in his miraculous gifts. It has been mentioned that the Prophet was not a warrior; his whole object was to employ his power in furtherance of the projects of his brother Tecumseh. As early as 1807 the Shawnee chieftain and his brother were actively engaged in sending their deputies with large presents and bloody war-belts to the most distant nations to persuade them to come into the league, and when the comet appeared in 1811 the Prophet artfully turned it to account by practising on the superstitions of the savages.

There was a higher purpose concealed under these manifestations of Elkswattawa. He told the Indians that their pristine state, antecedent to the arrival of the Europeans, was most agreeable to the Great Spirit, and that they had adopted too many of the manners and customs of the whites. He counselled them to return to their primeval simple condition, to throw away their flints and steels, and to resort to their original mode of obtaining fire by percussion. He denounced woollen stuffs as not equal to skins for clothing; he commended the use of the bow and arrow. Above all, they should discard the white man's whiskey. These maxims he enforced by various ingenious tales. He said, for example, that he himself had formerly been a great drunkard, but on visiting, as prophets may do, the abode of the devil, he observed that those who died drunkards were all there, with flames of fire issuing from their mouths, and that, alarmed at the sight, he had reformed, and now called on all Indians to follow his example. To a surprising extent the Indians obeyed his directions. Like Pontiac, who, however, had made no pretensions to priestly power, he professed a profound respect for the ancient manners and customs of the Indians. Perhaps he was influenced thereto by his knowledge, derived from tradition, of the potency of this argument as made use of by that renowned chief, though it is very likely that the idea originated with himself. Fifty years only had passed since the era of Pontiac, and young men who had been engaged in that bold attempt to resist British power might yet be on the stage of action. Now, however, the real purpose was not to resist the British power, but to invite its co-operation. This was the secret of his actions. This was the argument used by the subordinate emissaries of the Indian trading agencies located in Canada who visited the Wabash,

the Scioto, the Illinois, and the Upper Mississippi. In the course of a few years the doctrines of Elkwattawa had spread among the tribes in the valley of the Missouri, over those located on the most distant shores of Lake Superior, and throughout all the Appalachian tribes of the South. They were as current on the Ocmulgee, the Chattahoochee, and the Alabama as they were on the Wabash and the Miami. Elkwattawa was himself a half-Creek.

The speeches of the Indians in their assemblages had for some time savored of these counsels, and the name of the Shawnee prophet was known and the influence of his teaching disseminated throughout the country. In 1811 the congregation of large masses of Indians around the residence of this oracular personage, on the banks of the upper part of the Wabash, created considerable alarm, and General Harrison, who had closely watched this secret movement, reported it to the government, by which he was authorized to march a military force from Vincennes up the Wabash. This army, comprising one regiment of regular infantry, an auxiliary body of mounted Kentucky volunteers, and also volunteer militia from other Western States, left Vincennes in October, 1811, and on November 6 reached the Indian villages located on eligible open grounds near the confluence of the Tippecanoe. A preliminary conference was immediately held with the Indians, who recommended a locality at a moderate distance inland as a suitable one for an encampment. General Harrison had no reason to suspect Indian treachery, nor is it quite clear that any was originally intended. But that night the Prophet was observed practising his secret rites of divination, and he reported that the omens were favorable for an immediate attack. The army was encamped with the skill and precaution indicated by the teachings of Wayne, and, agreeably to his rigid rules, General Harrison had arisen to order the reveille, and was in his tent engaged in drawing on his boots, when the chief musician stepped in to ask whether he should commence the beat. "Not yet; but presently," was his reply.<sup>1</sup> The expression had scarcely passed his lips when the Indian war-cry was heard. One of the sentinels on post had observed an arrow fall on the grass, which did not, it seems, reach its destination; and, his curiosity being aroused, he was endeavoring to peer through the intense darkness in the direction whence the arrow came, when the Indians made a sudden onslaught. A thousand wolves could not have produced a more horrific howl. The lines were driven in, the horses of the officers, fastened to stakes in the square, broke loose, confusion everywhere prevailed, and the army was assailed from all points. General Harrison gallantly mounted his horse, and endeavored to restore order at the principal points of attack. The mounted volunteers from Kentucky and Indiana charged as well as they could through the darkness. The Fourth Regiment of United States Infantry, which was in a high state of discipline, restored confidence to the foot, and as soon as the dawn of day permitted them to act they repulsed the Indians. At the same time the volunteer cavalry drove the enemy across the prairie to their coverts. There had been, however, a most severe and lamentable slaughter.

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<sup>1</sup> Narrative of Adam Walker, a musician in the Fourth Regiment.

Daylight rendered visible the dead bodies of the chivalric Colonel Daviess, of Kentucky, and Colonel Owens, of Indiana, a Senator in Congress. Our loss was thirty-seven killed and one hundred and fifty-one wounded. The army was saved from destruction only by the rising of the sun, which rendered the enemy visible. It was, however, a decisive victory for the United States, and a death-blow to the plans of the Prophet and his brother Tecumseh, and for some time afterwards the frontiers enjoyed peace. Numbers of the Indians had been slain by the broadsword in their retreat. This battle was not, however, fought by Tecumseh, who, as has been said, was then absent on a mission to the Creeks, his relatives by his mother's side.

## CHAPTER IV.

### WAR OF 1812—DISASTERS ON THE CANADIAN FRONTIER—DETROIT SURRENDERED —DEFEAT AT THE RIVER RAISIN—DUDLEY'S DEFEAT—VICTORY OF THE THAMES, AND DEATH OF TECUMSEH.

ON the 18th of the June following the battle of Tippecanoe, Congress declared war against Great Britain. This war, according to the newly-announced oracular view, appeared to the Indians as the manifestation of the power of the Great Spirit, and was regarded as the means employed to disenthral them from the hated rule of the white race. Their great Shawnee prophet had announced to the tribes from his oracular *jesukean*, or prophet's lodge, on the banks of the Wabash, the approaching epoch of their deliverance, and the news had been diffused far and wide. The intimate political relations of his brother Tecumseh with the British authorities of Canada formed the nucleus of their power, and hence they could depend on the British for arms, provisions, and clothing. Was it any wonder that they flocked to the British standard as soon as it was displayed? Twenty-seven days after the declaration of this war by Congress the Indians were in possession of Michilimackinac, and on the same day their tomahawks were red with the gore of the slaughtered garrison of Chicago, who had abandoned the fort and sought safety on the sandy shores of Lake Michigan. The war resulted mainly from long-pending disputes concerning maritime rights and national injustice. The concurrent Indian hostilities on the frontiers were but a small part of the original cause of complaint. Yet the assumption that they were originated by British emissaries was clearly deducible from the events which took place on the frontiers, and it derived additional confirmation in a short time from the fact that these Indian tribes were engaged to "fight by the side of white men" and to serve as auxiliaries to the British army in the West. In the war of 1812 Great Britain made the same unjustifiable use of the Indians as she had previously done in that of 1776,—they were her cruel and bloody satellites. Thayendanagea had gone to the hunting-grounds of the spirit-land, but his place was more than filled by Tecumseh, who possessed greater energy of purpose, with equal bravery, and had more deeply enlisted the warmest sympathies of the Indians. The former, it is believed, had ere his death overcome his violent prejudices against the Americans; the latter fell in defence of rights and of a cause which he felt to be just, while his dishonest adviser and auxiliary in command, General Proctor, fled ingloriously from the field.

The Indians believed that in the war of 1812 they had an opportunity of regaining possession of the Western country, perhaps to the line of the Illinois, while the British hoped to secure a more southerly line of boundary than that

prescribed by the treaty of 1783,—a motive which, in the minds of sober, thinking people, hardly redounded to their credit. Their conduct in this war, as in that of the Revolution, served only to add to its horrors, and by acts of cruelty incited the Americans to greater exertions. That the Indians had been told that they would be able to recover their territory northwest of the Ohio is evident from the speech of Tecumseh made to General Proctor at Amherstburg in 1813. “When the war was declared,” said the great Indian captain, “our father stood up, and gave us the tomahawk, and told us that he was now ready to strike the Americans; that he wanted our assistance; and that he would certainly get us our lands back which the Americans had taken from us.”

After reciting the long course of maritime injustice and wrong, the Congressional Committee on Foreign Affairs emphatically say, “Forbearance has ceased to be a virtue. . . . Whether the British government has contributed by active measures to excite against us the hostility of the savage tribes on our frontiers your committee are not disposed to occupy much time in investigating. Certain indications of general notoriety may supply the place of authentic documents, though these have not been wanting to establish the fact in some instances. It is known that symptoms of British hostility towards the United States have never failed to produce corresponding symptoms among those tribes. It is also well known that on all such occasions abundant supplies of the ordinary munitions of war have been afforded by the British commercial companies, and even from British garrisons, wherewith they were enabled to commence that system of savage warfare on our frontiers which has been at all times indiscriminate in its effect on all ages, sexes, and conditions, and so revolting to humanity.”

“Summer before last” (*i.e.*, 1810), says Tecumseh, “when I came forward with my red brethren, and was ready to take up the hatchet in favor of our British father, we were told not to be in a hurry; that he had not *yet* determined to fight the Americans.” This impatience on the part of the Indians was so great that they took the initiative at the battle of Tippecanoe. That action thrilled through the nerves of the Americans like an electric shock, and was the first intimation that the frontiers were about to become the scene of another desperate contest with the bloodthirsty and infuriated savages. But though the impatient Indians chafed at the delay, it served to give a degree of unanimity to their hostility which even the war of the Revolution had not witnessed. From the termination of the Appalachian chain to the great lake-basins of Erie, Huron, Michigan, and Superior, onward to the Falls of St. Anthony, and southward to the gulf, the Indians assumed an attitude of determined hostility; and as soon as the key-note was sounded in Canada by the British bugle, an answering yell of discord resounded through the land which electrified the people on the frontiers, made the mother quake with dread in her nursery, and summoned the patriotic militiaman to arms.

During the winter following the action on the Wabash, Elkswattawa continued his incantations, delivering his oracular responses with more and more authority, while his distinguished brother continued those negotiations with the tribes which were

necessary to prepare them for conflict, and we should not have known that they were ready to take up the hatchet two years previously had not Tecumseh stated it in his celebrated speech.

Early in the spring of 1812, the forests surrounding every military post in the West were at nearly the same time filled with armed warriors, who watched the gates with the keen eyes of a panther ready to spring upon its prey. Their central rendezvous, and the depot whence they drew their supplies, was Fort Malden, at Amherstburg, near the mouth of the Detroit River. They had watched the movements of Hull in Michigan with the accuracy of a vulture, or of an eagle on its perch; and, with the same rapacious vigilance, they had permitted no one to escape who ventured from the gates of a fort or of any guarded enclosure. When the apprehensions of Hull had reached their climax, and the British flag was hoisted on the ramparts of Fort Shelby, their exultation was extreme. The Chippewas and Ottawas, with delegations of the Menomonies, Winnebagoes, and Sioux, had, on the 17th of July preceding, enabled Captain Roberts, with a trifling force,<sup>1</sup> to surprise and capture Michilimackinac. On the 4th of August a large body of Wyandots and other Indians, lying in ambuscade at Brownstown, defeated Major Van Horn, with a force of two hundred riflemen, driving him back to Detroit with great loss. On the 9th of August, after Hull had recrossed Detroit River, Colonel Miller also encountered at Brownstown the same force of Indians, led by Tecumseh, and supported by a large body of British regulars, located behind temporary breastworks, whom he gallantly charged with the bayonet and defeated. On the 16th of the same month Detroit was surrendered to an inconsiderable army hastily mustered by General Brock, who officially intimated that the Indians could not be restrained. General Hull observes that "the history of barbarians in the north of Europe does not furnish examples of more greedy violence than these savages have exhibited," and thus consoles himself by an historical truism for a surrender which is a lasting stigma on the military history of the Union.

On the 15th of August the garrison of Chicago (where Fort Dearborn had been erected in 1804), under Captain Heald, was surrounded by Pottawatomies while on its march to Detroit along the open shores of Lake Michigan, and all but about fifteen massacred, including the women and children who followed the camp. The stock of stores and baggage was captured.

On the 8th of September the Wabash Indians invested Fort Harrison, on the Wabash, about sixty-five miles above Vincennes, and a short distance above the present city of Terre Haute, then garrisoned by a few men under command of Captain Zachary Taylor.<sup>2</sup> They killed several persons outside of the fort, and invested it closely for two days. Finding they could not force an entry, they fired one of the block-houses, the lower part of which contained the provisions of the garrison. At-

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<sup>1</sup> According to Lieutenant Hanks, there were but forty-six regular British troops, with three hundred and sixty Canadian militia and seven hundred and fifteen Indians.—*Official Letters*, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Thirty-seven years afterwards, this officer was elected President of the United States.

tempts to save it proving unsuccessful, it was burned down, leaving an opening about eighteen feet in width. With great self-possession and cool courage, Captain Taylor caused the breach to be repaired, though subjected to an incessant fire from the enemy, and finally beat them off.

On the 5th of the month the savages laid siege to Fort Madison, on the Upper Mississippi, commencing their operations by shooting and scalping a soldier near the gate. They then opened a brisk attack with ball and buckshot, killed the cattle in an outer enclosure, fired at the flag-staff, and cut the rope which held the flag, causing it to fall, and also made several bold and dexterous attempts to set the works on fire.

Early in October, Governor Edwards, of Illinois, marched against the Indian town of Peoria and the savages in its vicinity. He was attacked by the Indians in their usual manner, but succeeded in burning their towns and destroying their corn, losing only a few men. In the month of November the hostilities of the Wabash Indians became so troublesome that a force of about twelve hundred and fifty volunteers, under General Hopkins, was marched from Vincennes against them. On the 20th, 21st, and 22d he applied the torch to several of their villages, utterly destroyed the Prophet's town, and drove the enemy from their strongholds, who, however, avoided any decisive battle. On the 12th of December two or three hundred Indians assaulted the camp of Colonel Campbell, on the Mississinewa branch of the Wabash, killing eight men and wounding thirty-five or forty. General Harrison commended the intrepidity with which this attack was repulsed.

The year 1812 closed very inauspiciously. In wars with his own race the Indian never continues hostile operations during the winter season. The trees have then lost their foliage, and do not hide his movements; the snows at that season present a complete map of his track; the cold is too intense for him to dispense with fire, the light of which would reveal the position of his encampment. But when an Indian is quartered among civilized troops he is protected in the use of camp-fires, he builds huts to ward off storms, draws his provisions from a commissary, and clothes himself in woollens which are not paid for by beaver-skins. Under these circumstances a winter campaign can be endured, and does not become distasteful.

The river Detroit had been from the earliest period the principal entrance to the Indian territory in the Northwest, and the area of lower or eastern Michigan consequently became the meeting-place of Indian councils, and the grand rendezvous of war-parties. The surrender by Hull of this territory appeared to have abandoned it to them under the protection of their allies. It was renowned in their mythology as having been trodden by the fabled heroes and demi-gods Inigorio, Manabozho, and Hiawatha, and celebrated in their traditional history by the deeds of a Pontiac and a Minnavivina. The great object of the manœuvres of the United States troops was to regain possession of Michigan. Tecumseh, whose head-quarters were located near Amherstburg, separated from it only by the river Detroit, had, as has been already mentioned, defeated Major Van Horn at Brownstown on the 4th of August, 1812, and likewise had aided in the determined resistance made to Colonel Miller at the same place on the 9th.

On January 18, 1813, Lieutenant-Colonel William Lewis, with six hundred Kentucky volunteers from General James Winchester's division, which had just marched through the snow from the Miami, made a forced march from the rapids to the river Raisin, where he attacked a force of five hundred British and Indians under Major Reynolds, who were driven from their defenses. The night of the 21st was intensely cold, and no pickets were posted upon the road by which the enemy at Malden, only eighteen miles distant, might be expected. At daybreak on the morning of the 22d, Winchester's camp was suddenly attacked by about one thousand British and Indians, commanded respectively by Colonel Proctor and Tecumseh, with artillery. They were kept at bay by the detachment of Colonel Lewis, which was protected by picketing, but Colonel Wells's regiment, encamped on the open ground, and attacked from the cover of the houses and enclosures upon its flanks, soon gave way and fled panic-stricken. They were pursued and slaughtered without mercy by the Indians, scarcely a man escaping death or captivity. The Kentuckians gallantly held their position, though subjected to the fire of six field-pieces, until their ammunition was expended, when they surrendered upon honorable conditions. These conditions, as respected the wounded, were inhumanly violated. They, having been left without a guard, were all murdered by the Indians under circumstances of shocking barbarity. This terrible disaster resulted in a loss to the Americans in killed, wounded, and prisoners of about one thousand.

The Northern Indians assembled under British colors around Fort Meigs, on the Maumee, aided materially in effecting the defeat, on the 5th of May, of twelve hundred volunteers under General Green Clay and Colonel Dudley. Clay, who on May 4 had reached Fort Defiance, was ordered by General Harrison to land eight hundred men on the north shore, opposite Fort Meigs, to carry the British batteries, spike the cannon, and destroy the carriages, and then to cross over to the fort. Colonel William Dudley, who was charged with the execution of this order, after finishing his work, instead of withdrawing as ordered, pursued the enemy nearly two miles, his men being scattered in the woods in all directions. In this situation the enemy intercepted their retreat, and the whole detachment, with the exception of about one hundred and fifty men, were killed or captured, many being shot down and scalped after becoming prisoners. The siege of Fort Meigs by about three thousand British and Indians under General Proctor, which had lasted eleven days, was raised on the 9th of May.

The Northwestern Indians, who were under the influence of Tecumseh, and of the Shawnee prophet, his brother, had manifested considerable restlessness and dissatisfaction at the course pursued by the British generals during the spring, summer, and autumn of 1813. Their decided and unexpected defeat by Croghan in the sharp action at Upper Sandusky, their abandonment of the siege of Fort Meigs and withdrawal from the American shores of Lake Erie, and, above all, the capture of the British fleet by Perry, had appeared to the Indians to be presages of evil. As early as the 18th of August, only eight days after Perry's victory, Tecumseh had protested against these retrograde movements. He was then in ignorance of the result of the

naval battle, which had been concealed from him, but he feared the worst. "We have heard the guns," he said, "but know nothing of what has happened to our father with one arm.<sup>1</sup> Our ships have gone one way, and we are very much astonished to see our father tying up everything and preparing to run away another, without letting his red children know what his intentions are. You always told us to remain here and take care of our lands; it made our hearts glad to hear that was your wish. Our great father, the King of England, is the head, and you represent him. You always told us that you would never draw your foot off British ground. But now, father, we see you are drawing back, and we are sorry for our father doing so without seeing the enemy."

The victory obtained by Perry was the turning-point in the campaign. A fleet being now at the command of General Harrison, he could at once transport his entire army, with its artillery and baggage, across the lake, thus avoiding long and perilous marches, through almost impassable bogs, such as that of the Black Swamp, and the peril of ambuscades in the forests. General Harrison landed his army on the shores of the lake, a few miles below Amherstburg, on the 23d of September, and in less than one hour he marched into the town, where not a single British soldier was to be found. General Proctor, the commandant, had fled, with all his troops and the Indian auxiliaries, after burning the fort, barracks, navy-yard, and public stores. He was pursued the following day, and on the 5th of October was overtaken at the Moravian town on the river Thames, when a general action ensued, in which he was utterly defeated.

The ground occupied by the British was the river-bottom, about three hundred yards wide, and thickly set with beech-trees. Their left rested upon the river, and their right upon a swamp which ran parallel to the river and covered their right flank. Beyond this swamp their line was prolonged by their Indian allies, who occupied low grounds behind a dense forest of beeches, impenetrable by horsemen. The position was well chosen, and evinced the judgment of their great captain, Tecumseh, who commanded the Indians and by word and example animated them to a vigorous resistance. Proctor's force consisted of eight hundred regulars and twelve hundred Indians. Harrison's army numbered twenty-five hundred, chiefly Kentucky volunteers. His line of battle was formed by the two divisions of Henry and Desha, including the brigades of Trotter, King, Chiles, Allen, and Caldwell. Henry's division confronted the British regulars, while that of Desha was formed at a right angle with it, facing the swamp, the Indian stronghold. The venerable Isaac Shelby, of King's Mountain fame, took his station at the point where the lines intersected. Colonel R. M. Johnson's regiment of mounted gunmen had originally been intended to turn the Indian flank and operate in the rear, as in Wayne's battle, but, learning that the British regulars were deployed as skirmishers in loose order, he directed them to charge Proctor in front. Johnson, finding that the whole of his regiment could not act with effect upon the narrow front of the British line, ordered

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<sup>1</sup> Commodore Barclay.

his brother to charge them with one battalion, while he charged the Indians with the other. The charge upon the British was completely successful. Proctor fled, and the whole right wing threw down their arms and surrendered. The charge upon the Indians, from the nature of the ground and their more vigorous resistance, proved unsuccessful. The horsemen recoiled in disorder, and, dismounting, commenced an irregular skirmish with the Indians. Colonel Johnson, who had gallantly led a forlorn hope of twenty men, was desperately wounded, and borne off before the close of the action. The defeat of Proctor in front, however, left Tecumseh unprotected, and he would have been compelled to retreat had not the action in this quarter terminated in the death of the great chief.

With the fall of Tecumseh the Indian league was virtually broken. The Indians generally abandoned the contest and dispersed. A strong party of them, however, accompanied by the British troops, crossed the Niagara before daybreak on the 30th of December and laid the village of Buffalo in ruins. On the 16th of October, General Harrison issued a proclamation granting an armistice to the Miamis, Pottawatomies, Weas, Eel River Indians, Chippewas, Ottawas, and Wyandots, each of these tribes having delivered into his custody hostages for the faithful performance of their agreement. The same tribes, together with the Kickapoos, had previously sent delegates to Generals McArthur and Cass, commanding at Detroit, offering to conclude a peace.

## CHAPTER. V.

HOSTILITIES WITH THE CREEKS—MASSACRE AT FORT MIMS—BATTLES OF TULUSHATCHES, TALLADEGA, HILLABEE, ATTASEE, EMUCKFAU, ENOTOCHOPCO, AND TOHOPEKA—SURRENDER OF WEATHERFORD—CAPTURE OF PENSACOLA—THE WAR ENDED.

WE must now turn our attention to the Southern tribes. The fallacy of concluding treaties with an ignorant, wild, and nomadic people, destitute of sound moral principles, was never more fully demonstrated than in the case of the Appalachian group of tribes. The Creeks, a full delegation of whom, with McGillivray at its head, visited New York in 1790, and, amid great ceremony, entered into solemn compacts with General Washington, renewing the same in 1796, and again in 1802, as well as in 1805, were, all the while, only carrying out a diplomatic scheme. They hated the Americans, and the more so, it seems, because they had as colonies prevailed over the British. This great tribe had in early days subdued the once proud Uchees and Natchez and the Florida tribes, and in truth wielded the power of a confederacy, which they averred to consist of seven tribes or elements. But in a confederacy of savages it was necessary to keep the tomahawk ever lifted. Destitute of political compactness, and its leaders lacking the power of combination as well as moral steadiness, this league was powerful only against savages like themselves, and proved to be an utter failure when opposed to the policy of a civilized nation.

Tecumseh had harangued in their councils early in his career. His mother having been a Creek, they listened to his words with peculiar favor, more especially as he was fresh from the banks of the Wabash, where he had heard the voice of inspiration. In common with the Western tribes, the Creeks believed that they were on the eve of a great revolution, through which the Indians would once more regain their ascendancy in America.

So long had the Creeks been at peace with the settlers, and such progress had many of them made in civilization, and so attached to the whites had the more intelligent of the chiefs become, that the process of fomenting a civil war was a long and doubtful one. To his public addresses from time to time Tecumseh added private persuasion. Prophets howled, danced, and performed miracles at his bidding. His utmost efforts were employed in gaining over the leaders, among the first of whom was Weatherford, a half-breed, possessing a genius similar to his own, handsome, sagacious, eloquent, and brave. Returning northward, Tecumseh's injunctions to secrecy were so well observed that for six months afterwards, while the war question was agitating thirty thousand souls, the whites knew nothing of it, and as late as midsummer, 1813, they were still in doubt whether the Creeks intended hostilities.

Thoroughly alarmed at last, the planters along the Alabama River, few in number and defenceless, left their houses and crops and took refuge in the block-houses and stockades, of which there were twenty in a line of seventy miles. The neighbors of Samuel Mims resorted to his enclosure of upright logs, pierced for musketry, on the shores of Lake Tensaw, each family hastening to construct within it a rough cabin for its own accommodation. Major Daniel Beasley, with one hundred and seventy-five volunteers, had command of the fort, which, on the fatal morning of August 30, contained no less than five hundred and fifty-three souls, of whom more than one hundred were women and children. Days passed: the first panic subsided, the danger was made light of, discipline was relaxed, and the inmates gave themselves up to fun and frolic. At noon, August 30, Weatherford and one thousand Creek Indians, who, armed to the teeth and hideous with war-paint, had all the morning lain hidden in a ravine only four hundred yards distant, leaped from their lair, and were only one hundred and fifty yards from the gate when first seen. For three hours the garrison maintained a destructive fire through the port-holes and from the houses. But at length, by means of burning arrows, the buildings were fired, and a scene of slaughter ensued. Weatherford tried to stop the carnage, but the Indians, delirious with blood, could not be controlled. At sundown four hundred mangled corpses strewed the ground. Not a white woman or child escaped. A few half-breeds were made prisoners, and a number of negroes were spared and kept as slaves. Major Beasley was one of the first that fell. Of the Indians, four hundred were killed and wounded. The news of the massacre flew upon the wings of the wind. In the country of the Alabama River and its branches every soul fled in terror to the stockades or towards Mobile. Property of all kinds was abandoned. Parties of Indians roved about the country rioting in plunder, and for weeks it seemed as if the white settlers of Alabama were about to be exterminated.

The Northern tribes were to a considerable extent controlled by climatic influences. They could not continue together in large bodies without being furnished with regular supplies of food and some of the requisites of a military camp. When, therefore, their white allies and supporters were defeated they were dismayed, but when their own great leaders and captains were killed they were placed entirely *hors du combat*. There were no reserves from which to recruit defeated Indian armies; there was, in truth, no recuperative power in the Indian character. To some extent the tribes south of latitude 40° north were an exception to this rule. From 40° to 46° north the snow falls to a greater or less depth between the months of November and March. North of 46°, corn, on which the Indian relies for his supply of vegetable food, must be purchased from the Indian traders who visit his villages during the winter; but a war with Europeans, whose armies can operate either in winter or in summer, is adverse to hunting and destructive of his means, as the Northern Indian can neither raise corn in summer nor hunt deer or search the streams for beaver in winter. It is far otherwise with the tribes located between the latitudes of the capes of Florida and the Appalachian Mountains. A large part of this territory, lying between the longitudes of the Atlantic coasts of Georgia and Florida and the

banks of the Mississippi, have an almost tropical climate, and produce sub-tropical vegetation. Here are grown the indigo-plant, cotton, rice, and sugar, also the orange, banana, and other far Southern fruits. The forests are redolent with the aromatic odors of groves of illicium, myrtle, laurel, and bignonia. The Indian spreads his simple mantle here, and lies down on the ground without a tent or a fire. The forests are filled with the deer and wild turkey. The soil yields the arrow-root and wild potatoes, and the sea-coasts, as well as the lakes, abound with shell-fish and the various species of water-fowl. These tribes had not yet been circumscribed in their movements by the onward progress of the emigrant; and no such idea had mingled in their dreams as that the fertile and extensive territories on the Chattahoochee, the Alabama, and the Tuscaloosa were designed for nobler pursuits than the mere hunting of deer. Antiquity of opinion, manners, and arts is what the native unsophisticated Indian loves; novelty is distasteful, progress is unrelished, agriculture is regarded as servitude, letters and religion are detested.

The laying down of the war-club by the Northern tribes, who had been led on by Tecumseh in their crusade against civilization, had little or no effect on the Southern tribes. Within one month after the decisive battle of the Thames, in the North, the Creeks assumed such an attitude of hostility at Tullushatches, on the Coosa River, that General John Coffee marched against them with a brigade of cavalry and mounted riflemen. The Indian town was reached at sunrise, November 3, when the beating of the drums of the savages indicated that they were prepared to meet them. A sham attack and retreat by a single company effectually succeeded in decoying them from their houses in close pursuit. This sally was checked by their encountering the main body of Coffee's command, which charged them and drove them back to their shelter, where they were in a very short time surrounded by superior numbers. They fought with great desperation, without "shrinking or complaining; no one asked to be spared, but all fought as long as they could stand or sit." One hundred and eighty-six dead bodies were counted on the field, and eighty prisoners were taken, chiefly women and children. General Coffee's brigade lost five killed and forty-one wounded.

Only a few days elapsed when the Creeks appeared in great force at Talladega, surrounding a small fort into which one hundred and fifty-four friendly Creeks had fled for safety, and investing it so completely that not a man could escape. With only a small quantity of corn and scarcely any water, outnumbered seven to one, and unable to send intelligence of their situation, the inmates of the fort seemed doomed to massacre. The assailants, sure of their prey, whooped and sported around it, waiting for terror or starvation to save them the trouble of conquest. Days passed, and the sufferings of the beleaguered Indians from thirst began to be intolerable. At length a noted chief, enveloped in the skin of a hog, left the fort, and, rooting and grunting about, succeeded in gradually working his way through the enemy's line, and next day reached the camp of General Jackson, thirty miles distant. That energetic officer, to whom the command had been assigned, promptly advanced to their relief, and by great exertions and night-marches reached the vicinity of the fort

on the 9th of November. At sunrise he attacked the Indians and gained a decisive victory, two hundred and ninety of them being left dead on the field. The joy of the rescued Creeks was affecting in the extreme, and they thronged around their deliverer, testifying their delight and gratitude. Jackson had seventeen killed and eighty-three wounded.

The Hillabee warriors who had been defeated at Talladega at once sent a messenger to Fort Strother to sue for peace. Jackson's reply was prompt and characteristic. His government, he said, had taken up arms to avenge the most gross injuries, and to bring back to a sense of duty a people to whom it had shown the utmost kindness. When these objects were attained the war would cease, but not till then. "Upon those," he continued, "who are disposed to become friendly I neither wish nor intend to make war, but they must afford evidences of the sincerity of their professions; the prisoners and property they have taken from us and the friendly Creeks must be restored; the instigators of the war and the murderers of our citizens must be surrendered; the latter must and will be made to feel the force of our resentment. Long shall they remember Fort Mims in bitterness and tears." Before this message reached the Hillabees, an event occurred which banished from their minds all thoughts of peace, changing them from suppliants for pardon to deadly enemies. Totally unaware of the state of feeling among them, nay, supposing them to be inveterately hostile, Brigadier-General James White marched against their towns on the Tallapoosa, about one hundred miles from Fort Armstrong, on November 11, without Jackson's knowledge.

He captured five Creeks on the Little Oakfuskee, and burned a town comprising thirty houses. The town of Genalga, consisting of ninety-three houses, shared the same fate. Having arrived at a point within five or six miles of the principal Hillabee town, where he was informed the Indians would make a stand, he dismounted part of his forces and prepared to make a night-attack. This was the town from which the messenger had been sent to Jackson asking peace, and to which that messenger was that day to return. It was daylight on the 18th before the troops reached the town, which they succeeded in surrounding and surprising. Sixty were killed on the spot, and two hundred and fifty-six persons taken prisoners. The Indians naturally supposed this to be Jackson's answer to their friendly overtures, and from that hour fought with desperation, asking no quarter.

On the 29th of November, Brigadier-General John Floyd fought a general battle with the Creeks at Attasee, some eighteen miles from the Hickory Ground, on the waters of the Tallapoosa. His force was composed of nine hundred and fifty Georgia militia, between three and four hundred friendly Cowetas, under McIntosh, and the Tookabatchees, under their chief, Mad Dog. These fought with intrepidity when incorporated with the line of the troops. After some changes of plan, caused by ignorance of the local geography, the army approached the upper town, where the action became general. "The Indians presented themselves at every point, and fought with the desperate bravery of real fanatics." By the use of artillery and the bayonet the enemy were obliged to retreat and take shelter in houses, thickets,

and caves in a high bluff on the river. The action terminated at nine o'clock in the morning, when the town was burned. The loss of the enemy was about two hundred killed, and four hundred buildings are estimated to have been consumed. Floyd's loss was twenty-eight killed and eighty-five wounded.

On the 23d of December, General F. L. Claiborne, with a brigade of volunteers and a part of the Third Regiment of United States troops, attacked the Creek town of Eccanachaca, on the Alabama, about eighty miles above the mouth of the Cahawba. Being advised of his approach, the Indians were prepared for him, and immediately commenced an attack, but they were quickly repulsed, with the loss of thirty warriors killed.

On the night of the 27th of January a large body of Creeks stealthily seized the sentinels, and then attacked the army of General John Floyd, some forty miles west of the Chattahoochee River. They were perfectly wild with fury, and rushed to within fifty yards of the artillery, evincing a rash courage similar to that which the Indians had previously displayed in the action against St. Clair. They were encountered with firmness, and as soon as day dawned were successfully charged with the bayonet and the broadsword. General Floyd gained a complete victory; thirty-seven dead bodies were found on the field, of which fifteen had been sabred. Floyd's loss was twenty killed and one hundred and twenty-five wounded.

The determination with which the Creeks had entered into this war has hardly a precedent in Indian contests. They had been five times defeated in battle; they had lost several hundred men on the battle-field; and upwards of forty of their towns, some of them comprising ninety houses, had been consigned to the flames. The Choctaws and Chickasaws did not assist them, and the Cherokees, being remote, either stood entirely aloof, or only sent out small parties of friendly scouts and spies. A limited number of the Creeks themselves, the tribes of the Cowetas and Tookabatchees, were friendly to the whites; but the main body of the nation fought as if their salvation depended on defeating the Americans. If, as may naturally be conjectured, they opposed Narvaez and De Soto in 1628 and 1641 with this determined spirit, no wonder need be expressed that the former proceeded no farther than the mouth of the Appalachicola, or that the troops of the latter were driven out of the Mississippi Valley. The numerous population of the tribe, located in a genial climate, in which all the productions necessary for the subsistence of Indians grew spontaneously, constituted them a powerful enemy. Their intellectual development and stability of character had also been promoted by intermixture with the Scotch race. It is not improbable, when we consider their heavy losses in battle, that we have never possessed anything like an accurate enumeration of their strength. Major Swan, who visited the country as an official agent in 1791, enumerates fifty-two towns; and, with our knowledge of their fecundity and means of subsistence, they could not well be estimated at less than two hundred souls to each town, which would give an aggregate population of ten thousand four hundred. There could not have been less than three thousand Creek warriors in the field during the greater portion of the years 1812 and 1813 and a part of 1814. The tribe appears to have possessed

an active military element, and the spirit to conquer other tribes. According to Bartram, they had been involved in wars and contests before they crossed the Mississippi on their route to the present area of Florida; and, having progressed to the Altamaha, still fighting their way, they first "sat down," to use their metaphor, at the "old fields" on that river. While their council-fire was located at this place, they subdued the Savannas, Ogeechees, Wapoos, Santees, Yamassees, Utinas, Icosans, Paticas, and various other tribes, always making it a rule to incorporate the remnants with themselves, and within the period of our own history they had thus absorbed the Uchees and Natchez.

By a scrutiny of the official documents of that period we are led to infer that the Creek war had been carried on by spirited and gallant leaders, who were, however, deficient in an accurate knowledge of the geography of the country. Military expeditions were led into the interior under the guidance of ignorant men, who frequently misled the officers, and the latter were occasionally content to escape from perilous positions with the *éclat* of a victory which neither secured the possession of the country nor humbled the tribe. Tennessee, however, presented an officer of a very different character in Andrew Jackson, a general of her State militia. He despised fair-weather soldiers and mouthing patriots. His observations of Indian life had given him better defined views of their character, and he saw at a glance that half-measures would not do. The Indian is not a sensitive man, but a stoic by nature as well as by education, and quickly recovers from calamities which are not of long continuance. The Indian's alertness and quickness at the adoption of expedients must be opposed by a similar course of policy. The general who operates against them must be willing and ready to fight by night as well as by day, should not encumber himself with baggage, must occasionally run the risk of losing all his camp equipage for the purpose of defeating his enemy, and must endure hardships and fatigue like an Indian. Jackson's first march to and victory at Talladega taught him all this. The system of rapid movements and impetuous charges introduced by Napoleon, which overthrew the old military tactics of Europe, also gave success to Jackson's operations against the Indians. His attacks were quick and terribly effective.

Notwithstanding the severity of their punishment, the Creeks inhabiting the valley of the Tallapoosa maintained a resolute mien, and even those of the town of Talladega were un intimidated. Very early in January (1814), General Jackson, having been authorized to march against the hostile bands, designated the 10th of that month for the assembling of his new levies of volunteers, including cavalry and infantry, who amounted in the aggregate to nineteen hundred and fifty men. They were not, however, finally mustered until the 17th. On the 18th Jackson reached Talladega fort, where he was joined by between two and three hundred friendly Indians, of whom sixty-five were Cherokees and the remainder Creeks. Learning that the entire force of warriors of the Oäkfuskee, New Yarcou, and Eufaula towns was concentrated at a place called Emuckfau, in a bend of the Tallapoosa, he determined to proceed thither. The march was a hazardous one,

being over a varied surface and through many defiles, which presented great difficulties to raw and undisciplined troops. On the 20th he encamped at Enotochopco, a Hillabee village, twelve miles from Emuckfau, where he was much chagrined at ascertaining the geographical ignorance of his guides, as well as by discovering the insubordination and want of skill which became apparent in his troops. They were, however, spirited and courageous men, and the following day he pushed on with them to the banks of the Tallapoosa, where he struck a new and well-beaten trail, which disclosed his proximity to the enemy. Late in the day he encamped his troops in a square, doubled his pickets, and made preparations to reconnoitre the enemy's camp the same night. At eleven o'clock his spies returned with the information that the Indians were encamped in great force at the distance of three miles, and either preparing for a march or an attack before daylight. At six o'clock the following morning the Indians commenced a desperate onslaught on Jackson's left, both in front and in rear, which was vigorously met. The contest raged with great violence for half an hour, and was participated in by the most efficient of the field and staff officers, as well as by a reinforcement of infantry which immediately marched to the relief of the troops attacked. As soon as it was sufficiently light to discern surrounding objects, a charge was ordered, which was led by General Coffee; and the enemy, being routed at every point, were pursued with great slaughter for two miles. Jackson then ordered their town to be burned, if practicable, but General Coffee, after marching thither, deemed it unadvisable, and returned. The Indians here evinced some skill in manœuvring, for after Coffee's return they attacked Jackson's right, thinking to draw to that point reinforcements from the left, which had been weakened by the battle in the morning; having made this feint, they immediately prepared to renew their onslaught on the left. This movement had been anticipated by Jackson, who prepared for it by ordering a cavalry charge on the Indians' left, and by strengthening his own left with a body of infantry. The entire line met the enemy with great intrepidity, and after discharging a few rounds made a general charge, the effect of which was immediate: the enemy fled with precipitation, and were pursued by the troops, who poured upon them a galling and destructive fire. In the mean time, Coffee, who had charged the left of the Indians, was placed in considerable jeopardy, some of his force not having joined him, and a part, comprising the friendly Creeks, having left their position. As soon as the front was relieved, the Creeks, who had taken part in the first charge, rejoined Coffee, and enabled him to make another charge, which accomplished his purpose. The enemy fled in confusion, and the field was left in possession of the Americans.

Jackson passed the night in a fortified camp, and on the 23d, at ten o'clock in the morning, commenced his return march to Camp Strother, whence he set out. He encamped on the Enotochopco before dark, having been unmolested on his route, which lay through a dangerous defile. Having a deep creek and another dangerous defile before him, he decided to avoid it by making a *détour*; but the next morning, while in the act of crossing the creek, the enemy, who from signs observed during the night had been expected, began a furious attack. The vanguard, and a part of

the flank columns, as well as all the wounded, had passed over, and the artillery were about to follow, when the alarm-gun was fired. He refaced his whole line for a backward movement, but while the columns were manœuvring to gain a position, a part of the rear of both the right and left columns gave way, causing a great deal of confusion. There then remained but a part of the rear-guard, the artillery, and the company of spies, with which the rout was checked and the attack repulsed. It was on this occasion that Lieutenant Armstrong (the late General Armstrong) performed a deed of heroic valor by ascending an eminence with his gun, under a hot fire, and driving back the enemy with volleys of grape-shot. This battle was fought on the 24th of January. In these actions the loss on each side was very great, and several brave officers fell. There were twenty-four Americans killed and seventy-five wounded, and the bodies of one hundred and eighty-nine Indian warriors were found on the field.

The Indians of the Tallapoosa did not, however, drop the tomahawk, but, having determined to make a more effective stand, they assembled on a peninsula of the Tallapoosa River, called by them *Tohopeka*, and the *Horse-Shoe* by the whites. On this point, surrounded on all sides but one by the deep current of the river, one thousand warriors assembled. Across the connecting neck of land, three hundred and fifty yards in width, they had erected a solid breastwork of earth from six to eight feet high, which afforded a perfect covert. This breastwork was so sinuous in its form that it could not be raked even by a cannon placed at one angle, and was so drawn that an approaching enemy would be exposed to both a direct and a raking fire. Behind it was a mass of logs and brushwood. At the bottom of the peninsula, near the river, was a village of huts. The banks of the river were fringed with the canoes of the garrison, so that no retreat was practicable. The Indian force was too small to defend so extensive a line, but they felt confident of their ability to hold it.

General Jackson, who approached it with his army on the 27th of March, thought the position had been admirably selected for defence, and well fortified. He began his approaches by directing General Coffee so to occupy the opposite sides of the river with his mounted men as to prevent the Indians from crossing in canoes. He then proceeded slowly and in complete order to move towards the breastwork in front, at the same time opening a cannonade, at the distance of one hundred and fifty to two hundred yards, with one six- and one three-pounder, using muskets and rifles where an opportunity offered. Meanwhile, General Coffee sent some of his best swimmers across the river, who cut loose and brought away the canoes of the enemy. In these he sent over a party under Colonel Morgan with orders to set fire to the cluster of huts at the bottom of the bend, and then to rush forward and attack the Indians behind the breastwork. This was gallantly done, but proved ineffective. Jackson then ordered his troops to storm the breastwork. Major L. P. Montgomery, the first man to spring upon the breastwork, fell dead. His men soon followed, driving the Indians before them. No quarter was asked for, nor was any accepted when offered. They fought for hours with desperation from behind trees and logs,

and from the bluffs on the river-bank. Night put an end to the carnage. Five hundred and fifty-seven Indians were found dead, besides many more who found a grave at the bottom of the river. Jackson's loss was fifty-five killed and one hundred and forty-six wounded. This was the finishing blow. In a few days fourteen of the leading chiefs had submitted. Those of the conquered tribe who despaired of making terms, and those whose spirit was not yet completely crushed, fled to Florida, and there sowed the seed of future wars.

One of the striking scenes in Indian history was the surrender of the Creek chief Weatherford. His father, a white trader who married a Seminole woman, owned a plantation and negroes, became noted as a breeder of fine horses, and won prizes on the Alabama turf. In his son William were united the features of the white man and the frame and complexion of the Indian. His eyes were dark and piercing, and few could withstand the glance of his fiery anger. The white men who were in after-days his neighbors speak of him as an honorable and humane man, a patriot who had endeavored to preserve the independence of his tribe. He was a skilful hunter, and identified himself with the Indians in all respects.

At the time when Tecumseh came from the North to stir up the Southern tribes to war, he was the most influential of the Creek chiefs, but, though in sympathy with him, was not an adherent. But when the news came of the American disasters at the beginning of the war of 1812, when the British cruisers were seen in the Gulf of Mexico, and Spanish Florida was acting in the British interest, then Weatherford joined heart and hand with Tecumseh, and became chief of the war party in Southern Alabama. His surprise and capture of Fort Mims, where he tried in vain to stop the massacre, his battle with Claiborne in December following, when his celebrated exploit, known far and wide as "Weatherford's leap," occurred, the chief escaping his pursuers by spurring his horse headlong over the bluff into the Alabama, and his attack upon General Floyd's camp upon Calabee Creek,—all but a victory,—these exploits sufficiently exhibit the calibre of the man, and rank him with Philip, Pontiac, and Tecumseh. But the battle of the Horse-Shoe annihilated the Creeks as a sovereign power, and Weatherford's force melted away, leaving him alone with a multitude of women and children whom the war had made orphans and widows, and who were perishing for want of food.

Then the chief formed a resolve worthy of his high renown. Mounting his horse, the same that had safely carried him over the Alabama, he rode to Jackson's camp. "How dare you," exclaimed the general, in a furious tone, "ride up to my tent after having murdered the women and children at Fort Mims?"

"General Jackson," replied Weatherford, "I am not afraid of you. I fear no man, for I am a Creek warrior. I have nothing to request in behalf of myself. You can kill me if you desire. But I came to beg you to send for the women and children who are now starving in the woods. Their fields and cribs have been destroyed by your people, who have driven them to the woods without an ear of corn. I tried in vain to prevent the massacre of the women and children at Fort Mims. I am now done fighting. If I could fight you any longer I would most heartily do so. Send

for the women and children. They never did you any harm. But kill me if the white people want it done."

A crowd had gathered about the tent. "Kill him! kill him!" cried out some of the soldiers, to whom the hated name of Weatherford was associated only with the horrors of Fort Mims. The general commanded silence, and added, with great energy, "Any man who would kill as brave a man as this would rob the dead." He then invited Weatherford to alight and enter his tent. The chief did so, at the same time presenting him with a deer which he had killed on the way. A friendly conversation ensued, in which were mentioned the terms upon which the nation could be saved. "If you wish to continue the war," Jackson added, "you are at liberty to depart unharmed; but if you desire peace you may remain, and you shall be protected." At the close of the interview, Weatherford retired to his plantation upon Little River. His life being there in constant danger from the relatives of those who had perished at Fort Mims, he withdrew from the State. When the war ended, Weatherford resumed farming in Monroe County, Alabama, and lived many years in peace with the white man, greatly respected for his many good qualities. He died in 1826 from the fatigue caused by a "desperate bear-hunt."<sup>1</sup>

The war with the Creeks was now drawing rapidly to a close, the entire extent of the valleys of the Coosa and Tallapoosa, their strongholds, having been scoured, and their ablest chiefs defeated. Weatherford, the indomitable Black Warrior, on whose head a price had been fixed, had been allowed to return to his nation unharmed, the object of the war being to convince them that the counsels of their prophets were only evil, and destructive to their best interests. Reason having failed to make them acquainted with this fact, the sword was the only resort left. Fortunately for the country, this duty was intrusted to a man noted for his decision, and who also possessed a just conception of the Indian character, capacity, and resources. Had it been otherwise, the war would have been protracted in the same manner as the subsequent contest with the Seminoles of Florida, and, like that war, would possibly have cost the treasury millions of dollars.

One of the most atrocious acts committed by the Creeks was the massacre at Fort Mims, and many of the negroes taken at that time, as also a woman and her children, were now liberated. Tustahatchee, king of the Hickory-Ground band, followed the example of Black Warrior by delivering himself up, and Hillishagee, their prophet, absconded. During the month of April the army swept like a resistless whirlwind over the Creek country, and by the early part of May all its operations were closed except so far as concerned the retention of garrisoned posts.

As the American armies acquired better discipline and greater experience, the assistance of Indian auxiliaries on the flanks of the enemy became less a subject of interest or apprehension, the most important tribes in the South, West, and North having also suffered such defeats as caused them to keep aloof from the contest. Still, though defeated whenever they fought without the aid of their British allies,

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<sup>1</sup> Pickett's History of Alabama.

they were, as a mass, unfriendly, and ill concealed their secret hostility under the guise of neutrality. They did not, however, fail to rally in their strength whenever the presence of a detachment of regular troops promised them protection. In the sharp action fought by Major A. H. Holmes on the 4th of March, 1814, within twenty miles of the river Thames, and near Detroit, the Indians formed a part of the forces which he had to encounter. Also, in the attempt to retake the fort at Michilimackinac, in the month of August of the same year, the Chippewa, Ottawa, Menomonie, Winnebago, Sac, and Sioux Indians occasioned the defeat of the army under the orders of Colonel Croghan. The troops employed on this service comprised a regiment of infantry and a detachment of artillery, with a supply of ordnance and ammunition adequate to the reduction of the place, had not the plan of attack been ill advised. Instead of sailing directly for the harbor and post located on this cliff-crowned Gibraltar of the Lakes, time was wasted in making an excursion up the St. Mary's Strait and River for the purpose of burning the empty fort on St. Joseph's Island and detaching a party to plunder the Northwest Factory. This force likewise pillaged some private property, and committed other acts of questionable morality. When the fleet of Commodore St. Clair, with the army on board, made the white cliffs of the island, it manœuvred and sailed around it, thus expending some days uselessly, instead of promptly entering the harbor and assaulting the town, which, being but feebly garrisoned, would have been easily captured. On first desecring the fleet the populace were in the wildest confusion. Meantime, the Indians thronged on to the island from the contiguous shores, filling the woods which extended back of the fort. On the margin of this dark forest the attack was made. Major Holmes, who had recently displayed such intrepidity in the engagement on the river Thames, landed with the infantry and artillery, and led them successfully through the paths which wound among the thick foliage of the undergrowth on that part of the island, deploying his men on the open ground of Dousman's farm.

Meantime, Colonel McDowell, who had but sixty regulars in the fort, recruited as many of the Canadian militia as he could muster and equip, marched out to Dousman's, and commenced firing with a six-pounder from an eminence which overlooked the battle-field. Not less than five hundred warriors were on the island, who opposed the landing from their coverts, entirely surrounding the field, and crouching behind clumps of trees on the plain, from which they poured an effective fire. Major Holmes, as soon as his men were formed, pushed forward with great gallantry, waving his sword, and had advanced some hundred yards, when he was shot by an Indian who was concealed behind a bush. When this officer fell the troops faltered, and then retreated to the landing-place. Mr. Madison, in his message of September 20, 1814, observes of Major Holmes, in speaking of this expedition, that "he was an officer justly distinguished for his gallant exploits."

The general battles of the Thames and the Horse-Shoe having in reality broken up the Indian combination in the North and South, they played only a secondary part in those events of the war which occurred subsequently. A few of the friendly Iroquois valiantly aided General P. B. Porter's regulars and militia in the triumphant

sortie made from Fort Erie against the British camp on the 17th of September. There were also parties of friendly Creeks, of the Cowetas, under McIntosh, and of the Cherokees and Chickasaws, who performed good service on the side of the Americans. The hostile Creeks, who had been expelled from the Southern plains, having taken shelter at Pensacola, in Florida, General Jackson deemed it essential to the preservation of peace on the frontiers that the governor of that town, and the commander of the fort located there, should have an opportunity of making an explanation of his policy in furnishing protection and supplies to the Indians. With this view he appeared in that vicinity on the 6th of November at the head of the army which had traversed the Creek country, and forthwith dispatched a field-officer to the town with a flag, desiring a conference. The flag being fired on by the cannon of the fort, Jackson immediately determined upon storming the town, and, having made some preliminary reconnoissances, he attacked it with his entire force on the 7th. He was assailed by a fire of musketry from the houses and surrounding gardens, and a battery of two guns opened on his front. This battery was immediately stormed by Captain Laval's company, and, after sustaining a heavy and continuous fire of musketry, the garrison of the fort submitted unconditionally. The Choctaws were highly commended by Jackson for their bravery on this occasion. The following day the Barrancas fort was abandoned and blown up by the enemy, and Colonel Nichols, the governor, retreated to the vessels of the British squadron lying in the bay, which then put to sea.

This action was the closing event of the Indian war in that quarter. "It has convinced the Red Sticks,"<sup>1</sup> remarks the general, "that they have no stronghold or protection except in the friendship of the United States."

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<sup>1</sup> This term is used in a figurative sense, to denote the Southern hostile Indians.

## CHAPTER VI.

### TREATIES WITH THE NORTHWESTERN TRIBES, AND EXPLORATIONS OF THEIR TERRITORIES—THE CHIPPEWAS—THE SIOUX—CESSION OF INDIAN LANDS—CHIPPEWA AGENCY ESTABLISHED AT SAULT STE. MARIE.

THE ninth article of the treaty of Ghent, signed December 24, 1814, left the Indian tribes to make their own terms with the United States. They had fought in vain, and had received so little consideration from their late ally at the close of the contest that they were not even accorded a national position in the treaty of peace concluded between the belligerent powers. The year 1815 was the commencement of a new period in their history. Misled by the false theories of their prophets, and defeated in numerous battles, they had yet believed that they were fighting to preserve intact their ancient territorial limits. They had lost great numbers of their warriors in battle the Creeks alone, in their contests with Generals Coffee and Jackson, having suffered to the extent of not less than one thousand men. The losses experienced in battle, by all the tribes, however, were small compared with those they suffered from diseases engendered in camps, superinduced by unsuitable, bad, or scanty supplies of food, as well as by the toils and accidents incident to forced marches. Fevers, colds, and consumptions, to which they are specially liable, had been fearfully prevalent, and the smallpox had nearly decimated them. In addition to this, their families had been left in a starving condition at home. In 1812 the numbers summoned by the voice of the Shawnee prophet to the banks of the Wabash were immense. They abandoned everything for the purpose of participating in this new revolution, and many who left their Western and Northern homes on this errand never returned. The writer has walked over the sites of entire villages thus desolated, which had been in a few years covered by weeds and a young forest growth.

This was not, however, the worst of their misfortunes. Their hunting-grounds had been rendered valueless by the operations of the contending armies. The deer, elk, and bear always precede the Indians to more dense forests; the cunning beaver immediately abandons a stream into which he cannot by gnawing make the trees fall, on the bark of which he subsists; the otter, which lives on fish, remains for a longer period. But all the species of furred animals, whose skins form the staple of the Indian trade, were greatly diminished, and the vast region of country extending from 38° to 44° north, between the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, had been rendered useless as a hunting-ground. Another result of the passage of troops through remote parts of the Indian country was the discovery of tracts of arable land of great value

to the agriculturist, as well as of water-powers, mines, and resources, offering tempting inducements to the mill-wright, manufacturer, and miner. Coal, iron, and lead were found in abundance, and, subsequently, copper and gold. War, bad seasons, and the depreciation of a very extended and inflated paper currency, with a resulting decline in the prices of all merchantable articles, had alarmed thousands of persons in the Atlantic States, who sought to repair their fortunes, or find a field for the exercise of their ingenuity and talents, by emigrating to the West; so that when the Indians began to part freely with their exhausted hunting-grounds by sales to the government, the emigrant masses clamored for new and ample farms on these ceded tracts, where both they and their children might lay the foundations of happy homes. This movement was the germ of new States.

The close of the war of 1812 not only ended the Indian hostilities, but also initiated a thorough geographical exploration of the Mississippi Valley, the extent, fertility, and resources of which were then fully ascertained. Noble rivers, the names of which had been for years known only by their connection with romantic tales and the narratives of adventurous exploits, now attracted attention by the facilities they afforded for navigation. The entire valley seemed to be one vast series of plains, reticulated by streams which poured their resistless currents into the Mexican Gulf. These plains, once the haunts of uncounted herds of deer, elk, and buffalo, were now deserted by them, and elicited interest only by their fertility, and by their adaptiveness to the purposes of agriculture.

We have placed the commencement of this era of emigration in the year 1816, which was as early, indeed, as the full cessation of Indian hostilities rendered it safe for the emigrant to enter remote districts. The Creeks had signed the treaty of Fort Jackson as early as August 9, 1814, and they were followed by other tribes in both the North and the South. On the 8th of September, 1815, an important treaty was concluded with the Wyandots, Senecas, Shawnees, Miamis, Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pottawatomies, by which these tribes were restored to all the immunities accorded them by the treaty entered into at Greenville in 1795, and the three latter tribes reinvested with all the territorial rights which they possessed at the outbreak of Tecumseh's war in 1811. Treaties were also concluded during this year with the Kickapoos, Weas, Winnebagoes, Sacs and Foxes, Sioux, Osages, Chickasaws, Choctaws, and other tribes. These treaties were negotiated by commissioners appointed by the United States, who were well acquainted with the territories, character, resources, local history, and feelings of the tribes. Some of these commissioners had been military commanders, or had occupied high civil stations on the frontiers. No one of them was so celebrated for his knowledge, experience, and standing as General William Clarke, of St. Louis, the companion of the intrepid Lewis in his adventurous journeys to the mouth of the river Columbia in 1804, 1805, and 1806. He had succeeded Lewis as governor of the Missouri Territory in 1806, and had acquired the respect and confidence of the Southwestern and Western tribes who were located on the banks of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers. He was a man possessed of great sagacity, amenity of manners, and a comprehensive knowledge of the geography

of the country. In many respects he was comparable to Sir William Johnson, who so long exercised a similar power in the North. Indian disputes were frequently referred to him for settlement by the tribes themselves, and the number of Indian treaties he negotiated in the course of his long administration of Indian affairs on the frontiers is a proof of his abilities in this department.

The war of 1812 on the Northwestern frontiers had brought into notice another man who was destined to exercise for many years an important influence on our Indian relations. Lewis Cass was a brigadier-general in the United States army, and had served in the war of 1812 with great credit to himself. A lawyer by profession, marshal of the State of Ohio at the commencement of the war, he united civil with military talent, and on the conclusion of peace held the commission of commandant of Detroit, succeeding to the executive chair of Michigan after the overthrow of Governor William Hull and the subsequent interregnum. Great energy was required to revive and reinstate on their former basis its civil and social institutions. Six years of wild wars and turmoils had left the Territory without either civil or military organization. It was a work of time to restore the Indian relations to a permanent footing, to induce the inhabitants to return to their old locations, to apply the civil code to an almost anarchical condition of society, and, above all, to ascertain and develop the resources of the Territory.

Michigan had been a very strong rallying-point for the Indians from the days of Denonville. It was visited by La Salle in 1679, and formal possession was taken of the straits between Lakes Erie and Huron in the month of June, 1687, but Detroit was not occupied by an authorized agent of the French government at Quebec until the year 1701.<sup>1</sup> One hundred and twenty years had served to spread its fame and importance in Indian wars, Indian trade, and Indian affairs. But the hand of time had still left it a remote outpost, surrounded by the original French settlements, among which might here and there be found an adventurous American. The houses of the French *habitans* were surrounded with cedar palings, as if to resist an attack, and in their orchards they raised apple-trees the parent stocks of which were originally brought from Normandy. In their dress, manners, suavity, nonchalance, gayety, and loyalty to the governing power, the French of Michigan presented a striking similitude to the peasantry under Francis I. and Louis XIII. It was at this ancient seat of French dominion on the lakes that Pontiac formed his confederacy in 1760 and Tecumseh convened the natives in 1810-11. The failure of the latter, stoutly backed as he was by the British army and navy, convinced the Indians that their efforts to resist the onward march of civilization were vain, and that education, arts, and labor must triumph. This was the language of Ningwégon in 1812.

In 1814 General Lewis Cass was appointed governor of this Territory, the condition of which has been shown to have been one of extreme prostration. Desolated

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<sup>1</sup> M. Cadillac arrived at this spot on the 24th of July, 1701, and immediately commenced clearing the ground and preparing to fortify it.

by wars, its inhabitants decimated by appalling murders and massacres, with but few resources, and neither enterprise nor capital, another such forlorn district could not have been pointed out in America. It had neither roads nor bridges, and its very soil was considered so worthless that it was deemed unfit to be given in bounty-lands to the surviving soldiers of the war of 1812. The Indian tribes who had rallied under Proctor and Tecumseh were still unfriendly and vindictive. By the interposition of a friendly hand, Cass's life was once saved from a rifle-ball aimed by an Indian from behind a tree, and many of the red men hovered around Detroit, destitute of everything, daily besieging the doors of the Territorial executive. The tide of emigration had not at that period set strongly in that direction, and the business of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs on that frontier was for some years the most important function of the gubernatorial office. Cass commenced his negotiations with the sons of the forest at the rapids of the Maumee on the 29th of September, 1817. This event was followed in 1818 by an important assemblage of various Algonkin tribes at St. Mary's, near the sources of the Maumee, and in 1819 by the conclusion of an important treaty with the Chippewas of Saginaw, in Michigan, which gave an impetus to settlements in that Territory. The wide area over which the Chippewa tribe extended, its multiplicity of bands or tribal communities, each of which professed to be independent, and the imperfect knowledge of their location and statistics, as well as of the geographical features and resources of their territory, induced Governor Cass to call the attention of the War Department to their examination. The cherished policy of Mr. Calhoun being to keep the military posts in the West in advance of the settlements, that they might cover the progress of the new emigrants and shield them from Indian depredations, the Secretary cordially approved of this measure; to carry out the objects of which an expedition composed of a corps of scientific observers, under the escort of a small detachment of infantry, was organized at and despatched from Detroit in the spring of 1820. This enterprise first brought Mr. Schoolcraft into the new field of observation on Indian life and manners. Being appointed geologist to the expedition, he became its historiographer, and during the following year published a journal of its progress. The extent of Indian hunting-grounds traversed was nearly four thousand miles, and at only one point, namely, St. Mary's Falls, at the lower end of Lake Superior, was there any demonstration of hostile feelings. The effect of this extensive exploratory tour was to convince the Indians that a wise government sought to ascertain the extent of their territory and its resources, as well as to bring the tribes into friendly communication with it. The Chippewas were found, with some slight change of name, to occupy the entire borders of Lakes Huron and Superior, together with the eastern side of the valley of the Upper Mississippi, above lat.  $44^{\circ} 53' 20''$  north. On the west banks, in about lat.  $46^{\circ}$ , the frames of Sioux lodges were still standing which had evidently been but recently occupied. On the 30th of July they reached the Falls of St. Anthony, between which and Prairie du Chien, but nearer to the latter, the Sioux inhabited both banks of the river. The Sacs and Foxes occupied the Mississippi Valley between Prairie du Chien and Rock Island, at the entrance to

the river Des Moines. The Winnebagoes were in possession of the Wisconsin and Rock River Valleys. The Menomonies were scattered along the Fox River to Buttes des Morts and Winnebago Lake, thence quite to Green Bay, and, with interchanges of location with the Winnebagoes, to Milwaukee on Lake Michigan. Some Pottawatomies, Chippewas, and Ottawas were located at Chicago, as also in Northern Illinois and Southern Michigan. Ottawas also lived in Grand River Valley, as well as on Little Traverse Bay, and the Chippewas on the peninsula and shores of Grand Traverse Bay. An escort of infantry having accompanied this expedition, the flag of the Union was thus displayed in regions where previously it had seldom or never been seen.

The effect of this expedition was not only to attract the attention of the Indians to the power and vigilance of the government, but also to direct popular enterprise to this hitherto unceded part of the Union, the value and importance of which can already be attested by an examination of Upper Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota.

During the exploration several instances were observed of the Indian mode of communicating ideas by pictographic inscriptions on scrolls of bark. Statistics of their population and trade were obtained, and knowledge was acquired of their manners and customs, feelings and disposition. One of the peculiar customs observed while in the Dakota country was that of offering the first ears of the green corn to the Great Spirit, of which ceremony the party were, by permission of the chiefs, allowed to be spectators.

In the Chippewa territories, extending from the precincts of Rock Island to the sources of the Mississippi, the ruling power was found to be exercised by certain totemic families, who claimed the right by descent. This right, however, was ascertained to be nugatory when not supported by the popular voice of the clans, which voice virtually bestowed upon this rude government all the force of a representative system. The ancient seat of the Chippewas, at Sault Ste. Marie, at the lower end of Lake Superior, had for its ruling chief Shingabawassin, a tall, well-made, grave man, who possessed an easy, dignified, and pleasing manner. The Indians residing on the upper shores of the lake were ruled by a chief called Pezhikee, or Buffalo, and Sappa. At Sandy Lake, on the Upper Mississippi, Katawabeda, Babisikundabi, and Gueule Plat were the presiding chiefs. The Mendawakantons, or Dakotas of the River, acknowledged the government of the younger Wabasha. The Winnebagoes were ruled by De Corrie and Tshoop, the *quatre jambes*, or "Four Legs," of the French. The Pottawatomies acknowledged the sway of Topinabee, an aged man, who had signed the treaty of peace concluded at Greenville by General Wayne in 1795. At Grand River presided the Ottawa chief Nawagizhi, or Noon-Day; at Grand Traverse Bay, Aishquagonabi, or the Feather of Honor; and at the Ottawa towns of L'Arbre Croche, the very old chief Nishcaudjimine, or the Angry Man, and Pauskooziegun, or the Smoker.

The Indian government, though founded on certain established customs and prescriptions, was largely controlled by popular opinion, which changed with the passage

of time and the occurrence of events. Although the totemic sovereignty was hereditary, yet among most of the tribes the tribal succession could be set aside at any time when it was thought necessary to reward with the chieftaincy bravery on the war-path, great energy of character, talent as a speaker, or skill as a magician, and the tribes were thenceforth ruled by the newly-installed chief.

Treaties were concluded with the Indians at L'Arbre Croche and at Sault Ste. Marie. An incident occurred at the latter place which for a time threatened serious difficulty. The negotiations for this treaty were begun about the middle of June, at which period of the year, the hunting season being ended, the Indians crowd to the towns nearest the frontiers, to enjoy themselves in dancing, feasting, and the celebration of ceremonies. Only four or five years having elapsed since the conclusion of the war, there was still a vivid feeling of hostility existing among them towards the Americans. It chanced that among the large number assembled was a war-captain who had led the Chippewas into action,—an ambitious chief called Sassaba, of the reigning totem of the Crane, whose brother had been killed fighting beside Tecumseh at the battle of the Thames. An attempt was made to deter Cass's party from carrying the American flag through the Chippewa country. Sassaba, having broken up a public council, raised the British flag on a brow of the height where the Indians were encamped, and it was observed that at the same moment women and children were precipitately sent from the lodges across the river to the Canada shore. Strong apprehensions were entertained of a hostile encounter: the party grasped their rifles and stood ready for conflict. General Cass, by his knowledge of the Indian character, and his self-possession and decision, disconcerted their plans and averted the danger. Unarmed, and accompanied only by an interpreter, he ascended the elevated plain on which the Indians were encamped, and, proceeding to the lodge of Sassaba, pulled down the flag, and addressed the Indians in terms of just reproof for this act of bravado. This rebuke was received without any demonstration of hostility. On the following day negotiations were renewed, and a treaty was concluded, which renewed an old grant originally made to the French by a cession of territory four miles square.

When the French traders and missionaries first visited the head of Lake Superior, which event may be placed as early as the year 1620, the Chippewas and Sioux were at war. The most ancient local traditions, both of the red and the white men, represent the Chippewas to have migrated from the east towards the west, and to have conquered certain Indian tribes, from whom they wrested the territories lying west of Lake Superior. Traditional evidence attesting the early existence of hostility between these two prominent tribes was obtained in 1820 during the expedition through their territory to the sources of the Mississippi. The history of the contest, as well as its origin and cause, was investigated as a preliminary step towards effecting a pacification between the contending tribes. In an official communication to the government, Governor Cass makes the following observations regarding this hereditary war, which are worthy of notice, not only as embodying the views of aged and respectable chiefs then living, with whom he conversed, but also because they reveal the existence of a

means of communication between the Indians through the interchange of ideographic notes by devices inscribed on slips of the inner bark of the paper-birch :

“The Chippewas and Sioux are hereditary enemies, and Charlevoix says they were at war when the French first reached the Mississippi. I endeavored when among them to learn the cause which first excited them to war, and the time when it commenced. But they can give no rational account. An intelligent Chippewa chief informed me that the disputed boundary between them was a subject of little importance, and that the question respecting it could be easily adjusted. He appeared to think that they fought because their fathers fought before them. This war has been waged with various success, and in its prosecution instances of courage and self-devotion have occurred within a few years which would not have disgraced the pages of Grecian or of Roman history. Some years since, mutually weary of hostilities, the chiefs of both nations met and agreed upon a truce. But the Sioux, disregarding the solemn compact which they had formed, and actuated by some sudden impulse, attacked the Chippewas, and murdered a number of them. Babisikundabi, the old Chippewa chief, who descended the Mississippi with us, was present upon this occasion, and his life was saved by the intrepidity and generous self-devotion of a Sioux chief. This man entreated, remonstrated, and threatened. He urged his countrymen, by every motive, to abstain from any violation of their faith, and, when he found his remonstrances useless, he attached himself to this Chippewa chief and avowed his determination of saving or perishing with him. Awed by his intrepidity, the Sioux finally agreed that he should ransom the Chippewa, and he accordingly applied to this object all the property he owned. He then accompanied the Chippewa on his journey until he considered him safe from any parties of the Sioux who might be disposed to follow him.

“The Sioux are much more numerous than the Chippewas, and would have overpowered them long since had the operations of the former been consentaneous. But they are divided into so many different bands, and are scattered over such an extensive country, that their efforts have no regular combination.

“Believing it equally consistent with humanity and sound policy that these border contests should not be suffered to continue, satisfied that you would approve of any plan of pacification which might be adopted, and feeling that the Indians have a full portion of moral and physical evils without adding to them the calamities of a war which had no definite object and no probable termination, on our arrival at Sandy Lake I proposed to the Chippewa chiefs that a deputation should accompany us to the mouth of the St. Peter's with a view to establish a permanent peace between them and the Sioux. The Chippewas readily acceded to this proposition, and ten of their principal men descended the Mississippi with us.

“As we approached St. Peter's, our Chippewa friends became cautious and observing. The flag of the United States was flying upon all our canoes, and, thanks to the character which our nation acquired by the events of the last war, I found in our progress through the whole Indian country, after we had once left the great lines of communication, that this flag was a passport which rendered our journey safe.



C. E. Wagstaff & J. Andrews, Engrs.

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VALLEY OF THE MINNESOTA (SIPETERS) RIVER.

By E. A. Moran Army 1864



We consequently felt assured that no wandering party of the Sioux would attack even their enemies while under our protection. But the Chippewas could not appreciate the influence which the American flag would have upon other nations; nor is it probable that they estimated with much accuracy the motives which induced us to assume the character of an umpire.

“The Chippewas landed occasionally, to examine whether any of the Sioux had recently visited that quarter. In one of these excursions a Chippewa found in a conspicuous place a piece of birch bark, made flat by being fastened between two sticks at each end, and about eighteen inches long by fifteen broad. This bark contained the answer of the Sioux nation to the proposition which had been made by the Chippewas for the termination of hostilities. So sanguinary has been the contest between these tribes that no personal communication could take place. Neither the sanctity of the office nor the importance of the message could protect the ambassadors of either party from the vengeance of the other. Some time preceding, the Chippewas, anxious for the restoration of peace, had sent a number of their young men into these plains with a similar piece of bark, upon which they had represented their desire. The scroll of bark had been left hanging to a tree in an exposed situation, and had been found and taken away by a party of the Sioux.

“The propositions had been examined and discussed in the Sioux villages, and the bark which we found contained their answer. The Chippewa who had prepared the bark for his tribe was with us, and on our arrival at St. Peter’s, finding it was lost, I requested him to make another. He did so, and produced what I have no doubt was a perfect *fac-simile*.

“The Chippewas explained to us with great facility the intention of the Sioux, and apparently with as much readiness as if some common character had been established between them.

“The junction of the St. Peter’s with the Mississippi, where a principal part of the Sioux reside, was represented, and also the American fort, with a sentinel on duty, and the flag flying. The principal Sioux chief is named the Six, alluding, I believe, to the bands or villages under his influence. To show that he was not present at the deliberations upon the subject of peace, he was represented upon a smaller piece of bark, which was attached to the other. To identify him, he was drawn with six heads and a large medal. Another Sioux chief stood in the foreground, holding the pipe of peace in his right hand and his weapons in his left. Even we could not misunderstand that. Like our own eagle, with the olive-branch and arrows, he was desirous of peace but prepared for war.

“The Sioux party contained fifty-nine warriors, and this number was indicated by fifty-nine guns, which were drawn upon one corner of the bark. The only subject which occasioned any difficulty in the interpretation of the Chippewas was owing to an incident of which they were ignorant. The encampment of our troops had been removed from the low grounds upon the St. Peter’s to a high hill upon the Mississippi: two forts were therefore drawn upon the bark; and the solution of this enigma could not be discovered till our arrival at St. Peter’s.

“The effect of the discovery of this bark upon the minds of the Chippewas was visible and immediate. Their doubts and apprehensions appeared to be removed, and during the residue of the journey their conduct and feelings were completely changed.

“The Chippewa bark was drawn in the same general manner, and Sandy Lake, the principal place of their residence, was represented with much accuracy. To remove any doubt respecting it, a view was given of the old Northwest establishment, situated upon its shore, and now in the possession of the American Fur Company. No proportion was preserved in their attempt at delineation. One mile of the Mississippi, including the mouth of the St. Peter’s, occupied as much space as the whole distance to Sandy Lake, nor was there anything to show that one part was nearer to the spectator than another; yet the object of each party was completely obtained. Speaking languages radically different from each other (for the Sioux constitute one of three grand divisions into which the early French writers have arranged the aborigines of our country, while the Chippewas are a branch of what they call Algonkins), and without any conventional character established between them, these tribes thus opened a communication upon the most important subject which could occupy their attention. Propositions leading to a peace were made and accepted, and the simplicity of the mode could only be equalled by the distinctness of the representations and by the ease with which they were understood.

“The Sioux language is probably one of the most barren which is spoken by any of our aboriginal tribes. Colonel Leavenworth, who made considerable proficiency in it, calculated, I believe, that the number of words did not exceed one thousand. They use more gestures in their conversation than any Indians I have seen, and this is a necessary result of the poverty of their language.”

Reference has been already made to the immigration which commenced after the close of the war of 1814. Such a transfer of population had never then been known to have occurred. In all other countries, prior to this era, civilization had proceeded with slow and measured steps, but here it moved forward with such rapid strides that the expedition of the Argonauts and the march of the Huns into Europe sink into insignificance when contrasted with it. Unlike those efforts, it was not a hostile inroad backed by the spear and the sword, but a peaceful movement of agriculturists, artisans, and artists. The plough, the hammer, the sickle, and the hoe were the means of extending this vast empire, which was conquered in a very short period. Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Louisiana were occupied, and entered the Union at an early day, though not without some little delay; but Indiana, Mississippi, Illinois, Alabama, and Missouri seemed to spring into existence as if by magic, and were admitted into the confederacy within six years after the conclusion of the treaty of Ghent. Owing to this cause, the demands made on the Indians for new territory were continuous, and the circle of civilization was constantly expanding, while that of the hunter was proportionally contracting. It would be anything but a light task to trace the resulting sequence of treaties, cessions, annuities, and stipulations for the payment of coin, merchandise, seeds, implements, and cattle to the

savage in return for his land, but while any section of their territories abounded in game the Indians elected to retire thither, and bestowed but little attention on either grazing or agriculture. There was, therefore, a singular concurrence in the desire of the emigrants to buy and in the willingness of the Indians to sell their lands.

Some of these treaties merit notice on account of the wide-spread and beneficial influence they exercised. In the month of August, 1821, the Pottawatomies, Chippewas, and Ottawas, of Illinois and Western Michigan, having been summoned to attend a council at Chicago, about three thousand persons assembled at that place. On the 17th of that month the public conferences were opened with the chiefs, when the commissioners laid before them the business for the transaction of which the council had been convened. The venerable chief Topinabee, who had been present at Greenville in 1795, where he signed the treaty then concluded, and who had also appended his name to that formed at the rapids of the Maumee in 1817, was the principal personage among the sachems and counsellors. The most conspicuous speaker was Metea, a Pottawatomie, from the Wabash, whose tall and slender person was disfigured by a withered arm, and whose sullen dignity of manners was relieved by sparkling black eyes, a good voice, and ready utterance. He was the popular speaker on this occasion, and, as he possessed considerable reflective powers, his opinions and sentiments may perhaps be regarded as fairly representing those of the Algonkin tribes of his day. "My father," he said, addressing the delegated authority of the government, "you know that we first came to this country a long time ago, and when we sat ourselves down upon it we met with a great many hardships and difficulties. Our country was then very large, but now it is dwindled to a small spot, and you wish to purchase that. This has caused us much reflection, and we bring all our chiefs and warriors and families to hear you.

"Since you first came among us we have listened with an attentive ear to your words, we have hearkened to your counsels. Whenever you have had a favor to ask of us our answer has been invariably yes!

"A long time has passed since we came upon these lands. Our old people have all sunk into their graves; they had sense. We are all young and foolish, and would not do anything they could not approve if living. We are fearful to offend their spirits if we sell our lands. We are fearful to offend you if we do not. We do not know how we can part with the land.

"Our country was given to us by the Great Spirit to hunt upon, to make corn-fields to live on, and, when life is over, to spread down our beds upon and lie down. That Spirit would never forgive us if we sold it. When you first spoke to us at St. Mary's we said we had a little land, and sold you a piece. But we told you we could spare no more. Now you ask us again. You are never satisfied. . . .

"Take notice, it is a small piece of land where we now live. It has been wasting away ever since the white people became our neighbors. We have now hardly enough to cover the bones of our tribe."

The discussions of the conference were principally sustained by Topinabee, Metea, Metawa, and Keewaygooshkum, with more spirit, freedom, and justice of reasoning

than the Indians generally evince. Full two weeks were devoted to the discussion of the treaty, which was finally signed on the 20th of the month. By it these nations ceded five millions of acres lying within the southern boundaries of Michigan, but from this tract four hundred and eighty-four square miles were reserved for the Indians. A permanent annuity of one thousand dollars in coin was granted, as also a limited annuity of fifteen hundred dollars per annum, which was designed to be used for the promotion of agriculture and the advancement of the useful arts.

The exploratory expedition through the Great Lakes to the sources of the Mississippi in a few years led to the introduction of an agency among the widely-dispersed Chippewa nation on that frontier. Owing to the rapid establishment of settlements in the valley of the Wabash, the Indian tribes inhabiting it found the middle and lower parts of it, which they had reserved for hunting-grounds, of little or no value. As early as the year 1820 the Kickapoo and Wea tribes entered into treaty stipulations with the agent at Vincennes by which they ceded their reservations and transferred their interests in consideration of annuities to be paid to them at locations farther south and west. The Miamis residing on the head-waters of the Wabash had for many years reported themselves to and received their annuities from the superintendent of the agency at Fort Wayne. The old Vincennes agency being no longer necessary, the President, by virtue of the power vested in him to remove such agencies to new fields of duty, in the spring of 1822 transferred it to Sault Ste. Marie, at the outlet of Lake Superior, and appointed Mr. Schoolcraft as agent, with directions to establish an intercourse with the Chippewa nation. This officer accompanied a detachment, comprising a full battalion of the Second Regiment of Infantry, to that remote position, arriving there on the 6th of July. Fort Brady was erected at this point. Sault Ste. Marie, an ancient seat of the Chippewas, had been occupied by the French as early as 1644, and became the site of one of the earliest Jesuit missions. It was from this point that D'Ablon and Marquette had at successive periods explored the country around Lake Superior, and the latter returned from the shores of the Great Lake to this place prior to the establishment of the mission at Point St. Ignace and Michilimackinac. At the period of the capture of Quebec and of the occupation of Canada by the British, in 1760, the missionary operations had been transferred to another locality, but from the narrative of Alexander Henry's visit thither in 1760 we learn that a military post was still maintained there, to protect the operations of the Indian traders and to preserve general friendly relations with this branch of the Algonkin family of tribes. The accession of the United States to the sovereign power in this part of the Union was greatly retarded. When the Lake posts were surrendered in 1796, after Wayne's campaign, the American flag replaced that of St. George at Michilimackinac, but the authority of the republic was not acknowledged at Sault Ste. Marie, and in 1806 Pike found the entire Indian trade in the hands of British factors. The St. Mary's River and Lake Superior, indeed, formed the line of demarcation between the British colonies and the United States, agreeably to the original treaty of 1783, which was reaffirmed by that of Ghent in 1814, but the line remained unsurveyed, and conse-

quently many portions were disputed. Major Holmes, who visited the place in August, 1814, finding that the Northwest Company, whose factory was situated at the foot of the falls, on the north shore, was exerting an influence adverse to the United States, destroyed the establishment. The large private trading establishment of John Johnston, Esq., a gentleman from the north of Ireland, located on the opposite or American shore of the falls, suffered severely at the same time,—an impression prevailing that it was either connected with the Northwest Factory, or that an unfriendly feeling was generated against the Union among the Chippewas, over whom Mr. Johnston had much influence. It was not until 1816 that Congress perceived that it was necessary to the preservation of peace on the frontiers to pass an act placing this trade exclusively under the control of Americans, and forbidding its being carried on by British subjects, or the employment of British capital therein. The purpose contemplated by this measure was one which required time to accomplish. The Indians, being attached to the British rule, were slow to give their confidence to Americans.

The first important enterprise in connection with this trade was that of John Jacob Astor, of New York, who visited Montreal in 1816, and purchased all the property, consisting of trading-houses, boats, etc., belonging to the Northwest Company, located between St. Joseph's Island and the parallel of 49° north latitude. He organized the American Fur Company, which established its central depot and place of outfit at Michilimackinac. An important feature in the inauguration of this new commercial enterprise was that the Canadian boatmen, interpreters, clerks, and subordinates employed by the company were precisely the same persons who had previously served the Northwest Company. The feelings of the Indians were not easily changed, and they were deeply prejudiced against the American character. As an illustration of this feeling, we may mention that when Generals Brown and Macomb came to this place to reconnoitre it, in 1818, and were gratifying their taste by a short exploratory trip on Lake Superior, their boat was fired on by Indians above the falls. So late as the year 1820, as we have seen, the Chippewas, from their ancient camping-ground on the American side of the river, attempted to resist the passage of the exploring expedition into their country.

It was not, therefore, an ordinary task to induce this important tribe to acknowledge fealty to the American government. Firmness of purpose, combined with mildness of manner, was eminently necessary. The establishment of an agency, a smithy, and an armorer's shop, the supply of food to them in their necessity, and the bestowal of presents, were important means. The display of so considerable a force on the frontier as the garrison of Fort Brady enabled the agent to act efficiently. By acting in concurrence with the military, an effective controlling power was established. Murderers of white men were demanded from the Indians, the country was cleared of freed men, or discharged boatmen, who had taken up a permanent residence among the Indians, and none but licensed traders, with their boatmen, were permitted to pass into the country. Ardent spirits were excluded. The remote chiefs soon began to visit the agency. The Indians are very fond of making visits

to distant parts of the country, and are always gratified with the comity and ceremony of diplomatic attention. The pacific results of this intercourse soon began to appear.

The principal chief at Sault Ste. Marie was a tall and dignified man, called Shingabawassin, a term used to designate a species of abraded stones found on the lake shores, which assume various imitative forms and are connected in their minds with magical influences. His armorial badge was the Crane totem, the distinguishing mark of the reigning clan. Shingabawassin had in his youth been on the war-path, but he was at this period principally respected for his prudence and wisdom in council. He was about six feet three inches in height, straight in form, having a Roman cast of countenance, and mild manners ; he was a good speaker, but prone to repetition. He had three brothers, likewise chiefs, and a large retinue of cousins-german and other relatives, who generally followed him. The attainment of his good will insured the friendship of the tribe, through whom an extensive influence was established with the interior bands.

## CHAPTER VII.

### EMIGRATION OF THE EASTERN CHEROKEES SANCTIONED—TREATIES WITH THE SOUTHERN TRIBES—INDIAN BUREAU ORGANIZED.

A GENERAL peace was concluded with the Cherokee nation on the 14th of September, 1816.

As early as the year 1808 the project of drawing a dividing line between the upper and lower bands of the Cherokees was broached in this nation. The idea promulgated was to erect lines of demarcation between the hunter bands and those who wished to pursue agriculture and adopt a more regular form of government. A deputation of both parties was sent to Washington to obtain an interview with the President, and, as they clearly foresaw the impracticability of effecting their object while they remained in their existing location, to procure his sanction to a proposal on the part of the hunter portion to emigrate to some part of the territory of the United States west of the Mississippi, where they would be able to find game in greater abundance.

On the 9th of January, 1809, Mr. Jefferson, who was then in the Presidential chair, returned the deputation an answer, and gave his sanction to this plan, in these words :

“The United States, my children, are the friends of both parties, and, as far as can be reasonably asked, they are willing to satisfy the wishes of both. Those who remain may be assured of our patronage, our aid and good neighborhood; those who wish to remove are permitted to send an exploring party to reconnoitre the country on the waters of the Arkansas and White Rivers, and the higher up the better, as they will be the longer unapproached by our settlements which will begin at the mouths of those rivers. The regular districts of the government of St. Louis are already laid off to the St. Francis.

“When this party shall have found a tract of country suiting the emigrants, and not claimed by other Indians, we will arrange with them and you for an exchange of that for a just portion of the country they leave, and to a part of which, proportioned to their numbers, they have a right. Every aid towards their removal, and what will be necessary for them there, will then be freely administered to them, and when established in their new settlements we shall still consider them as our children, give them the benefit of exchanging their peltries for what they will want at our factories,<sup>1</sup> and always hold them firmly by the hand.”

This sanction to the emigration of a part of the Cherokees may be considered as

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<sup>1</sup> The factory system was not abolished by Congress till 1822.

the initiatory step in the plan of a general removal of the tribes from the old States to the westward of the Mississippi,—one, however, which required the national experience of sixteen years to guarantee and fully adopt.

At the Cherokee Agency, on the 8th of July, 1817, this measure received the sanction of the commissioners<sup>1</sup> appointed to treat with the nation. This treaty made provision for the proper distribution of the annuities of the tribes between the East and West Cherokees, and also for taking a full and perfect census of the whole nation during the following year. Other stipulations and agreements were entered into, discordant opinions respecting the faithful and prompt execution of which have been the occasion of the internal dissensions which have distracted that nation. From the treaty concluded by Mr. Calhoun with the nation at Washington on the 27th of February, 1819, we learn that the census prescribed for the year 1818 was not taken. New boundary-lines were designated for the Cherokee territories lying east of the Mississippi, a fund was set apart for the use of schools, and a division of the national annuities made, it being agreed that one-third of the amount should be paid to the Cherokees west of the Mississippi, and the other two-thirds to those residing east of that river. The stipulation that white emigrants should be prevented from settling on the lands situate along the Arkansas and White Rivers was renewed.<sup>2</sup>

The Creeks had been after a hard struggle subdued rather than conquered in the war of 1814, but their disastrous defeat on the Tallapoosa, at the battle of the Horse-Shoe, March 27, was so discouraging that they did not again venture to assume a warlike attitude. On the 9th of August, 1814, they signed a treaty of peace with a feeling of humiliation and disappointment. This treaty was in the first instance subscribed by Tustannuggee Thlucco and thirty-six of the leading miccos and chiefs of both the upper and the lower division of the nation. During the entire continuance of the war considerable feeling had existed among the Americans against the Spanish and British authorities in Florida, and particularly against the traders who had furnished the Creeks with supplies of arms and ammunition. Those members of the Creek nation who fled to Pensacola after their final defeat on the Tallapoosa did not present themselves in the council which formed this treaty, or signify their submission by sending delegates to it. On the 6th of the following November, the southern coasts being then strictly blockaded by the enemy, the American army, as previously stated, appeared before the gates of Pensacola, and succeeded in taking that fortress. No further aid being furnished to the tribes from foreign sources, a general peace resulted. The stipulations of this treaty were subsequently carried out and extended by another formed March 28, 1818, and by that concluded January 8, 1821.

The Chickasaws and Choctaws had maintained a position of neutrality during the war, but a few individuals of each tribe were present in the American camp during the Creek war, which circumstance furnishes a reason for the recital of the

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<sup>1</sup> Andrew Jackson, Joseph McMinn, and D. Meriwether.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Schoolcraft passed through that tract in 1818, and found the country occupied by white hunters and trappers, who were bitterly opposed to the coming of the Cherokees.

names of these two tribes in the treaty of pacification with the Creek nation, signed August 8, 1814. These tribes, as mentioned in preceding pages, lay claim to high antiquity in the country, to which they migrated from the West at an early period. The Chickasaw nation possesses a tradition which evidently refers to the landing of De Soto on the Chickasaw bluffs.

The treaty entered into October 10, 1821, with the Choctaws may be said to have inaugurated a new and important feature in the policy of the Indian removals. Heretofore treaties had been made for temporary purposes only, the Indians consuming the principal of their annuities, and establishing no fund which would be beyond the reach of agrarian distribution, paying also but little regard to their permanent welfare or their intellectual advancement. This treaty would seem to indicate their apprehension that the pressure of the surrounding white population would render it impossible for them to reside permanently east of the Mississippi River. They stipulated that the same quantity of land which they held east of that river should be given to them west of it, and its possession guaranteed. This was exclusive of a tract in the East to be temporarily retained by them and divided into farms, on which they were to remain until they had attained a state of civilization and advancement in industrial arts which would qualify them for beginning their Western emigration. They were also to receive temporary aid while in their present location and after removing to the West. The most striking feature in this treaty was the appropriation of the proceeds of fifty-four sections, each one mile square, of the ceded lands, to constitute a school fund. In the same treaty provision was made for the support of the deaf, dumb, blind, and distressed of the tribe, and for the payment of an annuity to a superannuated chief of their nation called Mshulatubbee. Power was granted to the United States agents to seize and destroy all ardent spirits introduced into their country, and a police force, under the name of light-horse, was authorized to act as a *posse comitatus* in maintaining order and enforcing obedience to the laws.

The increase in the number of treaties, and of the Indian business generally, began to press so heavily on the Secretary of War that in 1824 he placed this department under the charge of Thomas L. McKenney, Esq., as chief of the clerical staff, an office for the establishment of which Congress subsequently passed an act. A regular system of accountability was established in all departments of the bureau, affecting all officers, from the lowest to the highest.

From early times a close connection had existed between the civil and military departments of Indian affairs, and while the tribes stood in their normal hunter state it was difficult to manage the one without reference to the other. Sir William Johnson, as early as 1757, only two years subsequent to his appointment as General Superintendent, had endeavored to relieve himself from the onerous duties of his office by the employment of a secretary, a man of talents and learning, who was in the habit of preparing the reports transmitted to the Lords of Plantations. During the war of the Revolution, and subsequent thereto, Congress managed the government of Indian affairs by intrusting it to commissioners for the North and South,

who were usually men of sound practical experience and judgment. The executive documents abound in details of their acts. On the organization of the present government, in 1789, General Knox negotiated one or more treaties. The same system prevailed from Washington's administration through the administrations of Adams the elder, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, and when the bureau was organized by Congress it was continued under the administrations of the younger Adams, Jackson, Van Buren, Harrison, and Polk, at the close of whose term of office, by an act of Congress, the duty was transferred from the War Department to that of the Interior.

Among the men who rendered long and valuable services in this department, General Harrison and General William Clarke deserve especial mention. As *ex-officio* Superintendents of Indian Affairs, while performing the duties appertaining to the office of Governor of the Indian Territories, they negotiated a very large proportion of the treaties made between the years 1804 and 1812 with the tribes residing east and west of the Mississippi. After the close of the war, in 1815, their talent in this department appears to have been inherited by General Lewis Cass.

These men took the most prominent part in the negotiations with the Indians, and to them we are indebted for the permanency of our Indian relations, and for making the aborigines acquainted with the peculiar features, practices, and institutions of our government. From the time of the return of General Clarke from the exploration of the Columbia River, in 1806, to the day of his death, in 1838, he was the Mæcenas of the tribes west of the Mississippi. The Indians located on the Missouri, Platte, Kansas, Osage, and Arkansas Rivers, as well as those residing among the distant peaks of the Rocky Mountains, were frequent and welcome visitors at the government council-house in St. Louis. The official records of his proceedings with the Indians have been carefully examined, and are found to contain a mass of speeches and traditions, constituting a valuable collection of material, whence the historian may derive much information regarding the sons of the forest.

## PERIOD VII.

### REMOVAL OF THE TRIBES WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

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#### CHAPTER I.

##### PLAN OF REMOVAL—STATISTICS OF THE TRIBES.

THE plan of a concentration of the tribes and fragments of tribes as colonial communities, on territory specially appropriated to their use, where, under the operation of their own laws and institutions, their better qualities might develop themselves, was first suggested by Mr. Monroe, the fifth President of the United States, who, in a message communicated by him to Congress on the 27th of January, 1825, thus invites the attention of that body to the topic:

“Being deeply impressed with the opinion that the removal of the Indian tribes from the lands which they now occupy within the limits of the several States and Territories to the country lying westward and northward thereof, within our acknowledged boundaries, is of very high importance to our Union, and may be accomplished on conditions and in a manner to promote the interest and happiness of those tribes, the attention of the government has been long drawn, with great solicitude, to the object. For the removal of the tribes within the limits of the State of Georgia the motive has been peculiarly strong, arising from the compact with that State whereby the United States are bound to extinguish the Indian title to the lands within it whenever it may be done peaceably and on reasonable conditions. In the fulfilment of this compact I have thought that the United States should act with a generous spirit, that they should omit nothing which should comport with a liberal construction of the instrument and likewise be in accordance with the just rights of those tribes. . . . Experience has clearly demonstrated that in their present state it is impossible to incorporate them in such masses in any form whatever into our system. It has also demonstrated with equal certainty that without a timely anticipation of and provision against the dangers to which they are exposed, under causes which it will be difficult if not impossible to control, their degradation and extermination will be inevitable.

“The great object to be accomplished is the removal of those tribes to the territory designated on conditions which shall be satisfactory to themselves and honorable to the United States. This can be done only by conveying to each tribe a good title

to an adequate portion of land to which it may consent to remove, and by providing for it there a system of internal government which shall protect their property from invasion, and by the regular progress of improvement and civilization prevent that degeneracy which has generally marked the transition from the one to the other state.

“The digest of a government, with the consent of the Indians, which should be endowed with sufficient power to meet all the objects contemplated, to connect the several tribes together in a bond of amity, and preserve order in each, to prevent intrusions on their property, to teach them, by regular instructions, the arts of civilized life, and make them a civilized people, is an object of very high importance. It is the powerful consideration which we have to offer to these tribes as an inducement to relinquish the lands on which they now reside, and to remove to those which are designated. It is not doubted that this arrangement will present considerations of sufficient force to surmount all their prejudices in favor of the soil of their nativity, however strong they may be. Their elders have sufficient intelligence to discern the certain progress of events in the present train, and sufficient virtue, by yielding to momentary sacrifices, to protect their families and posterity from inevitable destruction. They will also perceive that they may thus attain an elevation to which as communities they could not otherwise aspire.

“To the United States the proposed arrangement offers many important advantages in addition to those which have been already enumerated. By the establishment of such a government over these tribes, with their consent, we become in reality their benefactors. The relation of conflicting interests which has heretofore existed between them and our frontier settlements will cease. There will be no more wars between them and the United States. Adopting such a government, their movement will be in harmony with us, and its good effect be felt throughout the whole extent of our territory to the Pacific. It may fairly be presumed that through the agency of such a government the condition of all the tribes inhabiting that vast region may be essentially improved, that permanent peace may be preserved with them, and our commerce be much extended.

“With a view to this important object, I recommend it to Congress to adopt, by solemn declaration, certain fundamental principles in accord with those above suggested, as the basis of such arrangements as may be entered into with the several tribes, to the strict observance of which the faith of the nation shall be pledged. I recommend it also to Congress to provide by law for the appointment of a suitable number of commissioners who shall, under the direction of the President, be authorized to visit and explain to the several tribes the objects of the government, and to make with them, according to their instructions, such arrangements as shall be best calculated to carry these objects into effect.

“A negotiation is now pending with the Creek nation for the cession of lands held by it within the limits of Georgia, and with a reasonable prospect of success. It is presumed, however, that the result will not be known during the present session of Congress. To give effect to this negotiation, and to the negotiations which it is

proposed to hold with all the other tribes within the limits of the several States and Territories, on the principles and for the purposes stated, it is recommended that an adequate appropriation be now made by Congress."

It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that the event has most signally failed to justify the pleasing anticipations of Mr. Monroe of the success of the plan for placing the tribes upon reservations.

One of the first measures necessary in carrying this plan into effect was to ascertain the names, positions, and numbers of the Indian tribes to be removed. Mr. Calhoun, Secretary of War, in communicating the subjoined information from the newly-organized Bureau of Indian Affairs, thus expresses his views of the entire feasibility of the plan :

"It appears by the report enclosed that there are in the several States and Territories (not including a portion of Michigan Territory, west of Lake Michigan, and north of the State of Illinois) about 97,000 Indians, and that they occupy about 77,000,000 acres of land.

"The arrangement for the removal, it is presumed, is not intended to comprehend the small remnants of tribes in Maine, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Virginia, and South Carolina, amounting to 3023. To these also may be added the remnants of tribes remaining in Louisiana, amounting to 1313, as they are each of them so few in number that it is believed very little expense or difficulty will be found in their removal, making together 4336, which, subtracted from the 97,000, the entire number in the States and Territories, will leave 92,664 to be removed. Of these there are residing in the northern part of the States of Indiana, Illinois, in the peninsula of Michigan, and New York, including the Ottawas in Ohio, about 13,150, which I would respectfully suggest might be removed with advantage to the country west of Lake Michigan and north of the State of Illinois. The climate and nature of the country are much more favorable to their habits than that west of the Mississippi, to which may be added that the Indians in New York have already commenced a settlement at Green Bay, and exhibit some disposition to make it a permanent one, and that the Indians referred to in Indiana, Illinois, and in the peninsula of Michigan, will find in the country designated kindred tribes, with whom they may be readily associated. These considerations, with the greater facility with which they could be collected in that portion of the country compared with that of collecting them west of the Mississippi, form a strong inducement to give it the preference. Should the proposition be adopted, the Indians in question might be gradually collected, as it became necessary from time to time to extinguish the Indian title in Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan, without incurring any additional expense other than what is usually incidental to such extinguishment. Deducting, then, the Indians residing in the northwestern parts of Indiana, Illinois, in Michigan, and New York, with the Ottawas in Ohio, amounting to 13,150, from 92,664, will leave but 79,514. It is proper to add that a late treaty with the Quapaws stipulates and provides for their removal, and that they may also be deducted from the number for whose removal provision ought to be made. They are estimated at 700, which, deducted

from 79,514, will leave 78,814 to be removed west of the State of Missouri and Territory of Arkansas, should the views of the department be adopted.

“Of these, there are estimated to reside in the States of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi, 53,625, consisting of Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws, and claiming about 33,573,176 acres, including the claim of the Cherokees in North Carolina; 3082 in Ohio, and in the southern and middle parts of Indiana and Illinois, consisting of Wyandots, Shawnees, Senecas, Delawares, Kaskaskias, and Miamis and Eel Rivers; 5000 in Florida, consisting of Seminoles and remnants of other tribes; and the remainder in Missouri and Arkansas, consisting of Delawares, Kickapoos, Shawnees, Weas, Iowas, Piankeshaws, Cherokees, Quapaws, and Osages.

“The next subject of consideration will be to acquire a sufficient tract of country west of the State of Missouri and Territory of Arkansas in order to establish permanent settlements in that quarter of the tribes which are proposed to be removed. The country between the Red River and the Arkansas has already been allotted to the Choctaws under the treaty of the 18th October, 1820. The country north of the river Arkansas and immediately west of the State of Missouri is held almost entirely by the Osages and the Kansas, the principal settlement of the former being on the Osage River not far west of the western boundary of Missouri, and the latter on the Missouri River near Cow Island. There is a band of the Osages situated on the Verdigris, a branch of the Arkansas. Governor Clarke has been already instructed to take measures to remove them from the Verdigris to join the other bands on the Osage River. To carry this object into effect, and to extinguish the title of the Osages upon the Arkansas and in the State of Missouri, and also to extinguish the title of the Kansas to whatever tract of country may be necessary to effect the views of the government, will be the first object of expenditure, and would require an appropriation, it is believed, of not less than \$30,000. After this is effected, the next will be to allot a portion of the country to each of the tribes, and to commence the work of removal. The former could be effected by vesting in the President discretionary power to make the location, and the latter by commencing with the removal of the Cherokees, Piankeshaws, Weas, Shawnees, Kickapoos, and Delawares, who now occupy different tracts of country lying in the northwestern portion of the Arkansas Territory and the southwestern portion of the State of Missouri. It is believed that the Cherokees, to whom has been allotted a country lying between the Arkansas and White Rivers, will very readily agree to removing their eastern boundary farther west on the consideration that for the lands thereby ceded they may have assigned to them an equal quantity farther west, as they have evinced a strong disposition to prevent the settlement of the whites to the west of them. It is probable that this arrangement could be effected by an appropriation of a few thousand dollars, say five thousand, for the expense of holding the treaty. Nor is it believed that there will be any difficulty in inducing the Piankeshaws, Weas, Shawnees, Kickapoos, and Delawares to occupy a position that may be assigned to them west of the State of Missouri, or that the operation will be attended with any great

expense. The kindred tribes in the States of Ohio and Indiana, including the Wyandots, the Senecas, and the Miamis and Eel Rivers in those States, and the Kaskaskias in Illinois, it is believed might be induced without much difficulty to join them after those now residing in Missouri are fixed in their new position west of that State. Of the sum that will be necessary for this purpose it is difficult to form an estimate. These tribes amount to 3082. The expense of extinguishing their title to the lands occupied by them will probably be high in comparison with the price which has been usually given for lands in that quarter, as they, particularly the Indians in Ohio, have made some advances in civilization and considerable improvements on their lands. The better course would be to remove them gradually, commencing with those tribes which are most disposed to leave their present settlements, and, if this arrangement should be adopted, an appropriation of \$20,000 would be sufficient to commence with.

“It may, however, be proper to remark that these tribes, together with those in New York, have indicated a disposition to join the Cherokees on the Arkansas, and that a deputation from the former, with a deputation from those Cherokees, are now on their way to the seat of government in order to make some arrangements to carry the proposed union into effect. Should it be accomplished, it would vary the arrangement which has been suggested in relation to them, but will not probably materially vary the expense.

“It only remains now to consider the removal of the Indians in Florida, and the four Southern tribes residing in North Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi.

“It is believed that immediate measures need not be taken with regard to the Indians in Florida. By the treaty of the 18th September, 1823, they ceded the whole of the northern portion of Florida, with the exception of a few small reservations, and have had allotted to them the southern part of the peninsula; and it is probable that no inconvenience will be felt for many years, either by the inhabitants of Florida or the Indians, under the present arrangement.

“Of the four Southern tribes, two of them, the Cherokees and Choctaws, have already allotted to them a tract of country west of the Mississippi. That which has been allotted to the latter is believed to be sufficiently ample for the whole nation should they emigrate, and if an arrangement, which is believed not to be impracticable, could be made between them and the Chickasaws, who are their neighbors, and of similar habits and dispositions, it would be sufficient for the accommodation of both. A sufficient country should be reserved to the west of the Cherokees, on the Arkansas, as a means of exchange with those who remain on the east. To the Creeks might be allotted a country between the Arkansas and Canadian Rivers, which limits the northern boundary of the Choctaw possessions in that quarter. There is now pending with the Creeks a negotiation, under the appropriation of the last session, with a prospect that the portion of that nation which resides within the limits of Georgia may be induced, with the consent of the nation, to cede the country which they occupy for a portion of the one which it is proposed to allot for the Creek

nation on the west of the Mississippi. Should the treaty prove successful, its stipulations will provide for the means of carrying it into effect, which will render any additional provision at present unnecessary. It will be proper to open new communications with the Cherokees, Choctaws, and Chickasaws for the purpose of explaining to them the views of the government, and inducing them to remove beyond the Mississippi, on the principles and conditions which may be proposed to the other tribes. It is known that there are many individuals of each of the tribes who are desirous of settling west of the Mississippi, and, should it be thought advisable, there can be no doubt that if by an adequate appropriation the means were afforded the government of bearing their expense they would emigrate. Should it be thought that the encouragement of such emigration is desirable, the sum of \$40,000, at least, would be required to be appropriated for this object, to be applied under the discretion of the President of the United States. The several sums which have been recommended to be appropriated, if the proposed arrangements should be adopted, amount to \$95,000. The appropriation may be made either general or specific, as may be deemed most advisable.

“I cannot, however, conclude without remarking that no arrangement ought to be made which does not regard the interests of the Indians as well as our own, and that to protect the interests of the former decisive measures ought to be adopted to prevent the hostility which must almost necessarily take place if left to themselves, among tribes hastily brought together, of discordant character, and many of which are actuated by feelings far from being friendly towards each other. But the preservation of peace between them will not alone be sufficient to render their condition as eligible in their new situation as it is in their present. Almost all of the tribes proposed to be affected by the arrangement are more or less advanced in the arts of civilized life, and there is scarcely one of them which have not benefited by the establishment of schools in the nation, affording at once the means of moral, religious, and intellectual improvement. These schools have been established, for the most part, by religious societies, with the countenance and aid of the government, and on every principle of humanity the continuance of similar advantages of education ought to be extended to them in their new residence. There is another point which appears to be indispensable to be guarded in order to render the condition of this race less afflicting. One of the greatest evils to which they are subject is that incessant pressure of our population which forces them from seat to seat without allowing time for that moral and intellectual improvement for which they appear to be naturally eminently susceptible. To guard against this evil, so fatal to the race, there ought to be the strongest and the most solemn assurance that the country given them should be theirs as a permanent home for themselves and their posterity, without being disturbed by the encroachments of our citizens. To such assurance, if there should be added a system by which the government, without destroying their independence, would gradually unite the several tribes under a simple but enlightened system of government and laws, formed on the principles of our own, and for which, as their own people would partake in it, they would, under the influence of the

contemplated improvement, at no distant day become prepared, the arrangements which have been proposed would prove to the Indians and their posterity a permanent blessing. It is believed that if they could be assured that peace and friendship would be maintained among the several tribes, that the advantages of education which they now enjoy would be extended to them, that they should have a permanent and solemn guarantee for their possessions, and receive the countenance and aid of the government for the gradual extension of its privileges to them, there would be among all the tribes a disposition to accord with the views of the government. There are now in most of the tribes well-educated, sober, and reflecting individuals who are afflicted at the present condition of the Indians, and despondent at their future prospects. Under the operation of existing causes they behold the certain degradation, misery, and even the final annihilation of their race, and no doubt would gladly embrace any arrangement which would promise to elevate them in the scale of civilization and arrest the destruction which now awaits them. It is conceived that one of the most cheap, certain, and desirable modes of effecting the object in view would be for Congress to establish fixed principles, such as have been suggested, as the basis of the proposed arrangement, and to authorize the President to convene at some suitable point all of the well-informed, intelligent, and influential individuals of the tribes to be affected by it, in order to explain to them the views of the government and to pledge the faith of the nation to the arrangements that might be adopted. Should such principles be established by Congress, and the President be vested with suitable authority to convene the individuals as proposed, and suitable provision be made to meet the expense, great confidence is felt that a basis of a system might be laid which in a few years would entirely effect the object in view, to the mutual benefit of the government and the Indians, and which, in its operations, would effectually arrest the calamitous course of events to which they must be subject without a radical change in the present system. Should it be thought advisable to call such a convention, as one of the means of effecting the object in view an additional appropriation of \$30,000 will be required, making in the whole \$125,000 to be appropriated."

The following additional details were presented by the newly-created Bureau of Indian Affairs :

"There are now remaining within the limits of the different States and Territories, as is shown by the table, sixty-four tribes and remnants of tribes of Indians, whose 'names' and 'numbers' are given, who number in the aggregate 129,266 souls, and who claim 77,402,318 acres of land.

"It will be seen by adverting to the table that the Indians residing north of the State of Illinois, east of the Mississippi, and west of the lakes, are comprehended in the estimate of the number in Michigan Territory, although in estimating the quantity of land held by Indians in that Territory the portion only so held in the peninsula of Michigan is estimated. It was found impossible from any documents in possession of this office to distinguish the number of Chippewas and Ottawas residing in the peninsula of Michigan from those residing on the west side of Lake

Michigan. It is, however, believed that the whole number residing in the peninsula does not exceed 3500, and these, as has been stated, are principally of the Chippewa and Ottawa tribes.

“It may be proper also to remark that of the 6400 Sacs and Foxes who are included in the estimate as part of the 129,266, and who occupy lands on both sides the Mississippi, not more than one-third of that number are supposed to reside on the east side, and of the 5200 Osages who by the table are assigned to Missouri and Arkansas it is believed not more than one-third of that number reside within the State of Missouri and Territory of Arkansas. If, therefore, the number assumed for the peninsula of Michigan be correct, and two-thirds of the Sacs and Foxes, as is believed to be the fact, reside on the west of the Mississippi, and two-thirds of the Osages west of Missouri and north of Arkansas, there will remain ‘within the limits of the different States and Territories’—confining the Michigan Territory to the peninsula—97,384 Indians, possessing (if the 200,000 acres claimed by the Cherokees in North Carolina be added) 77,602,318 acres of land.”

## CHAPTER II.

### REMOVAL BEGUN—CREEK DIFFICULTIES—DEATH OF THE CHIEF McINTOSH— TREATY FOR THE FINAL SETTLEMENT—BOUNDARY TREATIES WITH THE NORTHWESTERN TRIBES.

THE treaties concluded respectively with the Cherokees July 8, 1817, with the Choctaws October 18, 1820, and with the Creeks January 8, 1821, constituted the primary steps towards the removal of the aborigines to the lands west of the Mississippi. Under these treaties the hunter portions of these tribes voluntarily assumed the initiative, and made preparations for their migration to the Arkansas Territory. The hunter bands, as contradistinguished from the agricultural bands of the Southern or Appalachian group of tribes, were the first to perceive that this land must be their national refuge. Hence the provision in the first article of the Choctaw treaty stipulates that they should be furnished with a Western tract, "where all who live by hunting and will not work may be collected and settled together." This proviso was the natural suggestion of the Indian mind: oxen, ploughs, and implements of handicraft were not attractive objects to the aborigines, who delighted in the pursuits of the chase, which were hallowed in their memories by reminiscences of their fathers. The whites did not so readily perceive that the stock of wild animals must soon decline and the chase prove unreliable in the regions east of the Mississippi, or if they did foresee this result they did not at first propose a general removal. But the executive power favored such migrations as originated with the Indians themselves, and insensibly, perhaps, the system of removal became the policy of the government. When the question was discussed on its merits, and the removal began to be put in operation, it became evident not only that the West was an outlet to the hunter population, but that all the means necessary for their improvement in arts, and for their progress in education also, in order to be permanently beneficial, must be applied in that quarter. Driven from their original residences, or from reservations in the States, their attainments in civilization would be shared by those tribes originally resident in the West, and all the tribes would thus in a measure become assimilated in manners and arts.

The question of removal became one of much interest, and was freely discussed in all parts of the Union, the ardent friends of the Indians maintaining that it would have a tendency to make them retrograde towards barbarism, while the advocates for removal contended that it would be accompanied by the beneficial effects referred to. Another question of a grave character arose at the same time,—viz., the claim to sovereignty asserted by some of the most advanced tribes over the districts they inhabited. This claim was, however, principally confined to the Creeks, who

had received a powerful national impulse during the occupancy of Florida by Great Britain. Their prominent chiefs had become wealthy planters through the medium of the labor of fugitive African slaves from the contiguous States, who cultivated for them crops of cotton and corn. The result was that they not only amassed riches, but also attained to that kind of social elevation which is characterized by the introduction of castes or classes, and thus became averse to transferring their lands and emigrating westward.

The people of Georgia, feeling the expansive force of their population, clamored for the Creek lands, the Indian title to which the United States had promised to give them as soon as it could be obtained "peaceably and on reasonable conditions." The Creeks, when they began to appreciate the benefits of civilization through their experience of the agricultural and school systems, declined to listen to any proposal looking towards a cession of their territory. A law was eventually passed by their council, enacting that if any one of the chiefs or rulers should sign a treaty ceding lands, he should incur the penalty of death.

General William McIntosh, the presiding chief of the Coweta tribe of the Lower Creeks, subjected himself to this penalty by signing the treaty of February 12, 1825. The penalty was enforced by the dissenting part of the tribes in a peculiar manner. They did not arraign and try the guilty party, but a large number of armed warriors surrounded his house and poured into it an indiscriminate fire, so that the onus of the murder might not rest on any one individual. Fifty other chiefs, warriors, and head men had signed the same treaty, but they were not held accountable, doubtless on the Indian principle that the punishment of a crime should fall on the real instigator of it, whether he or another committed the act.

The United States made no attempt to carry this treaty into effect. Mr. Monroe, in a message previously quoted, mentions the difficulty which surrounded the subject, and expresses a hope that the negotiations with the tribe then in progress would result favorably. A treaty was concluded at Indian Springs, in the Creek Nation, March 7, 1825, three days after the expiration of Mr. Monroe's Presidential term. This instrument was designed to enable the government to comply with its contract of April 24, 1802, to transfer the Indian title to Georgia, as well as to remove the existing dissatisfaction with the treaty of February 12, 1825. But neither object was attained. All efforts thus far proved unsuccessful, and the Creek controversy was left unadjusted.

The Creek question attained its highest point of interest about this time. Public opinion was much divided, some siding with the Indians in their assertion of the right of sovereignty within the territorial area of Georgia, and others as decidedly opposing it as a new and inadmissible claim. Mr. Adams, who succeeded to the Presidency, directed the attention of the War Department to the subject, and authorized Mr. Barbour, the Secretary of War, to confer with the Creek chiefs. By the treaty concluded at Hopewell in 1785 the United States had undertaken to extinguish the Creek title and transfer it to the State of Georgia at the earliest practicable moment. But the lapse of time only made the Indians cling more closely to the

land. The period for the chase had passed away, and the plough began to be appreciated. The experience of forty years had so operated as to give them a more definite and just idea of its value, and they now undertook to ignore the laws of Georgia, and to dispute her sovereignty over the country. The political aspects of the controversy had been communicated to Congress during the last few months of Mr. Monroe's second term. He had given much thought to the subject, and recommended the only plan which appeared to meet the question, insisting on the certain decadence and speedy extinction of the tribe if they remained in the State, in view of which fact it seemed just and right to urge their removal as a means to their ultimate welfare and prosperity.

Mr. Adams exerted himself to bring this vexed question to an equitable close, the Creek nation and the people of the Union being much agitated by its discussion, and the friends of the Indians being apprehensive that some great injustice was about to be done them. Georgia having demanded their expulsion, the Creeks appealed to the government, and early in the year 1826 sent a large and respectable delegation to Washington to represent their cause. Negotiations were renewed, and resulted in the formation of the important treaty, signed January 24, 1826, the first article of which abrogates the prior treaty of February 12, 1825, and declares every clause thereof "null and void to every intent and purpose whatsoever." By this treaty the Creeks ceded large tracts of their lands in Georgia, and agreed to remove to the West. The McIntosh party, and all who signed the objectionable treaty, were reinstated in their rights, indemnified for the damages sustained by them, and permitted to send a delegation to locate lands for their party in the West. A perpetual additional annuity of twenty thousand dollars was granted, and the Creeks agreed to remove within one year. Other stipulations were included in the treaty, which was by its friends pronounced to be "in the highest degree liberal."

Under the authority of the treaty-making power, the President continued to receive such cessions of the exhausted and surplus tracts of all the tribes situated east of the Mississippi as they felt inclined to make in view of the final relinquishment of their possessions and transfer to the West.

The treaty of January 24, 1826, was the first effective step taken towards the transference of the Indian tribes to the West. This treaty, negotiated by Mr. Barbour, Secretary of War, made very extensive cessions of territory, retaining, however, important reserves for the Indians, who were confined to their particular localities.

It is impossible to conceive, unless from a perusal of the numerous public documents printed at that period, how numerous and complicated were the difficulties surrounding this subject. Some of the tribes, more advanced in civilization than the rest, regarded the whole movement as an endeavor to drive them back into barbarism, and the best people of the whole country sympathized with this view. The newspaper press very generally asserted that the Indian question had reached a point where it had become necessary to pause and ponder on the duties which the nation owed to the tribes, who, even when acting under delusive impulses, should be regarded

with deep sympathy, not only as our predecessors in the country, but also as individuals entitled to the benefits of Christian civilization.

At the same time it appeared to many people that nothing but the removal of the tribes from the jurisdiction of the several States to a separate territory, where they would be free from molestation, could avert their entire annihilation at no very distant period. Portions of the Cherokees seem to have realized their true condition as early as the year 1809, when they obtained Mr. Jefferson's sanction to their proposal, which was subsequently embodied in the treaty negotiated in 1816. From a clause of the treaty with the Shawnees, negotiated by General Clarke in 1825, we learn that a small fragment of that tribe had crossed the Mississippi into Upper Louisiana, and there located themselves on a tract of land twenty-five miles square, granted to them by Governor Carondelet as early as 1795. This movement, which was at first merely precautionary and intended to furnish an outlet for their restless population, was imitated by several other tribes at a later date, and at various epochs a similar course was adopted by a part of the Choctaws and the Chickasaws, the majority of the Cherokees, and, finally, of the Creeks. Yet the dispersed hunter tribes, living on large reservations in the Western and Northern States, east of the Mississippi, regarded the measure with deep-rooted aversion. They clung with tenacity to the land of their forefathers, and to those latitudes where the varying climate, and the happy alternation of spring, summer, autumn, and winter, gave a piquancy to the enjoyment of life. The chase was the poetry of their existence, war the true path to honor, and the traditions and reminiscences of their forefathers the proper food of the Indian mind. Books were for scholars, and labor for slaves. This was Indian philosophy.

But while the Indian indulged in his day-dreams, the race which labored at the plough, the anvil, and the loom, and chained the rippling and murmuring streamlet to the revolving wheel of the saw- and grist-mill, was rapidly encompassing him with the bonds of civilized life. There were then no railroads, but the steady and rapid advance of civilization foreshadowed their approach. The plan of removing and concentrating the Indian population was no sooner announced than it was warmly advocated as the proper mode of arresting their decline and averting their final extinction. The result of careful scrutiny into their condition and future prospects by the President, whom they regarded as their great political father, was a provision, while yet the means were at hand, for their future prosperity and permanent welfare. As such, the plan was detailed to the tribes by the officers charged with the care of Indian affairs; not, however, with a view of forcing it upon them, but of submitting it to their calm consideration and decision.

The Indians, ignorant alike of history and of the progress of society, required time to consider any new propositions advanced, and to realize their own position. All the Northern tribes expressed fears as to the healthfulness of the Southern latitudes, being accustomed only to the bracing Northern seasons and to the customs of Northern hunters. Their very mythology, singular as it may seem, warned them of the seductive manners and habits of the South. It was a difficult

matter for them to exchange their established customs for others entirely at variance with them.

The intestine wars and feuds of the Indians had been one of the principal causes of their decline, and in some cases of the utter destruction of tribes. These wars, which had no limits to their fury, and were often waged without any clearly-defined object, began before America was discovered, and continued throughout every period of aboriginal history. The Indian wars have in fact exercised a more baneful influence on the prosperity of the race than all other causes combined, with the single exception of their passionate craving for ardent spirits. Efforts were frequently made to put a stop to these intestine wars, and as frequently defeated, but after the close of the war of 1812 the efforts were again vigorously resumed. Mr. Monroe made strenuous endeavors to enforce this policy throughout the eight years of his administration. The several expeditions of Long, Cass, and Schoolcraft to the sources of the Mississippi, to the mouth of the Yellowstone, to the sources of the Arkansas and Red Rivers, to those of other principal streams, and to the central portions of the Mississippi Valley, in 1820, 1821, and 1822, had promoted this purpose by accumulating accurate geographical statistics of the Indian territory, its inhabitants, and its resources. The visit of the venerable Dr. Jedediah Morse to the Lake tribes, in 1820, to learn their dispositions, feelings, and social and moral condition, had the same tendency.<sup>1</sup> This period witnessed a practical renewal of the explorations originated by Mr. Jefferson in 1804. A more intimate acquaintance with the Indians afforded that knowledge of their peculiar habits which was necessary to their proper management, and to induce them to abandon their hunter mode of life and adopt the more elevating pursuits of civilization.

As internal tribal wars were continually distracting the Indians, one tribe trespassing on the lands of another, and as the civilized population was at the same time pressing into the ceded districts, it was thought by the government that one of the most practical methods of allaying their territorial disputes would be to establish definite boundary-lines between their possessions, a method of settling their difficulties which had never occurred to the Indians.

A series of conventions held with the Indian chiefs of the Western and Northwestern tribes marked the early part of Mr. Adams's administration, the first and most important of which assembled at Prairie du Chien, on the Upper Mississippi, during the summer of 1825, under the auspices of General William Clarke, then General Superintendent at St. Louis, and of Governor Lewis Cass, of Michigan, *ex-officio* Superintendent of the Northern Department. This convention was attended by the Mendawacanton and Yankton Dakotas, or Sioux, of the St. Peter's and the Plains, the Chippewas and Pillagers, from the sources of the Mississippi, and the Sacs, Foxes, Iowas, Winnebagoes, Menomonies, Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pottawatomies, of the lakes and the Illinois River. Maps drawn on birch bark, giving the outlines of their hunting-grounds, were exhibited by the several tribes, and, after a

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<sup>1</sup> Morse's Report to the Secretary of War, 1 vol. 8vo, 400 pp.: New Haven, 1822.

full discussion with each of their respective agents, a treaty of peace and limitation was signed by them on the 29th of August, 1825. The same plan was further carried out by a convention which assembled at Fond du Lac, at the head of Lake Superior, in 1826, and was attended by the chiefs of that region. A treaty was signed by these representatives of the Northern tribes which established peaceful relations among the Indians and definitely settled the boundary-lines of their territories up to the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude. A convention of a similar character was held at Butte des Morts, on Fox River, for the purpose of settling the boundary between the Menomonies and Chippewas, and certain bands of the Oneidas and Stockbridges, better known by the designation of New York Indians, which resulted in the signing of a treaty at this place, August 11, 1827.

These treaties with the hunter tribes of the North secured for them accurate boundaries, and the acknowledgment by the United States, as well as by the other tribes, of their claims to territory. They were likewise of the greatest advantage to them in their subsequent history, and gave them the benefits of a system under which they began to exchange their surplus lands for annuities in goods and coin.

While the treaty of Butte des Morts was under consideration, the Winnebagoes committed some hostile acts at Prairie du Chien, on the Mississippi. They there fired into a boat, plundered several individuals, and endeavored practically to enforce an obsolete idea that they had a right to interdict merchandise from passing the portage of the Wisconsin without receiving some acknowledgment therefor in the nature of toll. General Cass, who, as one of the commissioners, was then in the vicinity, immediately embarked in his light canoe, manned by skilful Canadians, crossed the portage, and, entering the Mississippi River, journeyed night and day until he reached St. Louis, whence he returned with a body of troops, whose sudden appearance prevented any further trouble from this source.

The primary arrangements for the expatriation of the Cherokees and Choctaws had been commenced by the Indians themselves in 1817 and 1820. Their transference to the West was, however, a tedious operation, and undertaken only after a thorough exploration of their new territory had been made. The Indian exercises great caution, and is never in a hurry in the transaction of business: he must have time to think. One after another, the tribes residing in the southern and middle, and, finally, to a considerable extent, those in the northern latitudes, adopted the plan of removal, and accepted locations west of the Mississippi in exchange for those surrendered on the east of that river. It was an object to preserve pacific relations with those indigenous tribes in the West on whose territories the Eastern tribes were to be concentrated, and who yet possessed the title to the soil. Those stern lords of the wilderness, the Osages, the Quapaws, the Kansas, and their compeers, required to be kept at peace not only with the United States, but also with each other, and with the tribes from the east of the Mississippi. Parties of the migrating Indians required from time to time to be directed to the places on which they were to reside, and to be furnished with the means of beginning life there. It was likewise necessary that their annuities, derived from former cessions of country, should be apportioned

between the Eastern and Western divisions of the tribes in accordance with their respective numbers. Sometimes the tribes settled in positions whence their restless spirit induced them to remove and locate elsewhere. Murders not unfrequently occurred, and frontier wars were prevented only by judicious negotiations, military watchfulness, and a system of compensation for all losses. The onerous official duties incident to the removal of the red men were ably performed by the veteran Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis. The most important tribes of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois had so far entered into arrangements for their removal as to have sent out either pioneers or emigrant parties. Early in the month of April, 1827, Elkswattawa, the Shawnee Prophet, arrived at St. Louis from Wahpakoneta, with the Shawnee tribe on their route to the West. This was the celebrated man who, assuming the prophetic office, had in 1811 incited the aborigines to wage war against the United States, in which the Indian hosts were led to battle by Tecumseh. After the defeat and death of his brother Tecumseh, the Prophet had fled to Canada, where he lived for some years, until the long continuance of peace removed all apprehension of mischief from his oracular voice, when General Cass permitted him to return to his tribe at Wahpakoneta, where his people, having directed their attention to farming and to the raising of horses and cattle, had made considerable advance in arts, industry, and civilization. He was a man of original ideas, strong purpose, and much natural shrewdness, and was well adapted by his manners, and by habits of extreme abstemiousness, as well as by his total lack of selfishness, to win the favor of the Indians. In stature he was considerably above the average height, his body was very spare, and his countenance always wore an austere aspect, which, with the loss of one eye, over which he constantly wore a patch or blind, tended more deeply to impress the Indians with an idea of his sanctity of character. His revelations were promulgated with all that careful attention to manner, circumstance, time, and place necessary to insure them full credit, and but few men of his race, possessing such marked peculiarities, have figured in Indian history. Bowed down with the accumulated weight of years, he was now the leader of his tribe in their journey to a land of refuge, and as such was received by the superintendent and officials at the West with friendship, respect, and kindness.

Assuming an oratorical attitude, he said in effect that he had come in obedience to the desire of the President, whose wishes had been communicated by the agent. His Great Father at Washington had seen that the Shawnees owned but a small piece of land, and that the whites were pressing upon them so much that they could not long remain on it in prosperity. Therefore, to insure their preservation and enable them again to become a great nation, he would give them a new location in the West, where the sun shone as brightly, and the soil was as rich, on which they might live forever under their own laws. He had advised them to send a party to view it and judge of its fitness. He had promised to sustain them on the way, and to pay them for their improvements, orchards, and agricultural implements left behind. They received this voice as the voice of wisdom and kindness. They regarded it as one with the voice of the Great Spirit, which he had himself heard. It came over the Alleghanies

as the pleasing sound of many waters. The old men at first objected to the plan. At last the young men reviewed the subject, and said, "Let us go and look at the land." He got up and came with his people. There were two hundred persons with him. There were some left behind who would also come. They did not come of their own motion. It was the Great Ruler of the land who sent them. It was his promises that he came to test. He now asked that they should be carried out. They were hungry, and had worn out most of their clothes. Their horses were lean and poor. They must rest to gain strength.

The removal of all the Indians to the west of the Mississippi went forward, partly of their own volition, and partly under the influence of the government officials. The movement was founded on the strength of treaty stipulations alone. The more closely the plan was examined by both white and red men, the more favor it received. Congress was much interested in the project, and several acts were presented to the consideration of both Houses which had for their object to facilitate and give the force of legal security to the plan. On February 1, 1825, the Senate passed a bill "for the preservation and civilization of the Indian tribes within the United States," but it failed to receive the sanction of the House of Representatives. On December 27 of the same year the House instructed their Committee on Indian Affairs to devise a plan for allotting to each tribe a sufficiency of land, "with the sovereignty, or right of soil, in the same manner that the right of domain is secured to the respective States of the Union." In January, 1826, the bill brought forward in the House at the previous session was referred to the Secretary of War, with the view of obtaining such information as the subject demanded. Mr. Barbour made a very elaborate report, but no final action was taken in the matter. The principles then discussed were, however, incorporated in the treaty formed May 8, 1828, with the Cherokees, which secured to that nation a permanent home in the West, under the most solemn guarantee of the United States, by which this territory was granted to them forever, with an appended stipulation that they should be provided with plain laws, and that the individuality of the right to the land should be acknowledged whenever it should be desired.

## CHAPTER III.

### CONGRESS AUTHORIZES THE COLONIZING OF THE INDIANS IN THE WEST—THE TRIBES GENERALLY CONCUR IN THE PLAN.

EVERY year increased the pressure of civilization on the Indian tribes: the tide of white emigration rolled westward with ever-increasing volume. For the Indians the era of the chase had passed away forever, and they had now the alternative of employing themselves manfully in the pursuits of agriculture and the arts, or of perishing from indolence and want: to remain where they then were, within the jurisdiction of the States, was impossible. In his first message to Congress, delivered at the close of the year 1829, General Jackson introduced the subject in a very forcible manner.

In the month of May, 1830, Congress passed an act authorizing the necessary exchanges and purchases of lands from the indigenous tribes west of the Mississippi. This act legalizes the removal of the Indians, guarantees them the possession of their new lands, agrees to defend them in their sovereignty, grants compensation for improvements made on their late possessions, and appropriates five hundred thousand dollars with which to commence the removal of the tribes.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> AN ACT to provide for an exchange of lands with the Indians residing in any of the States or Territories, and for their removal west of the river Mississippi.

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That it shall and may be lawful for the President of the United States to cause so much of any territory belonging to the United States, west of the river Mississippi, not included in any State or organized Territory, and to which the Indian title has been extinguished, as he may judge necessary, to be divided into a suitable number of districts, for the reception of such tribes or nations of Indians as may choose to exchange the lands where they now reside, and remove there; and to cause each of said districts to be so described by natural or artificial marks as to be easily distinguished from every other.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted,* That it shall and may be lawful for the President to exchange any or all of such districts, so to be laid off and described, with any tribe or nation of Indians now residing within the limits of any of the States or Territories, and with which the United States have existing treaties, for the whole or any part or portion of the territory claimed and occupied by such tribe or nation, within the bounds of any one or more of the States or Territories, where the land claimed and occupied by the Indians is owned by the United States, or the United States are bound to the State within which it lies to extinguish the Indian claim thereto.

SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted,* That in the making of any such exchange or exchanges, it shall and may be lawful for the President solemnly to assure the tribe or nation with which the exchange is made, that the United States will forever secure and guarantee to them, and their heirs or successors, the country so exchanged with them; and, if they prefer it, that the United States will cause a patent or grant to be made and executed to them for the same: *Provided always,* That such lands shall revert to the United States if the Indians become extinct or abandon the same.

SEC. 4. *And be it further enacted,* That if, upon any of the lands now occupied by the Indians, and to

In his message to Congress, sent to that body on the 4th of December, 1830, President Jackson again presented this topic to their notice, and solicited for it their mature consideration. "It gives me pleasure," said he, "to announce to Congress that the benevolent policy of the government, steadily pursued for nearly thirty years, in relation to the removal of the Indians beyond the white settlements, is approaching to a happy consummation. Two important tribes, the Choctaws and the Chickasaws, have accepted the provision made for their removal at the last session of Congress, and it is believed that their example will induce the remaining tribes, also, to seek the same obvious advantages."

Obvious as these advantages seemed to men familiar with history and the civil polity of nations, the Indians were slow to comprehend and loath to admit them. Meantime, Georgia and Alabama sedulously pressed the subject on the notice of the government, which at length made provision for the settlement of the question as a necessary measure for preserving the quiet and promoting the prosperity of the States. Time was, however, required to adjust the controversy, the discussions meantime being continued with vigor. One year later the Executive again presented the subject to Congress, and acquainted them with the progress of the experiment, at the same time expressing his decided conviction that colonization was the only feasible method of relieving both the States and the Indian tribes from their constantly accumulating embarrassments.

"Time and experience have proved," said the President, "that the abode of the native Indian within State limits is dangerous to their peace, and injurious to him-

be exchanged for, there should be such improvements as add value to the land claimed by any individual or individuals of such tribes or nations, it shall and may be lawful for the President to cause such value to be ascertained by appraisement or otherwise, and to cause such ascertained value to be paid to the person or persons rightfully claiming such improvements. And upon the payment of such valuation the improvements so valued and paid for shall pass to the United States, and possession shall not afterwards be permitted to any of the same tribe.

SEC. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That upon the making of any such exchange as is contemplated by this act, it shall and may be lawful for the President to cause such aid and assistance to be furnished to the emigrants as may be necessary and proper to enable them to remove to and settle in the country for which they may have exchanged; and also to give them such aid and assistance as may be necessary for their support and subsistence for the first year after their removal.

SEC. 6. *And be it further enacted*, That it shall and may be lawful for the President to cause such tribe or nation to be protected at their new residence against all interruption or disturbance from any other tribe or nation of Indians, or from any other person or persons whatever.

SEC. 7. *And be it further enacted*, That it shall and may be lawful for the President to have the same superintendence and care over any tribe or nation in the country to which they may remove, as contemplated by this act, that he is now authorized to have over them at their present places of residence: *Provided*, That nothing in this act contained shall be construed as authorizing or directing the violation of any existing treaty between the United States and any of the Indian tribes.

SEC. 8. *And be it further enacted*, That for the purpose of giving effect to the provisions of this act the sum of five hundred thousand dollars is hereby appropriated, to be paid out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

APPROVED May 28, 1830.

self. In accordance with my recommendation at a former session of Congress, an appropriation of five hundred thousand dollars was made to aid the voluntary removal of the various tribes beyond the limits of the States. At the last session I had the happiness to announce that the Chickasaws and Choctaws had accepted the generous offer of the government and agreed to remove beyond the Mississippi River, by which the whole of the State of Mississippi and the western part of Alabama will be freed from Indian occupancy and opened to a civilized population. The treaties with these tribes are in course of execution, and their removal, it is hoped, will be completed in the course of 1832.

“At the request of the authorities of Georgia, the registration of Cherokee Indians for emigration has been resumed, and it is confidently expected that one-half, if not two-thirds, of that tribe will follow the wise example of their more westerly brethren. Those who prefer remaining at their present homes will hereafter be governed by the laws of Georgia as all her citizens are, and cease to be the objects of peculiar care on the part of the general government.

“During the present year the attention of the government has been particularly directed to those tribes in the powerful and growing State of Ohio, where considerable tracts of the finest lands were still occupied by the aboriginal proprietors. Treaties, either absolute or conditional, have been made, extinguishing the whole Indian title to the reservations in that State, and the time is not distant, it is hoped, when Ohio will be no longer embarrassed with the Indian population. The same measure will be extended to Indiana as soon as there is reason to anticipate success.

“It is confidently believed that perseverance for a few years in the present policy of the government will extinguish the Indian title to all lands lying within the States comprising our Federal Union, and remove beyond their limits every Indian who is not willing to submit to their laws. Thus will all conflicting claims to jurisdiction between the States and the Indian tribes be put to rest. It is pleasing to reflect that results so beneficial, not only to the States immediately concerned, but to the harmony of the Union, will have been accomplished by measures equally advantageous to the Indians. What the native savages become when surrounded by a dense population, and by mixing with the whites, may be seen in the miserable remnants of a few Eastern tribes, deprived of political and civil rights, forbidden to make contracts, and subjected to guardians, dragging out a wretched existence, without excitement, without hope, and almost without thought.”

Petitions were presented to Congress in favor of the rights of the Indians, and also remonstrances against their removal, some of which were the elaborate productions of benevolent societies, while others emanated from distinguished individuals. The citizens of Massachusetts and Pennsylvania took a prominent part in these efforts. In the autumn of this year the Secretary of War, to whom was intrusted the execution of the act of March 28, 1830, presented a comprehensive report to Congress, in which the subject is viewed in all its aspects, speculative and practical, theoretical and demonstrative. In it he made the following excellent suggestions :

“1. A solemn declaration, similar to that already inserted in some of the treaties,

that the country assigned to the Indians shall be theirs as long as they or their descendants may occupy it, and a corresponding determination that our settlements shall not spread over it; and every effort should be used to satisfy the Indians of our sincerity and of their security. Without this indispensable preliminary, and without full confidence on their part in our intentions, and in our abilities to give these effect, their change of position would bring no change of circumstances.

“2. A determination to exclude all ardent spirits from their new country. This will no doubt be difficult; but a system of surveillance upon the borders, and of proper police and penalties, will do much towards the extermination of an evil which, where it exists to any considerable extent, is equally destructive of their present comfort and their future happiness.

“3. The employment of an adequate force in their immediate vicinity, and a fixed determination to suppress, at all hazards, the slightest attempt at hostilities among themselves.

“So long as a passion for war, fostered and encouraged as it is by their opinions and habits, is allowed free scope for exercise, it will prove the master-spirit, controlling if not absorbing all other considerations. And if in checking this evil some examples should become necessary, they would be sacrifices to humanity, and not to severity.

“4. Encouragement to the severalty of property, and such provision for its security as their own regulations do not afford and as may be necessary for its enjoyment.

“5. Assistance to all who may require it in the opening of farms and in procuring domestic animals and instruments of agriculture.

“6. Leaving them in the enjoyment of their peculiar institutions as far as may be compatible with their own safety and ours, and with the great objects of their prosperity and improvement.

“7. The eventual employment of persons competent to instruct them as far and as fast as their progress may require, and in such manner as may be most useful to them.”

The Indian, although slow to investigate and decide, began to regard the plan with favor, and the better he understood it the more did he approve of it. From this period increased activity and efficiency were imparted to the colonization project.

On the 4th of April, 1832, the Creeks entered into a treaty with the Secretary of War by which they ceded all their lands east of the Mississippi to the United States government in consideration of a grant of seven million acres in the Indian Territory west of that river, to which they agreed to remove at the earliest practicable period.

At Payne's Landing, on the Ocklawaha River, May 9, 1832, the Seminoles ceded their lands in Florida, and agreed to migrate to the country of the Creeks, west of the Mississippi, there to reunite themselves with this cognate tribe. This treaty provided for the immediate payment of fifteen thousand dollars in cash, and the sum of seven thousand dollars was agreed to be paid as a reimbursement to owners of

fugitive slaves. This, and other features of the treaty, the Seminoles did not, on reflection, deem satisfactory, and it has been referred to as one of the original causes of the Florida war. They claimed that their assent was obtained through the influence of intoxicating liquors and bribery, denied its validity, and refused to remove from the reservations assigned them in former treaties.

October 11, 1832, the Appalachieolas renewed a prior agreement to remove to the west of the Mississippi, and to surrender the tract on which they lived at the mouth of the Appalachieola River. The Chickasaws, finding themselves surrounded by adverse circumstances, followed these examples by ceding, October 20, 1832, their entire territories east of the Mississippi River. This convention, known as the treaty of Pontitock Creek, is remarkable for the introduction of a stipulation of a new character. The Chickasaws direct that the lands ceded be subdivided and sold for their benefit in the Land Office of the United States, which provision manifests more forecast than the tribes have generally evinced, and in effect has secured their future prosperity and independence.

October 24, 1832, the Kickapoos, by the treaty of Castor Hill, in Missouri, acceded to the plan of removal. On the 26th of October the Pottawatomies ceded their lands in Indiana, taking in payment annuities in money, and agreed to accept a location in the Indian Territory, west of the Mississippi. On the 26th of the same month, the Shawnees and Delawares, near Cape Girardeau, ceded their old Spanish location in that quarter, with the view of removing West, and on the same day the Piankeshaws and Peorias also accepted a location in that region. On the 29th the Weas gave their assent to the project. On the same day the Senecas and Shawnees of the Neosho relinquished the title to their lands, the more perfectly to accommodate themselves to the new plan of settlement.

Without these details it is impossible to form an adequate idea of the class of duties which originated from this scheme of colonization. The labor was incessant, and required to be renewed year after year. It was difficult to satisfy the Indians, as they were ignorant of all the primary elements of knowledge, and very suspicious of the white man's arts. Knowing nothing of the first principles of geometry, space and quantity were estimated in gross. To reduce miles to acres, rods, chains, and links was an art requiring arithmetical accuracy. They had likewise no correct or scientific standard of value for coins. They required to be located and re-located, informed and re-informed, paid and re-paid. This was especially the case with the hunter tribes, whose standard of value had not long previously been a beaver-skin, and whose land-measure had been a day's or a half-day's walk.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE BLACK-HAWK WAR.

WHILE the removal of the tribes from the Southwest to their new location in the West was proceeding prosperously, a sudden and unexpected difficulty arose with some tribes residing along the banks of the Upper Mississippi.

The remote key-note of the war-song had been sounded by the Wyandot, Shawnee, and Delaware prophets in 1783, by Elkswattawa in 1812, and by the Creek prophets in 1814. The government of the Union had in various ways been apprised of the dissatisfaction and threatened hostility of the Sacs and the Foxes. The Sac chief Black Hawk, or Muccodakakake, was born in 1767 at the Sac village on Rock River, Wisconsin. His grandfather had lived near Montreal, whence his father, Pyesa, had emigrated to the boundless and attractive field of the great West. He was not a chief's son, but rose to that station through his own ability, having attained great distinction by his successes in war-parties. Black Hawk was one of those dreamers and fasters of the aboriginal race who mistake the impressions of dreams for revelations of the Great Spirit. In his own person he united judgment with courage, and he had acquired much influence in the Indian councils. Pyesa having emigrated to the West while Great Britain exercised sway over it, his preference for that power was very decided. His son, holding the same views, kept up the bias by annual visits to Malden, where presents were distributed by the British Indian Department to the tribes, whether residents of the United States or not. Tales of the generous policy of the British towards the Indians, and of the grasping spirit of the Americans, had been circulated for years by every foreign subordinate in the Indian Territory, who had selfish aims to promote thereby, and who was at the same time indebted to the clemency of the American system for permission to remain in the country the policy of which he traduced. Black Hawk had brooded over the early history of his tribe, and to his view, as he looked down the vista of years, the former times appeared much better than the present, and the vision so wrought upon his susceptible imagination that he began to look upon the past as a veritable golden age. He had some remembrance of a treaty made by General Harrison in 1804, to which his people had not given their assent; and his feelings were with difficulty controlled when he was desired to leave the Rock River Valley in compliance with a treaty made with General Scott at Prairie du Chien, July 15, 1830, by Keokuk, a friendly chief. That valley, however, he peacefully abandoned with his tribe on being notified, and in 1831 went to the west of the Mississippi; but he had spent his youth in that locality, and the more he thought of it the more determined he was to return thither. He readily enlisted the sympathies of the Indians, who are ever

prone to ponder on their real or imaginary wrongs; and it may be readily conjectured that what Indian counsel could not accomplish, Indian prophecy would. Without doubt he was encouraged in his course by some tribes, who finally deserted him and denied their complicity when he took up arms and began to experience reverses. Black Hawk claimed to have close relations with the Foxes, Winnebagoes, Sioux, Kickapoos, and others. Early in 1831 he sent a symbolical miniature tomahawk, made of wood, and smeared with vermilion, to the principal war-chief of the Chippewas. This warlike invitation was received at the Chippewa agency, Sault Ste. Marie, at the lower end of Lake Superior, and a report of the effort to enlist the Chippewas in this conspiracy was communicated to the government at Washington. Mr. Schoolcraft was directed to visit the suspected district. He accordingly passed through the Indian country lying between the south shore of Lake Superior and the Mississippi, traversing the lakes and rivers in light canoes manned by Canadian voyageurs, and under a small escort of infantry,—devoting the season to that expedition. He did not discover that any of the tribes were committed to open hostility, but there appeared to be a great familiarity with Black Hawk's plans, and the tribes in league with him were named. In consequence of these disclosures of the existing state of affairs, the spring and summer of the following year (1832) were by direction of the government devoted to a further inspection of the Sioux and Chippewa tribes towards the north.<sup>1</sup>

The Rock River Valley and the adjacent country was ceded to the United States, November 3, 1804, by the Sac and Fox tribes, with a proviso permitting the Indians to continue to reside and hunt on the lands until they were required for settlement. The Sac chief Black Hawk (as we have seen), after an undisturbed occupancy of the lands for twenty-seven years subsequent to the negotiation of this treaty, affected to believe that the chiefs who ceded it, and who were then dead, had not been duly authorized to do so, or that after such a lapse of time his tribe was unjustly required to comply with the terms of the treaty by crossing the Mississippi to its opposite banks. At all events, this plea furnished an excuse for giving vent to the hostility which he had long felt against the Americans.

Black Hawk was one of those aborigines who dwell so long on a single idea that it appears to assume at last sufficient importance to engage the attention of the entire Indian race. The theme of Black Hawk's delusion was the Americans, the hated Americans, who had unjustly supplanted the English in the country, and who were treating the Indians with injustice. He had been a regular attendant at the annual convocations of the aboriginal tribes in Canada, which has been the source whence so much evil political counsel has been transmitted to the Indians residing on the contiguous territory of the United States. It was there that presents were

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<sup>1</sup> These visits to the distant Northern tribes were the immediate occasion of the discovery of the remote source of the Mississippi. The depth of water on the vast and elevated summits being favorable, the occasion was embraced to trace the Mississippi to its actual source, which was ascertained to be a considerable body of water called Itasca Lake.—See *Discovery of the Sources of the Mississippi*, 1 vol., New York, 1834.

distributed to them in acknowledgment of the services they had formerly rendered to the British armies, and as a means of securing their aid in future contingencies. Hither had Tecumseh come for the benefit of British counsels prior to and during the war of 1812. The Indian tribes regarded Malden as the metropolitan centre, which Detroit had been before the days of General Wayne. The aboriginal chiefs, from Detroit to the Mississippi, as high up as the Falls of St. Anthony, and to the head of Lake Superior, never ceased boasting of the profuse liberality, the wealth, and the power of their British Father. So far as these demonstrations were confined to the limits of the British provinces, no objection certainly could be made to the policy, but on the tribes of the United States, who constituted generally by far the largest part of the assemblages, the effect was to disturb and distract their minds, and to fan the flames of an enmity which, if left to itself, would have died away. Meantime, the few blankets, kettles, and guns which the United States tribes received were no equivalent for the time lost in long journeys, the occasional losses suffered on the road, and the moral degradation to which their families were exposed.

In an evil hour the chief determined to renew the experiment of keeping the intrusive feet of emigrants from his native valley and from the flowing line of the Mississippi. Black Hawk was then about sixty-seven years of age. His features showed great firmness of purpose, and his wisdom had acquired him great respect among the united tribes of the Sacs and Foxes, as well as the Winnebagoes, Iowas, and surrounding tribes. He had undertaken to form a confederacy of the tribes, a task much easier to propose than to effect, there being no certainty how far the tribes who hearkened to his messengers and counsels would fulfil their engagements when the trying hour arrived. But little alarm was excited by the details of Black Hawk's proceedings. At the St. Louis superintendency not much importance appears to have been attached to the menaced hostilities, not only because the time was so unsuitable for the Indians to make another attempt to roll back the tide of civilization, but also because there was no reliable information as to how far the other tribes had consented to act in concert with the Sac chief. The officials at the Michigan superintendency, being nearer to the Indian rendezvous at Malden, were more intimately acquainted with the state of Indian feeling, and, consequently, as considerable uneasiness was felt, the agents on the Chicago borders were instructed to watch closely the Indian movements. Everything denoted that there was an active combination forming among the tribes of the Upper Mississippi, extending to the waters of Lake Superior. The expedition directed to that quarter in June, 1831, proceeded through Lake Superior in canoes and boats to Chegoimegon or La Pointe, thence entered and followed the Muskigo or Mauvais River, ascending through difficult rapids to a lake at its source, passing numerous and intricate portages, and rafts of drift-wood, crossing a portage into the Namakagon or south branch of the St. Croix River, and then descending the main stream to Yellow River. At the St. Croix River it was ascertained that the combination of Black Hawk embraced nine tribes. From the Yellow River the expedition proceeded to Lac Court-Oreille, or Ottawa Lake, at the head of Chippewa River, and by a difficult portage to the Red



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ITASCA LAKE



Cedar fork, whence it descended the latter to the mouth of the Chippewa River, at the foot of Lake Pepin, on the Mississippi. In its course it diverted from their purpose and arrested a war-party of Indians, under Ninaba, who were on their way to the Mississippi to attack the Sioux. The Mississippi River was finally descended to Galena.<sup>1</sup>

Indications of immediate hostilities were apparent in the spring of 1832. Early in April Black Hawk crossed to the eastern side of the Mississippi with all his tribe, including five hundred warriors, took possession of the Rock River Valley, and announced his intention to plant corn. Troops under the command of General Henry Atkinson, U.S.A., were ordered to ascend the Mississippi and preserve the peace of the frontiers; and the utmost excitement existed in the contiguous Illinois settlements. As soon as the troops were known to be on their way, Black Hawk's warriors proceeded to the residence of the agent, Mr. St. Vrain, at Rock Island, whom they regarded as the instigator of this military movement, and immediately murdered him, scalping and mutilating his body. All the neighboring families received like treatment. The Illinois militia were promptly ordered to the frontier, and an action took place on the 14th of May at Sycamore Creek, in which a battalion of militia under Major Stillman were severely handled. Black Hawk, in his narrative, says that they retreated before a determined fire from forty warriors.

In the mean time, before any overt hostile acts were committed, the agent of the Chippewas was instructed to make a reconnoissance of the Indian country extending north and west of the parts visited in 1831, for the purpose of acquiring more perfect information as to the extent of the dissatisfaction.

The agent was furnished with a small military force of but twelve men, under the command of Lieutenant J. Allen. Leaving the agency at St. Mary's early in June, he passed through Lake Superior to its extreme head, at Fond du Lac, ascended the river St. Louis to the Savanne portage, and thence entered Sandy Lake and the Mississippi. The latter was followed through its windings to the extreme point before visited, at Cass Lake, where an encampment was formed and the baggage left. The height of the waters being favorable, Mr. Schoolcraft set forward from this point in Indian canoes with a select party, fully resolved to discover the source of the Mississippi. The search was pursued, with the aid of an Indian guide, up falls, across lakes, around precipices, through defiles, over drifts, and through winding channels, for three days. The result of this toilsome journey was the arrival of the party at Itasca Lake, which is generally accepted as the true source of the Mississippi, although its remotest springs are several miles away.

The information obtained in this journey demonstrated that the Chippewas and Sioux, whatever sympathies they had with Black Hawk and his scheme, were not committed to his project by any overt participation in it. The Indians were vaccinated, as directed by an act of Congress, and their numbers definitely ascertained. While on a visit to the large band at Leech Lake, their leading chief, Gucule Plat,

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<sup>1</sup> Schoolcraft's Expedition to Itasca Lake.

exhibited to the agent several British medals which were smeared with vermilion, the symbol of blood, but it appeared to be done rather in a spirit of boastful self-importance than as a threat of alliance with Black Hawk. Information obtained in these reconnoissances implicated the Winnebagoes, Iowas, Kickapoos, Pottawatomies, and some Missouri bands. Meantime, while this expedition was pursuing its explorations, the Sac chief had commenced the war, and had been driven by Generals Atkinson and Dodge to the mouth of the Bad Axe River, between the Falls of St. Anthony and Prairie du Chien. Without being apprised of the impending peril, the expedition escaped all danger by ascending the river to the influx of the St. Croix and passing up that river to the waters of Lake Superior.

An Indian war on the frontiers is always appalling, a few hundred hostile Indians having the power of alarming the inhabitants and disturbing the settlements throughout a wide extent of country. Their apparently ubiquitous character, their subtlety, the facility with which they thread the mazes of the forest, the horrid cruelties practised on the defenceless inhabitants, and their wild onset and noisy outcries when driven into open conflict, always make a deep impression. The ordinary militia are not adequate to the task of repelling such inroads. A man suddenly summoned from his plough or his work-bench to the field has not sufficient discipline or knowledge of camp duty to render him of much service in sudden emergencies. Frequently he does not know either the position or the number of his enemies, and rather helps to increase the confusion and panic than to allay it. Such was the case when Black Hawk made his inroad into Illinois and Wisconsin, and before a sufficient force of the regular army could be drawn from remote points, the most that the militia and volunteers could effect was to keep him in check. For a considerable time the head-quarters of the Sac chief were located at or about Lake Koshkonong, near the upper end of Rock River Valley, or near the Four Lakes, now the site of Madison, the State capital of Wisconsin.

One of the appalling incidents of this campaign was the fact that the Asiatic cholera first made its appearance among the United States troops while on their march to the scene of conflict. On the banks of the St. Clair, at Fort Gratiot, at Michilimackinac, at Chicago, and at every harbor for vessels and steamers, the most frightful mortality occurred. A characteristic feature of this disease was the rapidity with which it terminated in a fatal result,—a few hours intervening only between the appearance of the first symptoms and death. The best medical men were at fault, and had to study the features of the disease before they could cope with it.

This calamity added to the delay in reaching the scene of action, and gave the wily chief a little breathing-time. General Scott landed his army at Chicago with all practicable expedition, and instantly sent forward a detachment to reconnoitre the position of Black Hawk and force him to give battle. A general action is, however, one of the very last resorts of an Indian captain. It is contrary to the Indian mode of warfare, which consists of operations in detail, secret and crafty attacks, and sudden movements, which are practicable only for an army unencumbered with baggage. General Scott did not reach the Indian country, however, until the last gun had

been fired. General Atkinson pursued the Indians up the Rock River Valley, where their trail gave evidence of their suffering from want of food. In this pursuit, the knowledge of wood-craft, of the Indian mode of warfare, and of the local geography, possessed by Colonel Henry Dodge, enabled the commander to conduct his movements with great precision. Atkinson's force consisted of four hundred regulars and nine hundred volunteers, commanded by Generals Henry, Alexander, and Dodge. After some skirmishing, Black Hawk was traced across the Wisconsin River, and hotly pursued towards the west. After a harassing march, his ill-fed, starving, and worn-down forces were finally overtaken at the junction of the Bad Axe River with the Mississippi, where a steamer (the Warrior) opened her fire on him. While in the act of effecting a crossing, on the 2d of August, the American army arrived, and an immediate action ensued, in which the Indians were defeated and nearly one hundred and fifty of them killed. Some of the Sac warriors, and the women and children of the tribe, had, however, succeeded in crossing. Black Hawk escaped, but soon afterwards voluntarily delivered himself up to the agent at Prairie du Chien.

Black Hawk was carried a prisoner to Washington. Private vengeance clamored for his blood in expiation of the foul murders perpetrated by his warriors, but, to the credit of the President, General Jackson, he firmly resisted these importunities, saying that the chief had surrendered as a prisoner of war, and that he should be treated as such. After his advent at the capital, Black Hawk was taken to see the military works at Fort Monroe by an officer of the army, who was appointed to escort him through the seaboard cities to his own country, that he might form adequate notions of the populousness of the Union. He was safely conducted to his home on the distant Mississippi, where he lived many years, a wiser and a better man. After his death his tribesmen gave to his remains those rites of sepulture which are bestowed only upon their most distinguished men. They buried him in his war-dress, in a sitting posture, on an eminence, and covered him with a mound of earth.

The campaign lasted seventy-nine days. The captives were taken to Rock Island. They informed General Scott that the Winnebagoes, our professed allies, had been operating on both sides; and in the treaty which followed their treachery was punished, and the lands upon which they had lived from time immemorial, and to which they were strongly attached, were taken from them.

## CHAPTER V.

### SUBDIVISION OF THE INDIAN TERRITORY AMONG THE EMIGRANT TRIBES— IMPORTANT TREATIES.

THE proper adjustment of boundaries between the tribes in the new Territories became a subject of infinite perplexity. As the Indians acquired a better knowledge of arithmetical measures and quantities, they became keen bargainers, and strenuously demanded their full dues. It sometimes happened that boundaries conflicted, and whenever an interest or a right was surrendered to accommodate another tribe, the United States government was ready to grant an equivalent in land, money, or right of occupancy. The volumes of treaties contain an amount of interesting matter on this subject which is creditable alike to the Republic and to the activity of the Indian mind. An acre, an improvement, a salt-spring, or a stream of pure water was held at its just value.

On the 14th of February, 1833, the United States engaged to secure to the Cherokees forever seven millions of acres of land in the Indian Territory, including the smaller tract previously granted them by the Barbour treaty, signed May 6, 1828. By a separate article the Cherokees released the United States from providing "a plain set of laws, suited to their condition."

On the same day a treaty was concluded specifying the boundaries between the United States, the Creeks, and the Cherokees, which also provided that collisions between the tribes should be avoided, and compensation made to them by the United States for the improvements they surrendered, in order to enable the government to furnish the Cherokees with their full quota of lands. By a treaty concluded on the 28th of March, 1833, a definite location was assigned to the Seminoles, who had migrated to the West and settled down among the Creeks. On the 13th of May the Quapaws relinquished their territory to the Caddoes, a cognate tribe on the Red River, in consideration of a tract of one hundred and fifty sections of land granted them by the United States on the Neosho, with liberal donations of cattle, oxen, hogs, sheep, agricultural implements, arms, ammunition, clothing, the services of a blacksmith and farmer, and other advantages.

On the 18th of June, 1833, the Appalachicolos, of Florida, ceded certain lands, with the exception of some reservations, and were admitted, on the principle of a reunion, to share with the Seminoles the benefits of the treaty concluded at Payne's Landing. It was stipulated that they should sell their reservations before leaving Florida and removing West, in which case they engaged to defray the expenses of their removal.

On the 21st of September, the Otoes and Missouriias surrendered their lands to the United States for valuable considerations, agreeing to accept another tract in lieu thereof, and to engage in agricultural pursuits.

Under the provisions of the act passed July 14, 1832, three commissioners were appointed to proceed to the Indian Territory, west of the States of Missouri and Arkansas, to make an examination of its character and resources and divide it into suitable districts for the expatriated tribes. These commissioners, after an elaborate examination and survey, occupying nearly two years, made a report on the 10th of February, 1834. They had set apart, and recommended to be allotted to the tribes, the entire district west of the States of Missouri and Arkansas, comprised between the latitude of Red River and that of the Platte or Nebraska River, extending west to the line of Texas, thence north along the 100th degree of longitude to the banks of the Arkansas, and up the latter river to the Rocky Mountains. The Indian Territory originally included Kansas and Nebraska.

Congress having now the requisite data, and being prepared to act definitely on the subject, the Hon. Horace Everett, Chairman of Indian Affairs in the House of Representatives, made an elaborate report reviewing the policy and action of the government from the beginning, and submitting for consideration and approval separate acts for the organization of the Indian Department, for the revision of the original act of 1802 regulating trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, and for the organization of the Indian Territory. The former of these acts received the sanction of Congress,—the plan of a mixed civil and Indian government, which was prepared, having been abandoned because it was regarded as in some respects incongruous, and, on the whole, rather in advance of their actual necessities. The act of March 28, 1830, laying the legal foundation of the colonization plan, was the organic law, but these acts followed out the general features of that law, to which we may ascribe the completion of the colonization plan originally recommended to Congress by Mr. Monroe nine years previously.

The year 1835 was distinguished by several treaties of an important character. Hitherto the inchoate confederacy of the Pottawatomies, Chippewas, and Ottawas of Northern Illinois had retained its ancient position in the vicinity of Chicago, at the head of Lake Michigan. On the 26th of September, 1833, they ceded to the United States their lands on the western shores of that lake in exchange for a tract comprising 5,000,000 acres in the West, in consideration of very large annuities, to be paid in coin and its equivalents. It was stipulated that \$150,000 should be appropriated to the purchase of goods and provisions, \$100,000 to satisfy the claims of sundry individuals to certain reservations, \$150,000 to liquidate the claims of debtors against the tribes, agreeably to a schedule annexed, \$280,000 to the payment of annuities of \$14,000 per annum for twenty years, \$150,000 for the erection of mills, farm-houses, shops, and the supply of agricultural implements and stock, and for the support of such artisans, smiths, and other mechanics as were necessary to the inauguration of their colonial existence in the West, and \$70,000 for educational purposes. This treaty encountered numerous objections in the Senate,

and was not ratified until the 21st of February, 1835, and then only with certain exceptions.

The principle of acknowledging the individual debts of the hunter tribes as national obligations had been previously recognized in a treaty with the Quapaws, concluded May 13, 1833, but the amount appropriated for that object in the Chicago treaty, and the extensive personal schedules accompanying it, excited remark in the Senate, and induced that body to question the propriety of nationalizing the debts of the tribes. The experience of the Senate also made it averse to granting large reservations in lands to the tribes, as well as to their blood-relations, especial local friends, and habitual benefactors, out of the tracts ceded; since it was found that such reservations, being in a few years surrounded by a civilized population, acquired such a value as to render their purchase again necessary for the purposes of agriculture. General Jackson, whose knowledge of Indian affairs had been acquired by personal observation, censured this policy decidedly, and deemed it preferable for many reasons to compensate both the tribes and their blood-relations with payments in money.

In order to accommodate the emigrating tribes, it was necessary to procure the cession of large tracts from the aboriginal nations in the West, who roved over immense plains, cultivating nothing, and living principally on the flesh of the buffalo. By the treaty of October 9, 1833, the Pawnees ceded a large district lying south of the Platte, or Nebraska, which afforded locations to several of the Eastern tribes. The Kansas, by the treaty of August 16, 1825, ceded all their lands lying within the boundaries of the State of Missouri, as also the wide tracts lying along the Missouri River, to the west of the western line of the State, comprising the valleys of the Kansas, Nodaway, and Nemaha.

The tract ceded by the Kansas tribe comprehended a large part of the present State of Kansas. It is somewhat remarkable that while a geographical exploration was being made of this Territory, a respected and intelligent agent reported to the Secretary of War, May 12, 1834, that not over one-half the quantity of land lying within this parallel of latitude, north of the Osage Reservation, and extending to the Nebraska, was adapted to the purposes of agriculture. So far from this being the fact, it is precisely this part of Kansas which has been settled most rapidly and is most esteemed for its fertility and admired for its sylvan beauty. Michigan, one of the best regions in the West for the growth of wheat and corn, was at first pronounced unfit to bestow upon the soldiers of the war of 1812 as bounty lands. In 1680, that stout old joker and unfrocked monk, Baron La Hontan, called the area of the upper lakes, now an immense mart of commerce and agriculture, "the fag end of the world." Not only subsequent to the explorations of the several expeditions to the sources of the Mississippi and Red Rivers, in 1820 and 1823, but even so late as 1836, much of the country lying north of Green Bay, and nearly the entire area of Minnesota, at the period when the country of Lake Superior was annexed to the State of Michigan, was considered to be unfavorable, if not wholly unsuitable, for agricultural purposes. A large part of the Indian Territory, located west of

Arkansas, likewise, at the period of the inception of the colonization plan, was reported to be deficient in timber, water, and fertility.

The Chickasaw Indians evidently labored under this impression during some years, for at the original sale of their lands at Pontitock, October 20, 1832, many of them expressed a determination to remain on their old reservations and there cultivate the soil. Two years' experience, however, caused them to change their views. In the preamble to a treaty negotiated at Washington, May 24, 1834, they express a regret that they "are about to abandon their homes, which they have long cherished and loved; and, though hitherto unsuccessful, they still hope to find a country adequate to the wants and support of their people somewhere west of the Mississippi, and within the territorial limits of the United States." By this treaty they ceded their reservations east of the Mississippi, at the same time making some personal, beneficiary, and eleemosynary provisions. They also directed the proceeds to be added to their vested funds, and agreed to send a delegation to the West to seek a location. This delegation visited the West during the year 1835, and selected a location in connection with the Choctaws, a closely-affiliated people, making their own terms, as tribe with tribe.

There now remained but one question of any importance to settle with the Southern tribes,—viz., that with the Cherokees, who had been the first to suggest a Western outlet for their hunter population. The nation had now become politically divided into two parties, the one being favorable to emigration, the other adverse to it. The latter numbered among its leaders the noted chief John Ross, and comprised a majority of the nation. Their policy contemplated the retention of their lands, the continuance of the agricultural labors so successfully commenced, and the fostering of the ample educational facilities they then possessed, as well as of those arts and domestic industrial pursuits which had been developed by their location in a region eminently fruitful, healthful, beautiful to the eye, and hallowed by associations connected both with the living and the dead. The emigration party contended that these superlative advantages could not be permanently maintained, that the right of sovereignty to the country could not be wrested from the States who possessed it, that schools could be established and teachers obtained in the West, and that they were offered an ample and fertile country, beyond the limits of any State or Territory, under the solemn guarantee of Congress, over which they could extend their own laws and form of government, and where the arts, industry, and knowledge they had acquired could not but hasten the development of their character and make them a powerful as well as prosperous people.

A treaty ceding their lands was concluded at New Echota December 29, 1835, with the party favorable to emigration. In consideration of the payment of five million dollars, they ceded all their territory east of the Mississippi River, and agreed to remove to the West and rejoin their brethren already there. Twenty chiefs of high character, and possessed of influence and intelligence, signed this treaty,—Ridge, Rogers, Starr, Gunter, Belt, and Boudinot being of the number. A delegation of influential Cherokees, members of the opposing party, immediately proceeded to

Washington with the view of preventing its ratification by the Senate. The subject excited deep interest, but the validity of the treaty was finally sustained. Some supplementary articles were added to the original instrument, and the Senate, by a resolution, granted to the Cherokees an additional sum of \$600,000 to liquidate claims held against them. In this form the treaty was eventually ratified, May 23, 1836.

Other conventional agreements followed. A treaty was concluded with the Caddoes as early as July 1 of this year, though not ratified until 1836. This tribe, in whom we recognize one of the bands descended from the indomitable Kapakas of De Soto's era, ceded all their lands lying within the boundaries of States, and expressed their determination to remove to Texas, which was not then a part of the United States.

The Comanches and Wichitaws, two important tribes then residing in Texas, now first opened a political intercourse with the United States. A treaty with them was signed on August 24, 1835, and ratified on May 19, 1836. In order that it might effectually serve the ends sought, and be the evidence of peace and friendship not only with the United States, but also with the tribes by whom they were surrounded and with whom they associated, it was assented to and signed by large delegations of the Western Cherokees, Choctaws, Osages, Senecas of the Neosho, and Quapaws. The Comanches promised to restrain their marauding parties from encroaching on the territory of the United States, to make restitution for injuries done, to receive Indians and citizens of the United States on terms of amity, and to take the first steps towards progress in civilization.

From early times the Chippewas had, under their generic appellation and the various local names of their several subdivisions, constituted one of the most powerful bodies of Indians in the Northwest. In a region half covered with lakes, to be good canoe-men, expert warriors, keen hunters, active foresters, and eloquent speakers, are most important qualifications in the members of the tribes. Having been friends of the French from the period of their landing in Canada, the Chippewas adhered to the fortunes of that nation until the final surrender of the country to the English, when they transferred their attachment to the latter power. They fought for the French on the bloody field which was the scene of Braddock's defeat, at Michilimackinac, and at Detroit, and aided their new allies, the British, at St. Clair's defeat, and in almost every battle fought during the Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary wars. At length, having been defeated on the Thames, under Tecumseh, by General Harrison, they returned to their haunts, vexed and dissatisfied. In 1820 they opposed the entrance of an official American exploratory expedition into Lake Superior, and hoisted the British flag in defiance. Two years subsequently an American garrison was stationed and an Indian agency located at the foot of that lake, and intercourse opened with them. Some few years later the British withdrew the post from Drummond Island, at the entrance of the Straits of St. Mary, and, retiring to a post on Lake Huron, at Penetanguishene, planted an Indian colony on the large limestone chain of the Manitoulin, where the tribes were invited to settle by Sir Francis

Head, without respect to the political boundaries of their home location. This policy was ill judged. The Indians as a body did not wish to engage in agriculture, and such as did found the soil was poor and that there existed no compensating advantages. Many of the tribes lived in the United States and received annuities, which they must relinquish by permanently migrating to the Manitoulin. Hence the failure of the plan. Having been warriors and hunters during all that period of their history with which we were acquainted, these tribes still continued to pursue the same vocations, with the difference that, the wars in which they had been allies of Europeans having terminated, they were destitute of employment, while at the same time their hunting-grounds were exhausted. War had reduced their numbers, and the decline of the fur-trade had left them in debt. But one general mode of recruiting their affairs remained to them: they were possessed of immense tracts of lands, some of which were of a rich agricultural character, others contained valuable mines and were covered with forests of timber, while on the lake shores were valuable fisheries. Many millions of square miles intervened between their extreme borders. To cede a portion of their lands in consideration of annuities, and to pledge a part for the establishment of schools, arts, and agriculture in their midst, was clearly the proper course to be pursued; and for this purpose a large delegation of the chiefs visited Washington during the autumn and winter of 1835-36, where they were joined by a similar delegation of the Ottawas. With respect to the Manitoulin scheme, it required means, which the British government withheld, and industry, which the Indians did not possess. Besides, if they were inclined to form industrious habits, the most advantageous position for their exercise would be that pointed out by the American government, in the fertile fields of the West.

The Chippewa tribe had always exercised an important influence. These natives were personally a tall, active, and brave race of men, renowned in Indian story for prowess in war, for skill in the chase and diplomacy, and for their excellent oratorical powers. It was observed by the French, at a very early period, that they possessed a body of oral legendary lore which made their lodge-circles attractive, and an ingenious mode of distinguishing family ties and clans by totemic devices or pictographic symbols. A similar system of ideographic signs was used to supply the place of the art of notation, for their songs, and for brief memorials displayed on their cedar grave-posts.

When the delegates of the tribe arrived at Washington, the Secretary of War, to whom the government of Indian affairs at that time pertained, and who, having formerly resided in the West, was aware that the Ottawas and Chippewas held their lands very much in common, directed the Chippewa chiefs to be present at the conferences, and intrusted the negotiation to their agent, Mr. Schoolcraft. The conferences occupied the entire season, delegates having been invited from remote points, and the deliberations were protracted, but on the 28th of March they united in a general session. The Ottawas and Chippewas of Grand Traverse Bay ceded all their territories, extending from Grand River, on the lower peninsula, to the Straits of Michilimackinae, thence north, along the Straits of St. Mary's, to Lake Superior,

and up its southern shores to the influx of Gitche Seebi, or the Great River, thence to the river Menominee of Green Bay, and along a water-line to the place of beginning at Grand River Lake, Michigan.

The cession of 1836 was far the largest ever made by this tribe, including hunting-grounds, homesteads, burial-grounds, and ossuaries which they had possessed and cherished for centuries. Seas were, in fact, comprised within the limits of the territory ceded, for the character and amplitude of the lakes entitle them to be so called. About 16,000,000 acres of these lands were located in the upper peninsula, or the Algoma region, lying along the shores of Lake Superior, in addition to those situate in Lower Michigan. Large reservations of the best tracts were secured to them in different locations; upwards of \$3,000,000 were stipulated to be paid them in annuities within twenty years, \$300,000 to be expended in liquidation of their debts, \$150,000 to be distributed in gratuities to their half-breed descendants, and presents of goods and clothing to the amount of \$150,000 to be made them on the ratification of the treaty. Ample provision was made for their education, and for their tuition in agriculture and the arts. Their surplus lands, which had lost their value as hunting-grounds, thus furnished the means not only for their present subsistence, but also for their instruction in arts and letters, and for their advancement in every element of civilized life. The number of persons who participated in these benefits was about four thousand five hundred. In a report of the superintendent made to the government on the 30th of September, 1840, they are returned on the pay-rolls, as organized in their separate bands and villages, at five thousand and twenty souls.

## CHAPTER VI.

### WAR WITH THE SEMINOLES OF FLORIDA—MASSACRE OF DADE'S COMMAND— BATTLE OF THE WITHLACOOCHEE—BATTLE OF OKEECHOBEE—OSCEOLA— GENERAL WORTH BRINGS THE WAR TO A CLOSE.

THE Seminoles<sup>1</sup> are connected with the Creeks by ties both of blood and of language. Their sympathies had been with the Creeks in their long controversy with Georgia, but their action during the period of which we are about to speak appears to have arisen from internal dissatisfaction. In an elaborate report, made February 9, 1836, and communicated by the President to Congress, it is asserted that the Seminoles were not satisfied with the terms of the treaty concluded at Payne's Landing, May 9, 1832. For this dissatisfaction they had excellent reasons. Its extent and importance were not then known. The difficulty does not appear to be stated in any of the reports made by the agents, and the government was ignorant of it. On their failure to comply with their treaty agreement to remove to the West, and the expiration of the time granted for that purpose, troops were concentrated in the vicinity of the Seminoles, and the local commander, General Clinch, was directed to organize companies of regulars. In February, 1835, he was authorized to draw from the North six additional companies, four of which were artillery. A spirit of restlessness was evinced by the Indians during the summer and autumn. Several outrages occurred while keeping up the communications between fort and fort, and it was apprehended that the Creeks secretly participated in this feeling of animosity. In November, General Clinch having reported that it would be necessary to call out volunteers for the protection of the frontiers, he was authorized to deliver arms from the public stores for their equipment. The maintenance of the lines of communication between distant posts, separated by a wilderness country, interspersed with deep creeks, and frequently with dense thickets and hammocks, was a difficult and harassing service. The lines were attacked at various points, and the defiles and quagmires offered singular facilities for the prosecution of the Indian mode of warfare. Fort King, the head-quarters of the army, was situated about one hundred miles from Fort Brooke, on Tampa Bay, the Withlacoochee River intervening. The Indians burned down a bridge over a deep stream, within six miles of Fort Brooke,

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<sup>1</sup> The name Seminole designates their assumption of tribal independence, and was intended to be derogatory in its first application by the Creeks. It may, as more or less censure is intended, be rendered "separatists, refractory men, rebels, or refugees." The period of the separation is uncertain. They withdrew from the parent tribe either while residing on the Altamaha, or at an earlier period, before the Creeks had reached the eastern terminus of their migration. When the Seminoles left the upland valleys of Alabama and Georgia they withdrew to the intricate recesses of the interior lakes, lagoons, hammocks, and everglades of Florida.

but it was rebuilt. At this time there were upwards of six hundred regular troops in the field.

The Seminoles, or Mickosaukies, occupied all the extensive range of country lying between the Cape of Florida on the south, the St. Mary's River on the north, and the Perdido on the west. Including women, children, and negroes, the estimated number of Indians was three thousand, four hundred or five hundred of whom were fighting-men,—an under-estimate, as events proved.

A mail-carrier had been murdered in August within six miles of Tampa Bay, Charles Emathla, a chief friendly to emigration, had been scalped, the Mickosaukies were hostile, and held a strong position on the Withlacoochee River, the Tallassees were accused of holding secret councils, and the Pea Creek band were engaged in continual depredations. The aspect of affairs was extremely threatening.

While matters were in this position, on the 23d of December, Major Francis L. Dade, with a detachment of two companies, one six-pounder, and the usual complement of military stores and supplies, marched from Fort Brooke, on Tampa Bay, for Fort King, distant one hundred and thirty miles, the route lying through an unsettled country. The entire force numbered one hundred muskets. The first day he halted at a stream, distant seven miles from Fort Brooke, called the Little Hillsboro River, the bridge over which had been burned by the hostile Indians and subsequently rebuilt. The following day he progressed six miles, reached the Big Withlacoochee on the 27th, and on the 28th arrived at the defile where he was way-laid by the Indians, distant sixty-five miles from Fort Brooke. He was attacked about ten o'clock on the morning of the 28th. It appeared that the Indians had narrowly watched his march, disturbing his barricades at night, but keeping out of sight on his flanks during the day, until he had proceeded a few miles beyond the Withlacoochee, where one hundred Pea Creek warriors, under the negro Harry, and, as has been estimated, more than double that number of the Mickosaukies, and of the bands of Eufaulas and Alafias, under the chiefs Little Cloud and Alligator, formed an ambuscade on both sides of the road. The column, marching in ordinary open order, was suddenly attacked on all sides with showers of arrows and balls. Major Dade and nearly half his command fell at the first fire. Those who survived took shelter behind trees, while Lieutenant Basinger poured in five or six rounds of canister upon the Indians, which checked them for a time, and they retired behind a small ridge. Under the direction of Captain Gardiner, the soldiers at once began to construct a breastwork of pine-trees. Soon the Indians returned and opened a cross-fire upon the work with deadly effect. About two o'clock the last man fell, and the Indians rushed into the defenceless breastwork.

Lieutenant Basinger, after being fatally wounded, had his throat cut by a negro. The most horrid butchery occurred. Several of the wounded, who knew the leaders of the enemy, appealed for their lives in vain: the cry for quarter was answered by the knife or tomahawk. Not an officer nor any of the command escaped, except two soldiers who crept off. After being badly wounded, but yet remaining perfectly conscious, they lay motionless among the dead until an opportunity offered for

escape. Some accounts estimate the American loss at one hundred and twelve men. The Indians had three killed and five wounded.

Such was the massacre (for battle it was not) of the Withlacoochee, the news of which operated like an electric shock, and made as deep an impression on the Americans as the massacre at Cabul did, in after-times, on the British in India. An officer writing from Fort Brooke on the 1st of January, four days after the sanguinary event, says, "Such are the Indian combinations that it is not considered practicable to force or keep open a communication with Fort King with less than a well appointed and instructed force of one thousand men. Three out of four bridges are destroyed, and two fords are very difficult, and the country may generally be described as a series of ambuscades and defiles."

On the 31st of December, General Clinch, with two hundred regulars and a large force of militia volunteers, marched to the Withlacoochee, and fought a sharp action on the banks of that stream, near the scene of Dade's defeat, with the same Indians, who manifested as much determined intrepidity as they had previously evinced. The regulars and twenty-seven volunteers had crossed the river when the attack began. The Indians, led by Osceola and Alligator, numbered two hundred and fifty. The latter were protected by a heavy hammock and scrub, and poured a galling fire upon the troops, who, after being twice repulsed, in a final charge succeeded in routing them. The regulars lost four killed and twenty-five wounded. The volunteers had fifteen wounded.

It is difficult to depict the commotion created in Florida by these events. The Indians attacked every defenceless house and plantation, murders and conflagrations devastated the country, and the accounts of the atrocities of the savages, were they collated, would fill a book. "The newspapers," says a writer from St. Mary's, in Georgia, under date of January 16, "have, perhaps, abundantly informed you to what a deplorable situation we are now reduced. The temporizing policy of General Thompson, the Indian Superintendent, and the forbearance of our government, have set the merciless savages upon our plantations, our crops, and our dwellings, and really I do not see what is to become of us and this country if military succors do not immediately arrive. The Indians seem to be fully bent on the most determined resistance, and in the action on the Withlacoochee displayed a firmness and desperation never exceeded in the history of Indian warfare."

A simultaneous outbreak took place throughout Florida. On the 28th of December, the day of Dade's massacre, a party of ten men were dining with Rodgers, the sutler at Fort King, in a dwelling distant not two hundred and fifty yards from the block-house, when they were suddenly beset and fired on by a party of Indians. A hundred shots, it is estimated, were discharged through the open window, by which the host, who was sitting at the head of his table, and four of his guests, were killed. Among the latter were General Thompson, the Indian Agent, Lieutenant Constantine Smith, U.S.A., and two others. Five persons, who fled to the fort, escaped. The officials and attendants sought refuge in a hammock, but were shot down before they reached it. The cook, a negro woman, who hid herself behind a barrel, and suc-

ceeded in effecting her escape, witnessed all the barbarities committed. Osceola, who was the leader of the party, entered first, upset a table, gazed sternly round for a moment, and then went out. The body of Thompson, the agent, was found to have been pierced with fifteen bullets, and sixteen entered that of Rodgers. The Indians scalped all the dead to the very ears, and then beat in their skulls.

Between the day of the massacre and the middle of the ensuing January a wide extent of country was made a scene of desolation. Houses were burned, the occupants killed, cattle and stock driven off, the mail-routes interrupted, and a general panic and confusion created.

The causes which originated this war become apparent when attention is directed to the peculiar prejudices and mental reservations of the Indians. By the treaty negotiated at Payne's Landing, on the Ocklawaha, May 9, 1832, the Seminoles ceded their lands, and all claims to lands which they held in Florida, in consideration of the payment to them of a yearly annuity of \$15,400. They also agreed to send a delegation of their most respected chiefs to view the territory offered them west of the Mississippi, and to ascertain whether the Western Creeks would allow the Seminoles to rejoin them. It was stipulated in the treaty that the improvements left in Florida should be paid for by the United States, their cattle be estimated and paid for, and the blacksmiths' services, sanctioned by a prior treaty, be continued to them in the West. Provision was made that each person, on reaching the new location, should receive a blanket and a home-spun frock, and an additional annuity of \$3000 per year for fifteen years was to be divided among them. Claims having been made on them for runaway slaves from the Southern plantations, \$7000 were allowed for the satisfaction of such demands. Under the seventh article of this treaty they agreed to remove within three years, at the expense of the United States, by whom they were to be supplied with one year's subsistence in the new territory. A treaty concluded with the Creeks at Fort Gibson, March 28, 1833, provided for the rebel tribe an ample country. The Seminoles living north of the boundary-line designated by the treaty of Camp Moultrie began to remove to the West, but these removals proceeded slowly, being delayed by embarrassments. At the close of the time stipulated by the treaty of May 9, 1832, it having been decided that the emigrants should proceed by water across the Gulf of Mexico to their Western home, vessels for their transportation arrived at Tampa Bay, and their speedy embarkation was urged. Throughout the year 1835 there appeared to be strong objections to emigration on the part of all the principal Seminole bands, and they finally refused to go.

In a full report made to Congress by the War Department, February 9, 1836, this general dissatisfaction with the treaty of Payne's Landing is the cause assigned for the war. In its prosecution geographical phenomena singularly favored the cause of the Seminoles, and it may be figuratively said that the country itself fought for them; every swamp and hammock was a fortress.

Unquestionably this war was waged on the part of the United States government to obtain possession of the lands of the natives, but it arose primarily from a desire to reduce to slavery the warriors of Florida, and from the determination of South

Carolina and Georgia not to permit the existence so near their borders of an asylum for fugitive slaves.

Nature has rendered the peninsula of Florida peculiarly attractive to the Indians. Its tangled morasses, its dense and impenetrable hammocks, and its serpentine streams form so many natural defences against European enemies; and spontaneous means of subsistence are abundant. The rivers are the haunts of vast numbers of water-fowl, the adjoining seas abound in turtle, and the soil yields a profusion of vegetable nourishment in the coontie-plant, which affords a kind of sago, known locally, but incorrectly, as arrow-root. Cattle, originally introduced by the Spaniards, were found to reproduce on the prairie meadows with great rapidity. The Florida war was a contest waged against geographical and climatic laws. To elude the pursuit of an enemy in these labyrinths was so easy a matter that an Indian hidden in a hammock could not be discovered at the distance of ten feet.

Successive commanders, Generals Gaines, Scott, and Call, having failed to produce any appreciable result in Florida, the task was assigned to General Jesup, who began a vigorous campaign in 1837. A succession of defeats soon convinced the Indians that they could not longer maintain themselves against the United States forces, and by the 23d of June upwards of seven hundred of them, including Micanopy, their head chief, under the terms of capitulation at Fort Dade, March 6, 1837, came in prepared to emigrate, and had camped near Tampa, where twenty-five transports had been stationed to take them to Arkansas. Everything was in readiness, when suddenly Osceola, at the head of two hundred Mickosaukies, appeared upon the scene, and either forced or persuaded the entire number to leave the camp and take refuge in the everglades. Various causes contributed to bring about this result. Many negroes had taken refuge with the Indians, and were liable to be returned to their owners, contrary to the terms of the treaty, if the emigration should take place. The younger chiefs, at the head of whom was Osceola, were anxious to defeat the emigration project, and the latter had the address to make them credit such absurd stories as that once embarked their throats would all be cut.

Volunteers from the neighboring States were now called out, and active hostilities, which had ceased while negotiations were going on at Fort Dade, were resumed. In October Osceola and Coe-Hajo, who had come to Fort Peyton for an interview with General Hernandez, were seized by General Jesup's order, upon the ground of their having capitulated at Fort Dade in March previous, and imprisoned at Fort Augustine. On December 25, Colonel Zachary Taylor, afterwards President of the United States, fought the severe battle of Okeechobee, against about four hundred Indians under Alligator, Halleck-Tustenugge, and Coacooche, whom he routed and pursued. His loss was twenty-six killed and one hundred and twelve wounded. The Indian loss was comparatively slight. Taylor succeeded Jesup in the chief command May 15, 1838, and after two years of harassing service was succeeded by Colonel Armistead. This officer was in turn relieved, in May, 1841, by Colonel William J. Worth, making the eighth commander sent out to close the war.

Undeniably the master-spirit of this war was As-se-se-ho-lar, or Black Drink,

commonly called Osceola, or Powell. He was a half-breed, and when a child had been taken by his mother, who was of the Creek tribe, to Florida, and lived near Fort King. He was about thirty-three years of age when captured, and was of medium size and of resolute and manly bearing, with a clear, frank, and engaging countenance. By his firmness and audacity he forced the nation into a war which a large majority were averse to, and either broke up every attempt at negotiation or prevented its fulfilment. He was to have been one of the leaders at Dade's massacre, but was delayed by his participation in the affair at Fort King, previously narrated, and respecting which we have the following explanation :

While on a visit to Fort King, in company with his wife and a few friends, for the purpose of trading, the wife of Osceola, in the presence of Agent Thompson, was seized as a slave. She was a beautiful woman, the daughter of a chief, but, having negro blood in her veins, the law pronounced her a slave. Osceola became frantic with rage, but was instantly seized and placed in irons, while his wife was hurried away to slave-holding pollution. He remained six days in irons, when, General Thompson says, he became penitent, and was released. From the moment when this outrage was committed, Osceola swore vengeance upon Thompson and those who assisted in the perpetration of this crime, and the Florida war commenced. He or some of his friends kept constant watch on Thompson's movements, and soon found an opportunity for vengeance.

He was in the battle of the Withlacoochee, and led the attack upon Micanopy, where, within sight of the fort, he attacked in an open field upwards of one hundred regulars supported by a field-piece. His capture by General Jesup while under the sanction of a flag of truce was a flagrant violation of the laws and usages of nations. Dignified and courteous in his manners, Osceola showed himself a brave and at the same time cautious leader upon the field. It is said that he instructed his warriors in their predatory incursions to spare the women and children. Upon his removal to Charleston he became dejected, pined away, and in a few weeks died of a broken heart (January 30, 1838). He was buried just outside of the principal gateway of Fort Moultrie, where a monument marks the resting-place of this native patriot and hero.<sup>1</sup>

Okeechobee was the last great fight in which the Indians were engaged. Their policy now was to avoid giving battle, and, moving rapidly by night, to seize every opportunity to wreak their vengeance on the unarmed inhabitants. Murders were committed by them within a few miles of Tallahassee and St. Augustine. This state of things continued with brief intervals of quietness until the spring of 1841, when Worth was assigned to the command. No officer ever entered upon a more unpromising field in which to acquire distinction. All the best officers of the army, many of them experienced in Indian warfare, had failed to conquer the Indians, who were effectually concealed in almost inaccessible everglades and swamps, where their families and crops were secure, and whence they could sally forth upon long expedi-

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<sup>1</sup> Fairbanks's History of Florida, p. 315.

tions for murder and rapine. Fully comprehending the task before him, the new commander at once organized his force in the most effective manner, establishing his head-quarters at Fort King. Simultaneous movements against the Indians took place in every district, breaking up their camps and destroying their crops and stores. Every swamp and hammock between the Atlantic and Gulf coasts was visited, and the band of Halleck-Tustenugge was routed out of the Wahoo swamp. The detachments continued scouting the country twenty-five days. Six hundred men were engaged, about one-fourth of whom were obliged to be sent to the hospitals, the mercury averaging 86°. The capture of Coacoochee, June 15, was so well improved by Worth that during the month of August his entire band, two hundred in number, at that chief's persuasion, came in and surrendered. In October a combined land and naval expedition was made through the Everglades and the Big Cypress swamp, the Indian stronghold, where Arpeika and the Prophet held supreme command. Their huts were burned, their fields devastated, and they fled in every direction. The Indians now saw that no hiding-place was secure, and that, with a vigilant and energetic commander like Worth to deal with, they had no further hope. Parties of them sued for peace, came in, and were from time to time forwarded to Arkansas.

Early in 1842, General Worth made a final effort to capture Halleck-Tustenugge and his band. This cunning and vindictive chief had hitherto baffled every detachment sent after him. He was now brought to bay and surrounded in the Pilaklikaha swamp, and here, in April, 1842, the last important action of the war was fought. The troops charged the hammocks with great gallantry, and received the fire of the Indians, who discharged their rifles rapidly but soon broke into small parties and escaped. The band was shortly afterwards captured by Colonel Garland while attending a feast, and a little later its chief was secured by General Worth. This was one of the most important steps yet taken towards bringing the war to a close. The surrender of Tustenugge, Octiarche, and Tiger-Tail had removed nearly all the Indians from the central and northern parts of East Florida, when the capture of Pascoffer, with his entire band, on the Ocklockonnee, by Colonel Hitchcock, entirely relieved Middle and Western Florida. No other Indians now remained in the State except those under Arpeika (Sam Jones), an aged sub-chief, and Bowlegs, who were in the limits assigned them south of Pea Creek; and the credit of finally closing this terrible war was justly attributed to the rare combination of qualifications for the work manifested by the gallant Worth. In a little more than a year, and with great economy of life and treasure, he had solved a problem which had baffled the ablest of his predecessors. The war was closed by official proclamation August 14, 1842, having lasted nearly seven years, at a cost of upwards of nineteen million dollars. Of regular troops, including two hundred and fifteen officers, fourteen hundred and sixty-six had died during the contest. A few Indians still remain in the southerly portion of the State, supporting themselves by hunting and fishing.

## CHAPTER VII.

### REMOVAL OF THE CHEROKEES—OPPOSED BY THE ROSS PARTY—EFFECTED PEACEABLY BY GENERAL SCOTT.

Two obstacles to the successful execution of the plan of removal had existed for several years, one of which was the difficulties between Georgia and the Creeks. The treaty concluded with the Creeks at Indian Springs on February 12, 1825, had been the source of much discord, having been negotiated without the full consent of all the chiefs who should have participated in it, and ratified only a few days prior to the close of the Presidential term, before the objections to it were made known or fully understood. Mr. Adams, in his first message, expresses his intention to communicate to Congress a special message on the subject, and also respecting the general feeling of the Cherokees. Causes of dissension had been created with two of the principal tribes such as had not before occurred in our Indian history. After the lapse of seven years the Creek question was virtually adjusted by the treaty signed at Washington on March 24, 1832, but the difficulties were not terminated. By this treaty they ceded all their lands east of the Mississippi, making personal reservations for a limited number of years; but the Indians were not disposed to comply with its terms.

The Cherokee nation had been divided in opinion on the subject of emigration since the year 1817, at which period the Western Cherokees removed to the West. The treaty of New Echota, concluded December 29, 1835, together with the policy of emigration, had created two distinct and violently antagonistic parties, one of which favored the removal, and the other opposed it. The leader of the latter was John Ross, the ruling chief, who was supported by many other chiefs, and by the majority of the tribe. Being attached to their residence by historical associations dating back to the era of the discovery of the country, possessing a fertile soil, and enjoying a mild climate, amid a district of hill and dale whose scenic beauty is rarely surpassed, this party, having in their own hands the means of civilization, were averse to exchanging it for territories beyond the Mississippi with the character of which they were imperfectly acquainted and regarding the climate of which they were in doubt. Congress had, by a resolution passed in March, 1835, offered \$5,000,000 to the Cherokees for their lands. December 29, 1835, a treaty assenting to the government policy was formed at New Echota with the party favoring exchange and migration, at the head of which was Major Ridge. This treaty threw the nation into a tumult of excitement, and a numerous delegation visited Washington to oppose its ratification by the Senate. While the terms of the treaty were under discussion at Washington, Congress granted \$600,000 for the purpose of covering

the incidental expenses of their removal, and to meet sundry contingent claims which it was apprehended might arise therefrom. The Western Cherokees also appended their approval of the measure, without claiming any interest in the fiscal provisions of the compact. In this form the treaty was ratified by the Senate on May 23, 1836.

The malcontent party of the Cherokees denied the validity of the treaty, averring that the majority of the nation should not be bound by the terms of a treaty to which they had not given their consent, and which they alleged had been surreptitiously negotiated. The minds of the people were intensely excited, one party contending that the removal policy would be their destruction, and the other that it would prove their salvation. The public press of the United States took part in the discussion, being governed in the expression of their opinions by their adhesion to existing parties, and by the different views they entertained of the true policy to be pursued with respect to the future disposition of the Indian tribes.

It appears that Mr. Ross and his coadjutors had made an agreement with a functionary of the government, long prior to the treaty of 1824, to accept for the Cherokee lands and claims situate east of the Mississippi whatever sum the Senate might award, on the submission of the question to that body. The Senate, to whom the question was eventually submitted, awarded \$5,000,000, and on this basis the treaty of New Echota was negotiated, but not with Mr. Ross and his colleagues. During the pendency of the negotiations certain influences were brought to bear upon Mr. Ross, and he became apprised of the fact that there was a large body of the people of the United States who not only concurred with the malcontent party of the Cherokees in their ideas of aboriginal sovereignty within the limits of the United States, but approved of their reluctance and refusal to exchange their lands, and deemed the compensation awarded by the Senate inadequate. Individuals of high moral and legal standing in the North promulgated these views, in which they were supported by a part of the newspaper press of the Northern and Middle States. It was affirmed that an agent of the party in the North opposed to the policy of the administration visited the Cherokees, held interviews with the malcontent chiefs, and encouraged them in their resistance to the government. The opposition to the execution of the treaty of New Echota thus assumed the character of resistance to the legal officers of the government who were charged with the duty of removing the tribe. When, therefore, Commissioners Carrol and Schermerhorn visited the Cherokee country, and offered to conclude a treaty on the five-million basis, the Ross party declined to negotiate. The authority of these commissioners was at one time questioned and denied, and at another time their character was unjustly assailed. Finally, the Ridge party, who regarded the compensation offered as amply sufficient, and believed the removal policy to be one suited to advance their permanent prosperity, concluded the treaty, and thus the Cherokees became divided into Rossites and Ridgeites, a division which produced a state of discord eventually terminating in the shedding of blood.

It has been already stated that a delegation proceeded to Washington to oppose the ratification of the treaty, that the treaty lay before the Senate from December until May, that an increase of \$600,000 was granted to cover expenses, and that the

full assent of the Western Cherokees was obtained, who were anxious to facilitate the measure and to welcome their brethren to the West. During the attendance of this delegation of the Rossites at Washington, they evinced the morbidly suspicious character of the red man, who doubts when he should decide, and hesitates when he ought to act. It is stated that when it was intimated to the Rossites by a Senator in the confidence of the administration that a new treaty might be entered into with Mr. Ross and his party if he should propose it, true to their native instincts, the Cherokees assumed the position that such a measure if contemplated should be officially and *pro forma* communicated. The influence of the delegation at Washington may be deemed to have procured the appropriation of the sum to defray the expenses of their emigration, but Congress deemed the \$5,000,000 an adequate allowance for the territory relinquished. When it is considered that in addition to this sum the nation was gratuitously furnished with an ample domain in the West of a fertile character, and abounding in all the requisites for an agricultural colony, the compensation awarded by this body cannot but be considered as not only liberal, but munificent.

The ordinary method of negotiation through agents, commissioners, and governors having been resorted to without any beneficial result, troops were ordered into the field, under commanders of acknowledged repute. There was no occasion for a war of extermination. Generals Gaines, Jesup, Scott, Taylor, and others, to whom the conduct of the war was intrusted, kept the Indians in check, and evinced their abilities by their conciliatory yet firm mode of operation.

Every year's delay in the removal of the Cherokees and other malcontent tribes only increased the difficulties interposed, and allowed the opponents of the measure time to originate new causes for procrastination.

To overawe the malcontents and give support to the government authorities, four thousand men, nearly the entire disposable force of the army at that time, were kept in the field. Not only was the war with the Seminoles of Florida protracted in an extraordinary manner, but the difficulties with the Cherokees arising out of the treaty of New Echota at this time reached their culminating point. The Rossites refused to remove under the provisions of that treaty, and this party, being a majority of the nation, assumed a position of defiance to the government. The Senate had originally assessed the value of their lands at \$5,000,000, and after great deliberation, and the allowance of \$600,000 more to cover claims for improvements and for expenses of removal, ratified the instrument. It then became the imperative duty of the Executive to see that these treaty engagements were complied with, and not suffer them to be overslaughed by a system of factious delays and wily subterfuges. No attempt was made to show that the compensation was not adequate or liberal. A territory of greater extent and equal fertility, situated in a fine climate, and abounding in all necessary facilities for an affluent agricultural community, was granted to them, in addition to the award of \$5,600,000. This new territory West being under no State or Territorial jurisdiction, their own institutions and laws could be established and enforced, and the Indian mind and character have ample scope for devel-

opment. No new system of policy was introduced by government; it was merely desired to enforce the old. The course of the preceding administration had been marked by foresight, comprehension, decision, and a regard for the advancement and permanent prosperity of the Cherokee nation. The people of Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi having earnestly demanded the removal of the Cherokees, General Scott was ordered to the Cherokee country to enforce the treaty stipulations and preserve order during their transportation,—a delicate and difficult duty, which the excellent judgment of that officer enabled him to perform with decided success.

By the treaty ratified May 23, 1836, the Cherokees had stipulated to remove within two years. Early in the year 1837, several parties of the Ridgeites had successfully emigrated to their new location, and had been received in the most friendly spirit by the Western Cherokees. These parties in the aggregate were estimated to number six thousand, but the mass of the nation still remained. After the arrival of General Scott, and the disposition of his forces at suitable points of observation, it was no longer doubted that the day for decision had arrived.

On the 23d of July, in a general council of the nation, it was resolved to propose to the commanding general that they be allowed to conduct their own migration, and delegates were appointed to communicate this request. To this the general replied approvingly, if certain conditions necessary to insure it were agreed to, the migration to begin on the 1st of September, and the parties to succeed one another at intervals not exceeding three days. These terms being assented to, and the stipulation being repeated that the migration must commence on the 1st of September and be terminated by the 20th of October, reservations being made for the sick and superannuated, General Scott demanded estimates of the expenses attending these removals. The Cherokees furnished details, estimating the removal of each thousand persons at \$65,880, and proposed that the Indians employ physicians. To this he assented, although he criticised some of the items, adding that the entire expense of their migration would be paid out of an appropriation of Congress, the surplus of which was directed to be paid over to the Cherokees, thus furnishing them an incentive for their economical expenditure of the sum.

This arrangement being entered into, the removal was made under the personal superintendence of Mr. Ross. On reaching the Mississippi, the parties ascended it to the junction of the Arkansas, and, following the latter, in due time arrived at their new homes in the Indian Territory. No disturbance occurred at any point on the route, and they conducted this exodus of the tribe with order and propriety. In this manner twelve thousand Cherokees were removed, which, added to the six thousand who had migrated during the previous year, coincides with the former estimate of their population at eighteen thousand.

Thus was a measure finally accomplished which had kept the country in turmoil for several years and threatened serious results. The conduct of General Scott was entitled to commendation, but the initiative of this final movement was due to a higher quarter. A delegation of the Cherokees visited Washington in the month of May, and called on the Secretary of War. Mr. Poinsett told them that the most

strenuous efforts of the administration would be exerted to prevail on the Southern States interested in their removal to refrain from pressing them inconveniently and from interfering with their migration; that this migration should, if they desired, be conducted by their own agents; that he thought the entire expenses of it should be borne by the United States, and that a military escort should be provided for them while on the route. Mr. Van Buren sanctioned these terms, and received the delegation with great courtesy. He recommended to Congress that an adequate provision should be made to meet the expenses of their removal in such a spirit of liberality and good will as should justly mark all the national dealings with that people. The result was an appropriation of \$1,147,067. This was the foundation of success. General Scott, therefore, did not go to the Cherokee country with his hands tied, but was enabled to dispense the liberality of the government in a manner at once just and munificent. The Rossites were conciliated, and they emigrated to the West completely pacified, and entertaining friendly feelings towards the United States.

The removal of the Cherokees and of the Creeks was an act done in violation of treaties made by the United States government, and in opposition to the wishes of the Indians. The State of Georgia determined upon the deed, defied the government, and forced it to adopt and carry out its policy.

## CHAPTER VIII.

EMIGRATION OF THE TRIBES, CONTINUED—THEIR CONDITION—RAVAGES OF THE SMALLPOX—DISCORDS BETWEEN THE EASTERN AND WESTERN CHEROKEES—BOUDINOT AND THE RIDGES ASSASSINATED—CLOSE OF THE FIRST DECADE OF COLONIZATION.

THE removal of the friendly portion of the Seminoles was intrusted to General Jesup about the middle of February, 1836. The friendly portions of the tribe separated themselves from the hostile, to the number of four hundred and fifty, and fled for protection to the military post at Tampa Bay. On the 10th of April, four hundred and seven persons were enrolled and mustered preparatory to embarking on the transports which were to convey them to the West. Of this number, three hundred and eight arrived at Little Rock, Arkansas, on the 5th of May.

After the commission of hostile acts by the Creeks, their removal was also intrusted to the efficient management of General Jesup. Under contracts which secured them every comfort and the attention of careful emigrant agents, they were located at different points in the Indian colony in bands of twenty-three hundred, of one hundred and sixty-five, and of thirteen hundred, leaving behind seven hundred warriors to operate against the Seminoles.

The removal of the Creeks was commenced through the influence of the chief, Roly McIntosh, under the provisions of the original McIntosh treaty, concluded February 12, 1825, as modified by the treaty signed at Washington January 24, 1826, and finally determined by the treaty entered into at Washington March 24, 1832. During the year the respective emigrant parties arrived in the Territory and were satisfactorily located on their lands. The agent remarks, "They have a rich country, and those that emigrated with McIntosh have been engaged busily in making corn; they usually have a large surplus, as high some years as thirty thousand bushels, besides stock of every description. As there is now a large emigration coming into the country, they will find a sale for all they have to sell."

The number of the Choctaws was then estimated at eighteen thousand in all, a large proportion of whom were in the Territory, or in the process of removal to the fine tract of country they had acquired in it. Immediately on their arrival they turned their attention to labor, in which they evinced striking proficiency. They adopted a form of government which was administered by an elective council and presiding magistrates, and had a written code of laws. They introduced the culture of cotton, erected cotton-gins, planted large fields of corn, raised horses, hogs, and cattle, which were pastured on the prairies, erected smiths' shops, and pursued various

mechanical trades. They conducted their own mercantile operations, importing large stocks of goods, for which they exchanged their products.

In 1835 a census of the Cherokees, east of the Mississippi, placed their number at eighteen thousand. The Western Cherokees had segregated themselves from the nation under the provisions of the treaties of July 8, 1817, and February 27, 1819, after which time they had emigrated to the West in parties under their own organization, and settled on the lands which were assigned to them. At the era when the census was taken, these Western Cherokees constituted, to a great extent, a separate nationality. The government agent in his report represents them as gradually progressing in civilization and the cultivation of the soil, and depicts their society as containing many intelligent men. He remarks that they raised corn, beef, pork, sheep, etc., to a considerable extent, and that in travelling through their country one might be quite comfortably entertained. Many of them engaged in trade with their own people. They had some mills erected, and, with a wide extent of country, a portion of it finely watered, they bade fair, with frugality and temperance, to become a leading tribe. In this report the Choctaws, Creeks, and Cherokees are stated to have collectively seventeen churches within their territorial limits,—viz., ten in the Choctaw, four in the Cherokee, and three in the Creek country.

Regarding the other and for the most part minor tribes, the report gives data of which the following is a synopsis. The Seminoles, who had recently arrived, were reported to be in possession of one of the finest sections of the Indian country, and, with their local advantages, could soon prosper. The Osages, an indigenous people, were still addicted to the chase, raised no corn except what their women cultivated, hunted the buffalo, and stored the jerked meat for winter use. They are stated to have little or no stock, all their extra means of support being derived from their annuities. The Quapaws, advantageously located on the banks of the Neosho, were in possession of one hundred and sixty sections in one place, surveyed and marked off, adjacent to the Cherokees and Osages. The Senecas, and the mixed band of Senecas and Shawnees, had 60,000 acres. The Senecas of Sandusky had 67,000 acres. These lands adjoined, and were fertile and well watered. The Senecas cultivated the soil, and had a mill in operation, which was of great service to them.

Nine tribes were located north of the district just mentioned. They were the relics of the Shawnees, Delawares, Kickapoos, Kansas, Weas, Piankeshaws, Peorias, Kaskaskias, and Ottawas. These nine tribes had then an aggregate population of four thousand four hundred and sixty-seven souls. The Shawnees and Delawares, who are agriculturists, were industrious, temperate, and thrifty, possessed a fertile country, and were supplied with schools, shops, mills, and churches. They now successfully cultivate the various cereals, and raise large stocks of horses, cattle, and hogs. The Kickapoos began to turn their attention to agriculture in 1835, and both men and women labor assiduously. The Kansas, like the Osages, are indigenous, and live by the chase. The small bands of the Weas, Piankeshaws, Peorias, and Ottawas are cultivators of the soil. The manners, habits, dress, and deportment of all the agricultural tribes and bands denote a decided advance towards civilization.

The general result of the negotiations with the Indians during eight years prior to January 1, 1837, was the cession of 93,401,637 acres by the tribes, for which the sum of \$26,982,068 was paid, together with the grant to them of 32,381,000 acres west of the Mississippi, valued at \$40,476,250, the total compensation amounting thus to \$67,458,318.

In 1837 the tribes and remnants of tribes still residing east of the Mississippi were greatly disturbed by the discussion of the question of their removal, and the hope of improving their social condition by the acceptance of lands in the West induced them to make frequent treaties. A retrospect of the succession of these is essential to the proper understanding of their history.

The important treaty of cession made at Washington March 28, 1836, by the Ottawas and Chippewas, and the beneficial effects of it on the affairs of those tribes, caused their more westerly brethren and kinsfolk, on the Upper Mississippi, to meditate seriously on pursuing the same course. The Ojibwas<sup>1</sup> comprised an infinity of bands, scattered over an immense surface of territory. A treaty with the Western and Northern bands of these people was concluded by General Henry Dodge at St. Peter's on July 29, 1837. By this treaty, in which the Pillager tribe of Leech Lake is first introduced to notice, the Chippewa nation ceded the country from a point opposite the junction of the Crow Wing River with the Mississippi, to the head of Lake St. Croix, and thence along the ridge dividing the Ochasawa River from a northern tributary of Chippewa River, to a point on the latter twenty miles below the outlet of Lake Flambeau. From this point the cession absorbed the whole Chippewa boundary to the lines of the Menomonies, on the Wisconsin and Sioux Rivers.

This important compact ceded a large part of the present area of Southern Minnesota, with its valuable pineries, fertile prairies, beautiful lakes, and flowing rivers. By this cession the tribes secured an annuity of \$38,000 for twenty years, payable in money, goods, and provisions, besides obtaining the services of mechanics and farmers and a supply of agricultural implements. The sum of \$70,000 was appropriated to the payment of their debts, and \$100,000 to be divided among their half-breed descendants.

This treaty collected into one group families and bands of the same stock who had wandered over hundreds and thousands of miles of country, comprising the far-reaching shores of Lake Superior and the almost illimitable steppes of the Upper Mississippi.

The Chippewas of Saginaw, in Michigan, by a treaty concluded December 20, 1837, ceded their lands in the region of the Flint, Shiawassee, Tittabawassee, and Saginaw Rivers. By this treaty the United States granted them the entire proceeds of the sales of their lands in the public land-office, together with an amount

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<sup>1</sup> This term has been Anglicized by the term Chippewa; Ojibwa or Otchipwe more nearly expresses the native pronunciation obtaining in the most remote bands. The original term, it is said, refers to the power of virility.

of fertile lands in the West equal to those ceded, and an annual appropriation for schools and agricultural purposes while resident during a limited period in the country. The Saginaws had previously been regarded as refugees from various bands of the Algonkin stock. Their central location had been occupied in former times by the warlike tribe of the Sacs or Sauks; hence the term Sauk-i-nong, from which originated the name Saginaw. About the year 1712 the Sacs united with the Foxes and made an attack on the French at Detroit. The failure of the attempt of these two restless and warlike tribes drove them at first to the banks of the stream since known as the Fox River of Wisconsin, whence they afterwards migrated to the west of the Mississippi.

On the 17th of January, 1837, the Chickasaws and Choctaws entered into a treaty, under the auspices of the United States, which provided that the Chickasaws should be located in a separate district of the Choctaw territory, west of the Mississippi, and should enjoy equal political rights and privileges with them, except only in questions relative to their fiscal affairs. In consideration of this location, and of the rights and privileges granted them, the Chickasaws agreed to pay the Choctaws \$530,000; \$30,000 of this sum to be paid down, and the remainder to be invested by the United States in stocks for their benefit, under prescribed regulations. This initial step towards the reunion of tribes speaking dialects of the same language is important as foreshadowing a further and final tribal reunion.

The tendency of affiliated tribes to coalesce after long periods of separation, weary wanderings, and disastrous adventures, was first demonstrated in the history of the Iroquois, who, we are informed, in ancient times warred furiously against each other. By the confederation, in the fifteenth century, of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, a native power was created which made itself feared and respected by the other tribes; and at the period when the colonies were sent West they held a position among the other savage tribes which fully verified the axiom that in union there is strength. Nothing analogous to this organization existed among the Algonkins, such as the New England tribes and the Illinois. These had no public council or general convocation of tribes where important questions relative to their political affairs were discussed. The Dakota tribe is also composed of discordant materials, there being no controlling organization for the public welfare, each band being the sole judge of what it considers right and politic.

The Sacs and Foxes coalesced on a firmer basis, the tribes being so closely united by the ties of language, intermarriage, customs, and by local influences, that they have preserved the co-tribal relation.

Very similar, and weakened only by their dispersion over the wide country they occupy, is the coalescence, or social league, existing between the Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pottawatomies.

The year 1837 was marked by the migration of separate colonies from the Ridgeite Cherokees, the Creeks of Georgia, and the Choctaws and Chickasaws in the South. From the Northern section of the Union, emigrant parties of the Pottawatomies and Ottawas departed for the West. There were still remaining in this region

the Wyandots, of Ohio, the Menomonies, Stockbridges, Munsees, and Oneidas, of Wisconsin, the Iroquois, of New York, the Miamis, of Indiana, and the Chippewas, of Lake Superior.

By the terms of the treaty negotiated by General Scott, September 15, 1832, immediately succeeding the close of the Sac war, the Winnebagoes ceded their lands lying east of the Mississippi, in the State of Wisconsin, and accepted a location west of that river, on a tract designated in the treaty as "the Neutral Ground;" a fine district of country, abounding in game, and possessing a very fertile soil, situated between the territory of the Sioux and that of the Sacs and Foxes. As Wisconsin filled up with a white population, and the position of the Winnebagoes as a hunter tribe became more and more inconvenient, they were urged by the local authorities to remove to the Neutral Ground, which they hesitated to do from a dread of being embroiled in the fierce and sanguinary wars constantly raging between the Sacs and Foxes and the Sioux. Strenuous exertions were made by the government to quell these hostilities, and the removal of the Winnebagoes was finally effected during the year 1837. A treaty was concluded with the Saginaw Chippewas, of Michigan, on the 20th of December of this year, by which the tribe ceded their reservations in that State, and agreed, after a residence of five years on a tract designated, to remove to the west of the Mississippi.

In 1834 the Miamis had ceded their lands on the Wabash for a heavy consideration, and agreed to remove West; but this treaty, which was communicated by the President to the Senate for their approval, was not, owing to certain modifications requiring the concurrence of the Indians, finally confirmed by the Senate until the close of the session of 1837.

In order to protect the emigrant tribes on the South and West, treaties were concluded on the 25th of May with the barbarous tribes of the Kiowas, Katakas, and Takawaros, of the prairies, and friendly relations were established with the Comanches, or Niuñas, of Texas, a powerful and dominant tribe in that quarter.

The removal of the Cherokees in a peaceful and conciliatory manner produced a favorable effect, although the other events of the year 1838 were of equal interest to the public mind. Positions requiring energy of action were taken by several tribes. The Pottawatomies of Indiana ceded their lands in 1833, and agreed to remove West, Indiana and the adjoining State of Illinois having filled up very rapidly with settlers on their northern borders, the rich prairies and fine commercial marts and outlets presenting great attractions to an enterprising people. This tribe, being the recipient of large annuities, was counselled by the traders and other interested persons to remain where it was, that the distribution of these sums might be made in the country. The emigrant agent, finding his operations impeded, and fearing an outbreak and consequent bloodshed, called on the Governor of Indiana for aid, who authorized General John Tipton to raise one hundred volunteers to assist the agent in the removal of the Indians. This duty was promptly performed, and, from the report of that officer, eight hundred and fifty-nine Pottawatomies were delivered to the emigrant agent on the Illinois on the 18th of September; these were sent West,

escorted by dragoons to preserve order, and safely conveyed to their location, every attention being paid to their health, comfort, and convenience. Such as were over-fatigued by the rapidity of the marches, and were sickly, or invalids, were allowed to ride the horses of the dragoons while the men walked.

There were removed during this year 4106 Creeks, chiefly comprising the families of the warriors of this tribe who had been engaged in the Florida war, 177 Choctaws, 4600 Chickasaws, 151 Chippewas, and 1651 Appalachian and Florida Indians, making an aggregate of 29,459. The Winnebago Indians, of Wisconsin, evinced great tardiness and unwillingness to leave the country. The isolated tribes in the settlements became entangled with associations which it is difficult for a people of so little decision of character to abandon. This tribe, by a treaty made at Washington on the 28th of October, renewed the engagements entered into and endorsed by the treaty concluded at Rock Island in 1832, after the close of the Sac war, and agreed to remove to the Neutral Ground in eight months. As this limitation expired in the winter, they solicited permission, and were allowed, to remain in Wisconsin until spring. A treaty was concluded with the Saginaws by the Acting Superintendent of Michigan, guaranteeing them the minimum prices for their lands ceded by the treaty of the 20th December, 1837, a measure necessary to prevent combinations to control the sales, which were designed to be exclusively for their benefit.

The Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Michigan, in his annual report for this year, makes the following allusions to the Saginaws :

“This isolated tribe has lived down to the present time with all the essential traits common to the darkest period of their history. They are heady, bad-tempered, fond of drink, and savage when under its influence. Yet they are a people of strong mental traits, of independent and generous feelings, and warmly attached to their ancient mode of living and superstitions. They speak a well-characterized dialect of the Chippewa language, holding nearly the same relation to the great Algie family of the North that the Seminoles do to the Creeks of the South. Their country appears to have been a place of refuge to the other tribes. They succeeded to the possessions of the Sauks, who were driven from the banks of the Saginaw about the close of the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century. They have been observed for at least a century to have had a ruling chief, who exercised more of the powers of a dictator than is usual with the other tribes. They are known to have indulged their predatory and warlike propensities by participating in the scenes of attack and plunder which marked the early settlements of Western Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Kentucky.

“The country occupied by the Saginaws is fertile, densely wooded, and abounds in streams affording valuable water-power. It is still but sparsely settled, but in proportion as the lands are taken up the natural means of subsistence of the Indians must diminish, although it is stated that portions of the public lands west and north of the Tittabawassee will afford a theatre for hunting for many years. The recent ratification by the Senate of the treaty of January 14, 1837, with this tribe, extinguishes their title to all their possessions in Michigan, saving the right to live for

five years on two of the ceded reservations on Saginaw Bay. In 1837 this tribe lost three hundred and fifty-four persons by the smallpox, of whom one hundred and six were men, one hundred and seven women, and one hundred and forty-one children. Their present population, by a census just completed, is nine hundred and ninety-three, two hundred and twenty-one of whom are males, two hundred and ninety-eight females, and four hundred and seventy-four youths and infants. In 1837 their corn-fields were either damaged or wholly destroyed by high water in the Saginaw and its tributaries.

“The department maintains for them a sub-agent, an interpreter, a blacksmith and assistant, and one principal and several subordinate farmers. They appear to have been overlooked by philanthropists, having up to this date neither schools nor teachers of any description.”

On the 6th of November a treaty was entered into with the Miamis at the forks of the Wabash, by which this tribe ceded 170,000 acres of reservations in that quarter, for which they received \$335,000. They were compensated for all buildings and improvements, and furnished by the United States with a location in the Indian Territory west of the Mississippi, “sufficient in extent, suited to their wants and wishes,” and contiguous to that occupied by the tribes which emigrated from the States of Ohio and Indiana. They agreed to send a delegation to explore the country proposed to be given them, their expenses to be defrayed by the government. This treaty and exploration led to the eventual removal of this tribe, once the terror of the West, and so numerous and warlike that during Washington’s administration they defeated successive armies under Harmar and St. Clair, and for years prevented the settlement of the Anglo-Saxon race in the West. This tribe finally migrated to the Indian Territory, diminished in numbers, degraded in morals and habits, wanting in industry, and lacking education, but affluent in government funds and annuities. After their final defeat by Wayne, in 1794, they submitted to the authority of the United States, and took up their residence in one of the richest valleys of the West, abounding in game and all the requisites for Indian subsistence. They pursued the usual course of hunters, being satisfied if the exertions of the year afforded them the means of living, little heeding that they would soon be surrounded by an industrious population and finally supplanted by them. In this thoughtless, careless, idle manner they lived in the Wabash Valley until their lands became valuable. They began to cede their territory in 1809, and continued that course in 1814, 1818, 1826, and down to the date of their removal. But the large sums they received through this channel had the effect to destroy their self-reliance and native independence of character, to degrade them in habits and morals, to introduce disease, and to lead in every way to a rapid depopulation. This tribe, which in 1764 was estimated in its divisions at five thousand souls, or one thousand warriors, and at the commencement of the American Revolution at three hundred and fifty warriors, or seventeen hundred and fifty souls, was reduced at the time of its removal to about seven hundred persons, and when a census of the tribe was taken in 1850 it had dwindled to five hundred souls, who were in receipt of an annuity of \$44,000.

The summer of 1837 is memorable in Indian history for the visitation of one of those calamities which have so much reduced the Indian population,—viz., the ravages of the smallpox, which then swept through the Missouri Valley. The disease was introduced among them from a steamboat which ascended that river from the city of St. Louis in July. On the 15th of that month the disease made its appearance in the village of the Mandans, great numbers of whom fell victims to it. Thence it spread rapidly over the entire country, and tribe after tribe was decimated by it.

The Mandans, among whom the pestilence commenced, are stated to have been reduced from an estimated population of sixteen hundred souls to one hundred and twenty-five.<sup>1</sup> The Minnetarees, or Gros Ventres, out of a population of one thousand persons, lost one-half their number. The Arikarees, numbering three thousand, were reduced by this pestilence to fifteen hundred. The Crows, or Upsarokas, lost great numbers, and the survivors saved themselves by a rapid retreat to the mountains. The Assiniboins, a people roughly estimated at nine thousand, were swept off by hundreds. The Crees, living in the same region, and numbering three thousand souls, suffered in an equal degree. The disease appears to have at length exhausted its virulence on the Blackfeet and Bloods, a numerous and powerful genus of tribes. One thousand lodges are reported to have been desolated, and left standing, without a solitary inhabitant, on the prairies, once the residence of this proud and warlike race,—a sad memorial of this dreadful scourge.

Visitors to these regions during the year when this dread pestilence was raging there represent the Indian country as being truly desolate. Women and children were met wandering about without protection, or seated near the graves of their husbands and parents, uttering piteable lamentations. Howling dogs roamed about, seeking their masters. On every side was desolation, and wrecks of mortality everywhere presented themselves to the view. It is reported that some of the Indians, after recovering from the disease, when they saw how it had disfigured their faces, threw themselves into the Missouri River.

The dissensions between the antagonistic parties of the Cherokees, called the Rossites and Ridgeites, originated by the treaty of New Echota, reached their crisis during the year 1839. The smothered dislikes and hatred of four years burst forth with a fierceness which threatened to drench the Territory with blood. The brutal murder of the Ridges, father and son, and of Elias Boudinot, will long remain as foul blots on their tribal escutcheon, for, however ignorant the Eastern Cherokees may have been of moral law and the theory of government, no plea can shield them from censure for the assassination of their fellow-men on account of political dissensions or differences of opinion.

The Western Cherokees, who had emigrated with the sanction of Mr. Jefferson's administration, and fixed their residence in Arkansas, as early as 1817, had established a form of government and adopted written laws. When the treaty party

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<sup>1</sup> In 1836 this tribe was reported to the Indian Office as having a population of 3200. In 1852 the number returned was 385. Mr. Catlin was mistaken when he reported its extinction.

migrated, under the supervision of Messrs. Ridge and Boudinot, they united with the old settlers, and lived contentedly under the established order of things. But the malcontent party, who migrated with Mr. Ross in 1838, went thither with embittered and revengeful feelings against the treaty party and the old settlers, and refused to submit to the existing government and laws of the Western Cherokees. On reaching the country, the Rossites, finding that they outnumbered the Ridgeites in the proportion of about two to one, at once became sticklers for the democratic doctrine that majorities should rule. It would have been well if in grasping at power they had not forgotten right. But it soon became evident that they were determined not only to ignore the old form of government and laws, but to establish new ones, and to compel the minority to submit to them, right or wrong. The Western Cherokees, however, so stoutly contested the ground that within an incredibly short time a desperate feud was enkindled, and the entire country was plunged into discord. Neither party were as conciliatory in their views and opinions, or in their deportment and manners, as men of twenty years' experience in self-government ought to have been, and neither appear to have duly estimated the importance of compromise and union. The words, though spoken, had no place in their hearts: one party was unyielding, the other was furious and aggressive.

A convention for the adjustment of their difficulties was summoned to meet at Tukatokah on the 20th of June, 1839, which remained in session for eight or nine days. Its discussions were exciting, discordant, and bitter. The Rossites, who were in the majority, resolved to hold their power, and the Ridgeites determined not to succumb. When it became evident that a compromise could not be effected, threats were used, whereupon some of the Ridgeite chiefs withdrew to their homes, and the council adjourned without effecting anything except the manifestation of a deep and settled prejudice on both sides, and of the irreconcilable character of the feud. It is said that on the evening when this council was dissolved a secret conclave of the leaders of the Rossites was held, who selected forty men, to whom was assigned the duty of assassinating the leaders of the Ridgeites, the party who had signed the treaty of New Echota, of the 28th of December, 1825. For fourteen years this grudge had been nourished in the hearts of the malcontent party, until it at last resulted in the commission of a cowardly murder. However true may be the assertion regarding the session of this dark conclave, it is certain that on the following day the inhuman and cruel murders of Boudinot, and of the Ridges, both father and son, were perpetrated. Boudinot was in the act of superintending the erection of a building, when he was accosted by four Indians, who solicited him to visit a house some hundreds of yards distant, and administer some medicines, he being a physician. With his usual promptness he complied, and had proceeded about half the distance, when he was suddenly assassinated. The fiends were not satisfied with killing him, but cut him into pieces in the most shocking manner. The younger Ridge was the next victim of this secret band of executioners. He was dragged from his bed, in the midst of his family, and dispatched. The elder Ridge, who was absent on a visit into the adjoining limits of Arkansas, was waylaid

and shot by persons who occupied an eminence beside the road, and his body when discovered by his friends was found to have been pierced by five rifle-balls.

This violence excited great commotion in the nation, and, far from checking the zeal of the Ridge party, it only inflamed it. Discord reigned everywhere, and Mr. John Ross, who was accused of concerting the plot of the assassination, surrounded his house with a guard of five hundred of his adherents. Several chiefs of the opposite party took shelter within the walls of Fort Gibson, where they were protected by General Arbuckle, who also offered a refuge to Mr. Ross, which he declined. In the correspondence which ensued between the commandant of the fort and Mr. Ross, the latter disclosed a subtle, cautious, and evasive policy. Extreme positions were taken by both parties, evincing a bitterly discordant and hostile spirit. The darkest of the ensuing transactions on the part of the Rossites was the calling of a convention, or general council, composed almost exclusively of their own party, which passed a resolution granting an amnesty to the murderers. They also subsequently declared some of the leading Ridgeites outlaws. These proceedings were disapproved by the local military and officers of the department, whose suggestions for effecting a reunion were unheeded. The government at Washington instructed its officers to demand the surrender of the murderers, that they might be brought to trial, and directed them to withhold the Cherokee annuities while this discordant state of society existed.

Mr. Ross, having evaded any direct issue in the correspondence, sought to procure an investigation of the matter at a distant point, where witnesses could not be so readily summoned, and for this purpose sent his brother, Lewis Ross, and two other Cherokees, to Washington. A personal interview with the Secretary of War was obtained, and an appeal made by Lewis Ross in favor of his brother, in which he spoke of the murders as private acts, and of the decree of their general party council extending pardon to the actors therein as being conclusive of the matter. He urged that an investigation should be instituted at the seat of government. This Mr. Poinsett denied, remarking that if John Ross were innocent he would not oppose the arrest of the murderers, or attempt to shield them; that with his known influence over the nation he might have prevented the commission of the savage deeds; but he could now contribute to the ends of justice by surrendering the criminals whose barbarities had been countenanced and themselves exonerated by the national council. The secretary said that the council had no legal right to sanction a violation of all laws, human and divine, and that no investigation was required so long as John Ross, the chief magistrate, refused to deliver up the murderers to justice. He was not charged, it was conceded, with having ordered the murderers to perform the criminal act, but he had permitted it to be done when a word from him would have spared the effusion of innocent blood. He might justify himself by withdrawing his protection from the murderers and giving them up, but the government would continue to regard him as the instigator and abettor of these foul deeds until that was done. Mr. Poinsett concluded by saying that the majority ought to rule while guided by law and principle, but that they had by their cruel, savage, and lawless

course forfeited all right to govern the old settlers, who were in a minority; that they had proved themselves tyrants in the worst sense of the term; and that the government would not for a moment uphold or sanction tyranny, least of all brutal, savage tyranny.

The Cherokees were convulsed by political turmoils for some years, during which unmistakable tokens gave evidence that, however dissensions might prevail, the ultimate result would be a union of all the jarring elements, and the institution of a permanent government. Strong wills and clear minds were to be found in their councils. The rivalries and jealousies of the chiefs had been fearfully excited by the transaction of New Echota, which it was hoped the conciliatory measures of the government would have soothed, but, like a violent and stubborn disease, the evil could not be cured by palliatives, and required stronger applications, which, while they relieved, at the same time infuriated the patient. It required time to quell discords which had distracted the Cherokee nation to the centre, and the result has proved that time was the true remedy. No tribe of the same aggregate population had emigrated, and no other tribe which removed to the Territory had been so long and so successfully the subject of instruction. A people who had invented a new alphabet, who had long participated in the school system, who had learned the arts of the loom and spindle, and who had reached a condition of domestic society and manners, the refinement, tastes, and elegance of which may be judged of by the bright example of Catherine Brown, could not lack clearness of conception, or the power of distinguishing between the principles of right and wrong. To deny this, as there was a Scottish element in the nation, would be as absurd as to aver that the mental calibre of the Scottish people at a distinct era of Caledonian history should be judged by the examples of Rob Roy or the actors in the brutal atrocities of Glencoe.

The smaller tribes who yet lingered in the States may be regarded as occupying the relative position of boulders in the geological system. They had been removed from their natal positions, and located in questionable situations. The flood that swept them forward before its resistless waves was the European race, and it seemed doubtful whether they would ever again find a permanent foothold on the soil.

One of these boulder tribes, who of their own accord sought refuge in the colonized territory, was the so-called Stockbridges, comprising remnants of the ancient Mohicans. At the period of the discovery of the river Hudson (Chatemuc, the Mohican of their own vocabulary, and the Cohahatatea of the Iroquois) this people resided on its western banks, opposite to and south of Albany. When the population of the colonies pressed upon them they crossed the Taconic range, and concentrated their people in the valley of the Housatonic, in Massachusetts, where for years they received tuition from the eminent theologian Edwards. They espoused the cause of the colonies during the Revolutionary War, their services as runners, flankers, and gun-men having been highly appreciated. After the close of that contest they removed to the upper waters of the Oneida Creek Valley by virtue of an arrangement with the Oneida canton, then under the government of the benevolent Shenandoah. About the year 1822 they entered into negotiations with the Menomonic,

of Wisconsin, and subsequently removed to and settled on Fox River, of Green Bay; but ten or twelve years' residence in this quarter was sufficient to satisfy them that the white population would soon hem them in as closely there as they had done in New York. They entered into frequent negotiations with the government, first accepting a tract on the banks of Lake Winnebago, but subsequently, selling this, they stipulated for a location on the banks of the Mississippi. In 1840 a considerable number of the tribe, located on Lake Winnebago, in Wisconsin, withdrew from the others, and emigrated to the Indian colony west of the Missouri. They were accompanied by the Munsees, whose ancestors had been their neighbors on the west bank of the Hudson in ancient times, and by an emigrating party of Delawares from the river Thames, in Canada, under command of the chief Thomas T. Hendrick. The entire party, numbering one hundred and seventy-four persons, were received by their tribal relatives, the Delawares, who furnished them with a residence on their large reservation near Fort Leavenworth, on the Kansas River.

The oft-tried temporizing and erroneous policy of removing Indians from one location within the States to another, however remote, also within their limits, has uniformly proved to be a failure. The experience of the Stockbridges, Munsees, and segregated Delawares was now added to prove the evil results arising from this policy. Such removed tribes and bands were speedily surrounded by a white population, with whom they did not coalesce, and naturally wasted away under the influence of adverse manners and customs.

The same attempt to remove a tribe from one State to another was made with the Winnebagoes. Having been implicated in the Sank war, they agreed in 1832, at Rock Island, where the American army was then encamped, to leave the east banks of the Mississippi, abandoning their favorite Rock River, Wisconsin, and Fox River Valleys, and remove to a position west of the Mississippi denominated the Neutral Ground. For them, however, it was not "neutral ground." It was, in fact, the war-ground of the Sacs and Foxes and Sioux, and they had, under the influence of the presence of a military force, agreed to a proposition which they had neither the ability nor the will to perform. Though ethnologically of the Sioux stock, their affinity was not to be relied on; they possessed a nationality of their own, and could not, after ages of separation, take shelter under the Sioux flag. The plan of the neutral ground was a benevolent theory, which it was hoped and believed would work well, but it eventually proved to be an utter fallacy. It had, however, strong advocates, being favored by many persons who did not wish to see the Winnebagoes removed, with their large means and annuities, beyond the reach of a peripatetic peddler's footsteps, or to lose sight of the distribution of their annual per capita dollars.

In 1837 the Winnebagoes renewed by treaty their engagement to remove to the Neutral Ground, in Iowa, within eight months after the ratification of that instrument. The treaty was not ratified until June, 1838, which would limit the period for their removal to February, 1839. They still lingered in the valleys of their ancient home, until the matter of their removal was placed in the hands of General

Atkinson. When they discovered that the government was in earnest, the mass of them removed across the Mississippi without causing much difficulty, but, though still urged to proceed to the Neutral Ground, they encamped on the western margin of the river, where they were allowed to remain until the following year. Meantime, they were afflicted by considerable sickness, and surrounded by whiskey-shops, together with every temptation that Indians possessing heavy annuities are sure to encounter. Their agent established his buildings and shops on the Neutral Ground, where the tribe was eventually induced to settle by the announcement that there only would they be paid their annuities. It will be seen in the sequel that in a few years it became necessary to remove the Winnebagoes from the limits of Iowa.

A mistake of a similar kind was made with the united Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pottawatomies, who ceded their lands in Illinois by the treaty concluded at Chicago in 1833. A part of the consideration named in it was the grant of 5,000,000 acres of land in the West; in accordance with which they were placed on a tongue of land situate between the western boundary of the State of Missouri and the Missouri River. The progress of the settlements in Missouri made this tract of land so essentially a geographical part of that State, and so necessary to its agricultural and commercial development, that Congress annexed it thereto; which act rendered it imperative for the government to provide these Indians with the stipulated 5,000,000 acres west of the Missouri River.

Other bands of Pottawatomies, residing in Indiana, who had ceded their possessions in that quarter, were removed during this year, under the immediate surveillance of General Brady. There were also some accessions of the Seminoles from Florida, and of fragments of the segregated bands of the Black River and Swan Creek Chippewas, of Michigan. The whole number of Indians removed in 1840 was 5671. The Cherokee difficulties had this year been so far compromised between the two contending parties that Mr. Poinsett, the Secretary of War, directed the annuities to be paid.

Internal dissensions, arising from private jealousies and ambitions, have been the real but secret source of many tribal discords. Questions regarding the disposition of funds, and the regulation of their internal policy, have been discussed and settled in both general and tribal councils. The object for which these bodies are now convened is not, as formerly, during the hunter state of the tribes, to discuss the policy of proclaiming war or concluding peace, and to wrangle with one another respecting trespasses on tribal boundaries, but to adjust their civil affairs. Morals, education, arts, and agriculture respectively occupy a share of attention in these public assemblies, and the progressive improvement in the Indian character has been such that their councils and assemblies have been completely changed in a few years, from arenas for the display of wrangling and disputations and declamatory elocution, to legislative bodies whose meetings are characterized by calm and sober discussion and dispassionate decision. Reference is had particularly to the five tribes of the Cherokees, Creeks, Chickasaws, Choctaws, and Seminoles. The representative principle has been generally adopted for limited periods and definite objects. The

beneficial effects of temperance, a virtuous life, and habits of industry on the manners of society, and on public as well as private prosperity, have been recognized and acknowledged as the true elements of political economy. These leading tribes have, indeed, fairly embarked in their national career, which perseverance, energy, and decision will enable them to pursue triumphantly.

The Cherokee disturbance, once so threatening, entirely subsided in a few years, and it is now evident that the prosperity of the nation was well secured by the treaty of New Echota, although the execution of that instrument by the minority gave the political and personal preponderance to the majority, and took the power from the leading pacific and progressive chiefs. The act was regarded by the malcontent chiefs as a usurpation of authority, and their feelings were more highly excited by the loss of personal power than by that of national wealth.

Events occurring among the Indian tribes are slow in development, and years elapse before discords are forgotten or opinions become nationalized. This may be fully demonstrated by reference to the history of the Cherokees. Years have passed away, and the blood of Boudinot and the Ridges has not, to use an Indian metaphor, been washed from the assassins' hands. The sanguinary deeds which once harrowed the feelings of the nation and aroused the sympathies of the Union have been succeeded by peace, though the atrocities are not forgotten; and the government of the Cherokees, the great bone of internal contention for so many years, remains in the hands of the Rossite party. The true friends of the nation may feel a consolation in reflecting that the wise forecast and decision of character which induced the Cherokees to relinquish their ancient residences east of the Mississippi, and begin a new career of industry in the West, have laid the foundation of the permanent prosperity and civilization of the tribe, and that Elias Boudinot and John Ridge will long be remembered as the great benefactors and moral heroes of their country. Those who stained their hands in the patriotic blood of these men failed thereby to arrest the onward progress of the Cherokees.

At the time when their systematic removal was commenced by the government, there still remained within the States east of the line of the Mississippi and Missouri 110,349 souls. At the close of the year 1836, 45,690 of this number, comprising portions of nineteen tribes, had been transferred to the West. At this time there had been established for these tribes in their new locations fifty-one schools, at which twenty-two hundred and twenty-one pupils were instructed. In addition to this, one hundred and fifty-six pupils of an advanced grade were instructed at the Choctaw Academy, in Kentucky, and four of the graduates were studying the legal profession in New York, Vermont, and elsewhere.

In 1855 the four Southern or Appalachian tribes, namely, the Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Creeks, including the Seminoles, had an aggregate population of 62,176. The twenty small tribes and tribal bands located in the Territory of Kansas numbered 13,481, making a total aggregate population of 75,657.

## PERIOD VIII.

### INDIAN AFFAIRS SINCE THE ACQUISITION OF NEW MEXICO AND CALIFORNIA.

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#### CHAPTER I.

##### ORGANIZATION OF THE TERRITORIES OF KANSAS AND NEBRASKA—HOSTILITIES IN CALIFORNIA AND OREGON—SIOUX WAR OF 1862-63 IN MINNESOTA—THE CHEROKEES IN THE REBELLION.

FOLLOWING the acquisition of territory on the Pacific coast, resulting from the Mexican War in 1846-48, numerous emigrant trains began to cross the plains, necessarily passing through the Indian reservations west of the Missouri. Depredations were committed upon the Indians, whose rights were utterly disregarded, and whose lives were often taken. The pledge of the United States to every tribe that they should be protected in the peaceful enjoyment of the country assigned them was derided and held of no avail. The Indians were alarmed, and justly indignant, at these violations of treaty stipulations. In the month of August, 1853, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, by direction of the President, visited the Indian country to confer with the various tribes with a view to procuring their assent to a Territorial government, and to the extinguishment of their title to the lands owned by them. He found the people on the border discussing the question whether portions of the Indian country were not then open to white settlements, and some of them actually exploring it with that intention. All this had a very unfavorable influence on the Indians, who were apprehensive of being driven from their homes.

The commissioner visited some twenty of these tribes, but did not find them as prosperous or as far advanced in civilization as he had been led to expect. He came to the conclusion that the administration of the affairs of the Indians was not wholly free from abuses, and that such of the Indians as resided near Fort Leavenworth and the Missouri line were more demoralized than those who lived in localities more distant.

In 1854, treaties were made with the Omaha, Otoe and Missouri, Sac and Fox of the Missouri, Iowa, Kickapoo, Delaware, Shawnee, Kaskaskia, Wea, Peoria, Piankeshaw, and Miami Indians, and the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska were organized. All of the Indian lands, except in the aggregate about 1,300,000 acres

reserved for their homes, were ceded to the government. Some of the tribes made these cessions in trust, the net proceeds of the lands when sold to be paid to them; others made unconditional cessions. In the summer of this year an association of persons seized upon a piece of land fronting on the Missouri, two miles below Fort Leavenworth, and laid out thereon a town called the city of Leavenworth. This was in direct violation of the treaty with the Delaware Indians, who complained to the Indian Office. Other parties entered the Delaware tract and pre-empted claims. The commissioner requested that all intruders should be expelled by the military force at the fort. They, however, under the influence of city lots, denounced the commissioner and defended the squatters. The executive of the Territory, in disregard of the organic law, established his office within the Shawnee country. The Territorial Legislature held its session at the Shawnee Mission, and embraced some of the Indian reserves within the organized counties. All appeals in favor of the rights of the Indian were in vain. No spot of land within the territory occupied by an Indian tribe appeared to be free from ceaseless intrusion. "In the din and strife," says Commissioner Manypenny,<sup>1</sup> "between the anti-slavery and pro-slavery parties in November, 1856, in which the rights and interests of the red man were completely overlooked and disregarded, the good conduct and patient submission of the latter contrasted favorably with the disorderly and lawless conduct of their white brethren, who, while they quarrelled about the African, united upon the soil of Kansas in wronging the Indian." In 1860 and 1862, treaties were made with the Delawares, by which the valuable tract of 224,000 acres reserved in the treaty of 1854 for their "permanent" home was conveyed to the Leavenworth, Pawnee, and Western Railroad upon payment of \$287,000. On July 4, 1866, still another treaty was made with them, by which they agreed to remove to the Indian Territory, and to sell their remaining land in Kansas to the Missouri River Railroad Company.

About 1852 the mountain Indians of California began to manifest distrust towards the white men, and in December, 1855, by which time they had learned to use fire-arms, the Klamaths and adjacent Indians simultaneously began hostilities, murdering seven men in one day. They were severely chastised in several engagements, and through the good judgment and discretion of the agent, S. G. Whipple, peace was restored. He established a reservation on the Klamath River, which was kept up until the winter of 1861-62, when the improvements were washed away by a severe freshet, and the Indians were removed to Smith River. Since 1855 the Klamath Indians, the most numerous and powerful tribe in the northwestern portion of the State, have remained at peace.

In 1856 the Indians on Redwood Creek, Upper Mad River, Grouse Creek, and the head-waters of Eel River began a war that resulted in the loss of many valuable lives and the destruction of an immense amount of property. For want of concert between the regular troops and the settlers, nothing was done towards the suppression of hostilities until, in 1858, Captain Messic, at the head of a volunteer company,

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<sup>1</sup> "Our Indian Wards."



Engraving from a sketch by C. C. Bassett. Boston Public Library.

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THE MUSEUM OF CALIFORNIA



induced some nine hundred Indians to come in. Placed upon the Mendocino Reservation, these Indians soon found their way back to their old homes, more embittered and hostile than before. The peace that followed their removal was of short duration, all the tribes of the north participating in the renewal of hostilities except the Klamaths and the Indians on Lower Mad and Eel Rivers. Many white men were killed, and the country was laid waste, the whites retaliating in kind. The proposition to exterminate the Indians, though opposed by the respectable and influential citizens, bore fruit on April 3, 1859, in the brutal massacre, on Indian Island, of about one hundred and fifty Indians, principally women and children. Depredations and disturbances continued from 1859 to 1861, when a regiment under Colonel Lippitt took the field. After more than a year of unsuccessful and expensive operations, he was relieved by a battalion under Lieutenant-Colonel S. G. Whipple. The Hoopa Indians about this time openly joined the hostiles, and were the leading spirits in the bloody warfare that ensued. All the settlers in the mountains were driven in, and their improvements burned. The vast herds of stock that ranged on the grazing-land back from the coast were swept away. The business of the country was prostrate, and the people were in a state of great despondency. The war continued two years longer, with varying results. The Hoopa, Redwood, South Fork, and Grouse Creek Indians were, however, finally induced to treat, and were placed in the Hoopa Valley, where they have ever since maintained peaceful relations with the United States.

On September 10, 1853, a treaty was made with the Rogue River Indians, of Oregon, by the terms of which they were assigned a reservation within their own country, in Southern Oregon, and were to receive from the United States certain annuities. November 18, 1854, a similar treaty was effected with the Chasta-Scotons. They received their annuities until the fall of 1855, when a general Indian war was inaugurated, in which all the tribes of Southern Oregon participated, including the treaty as well as the non-treaty Indians.

After the southern portion of the then Territory of Oregon had become nearly desolate, the government adopted the policy of removing all the Indians from their old homes in the South, and keeping them assembled upon the coast reservation (Siletz), under military surveillance. Twelve bands were removed by military force, and the experiment resulted in the maintenance of a permanent peace. At the time of their removal, in 1856, they numbered about five thousand. They were fierce, warlike, turbulent, and intractable, and averse to labor. It was for several years only possible to retain them upon their reservations by issuing to them full rations of food and considerable quantities of clothing. This was necessarily so, as they had been deprived of their arms and had no means of gaining their own subsistence.

The immediate cause of the Sioux outbreak of 1862 was the failure of the government to make its annual payment to the tribe, followed as it was by the refusal of the traders to give them credit at a time when they were in sore need. The Indians knew that the great civil war was raging with doubtful result, depleting the country of fighting-men, and were told by rebel emissaries that it was uncertain

whether the full payment would be made, and that, whatever it was, it would probably be the last. There was no lack of pre-existing causes, such as were only too common in transactions between them and the white men. Prominent among these were the frauds perpetrated upon them growing out of the sale of their lands, the non-fulfilment of treaty stipulations, and the attempt then being made to pay their annuity in goods, instead of in money, as agreed. About \$400,000 of the cash payment due the Sioux for their land under the treaties of 1851 and 1852 were paid to the traders on old indebtedness. So intense was the indignation of the Indians at this that a general outbreak was at that time seriously apprehended. For the further cession, in 1858, of all their reservation north of the Minnesota River they were to receive \$166,000. Not a penny of this money reached them; but four years afterwards goods to the amount of \$15,000 were sent to the Lower Sioux, and the value of these was deducted from what was due them under former treaties.

Those who engaged in the massacre were, with few exceptions, members of the M'dawakanton, Wahpekuta, and Sisseton tribes, of the fierce and warlike Sioux or Dakota nation. They formerly occupied the northeastern portion of Iowa, part of western Wisconsin, the southeastern half of the State of Minnesota, and adjoining possessions in Dakota,—a vast, fertile, and beautiful land, abounding in buffalo and deer, its countless lakes and streams filled with fish and teeming with wild-fowl, and its shores alive with the otter, the mink, and the beaver.

In June, 1862, a number of chiefs and head-men of the Sissetons and Wahpetons visited the Upper Agency and asked about the payment. The agent informed them that he would send them word when the money arrived, and they returned home, but on July 14 they came again, to the number of five thousand, and camped. They were afraid they would not get their money, having again been told so by the whites. Here they remained for some time, all of them pinched for food, and several dying from starvation. They dug up roots to appease their hunger, and, when corn was given them, like famished animals they devoured it uncooked. On the 4th of August some of the young braves, driven by hunger, broke into the government warehouse, but, by persuasion and the issue of a quantity of provisions, the whole body were induced to return to their homes.

The Lower or Redwood Agency was fourteen miles above Fort Ridgely, on the Minnesota River. Here was the reservation of the M'dawakantons and Wahpekutas, and here likewise the excitement was intense for a month before the outbreak. A "Soldiers' Lodge," a secret organization of the young men, designed to stimulate the tribe to hostile action, was formed here about the 1st of July, and succeeded at length in exciting the passions of the Indians to the required pitch. Early in the morning of August 18, a party of one hundred and fifty Sioux, under Little Crow, began an indiscriminate massacre of the whites on both sides of the river. All the buildings at the agency but two were burned. News of the outbreak reached Fort Ridgely before noon, and Captain Marsh, of the Fifth Minnesota Volunteers, started at once for the agency with forty-eight men. They were surrounded by the Indians at the ferry opposite the agency, and one-half of the party were killed, the rest



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DAKOTA ENCAMPMENT



escaping by flight. Messengers were sent to the Upper Indians at Little Medicine River, and to all the others, many of whom soon joined their brethren in the work of massacre and terror. That night a friendly Indian notified the people at Hazlewood, the Mission Station, six miles above the Upper Agency, of the danger, and forty-two persons, including the missionaries Riggs and Williamson, made their escape, having almost miraculously passed through the numerous scattered bands of Indians on their route. On the very day of the outbreak, \$72,000 for the payment of the Indians had reached Fort Ridgely. This fort and New Ulm, a German settlement, almost within a stone's throw of the reservation, were that night filled with terror-stricken fugitives, many of whom were bleeding from ghastly wounds.

For nearly three weeks the Indians were masters of the situation, meeting with no effectual resistance, so many of the able-bodied of the inhabitants being absent in the Union army. Their depredations extended along the whole western frontier of Minnesota, and into Iowa and Dakota. They were repulsed from Forts Ridgely and Abercrombie, and from the towns of New Ulm and Hutchinson. In two weeks fifteen or twenty of the frontier counties were almost depopulated. From Fort Abercrombie to the Iowa line, a frontage of two hundred miles, and extending from Big Stone Lake to Forest City, an area of over twenty thousand square miles, the torch and the tomahawk asserted themselves supreme. More than six hundred victims had fallen, and two hundred persons, mostly women and children, had been carried into captivity.

By the last of August some fourteen hundred men had been collected at Fort Ridgely, under Colonel H. H. Sibley. A force of one hundred and fifty men, under Colonel Joseph R. Brown, was at once sent up to the Lower Agency as a burial-party. After performing this sad service, no signs of Indians being visible, they encamped for the night. At dawn next day their camp at Birch Coolie was attacked, and, as it was in an exceedingly exposed situation, the men fought at a great disadvantage. In three hours nearly one-half the force was *hors du combat*. When relieved by Colonel Sibley they had been thirty-one hours without food or water. Twenty-three were killed or mortally wounded; Major Brown, Captain Anderson, and forty-five of the men were wounded severely.

Late in September the troops moved up the Minnesota Valley, and on the 23d fought the battle of Wood Lake, by which Little Crow's force was put to rout and the contest ended. The camp was attacked by eight hundred Indians early in the morning. After a severe action of an hour and a half, a charge was made, headed by Lieutenant-Colonel Marshall, of the Seventh Minnesota, and the Indians fled in all directions. Little Crow, Little Six, and their followers escaped northward to the British possessions. The Indian camp, left in charge of the friendly Indians, fell, with all its plunder, into the hands of the victors, and the white captives, two hundred in number, regained their liberty. That their lives had been spared was due chiefly to the heroic exertions of Paul, a friendly Indian belonging to the Upper tribe, and to a feud between the Upper and Lower Indians, occasioned by the neglect of the latter to notify their brethren of their hostile intentions before the outbreak,

and afterwards by their refusal to give them a share of the plunder. The final catastrophe at Wood Lake may also be attributed to the fact that the Upper Indians withheld their support and openly condemned the hasty acts of Little Crow's band.

Only forty-two Indians were known to have fallen during the entire contest. A large number were subsequently captured and tried by a military commission. Over four hundred were tried, of whom three hundred and three were sentenced to death and eighteen to imprisonment. Most of those acquitted were Upper Indians. Thirty-eight of those condemned were hung at Mankato on February 26, 1863. The remainder were released in April, 1866. Tah-o-ah-doo-ta, or Little Crow, determined to end his days in the land of his fathers, made his way back to Minnesota with a few followers in the ensuing spring, who renewed their depredations. The chief, while engaged in picking berries with his son, six miles north of Hutchinson, was discovered by two white men, and shot. Thus perished one of the foremost hunters and orators of the Sioux. He had been forced into the war against his own better judgment, yet did not shrink from the responsibility, and died like a brave and a warrior of the Dakotas.

On July 20, 1863, an expeditionary force, under General Sibley, left the vicinity of Devil's Lake to chastise the hostile Sioux. In three successive encounters, with some two thousand warriors, mostly Tetons and Yanktonnais, he drove them across the Missouri River, forcing them to abandon all their provisions, vehicles, and skins designed for clothing. The point on the river reached by General Sibley was in latitude  $46^{\circ} 42'$ , longitude  $100^{\circ} 35'$ , about forty miles below Fort Clarke, and five hundred and eighty-five miles from Fort Snelling. The object of the expedition was accomplished, and at a trifling sacrifice of life.

At the commencement of the war of the rebellion the Cherokees numbered about 22,000. Of these, some 8500, influenced by rebel emissaries, joined the Confederates and went South, leaving their wives and children in most cases behind them. Many of the remainder of the tribe were disloyal. These, under the lead of their chief, John Ross, assumed a quasi-neutrality. Soon, however, this disguise was thrown off, and two regiments were raised who joined the rebel army. Of those who refused to pursue this course, some joined the Union army, some removed to a more secure place of residence, and others joined Opothello, a loyal Creek, who had crossed the Arkansas with a part of his people. The latter, after gaining a victory over a pursuing rebel force, was in a second engagement defeated with great loss, and with his remaining followers fled to Kansas, suffering severely from hunger and cold by the way. The victors plundered the loyal Indians, burned their houses, barns, and fences, and destroyed everything they could not take away with them. The loyalists fled to the mountains, where many died from exposure. In the spring of 1863 large numbers were carried off by the smallpox.

Most of the Cherokees who remained or who had returned from the South entered the Union army as a "Home Guard." In April, 1863, three Indian regiments were stationed with others at Fort Gibson to protect the property and persons of the Cherokee people. This "protection" extended as far as the guns of the

fort would reach, and no farther. When a bushwhacking party raided across the Arkansas into the Cherokee country, all the Indians that were out were called in to protect Fort Gibson. They knew the fort was in no danger, but their families were. Thus against their will they were tied hand and foot in the fort while their families were insulted, outraged, plundered, and sometimes murdered or carried into captivity. The close of the war left them destitute of everything except the insufficient supply of clothing, blankets, and provisions furnished by the government. It is estimated that the tribe during its continuance diminished at least 2500. In the matter of civilization, in which the tribe had made especial progress, the four years of war produced much retrogression. Vice and immorality had made rapid strides.

Two-fifths of the Cherokees, more than half of the Creeks, Seminoles, and Uchees, and nine-tenths of the Choctaws and Chickasaws joined the South in the rebellion.

## CHAPTER II.

### OPERATIONS AGAINST THE INDIANS OF NEW MEXICO AND ARIZONA IN 1862-63-64, IN 1869-72, AND IN 1880—MASSACRE OF FRIENDLY APACHES AT CAMP GRANT—COMANCHES DEFEATED BY COLONEL MACKENZIE—VICTORIA'S BAND OF APACHES DESTROYED.

WHEN the Territory of New Mexico was acquired by the United States, in 1848, its Indian population was composed of the Pueblo, Navajoe, Comanche, and Apache tribes. The Pueblos lived in villages: their form of government was democratic, and they had churches and schools. The Navajoes, whose customs in some respects resembled those of the Pueblos, and who, like them, were partly civilized, relied for support chiefly on their flocks and herds, and on the manufacture of blankets, in which they excelled. The Apaches subsisted chiefly by the chase, and on the mezcal which they stored up for winter use. Frequent collisions took place between these Indians and the Mexicans, the consequence of thieving raids on the one hand and retaliatory expeditions on the other. Troubles between the Comanches and Apaches and citizens of the United States were rife in 1854 and 1855, and they increased with the influx of prospectors and miners. Several military expeditions were sent into the country to punish the savages for not submitting to wrong and injustice. In one of these, Major Van Dorn attacked a large body of Comanches near the Washita Village, October 1, 1858, and killed fifty-six of them. He again struck them successfully on May 13, 1859, in the valley of the Nescatunga.

Finally the rebellion came, and Texan troops invaded the Territory. General James H. Carleton took command of the Department of New Mexico in 1862, and, the Navajoes, Kiowas, Mescalero Apaches, and Comanches having committed depredations, that officer immediately began to discipline those Indians. His subordinates were instructed that no councils or "talks" were to be held with them, and that "the men were to be slain wherever found." An important part of his savage programme seems to have been to secure the development of the rich mines of the Upper Gila, and to do this successfully the Indians were to be exterminated. His field of operations was extended in 1864 to include the Indians in portions of Arizona and Colorado. The renowned Colonel "Kit" Carson, of the First New Mexican Volunteers, took the field against the Navajoes with success. The troops were in constant service, and were engaged in frequent conflicts. Many of the Indians were, despite the sanguinary orders of the general, captured, and many surrendered and were placed on a government reservation at the Bosque Redondo, upon the open plains east of the Rio Grande. Here they were kept for several years.

Colonel Carson's operations against the Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches were



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EMIGRANTS ATTACKED BY THE COMANCHES



less successful, owing to the greater difficulty of reaching them and bringing them to action. On November 25, 1864, he attacked a Kiowa village of about one hundred and fifty lodges on the Canadian River, Texas, and after a severe engagement compelled them to retreat, with a loss of sixty killed and wounded. Their village was then destroyed.

The result of military operations in Arizona in 1869 is thus stated by General Ord, the commander of that department. He says in his report, "I have encouraged the troops to capture and root out the Apaches by every means in my power, and to hunt them as they would wild animals. This they have done with unrelenting vigor. Since my last report over two hundred have been killed, generally by parties who have trailed them for days and weeks into mountain-recesses, over snows, among gorges and precipices, lying in wait for them by day and following them by night. Many villages have been burned, large quantities of supplies and arms and ammunition, clothing, and provisions have been destroyed. A large number of horses and mules have been captured, and two men (?), twenty-eight women, and thirty-four children taken prisoners. . . . The Apaches have few friends, and, I believe, no agent. Even the officers, when applied to by them for information, cannot tell them what to do. There seems to be no settled policy but a general idea to kill them wherever found."

This humiliating record of barbarity and outrage lacks the finishing touch, which is supplied by the story of the massacre at Camp Grant, in Arizona, in 1871, of a friendly band of Apaches by citizens of Tucson, aided by Mexicans. The hostile bands of Cochise and others had committed outrages upon the inhabitants of the Territory, and upon travellers passing through. Much fault was found with General Stoneman, the department commander, for his failure properly to protect the citizens. In June, General Crook took command, and proceeded to enlist friendly Indians to operate against the hostiles, securing the aid of a prominent chief named Miguel. This plan he was forbidden to put in execution by Mr. Vincent Collyer, one of the Indian Peace Commissioners. In February, 1871, a young Apache chief, with some of his band, came to Camp Grant and stated that they desired peace,—that he and his people had no home, and could make none, being in constant fear of the troops. Lieutenant Whitman, then in command, told him to bring in his band, and he would aid them. Other small bands also came in, so that early in April some five hundred Indians were encamped near the post, awaiting the action of the department commander. They were fed, and, being very poor and nearly naked, were encouraged by Lieutenant Whitman to cut and bring in hay for his post, and in about two months had brought in about three hundred thousand pounds, carrying it on their backs. Additional bands, with whom these had intermarried, were preparing to come in also.

Lieutenant Whitman became much interested in these Indians, and said officially, "I had come to feel respect for men who, ignorant and naked, were still ashamed to lie or steal, and for women who would work like slaves to clothe themselves and children, but, untaught, held their virtue above price. . . . They frequently ex-

pressed anxiety to hear from the general, that they might have confidence to build for themselves better houses, but would always say, 'You know what we want, and, if you cannot see him, you can write.'"

Such was the situation, when, at daybreak of April 29, their camp was surrounded and attacked by a large body of men from Tucson. So sudden and unexpected was the onslaught that no one was awake to give the alarm, and quite a number of the women were shot while asleep beside their bundles of hay, which they had collected to bring in on that morning. The women who were unable to get away had their brains beaten out with clubs or stones. Of the whole number killed and missing—about one hundred and twenty-five—eight only were men. Those who escaped the massacre came into Camp Grant singly and in small parties so changed as hardly to be recognized, having neither eaten nor slept for forty-eight hours. Lieutenant Whitman's denunciation of this murderous and cowardly act, and of those engaged in it, had no other effect than to cause his being relieved from duty at Camp Grant, where the Indians, who knew him to be their friend, had expressed an earnest desire that he might be retained.

A successful expedition under Colonel R. S. Mackenzie, Fourth United States Cavalry, against hostile Indians raiding into Texas, struck, on September 29, 1872, a camp of Qua-ha-du Comanches on McClellan's Creek,—that of Maowi, the most disaffected and dangerous of all the "out" Comanches,—and, after a brisk fight, carried their village, killing twenty-three Indians and taking one hundred and twenty-four prisoners, principally women and children. The command lost two killed and two wounded. This blow was promptly followed by the surrender of the white captives remaining in their hands, and by a large increase in number of the Indians on the reservation.

The Southern Apaches, especially Victoria's band, had long been troublesome, but in 1879 that chief had, with his people, come in to the Mescalero Agency, expressing a desire to remain there permanently. The cause of his hostility was the abolition of the Ojo Caliente Reservation, known as the Southern Apache Agency, and the attempted removal of his band to the San Carlos Agency, with some of whose tribes they were not on friendly terms. Very soon thereafter, however, he had left, and was marauding and murdering citizens ten miles distant from the reservation. Some of his band were, during the winter and spring of 1880, in the mountains, within forty miles of the agency, in constant intercourse with the Indians of the reservation, and successful in evading the military. Nearly two hundred and fifty of the worst Indians of the agency joined him. It was found necessary in January, 1880, soon after active military operations were begun against this band, to cut off all communication between Victoria and the Mescaleros on the reservation, and also to disarm and dismount the latter. The remarkable success of Victoria and his followers in skirmishes with the soldiers during the year 1880, as well as in evading pursuit, sufficiently attests the skill and prowess of that chief. Driven at last into Mexico by our forces, Victoria and nearly all his followers were attacked and destroyed by a body of Mexican troops under General Terrasas.

## CHAPTER III.

### HOSTILITIES WITH THE CHEYENNES, ARAPAHOES, AND SIOUX—SAND CREEK MASSACRE—POWDER RIVER WAR—MASSACRE OF COLONEL FETTERMAN'S COMMAND—HANCOCK'S EXPEDITION—POWELL'S ENGAGEMENT.

WITH the accession of territory to the United States at the close of the Mexican war, our Indian population, the greater part of which was wholly uncivilized, was largely increased. The discovery of gold in our new possessions induced an immense emigration to California across the plains. The rights of the Indians were overlooked or disregarded, and complications and wars ensued. By a treaty at Fort Laramie, September 17, 1851, with the Sioux, Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Crows, and others, the boundaries of these tribes were settled, and they agreed to abstain from hostilities with one another, and to permit the United States to establish roads and military posts within their limits, the United States agreeing to protect them from white depredations and to pay them annually for fifty years the sum of \$50,000. This was the price of the "right of way." The Senate amended the treaty, and limited the annuity to fifteen years. The bad faith as well as the unwisdom of this step soon became apparent. Peace was broken in August, 1854, when an officer with a file of soldiers, in attempting to arrest an Indian belonging to a band of Brulé Sioux near Fort Laramie, was killed with all his men. Then followed General Harney's Sioux expedition, the crowning act of which took place September 22, 1855, in Northwestern Nebraska or Northeastern Wyoming, and was styled by him the "Battle of the Blue Water." At this point a band of Brulé Sioux, of which Little Thunder was the principal chief, was encamped, with his braves, women, and children. They were not a war-party, and had nothing to do with the affair at Fort Laramie. It was a peaceful and unoffending Indian village that General Harney surprised early in the morning, killing eighty-six men, women, and children, and capturing seventy women and children. This is only one of many cases in which our troops have struck the Indians, not caring to know whether they were guilty or innocent. Serious trouble grew out of this campaign, resulting in the loss of many lives of white people. On July 29, 1857, Colonel E. V. Sumner defeated three hundred Cheyennes on Solomon's Fork of the Kansas River, burnt their village to the ground, and destroyed their winter supplies.

The boundaries assigned to the Cheyennes and Arapahoes by the Fort Laramie treaty included a large part of the Territory of Colorado and Western Kansas. Some years later, gold and silver were discovered in the mountains of Colorado, their lands were occupied by miners, who founded cities, established farms, and opened roads, and before 1861 they had been driven down upon the waters of the Arkansas,

and were sullen and discontented because of these violations of their rights. The third article of the treaty of 1851 bound the United States to protect the Indians against all depredations after its ratification. This treaty was broken, but not by the savages. It became apparent to them that nothing was left for them to do but to ratify a treaty confirming the act.

This was done February 18, 1861, at Fort Wise, Kansas. The tribes ceded what now constitutes two great States of the Union, retaining only a small reservation on the Arkansas River and including the country around Fort Lyon. "Not being able," say the Peace Commissioners in their report, "to protect them in the larger reservation, the nation re-resolved that it would protect them in the quiet and peaceable possession of the smaller tract." Thirty thousand dollars per annum was to be paid them for fifteen years, houses were to be built, lands were to be broken up and fenced, stock, animals, and agricultural implements were to be provided, mills were to be built, and engineers, farmers, and mechanics were to be sent among them.

From this time until the 12th of April, 1864, notwithstanding the non-fulfilment of these promises and their natural dissatisfaction thereat, the Indians remained peaceful. On that day, Lieutenant Dunn, with forty men from Camp Sanborn, undertook to disarm some Indians who, it was said, had stolen some stock claimed by a man named Ripley. The Indians resisted, and Dunn withdrew discomfited. In May following, Major Downing, of the First Colorado Cavalry, moved against the Indians, and surprised at daylight the Cheyenne village of Cedar Bluffs, in a small cañon, about sixty miles north of the South Platte River. Twenty-six were killed, and thirty wounded. No prisoners were taken. Their lodges and other property were all destroyed. About the same time, Lieutenant Ayres, of the Colorado troops, had a difficulty in which an Indian chief, under a flag of truce, was murdered. During the summer and fall occurrences of this character were frequent.

Black Kettle and other prominent chiefs of the Cheyennes and Arapahoes sent word to the commander at Fort Lyon that the war had been forced upon them, and that they desired peace. They were then on their own reservation. Major Wynkoop, the commander at Fort Lyon, proceeded with them to Denver, and held an interview with the governor, who wished to have nothing to do with them, not believing it to be policy to make peace with them "until they were properly punished." Wynkoop then ordered the Indians to move their villages nearer to the fort and bring their women and children, which was done. In November this officer was removed, and Major Anthony, of the First Colorado Cavalry, took command, assuring the Indians of safety. They numbered about five hundred men, women, and children. Here, while under the pledge of protection, they were slaughtered by the Third Colorado and a battalion of the First Colorado Cavalry, under Colonel Chivington. He marched from Denver to Fort Lyon, and about daylight in the morning of November 29 surrounded the Indian camp and commenced an indiscriminate slaughter. This massacre is scarcely paralleled in the records of Indian barbarity. Fleeing women, holding up their hands and praying for mercy, were brutally shot down, infants were killed and scalped, and men were tortured and mutilated in a

manner that would put to shame the utmost ingenuity of the savage. This atrocious affair is known as the Sand Creek massacre. No one will be astonished that a war ensued which cost the government thirty millions of dollars and carried conflagration and distress to the border settlements. During the year 1865 not less than eight thousand troops were obliged to be withdrawn from the forces engaged in suppressing the rebellion to take part in this Indian war. The results of the year's campaign satisfied all sensible men that war with Indians was both useless and expensive. Fifteen or twenty Indians had been killed, at a cost of more than a million dollars apiece, while hundreds of our soldiers had lost their lives, many of our border settlers had been butchered, and much property had been destroyed. This war was something more than useless and expensive: it was dishonorable to the nation, and rendered its originators justly infamous.

When the utter futility of conquering a peace was made manifest to every one, peaceful agencies were employed. Generals Sanborn, Harney, and others were selected as commissioners to hold a council with the hostile tribes, which they succeeded in doing in October, 1865, at the mouth of the Little Arkansas, with the Kiowas, Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Comanches, and Apaches. Agreements were soon made, and no sooner were treaties signed than the war, which had been waged for nearly two years, ceased. Travel on the plains was again secure. What eight thousand troops had failed to secure, this simple agreement, rendered nugatory by the Senate, and requiring nothing but a pledge of friendship, obtained. During the remainder of the year 1866 comparative peace prevailed.

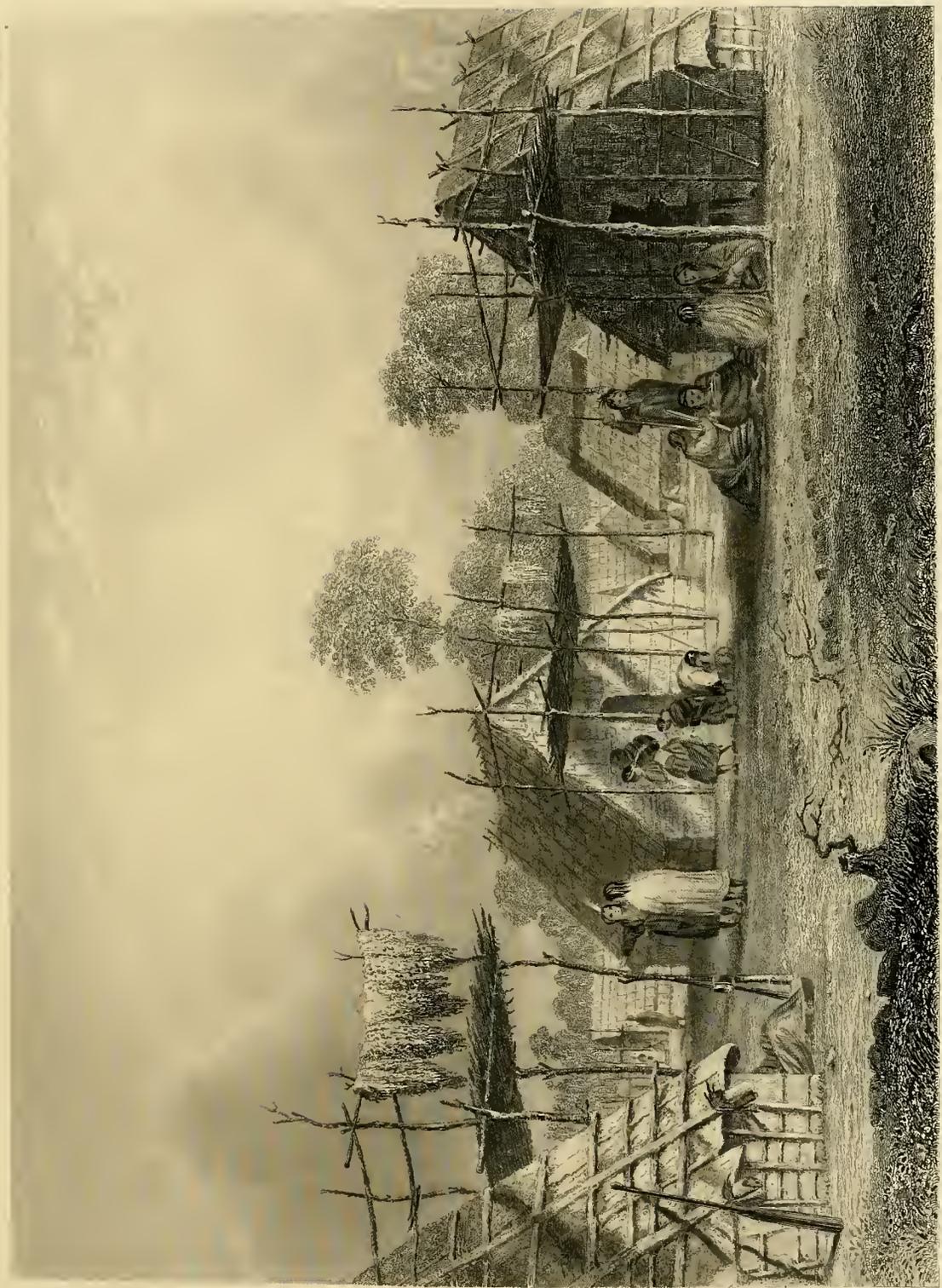
In March, 1865, a joint special committee of both houses of Congress, of which Senator Doolittle was chairman, was appointed to inquire into the condition of the Indian tribes, and especially as to the manner in which they had been treated by the military and civil authorities of the United States. On January 26, 1867, this committee reported that everywhere except in the Indian Territory the tribes were rapidly decreasing in number through disease, intemperance, wars among themselves and with the whites, the steady and resistless tide of white emigration, which, confining the Indians to still narrower limits, destroys their game, and the irrepressible conflict between a superior and an inferior race. The committee found that a large majority of our Indian wars were traceable to the aggressions of lawless whites upon our borders. This was the testimony of old frontiersmen like Colonel Bent and Colonel Carson, whose lives had been spent upon the plains and in intercourse with the natives.

In 1866 the Sioux Indians were disturbed by the emigration over the Powder River route to the gold-fields of Montana. This was Sioux territory, and their especial buffalo-range, and therefore indispensable to them. The treaty of 1851, granting them an annuity for fifty years, had without their consent been amended to fifteen years. This period had expired, and they claimed that the grant to the United States for the location of roads and establishment of posts had ceased also. In March, 1866, General Pope, in command of the Department of the Missouri, ordered the establishment of military posts on that route. When, in the summer,

troops were placed in the newly-erected Forts Phil Kearney, C. F. Smith, and Reno, the Indians notified the government that the occupation of the country by troops would be resisted; but the warning was disregarded. A treaty was tried. Some of the Indians voluntarily signed it, but Red Cloud retired from the council, and, placing his hand upon his rifle, said, "In this and in the Great Spirit I trust for the right." Soon war broke out. Emigrant travel ceased, the forts were besieged, and the country was overrun with Indians. On the 21st of December a wood-party from Fort Phil Kearney was attacked, and Colonel W. J. Fetterman went out to its relief. In the fight that ensued, every man of the force was killed. The costly effort to keep open this route continued until the spring of 1868, when, by a treaty with the Sioux, the posts were abandoned, and the Powder River route to Montana was closed.

In April, 1867, an expedition under General Hancock, commander of the department, left Fort Larned with the object of showing the Indians that he was "able to chastise any tribes who may molest people travelling across the plains." He proceeded up the Pawnee Fork of the Arkansas in the direction of a village of one thousand or fifteen hundred Cheyennes and Sioux. When near their camp, the chiefs visited him, as they had already done at Fort Larned, and requested him not to approach the camp with his troops, as otherwise the women and children, having the remembrance of Sand Creek, would abandon the village. On the 14th he resumed his march, and when about ten miles from their village he was again met by the head-men, who stated that they would treat with him there or elsewhere, but that they could not, as requested by him, keep their women and children in camp if he approached with soldiers. He informed them that he would march to within a mile of their village, and treat with them that evening. As he proceeded, the women fled. The chiefs and part of the young men remained. Orders were then given to surround the village and capture the Indians remaining. The order was obeyed, but the chiefs and warriors had departed. The fleeing Indians, hotly pursued by General Custer and his cavalry, destroyed a station at Smoky Hill, and killed several men. When the news reached Hancock, he at once burned the Indian village of three hundred lodges, together with the entire property of the tribe.

The Indians—all on the plains—now became outlaws, and, exasperated by the destruction of their village, waged a determined war. Many soldiers and settlers were killed, valuable trains were captured, stations were destroyed, and operations on the Union Pacific Railroad were seriously retarded. Engineers engaged in surveying the route, and workmen employed upon the road, were frequently waylaid and murdered, and stock and building-materials were destroyed and carried away. Overland immigration and traffic were interrupted, and attended with great danger. Early in August a freight-train in Nebraska was thrown off the track near Plum Creek Station, and all the employees save one were murdered, and the cars and merchandise burned. General Augur promptly sent troops to the scene of the disaster. On the 16th of August he had a battle with five hundred Sioux, sixty of whom were killed. Our troops were aided by a band of friendly Pawnees. The most



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important engagement in the region of the Powder and Yellowstone Rivers took place August 2, near Fort Phil Kearney. A party of woodcutters, with an escort of forty soldiers, under Captain James Powell, and about fifty citizens, were set upon by a large body of Cheyennes and Arapahoes, and a desperate fight ensued, lasting for three hours, when they were relieved by two companies of soldiers, with a howitzer, who drove off the Indians, with a loss of fifty or sixty killed and a large number wounded.

## CHAPTER IV.

### INDIAN PEACE COMMISSION OF 1867-68 — TREATIES WITH THE HOSTILE TRIBES—REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS—GENERAL SHERIDAN—RENEWAL OF HOSTILITIES—FORSYTH'S BATTLE—SURPRISE AND SLAUGHTER OF BLACK KETTLE AND HIS BAND—CESSATION OF THE WAR.

MILITARY operations against the hostile tribes having proved wholly ineffectual, Congress, on July 20, 1867, created a commission "to establish peace with certain hostile Indian tribes." The "Peace Commissioners" appointed were N. G. Taylor, Commissioner of Indian Affairs; J. B. Henderson, Chairman of the Indian Committee of the United States Senate; J. B. Sanborn and S. F. Tappan, civilians; and Generals Sherman, Harney, Terry, and Augur, of the army. They were to meet the chiefs and head-men of the hostile bands, and, if advisable, to make treaties with them, with a view,—first, to remove, if possible, the causes of war; secondly, to secure peace to our frontier settlements, and the safe construction of our railroads to the Pacific; and, thirdly, to suggest or inaugurate some plan for the civilization of the Indians. They were "also to examine and select a district or districts of country having sufficient area to receive all the Indian tribes occupying territory east of the Rocky Mountains not then settled upon reservations, which should have sufficient arable or grazing land to enable the tribes placed on them to support themselves, and so located as not to interfere with travelled highways and contemplated railroads to the Pacific."

At this time war existed with several tribes, and great diversity of opinion existed as to the proper method to be pursued, some believing in the efficacy of peaceful negotiations, while others saw no hope except in the entire subjugation of the Indians. With great difficulty the commissioners succeeded in procuring interviews with the leaders of these hostile tribes, through the facilities afforded by the military posts and Indian agencies. On September 12 they met at North Platte, on the Pacific Railroad, a large number of Sioux and Northern Cheyennes, some of whom had recently been engaged in war. At this meeting a full and friendly understanding was arrived at, which, though not reduced to writing, was faithfully kept by the Indians. The commissioners next proceeded to a point about eighty miles south of the Arkansas River, where they met, on Medicine Lodge Creek, the Kiowas, Comanches, Arapahoes, and Apaches. The Cheyennes were at first distrustful of the purpose of the commission, and encamped at a distance. A treaty was in due time made with the other tribes, and finally, on October 28, 1867, with the Cheyennes and Arapahoes. The Sioux, owing to the lateness of the season, and a belief prevalent among them that they were to be exterminated, did not appear at Fort Laramie at

the time appointed. Red Cloud, however, sent word that his hostility was with a view to save the Powder River country from intrusion, it being the only hunting-ground left to his people, and that whenever the garrisons of Forts Phil Kearney and C. F. Smith were withdrawn his hostility would cease. He agreed, however, to a truce until he could meet the commissioners in the following spring.

Resuming its duties at that time, the commission, on April 29, 1868, concluded a treaty with the Ogalalla and Brulé Sioux at Fort Laramie, afterwards accepted and ratified by the Blackfeet, Upper and Lower Yanktonnais, Unepapas, Sans Arc, Two-Kettle, Minneconjou, Lower Brulé, and Santee Sioux, providing that war was to cease forever. Bad men upon either side were to be arrested and punished, and persons injured were to be reimbursed. By the treaty with the Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches, a district of country in the Indian Territory, between the Red and Wachita Rivers and the 98th and 100th meridians of west longitude, was set apart for their absolute use and occupation, and for such other friendly tribes or individual Indians as from time to time they chose to admit among them; and the United States solemnly agreed that none but properly authorized persons should be permitted "to pass over, settle upon, or reside in the territory described, or in such territory as may be added to this reservation for the use of said Indians."

The same guarantee was given against outside intrusion on their lands in the treaty with the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, whose reservation adjoined theirs on the south, the Indians in both cases relinquishing their right of occupancy to the territory outside their reservations, but reserving the right to hunt on lands south of the Arkansas so long as the buffalo could be successfully chased therein. To the Sioux, with the same guarantee, was assigned the district between the Missouri River and the 104th meridian of west longitude, and between the 46th parallel of north latitude and the State of Nebraska. All these treaties stipulated that no cession of any part of the reservation should be valid unless executed and signed by three-fourths of all the adult males interested therein, and that no cession should deprive such Indians as had selected homesteads of their rights without their consent.

In the Sioux treaty the United States stipulated that the country north of the Platte and east of the summit of the Big Horn Mountains should be held to be unceded Indian territory, upon which no white person should settle without the Indians' consent, and that within ninety days after the conclusion of peace the military posts established in this territory should be abandoned, and the roads to them and by them to the Territory of Montana closed up. While ceding all territory outside of their reservation, they reserved the right to hunt north of the Platte and on the Republican Fork of the Smoky Hill. This treaty was ratified and proclaimed in the latter part of February, 1869.

In their report, made January 7, 1868, the commission recommended the setting apart of two districts for permanent Indian colonization,—one to be bounded north by the 46th parallel, south by the north line of Nebraska, east by the Missouri River, and west by the 104th meridian; the other east by the States of Missouri and Arkansas, west by the 101st meridian, north by Kansas, and south by Texas.

They also recommended that for each district a territorial government should be established, that agriculture and manufactures should be introduced as rapidly as possible, schools established, and courts and other institutions of government suited to their condition organized. Tribal distinctions should be blotted out, and the English language should be substituted for their barbarous dialects.

With reference to removing causes of complaint, the commissioners say, "This would be no easy task. It is now rather late in the day to think of obliterating from the minds of the present generation the remembrance of wrong. Among civilized men war usually springs from a sense of injustice. The best possible way, then, to avoid war is to do no act of injustice. When we learn that the same rule holds with Indians, the chief difficulty is removed. But it is said, 'Our wars with them have been almost constant. Have we been uniformly unjust?' We answer unhesitatingly, 'Yes!'" They say, further, that in every case of complications then, and for several years previously, existing, which they had investigated, the cause of difficulty was traced to the wrong-doing of our own people, both civil and military. Although no treaty had then been made with the Sioux, the commissioners said in their report that "with anything like prudence and good conduct on the part of our own people in future, we believe the Indian war east of the Rocky Mountains is absolutely closed."

From this ably-written and carefully-prepared document we quote still further :

"The treaty stipulations with many of the tribes are altogether inappropriate. They seem to have been made in total ignorance of their numbers and disposition, and in utter disregard of their wants.

"It is useless to go over the history of Indian removals. If it had been done but once, the record would be less revolting. From the Eastern to the Middle States, from thence to Illinois and Wisconsin, thence to Missouri and Iowa, thence to Kansas, Dakota, and the plains; whither next we cannot tell. Surely the policy was not designed to perpetuate barbarism; but such has been its effect. Many of the tribes are now beyond the region of agriculture, where the chase is a necessity. So long as they have to subsist in this way, civilization is out of the question."

The commission recommended, among other things, that the intercourse laws subsisting should be thoroughly revised, that white persons who trespass on Indian reservations should be removed by the military authorities, and that Indian affairs should be committed to an independent bureau or department.

For nearly a year the treaties made by the commission remained unratified,—a delay that worked great injury. The Indians had surrendered their old reservations, upon which the whites had already begun to settle, though by the terms of the treaty three years were to elapse before they should do so. General Sheridan, in taking command of the Department of the Missouri, in April, 1868, found encamped near Fort Dodge, Kansas, a large number of Kiowas, Comanches, Cheyennes, and Arapahoes, but declined the interview they sought in which to make known their needy condition. These Indians were practically without a home, had not received the annuities due them, and no appropriation had been made for fulfilling the provisions

of the treaty of 1867. They were destitute. Government failed to respond to the urgent and repeated requests of the Indian Commissioner, their agents, and others, to save them from actual starvation. Their outspoken dissatisfaction at this cruel treatment seems to have inspired General Sheridan with no other idea than that they required to be "soundly whipped, the ringleaders hung, their ponies killed, and such destruction of their property made as will render them very poor." Proceeding upon this theory, and believing that making peace with the Indians was an error of judgment on the part of the Peace Commissioners, it was not long before, in his judgment, the Indians, especially the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, were "hostile," and he began to prepare troops to operate against them. Upon his representations, a majority of the Peace Commissioners met in Chicago in October, 1868, reversed all their previous work, abrogated the hunting privileges outside of reservations, and decided to compel the Indians to go on the reservations assigned them, and that the Indian Bureau should be turned over to the War Department!

In August a new military district had been created, bounded east by the Arkansas River, south by Texas, north by Kansas, and west by the 100th meridian, to which General Hazen was assigned, with the supervision and control of the Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Kiowas, and Comanches. Just previous to this a dissatisfied party of Cheyennes had perpetrated outrages against the whites on the Saline River. Agent Wynkoop demanded of the principal chiefs, Medicine Arrow and Little Rock, that they should deliver up the perpetrators, which they promised should be done, but before sufficient time had elapsed for them to fulfil this promise, the troops were in the field, and the Indians in flight. General Sheridan was then operating with detached squads of troops, who annoyed and harassed the Indians, killing them whenever possible. In turn the Indians retaliated, killing some of Sheridan's scouts. In addition to his regular troops he obtained the services of two hundred Osage Indians, whom he attached to Custer's command. Governor Crawford, of Kansas, raised a regiment of volunteers, which he led in person.

One of the actions of this campaign furnishes a remarkable instance of heroism and endurance. Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel George A. Forsyth, Ninth U.S. Cavalry, was permitted to raise and lead a force of fifty men for a scouting expedition. Following a fresh trail, the morning of September 17 found them in camp on the bank of the Arickaree, in which stream there were but a few inches of running water. A small island in the middle of the stream, directly behind the bivouac, was fringed with willows and bore a few stunted trees. At daybreak the Indians rushed upon them, but were soon driven back. Forsyth, seeing their overwhelming numbers, at once decided to take position on the sand island, which was separated from the mainland by a mere thread of water. The movement was effected, and the men distributed in a circle, ordered to lie down, and as soon as possible dig rifle-pits for themselves in the sand. An annoying fire was kept up by the Indians until about nine o'clock, when a charge was made, with unearthly yells, by three hundred mounted warriors. When within thirty yards of the rifle-pits, a rapid and effective discharge stopped the savages, and caused them to take to flight as rapidly as they had advanced.

The ground was strewn with dead warriors, foremost among them Roman Nose, their principal war-chief. At two o'clock another assault was made and repulsed, and a third and much feebler one at about four o'clock in the afternoon. A September rain set in. Every horse and mule was killed by the enemy's fire. The second in command, Lieutenant Beecher, and five men, had been killed or mortally wounded, and seventeen severely wounded, among them the gallant Forsyth.

Fort Wallace, the nearest point whence succor could arrive, was one hundred miles distant. The men were without food, and surrounded by nine hundred well-armed warriors. A well was dug, the dead animals' flesh was cut into strips for food, the line was strengthened with saddles and dead animals, and at nightfall two men were despatched through the enemy's line to Fort Wallace. Day after day the heroic band sustained the steady fire of the Indians, but by the fifth day the suffering from hunger, as the meat could no longer be eaten, was intense. By this time the Indians began to disappear, and by the seventh day all had left, but the beleaguered force was too weak to move, when, on the morning of the ninth day, succor at length arrived. The Indians encountered were Northern Cheyennes, Brulé and Ogalalla Sioux, and about one hundred and seventy "Dog Soldiers," the banditti of the plains. Their loss is said to have been thirty-five killed and one hundred wounded.

On November 23, 1868, General Custer, with the Seventh Cavalry, proceeded south towards the Antelope Hills from his camp on the North Canadian River in search of hostile Indians. On the morning of the 27th he surprised Black Kettle's camp of Cheyennes on the Wichita, killed that chief and one hundred and three warriors, and captured the camp, including all their winter supply of flour, meat, and other provisions, fifty-three women, and their children. Black Kettle was assisted by the Arapahoes, under Little Raven, and the Kiowas, under Satanta, who were encamped six miles below, and who kept up a fierce attack on the troops from noon until about three P.M. Custer's loss was twenty-nine killed, including Major Elliot, and fourteen wounded. General Sheridan states that this battle took place one hundred miles beyond the reservation, and that it was this band that committed the first depredations upon the Saline and the Solomon. Both statements have been questioned.

In a communication from Colonel Wynkoop to the Indian Office he said that "a few thousand dollars for subsistence for these starving Indians at the proper time would have saved millions to the treasury, saved many white men's lives, saved the necessity of hunting down and destroying innocent Indians for the fault of the guilty, and driving into misery and starvation numbers of women and little children, not one of whom but then mourned some relative brutally murdered at the horrible massacre at Sand Creek, and who still suffer from the loss of their habitations and property wantonly destroyed by General Hancock." After the affair of the Wichita he wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs as follows: "I am perfectly satisfied that the position of Black Kettle at the time of the attack upon his village was not a hostile one. I know that he had proceeded to the point at which he was killed with the understanding that it was the locality where those Indians who were friendly

disposed should assemble. I know that such information had been conveyed to Black Kettle as the orders of the military authorities. . . . In regard to the charge that Black Kettle was engaged in the depredations committed on the Saline and Solomon during the summer of 1868, I know the same to be utterly false, as Black Kettle was at that time camped near my agency on the Pawnee Fork." Superintendent Murphy, of the Osage Agency, wrote the commissioner, December 4, 1868, that the party thus attacked and slaughtered by General Custer and his command was Black Kettle's band of Cheyennes,—“Black Kettle, one of the best and truest friends the white man had among the Indians of the plains.” The testimony of General Carr, who, July 11, 1869, surprised a camp of Dog Soldiers and Cheyennes near Valley Station, killing fifty-two and capturing a number of women and children, confirms the above statement. “We followed them,” says Carr, “for ten days, and found them at a spring east of the South Platte, near Valley Station, then went back towards the head of Frenchman's Fork. . . . The prisoners report this to be the only body of Indians known on the Republican. It is the same that fought Forsyth and all other parties on the Republican last year.”

Mo-ka-ta-va-ta, or Black Kettle, the principal Cheyenne chief, at a council held at Fort Ellsworth, Kansas, in the winter of 1866-67, spoke at length, and with earnest natural eloquence entreated that the Great Father would stop the building of the iron road, which would soon drive away the buffalo and leave his children without food. He was described at this time as a fine-looking man, of middle age, with heavy features and frame. He possessed great influence with his tribe, and by his wise counsel had more than once averted war. His dress was simple, with the exception of a massive necklace of crescent-shaped silver plates, from the front of which depended a heavy silver medal bearing the profile in relief of Washington. It had been presented long ago by the President of the United States to one of Black Kettle's ancestors, and was worn with evident pride.

December 22, 1868, General Custer reported that all the Apaches, nearly all the Comanches, and the principal chiefs and bands of the Kiowas had come in and placed themselves in a peaceful attitude. The Cheyennes and Arapahoes were supposed to be concentrated in the mountains forty or fifty miles from Fort Cobb. The Unepapa Blackfeet, Lower Yanktonnais, Sans Arcs, Upper and Lower Brulé, Two Kettle, Minneconjou, and Ogalallas, were for years prior to 1868 hostile to government, and depredated upon the white settlers. Claiming the ownership of Dakota and of parts of Montana and Wyoming, as well as Western Nebraska, they made every effort to prevent the settlement of that region, their hostility being specially directed against the Union Pacific Railroad. The military operations of 1867-68 convinced the Sioux of the hopelessness of the contest, and disposed them to accept the provision made for them by the treaty of 1868. Except the main portion of the Ogalalla band, and a considerable body from all the bands known as the “hostile Sioux,” of whom Sitting Bull and Black Moon were the principal chiefs, their bands were at the close of the year within their reservations.

Lieutenant-Colonel Evans moved from Fort Bascom up the main Canadian,

scouting to the head-waters of the Red River, and there discovered a trail of Comanches, followed it up, and on December 25 attacked the party, killing some twenty-five, wounding a large number, capturing and burning their village, and destroying all their property. General Carr operated on the Canadian, west of the Antelope Hills, and forced the Cheyennes and Arapahoes over into the eastern edge of the Staked Plains, where there was no grass, and, being without supplies, they were compelled to surrender, and promised to go upon their reservation. The Arapahoes were faithful, and delivered themselves up; the Cheyennes broke their promise, and did not come in until General Custer came upon them on the head-waters of Red River.

## CHAPTER V.

TROUBLES IN MONTANA—PIEGAN MASSACRE—RED CLOUD VISITS WASHINGTON—CHEYENNE, ARAPAHOE, AND WICHITA CHIEFS VISIT NEW YORK AND BOSTON—MODOC WAR—BLACK HILLS EXPEDITION—UNLAWFUL ORDER OF GENERAL SHERIDAN—SIOUX AND CHEYENNE WAR OF 1876—DESTRUCTION OF CRAZY HORSE'S VILLAGE—BATTLE OF THE ROSEBUD—MASSACRE OF GENERAL CUSTER'S COMMAND—AGENCY INDIANS DISARMED AND DISMOUNTED—SITTING BULL SURRENDERS—GENERAL McKENZIE DESTROYS A LARGE CHEYENNE VILLAGE—BANNOCK WAR—FLIGHT OF DULL KNIFE'S BAND OF NORTHERN CHEYENNES.

TROUBLES between the invading horde of miners and the Indian population of Montana culminated in the fall of 1869 in a proclamation of war by Acting-Governor Meagher, who on his own motion called out troops and offered a liberal bounty for Indian scalps. The Bloods and Blackfeet, who had for many years been on friendly terms with the whites, tried to avoid conflicts with Meagher's forces; nevertheless, some of them were plundered and a number were killed.

Mountain Chief's band of Piegans was disposed to retaliate these injuries, but this band had in the winter of 1869-70 gone north, and was wintering in the British possessions. An expedition under Colonel E. M. Baker, Second U.S. Cavalry, was sent against this party by General Sheridan, which on the 19th of January, 1870, moved towards the Maria's River. On the morning of the 23d he surprised the Piegan village of Bear Chief and Red Horn, a band against which no complaint had ever been made, and which at the time was terribly afflicted with smallpox, and, no resistance being offered, killed one hundred and seventy-three Indians, mostly women and children, and took about forty women and children prisoners. The latter were turned loose upon the prairie, to starve or perish otherwise. The report of Lieutenant Pease, Indian Agent for the Blackfeet, and a reliable officer, states that of the Indians killed thirty-three were men, fifteen only being warriors. These sickening details aroused the popular indignation, and the conduct of those engaged in the "Piegan Massacre" was severely condemned.

Two occurrences in 1870 tended to bring about a better understanding between the government and the Indian tribes. One of these was the visit to Washington of two deputations of powerful chiefs, headed by Red Cloud, the Sioux leader. A patient hearing of their grievances tended in some measure to allay their discontent, and after their return to the plains they labored faithfully for the preservation of peace. Their neighbors the Kiowas, angry at the arrest of their chiefs Satanta and Satauk, earnestly pressed them to go on the war-path, but they firmly refused.

Finding themselves unsupported, the Kiowas concluded to remain at peace. The other encouraging circumstance was found in the humane policy of President Grant, who appointed commissioners to visit the Indians from the Society of Friends, and called on other denominations of the country to send their best men among the savages as missionaries, and to bring them into accord with the ways of civilized society. The idea that the Indian could not be civilized had begun to be questioned.

Another deputation of chiefs visited Washington early in 1871 to confer with the government respecting their boundaries, and extended their visit to New York and Boston. In New York they were addressed by the venerable Peter Cooper, by Professor B. N. Martin, and others, and in Boston by Vincent Collyer and by Wendell Phillips, who alluded to Mo-ka-ta-va-ta (Black Kettle) as the Philip Sidney of the plains. Among these chiefs were Little Raven, Powder Face, and Bird Chief, of the Arapahoes; Little Robe and Stone Calf, of the Cheyennes; and Buffalo Goad, of the Wichitas. They were dressed partly in their native style, wearing moccasins and ear-rings, and having their long black hair braided. Buffalo Goad, their most eloquent speaker, wore a plain black suit. The prevailing type of face was that of the warlike Sioux,—a coarse, broad lower face, Hebrew nose, and retreating forehead. Powder Face formed a marked exception among them, his profile having all the grandeur of the traditional "noble red man." Stone Calf appeared in all the paraphernalia of a warrior. Speeches were made by several of the chiefs. Little Raven said, "Long ago the Arapahoes had a fine country of their own. The white man came, and the Indians gave him buffalo-meat and a horse to ride on, and told him the country was big enough for the white man and the Arapahoes too. After a while the white man found gold in our country. They took the gold, and pushed the Indian from his home. I am an old man now. I have been waiting many years for Washington to give us our rights. The white man has taken away everything. I hope justice will be done to my children, if not to myself. God gave this country to the Indian, and God sent the white man here; but I don't think God sent the white man to do injustice to the Indians always. I want my people to live like white people, and have the same chance. I hope the Great Spirit will put a good heart into the white people, that they may give us our rights." Buffalo Goad said, "We want houses built for our people to live in, and school-houses for our children, the same as white children have. The white people have done a great deal of wrong to our people, and we want to have it stopped. I want you to stop the white men from killing the Indians after this. I and my brother represent five different tribes who have always been friendly to the whites. But because we do not fight, Washington takes away our lands and gives them to the tribes that are fighting them all the time. When I got to Washington they said they knew all about my people. If they did know it, why didn't they help us and fix it? I would like to see churches and school-houses built in my land, and would like to see my children educated before I die."

A treaty with the Klamath and Modoc tribes, and the Yahooskin band of Snake Indians, of Oregon, ceding all their lands, and accepting a tract known as the Kla-

math Reservation, was made October 14, 1864. The Modocs went to work with zeal to build cabins and enclose ground for cultivation. In April, 1870, they left the reservation for their camp on Lost River. Captain Jack and his band of Modocs would have remained and settled down to civilization if there had been ordinary encouragement and assistance, and if the Klamaths, their hereditary enemies, who largely outnumbered them, had allowed them to do so. The agent could not protect them from their hostility, the issue of rations was suspended for want of funds, and Captain Jack and his band returned to their old home on Lost River, where collisions soon began with the whites who in the mean time had settled on the ceded lands.

The attempt to remove them in November, 1872, resulted in a conflict between the Modocs and the troops and white settlers. The Indians took refuge in the Lava Beds, an inaccessible region south of Tule Lake, where for weeks they successfully defied all the troops that could be brought against them. To bring about a peaceful settlement of the difficulties, a commission was appointed consisting of A. B. Meacham, L. S. Dyer, and Rev. E. Thomas, who were placed under the direction of General Canby. April 11, 1873, while engaged in a conference with Captain Jack and others under a flag of truce, the two latter were brutally murdered, and Mr. Meacham was severely wounded. After seven months' severe fighting, the Modocs were subdued, and Captain Jack and three of his principal men, who were implicated in the murder of the commissioners, were tried by court-martial and executed, October 3. The remnant of the tribe was captured June 5, 1873, and placed on a reservation in the Indian Territory.

A campaign against the Southern Cheyennes in 1873-74 was successfully and vigorously carried on by General Miles, and on March 6, 1874, the main body surrendered. Thirty-three were selected for punishment, and sent to Fort Marion, St. Augustine, Florida, to be closely confined. A few days after, nearly four hundred of the Cheyennes "stampeded," went north, and joined their relatives in Dakota. In the following year the Cheyennes, Kiowas, and Comanches, on the borders of the Staked Plains, were brought under subjection and disarmed, and an active campaign was carried on against the Indians who had committed outrages on the Mexican border. The campaign against the Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Kiowas, Comanches, and other bands in the Southwest was successfully terminated, the former surrendering themselves as prisoners of war and giving up their captives.

By the treaty of 1868 with the Sioux, the country lying between the northern boundary of Nebraska and the 46th parallel of north latitude, bounded east by the Missouri River and west by the 104th degree of west longitude, together with the reservations then existing on the east side of the Missouri, was set apart for the absolute and undisturbed use and occupation of the Sioux for their permanent home. It also provided that the country north of the North Platte and east of the summit of the Big Horn Mountains should be held and considered unceded Indian territory, upon which no white person should enter without the consent of the Indians first had and obtained. They thus reserved the right north of the North Platte and on the Republican Fork of the Smoky Hill River. The treaty left it to the discretion of

the Indian whether he would be a farmer or a nomad, the former living on reservations and receiving a larger annuity. Many naturally preferred to follow the chase. This treaty was the work of the Peace Commission, whose honor as men, as well as the faith of the United States, was pledged to the faithful performance of its stipulations. In less than three months after its ratification came the order of General Sheridan, dated June 29, 1869, declaring all Indians outside the well-defined limits of their reservations to be under the original and exclusive jurisdiction of the military authority, and stating that, as a rule, they would be considered hostile. This unlawful order was executed until December, 1876.

While the Sioux were hunted down and punished from time to time for exercising their right to roam and hunt in the surrendered territory, the whites in large and small bodies passed through and prospected in the forbidden territory, protected by the military. A formidable expedition, in charge of General Custer, left St. Paul in June, 1874, to explore the Black Hills, at which the Sioux were exceedingly incensed. Gold was said to be abundant, and expeditions were soon organized. It was also decided to locate the line of the Northern Pacific Railroad to the south of the Yellowstone. These measures completed the alienation of the Indians, and, depredations upon them having begun, they retaliated. The surveying parties who attempted to run the new line of the railroad were driven off. Early in 1876 there were a large number of trespassers in the Black Hills.

On December 6, 1875, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in pursuance of the instructions of the Secretary of the Interior, through the agencies, notified Sitting Bull and other hostile Indians to remove within the bounds of their reservations on or before the 31st of the next month. These Indians were nomads who were hunting in the unceded Indian country under the guarantee of the treaty of 1868. They returned for answer that they were then engaged in hunting buffalo, but that early in the spring they would visit the agency and discuss the points at issue. Although required to repair to the reservations, no food was provided for them had they done so. On the 1st of February, 1876, Sitting Bull and his followers were turned over to the War Department by the Secretary of the Interior, and thus the unjustifiable and impolitic Sioux war of 1876 was inaugurated.

Military operations began in the latter part of February, 1876, General Crook taking the field with about thirteen hundred troops, and sending a part of his command, under General Reynolds, against the band of Crazy Horse. His village was at Bear Buttes, and the Indians were on their way to Red Cloud Agency. They had been delayed here some time by severe weather, as the women and children could not be moved with safety. On the 17th of March Reynolds surprised the village, which he attacked and destroyed. He captured eight hundred ponies, but they were recovered by the Indians next day. The severity of the weather caused the return of the expedition to Fort Fetterman on March 26.

General Crook again marched against the Indians on May 29. On June 17 he encountered the Indians under Sitting Bull. The so-called Battle of the Rosebud ensued, and so skilfully were the Indians handled that General Crook was obliged to

retreat. The battle of the Little Big Horn occurred on the 25th, between a portion of the force of General Terry, under General Custer, and the Indians under Sitting Bull. Coming upon a large Indian village, Custer attacked with five companies of the Seventh Cavalry, and his entire command was obliterated. The remaining seven companies, under Major Reno, were nearly surrounded, and fought from two o'clock of the 25th till six o'clock of the 26th. They were relieved by the timely arrival of General Terry's command on the 27th. Our loss was twelve officers and two hundred and fifty-five men killed, two officers and fifty-one men wounded. The Indian force was estimated at from two thousand five hundred to three thousand warriors. They say that their victory was not so much owing to superior numbers as to the exhausted condition of Custer's men and horses, and their advancing into a gorge where they could easily be cut off.

After this disaster various columns of troops visited the Red Cloud, Standing Rock, and Cheyenne River Agencies, and disarmed and dismounted the Agency Indians as a part of the operations supposed to be necessary to settle finally the Sioux difficulties. Colonel Otis, at Glendivi, and Colonel Miles, at Tongue River, had encounters with the Indians, during which over four hundred lodges surrendered. These Indians, who agreed with Colonel Miles to go into the agency, were in fact Agency Indians of the Minneconjou and Sans Arc bands, who had long desired to return home, but were excluded by the order to dismount and disarm them which preceded the expedition of General Crook, and which had caused them to abandon their agencies. They were no part of Sitting Bull's followers. At this time Sitting Bull, in an interview with General Miles, told that officer that he desired peace, but that if troops came out to him he would fight them. He desired to hunt buffalo and to trade, but wanted no rations or annuities, and desired to live as an Indian. He resided peacefully and undisturbed in the queen's dominions until July 10, 1881, when he, with the remainder of his band, surrendered to Major Brotherton, of the Seventh Infantry, at Fort Buford. Sitting Bull was the son of chief Jumping Bull, and was born in 1837, near old Fort George, on Willow Creek, below the mouth of the Cheyenne River. He very early acquired skill and fame both in war and in the chase. The order requiring him to dwell upon an agency was in plain violation of his treaty rights, and the attempt to enforce it was an outrage and a national dishonor. Of a piece with this was the conduct of the government in robbing the peaceable Indians at the agencies of their arms and ponies. Red Cloud was told by the military that it was done by the order of the President. He asked if his Great Father had given such an order, and said, "What have I done, that I should receive such treatment from him whom I thought my friend? My faith in justice being done to the Indians has been destroyed by the course that has been pursued towards these peaceable people."

In November, 1876, General Crook again resumed offensive operations. He sent a column under General McKenzic in pursuit of the Northern Cheyennes, whose village he surprised and attacked on the morning of the 25th. At the first alarm the Indians jumped on their ponies, and were hurrying their squaws and children

out of the camp when the troops came upon them. Panic-stricken, they fired a volley and fled, taking refuge among the rocks and ravines, from which they began to fire on the cavalry, then just forming for the attack. Some gained the bluff commanding the camp, while others occupied the upper part of the village, from which they were driven by a cavalry charge. The contest continued all day. Many Indians were killed, and the village, whose population consisted of twelve hundred souls, of whom three hundred were warriors, was burned. Of McKenzie's force eight officers and privates were killed and twenty-five wounded. Eighty thousand pounds of buffalo-meat,—their winter store,—twelve hundred robes, and all their property were burned. Those that escaped were utterly destitute, and the weather was intensely cold.

Let us for a moment examine the status of these Indian wards of the United States. Here was a remote, secluded village, whose inmates had not recently been on the war-path, but who had been engaged in providing their winter stock of food and in preparing for market the hides of the buffalo they had slain. They had no home on any reservation, but had a right to roam and hunt in the country in which they then were. This right was guaranteed to them by the treaty of May 10, 1868. In the agreement of September, 1876, with these and the Sioux Indians, was the pledge that each individual should be "protected in his rights of property, person, and life." The covenants of this agreement were known to Generals Crook and McKenzie and all the military officers in the Sioux country. Such were the circumstances attending this fresh crime against humanity. A portion of the Indians that escaped surrendered to General Miles in the following spring. The chief Hump, their spokesman, handed his belt and gun to the general, and also turned over all his ponies, saying, "Take these: I am no longer chief or warrior." To a newspaper correspondent who asked why he had put himself in hostility to the government, he replied, "I never went to war with the whites. The soldiers began chasing me about, for what cause I do not know to this day. I dodged as long as I could, and hid my village away, but at last they found it, and I had no alternative but to fight or perish."

In May, 1877, Crazy Horse and his band came to Red Cloud Agency. Their wish was to be assigned to some district where they could chase the buffalo and be free. In August, in consequence of some troubles at the agency, the bands of Crazy Horse were dismembered and distributed among other bands, and the chief was arrested and held as a prisoner. He was sent to Camp Robinson September 5, and while being disarmed at the guard-house was stabbed with a bayonet by a soldier, and died in a few hours.

During the year 1878 the services of the army were required against the Bannock Indians, of Oregon, whose acts of violence and final outbreak in June of that year were caused by the insufficiency of food on the reservation. This in turn was owing to the inadequacy of the appropriation made by Congress to the wants of the Indians at a time when they were prevented from supplying the deficiency by hunting. After an arduous pursuit by the United States troops, and several engage-

ments, the hostile Indians were reduced to subjection, and the larger part of them surrendered themselves as prisoners.

The Northern Cheyennes, numbering nine hundred and seventy, were transferred in August, 1877, to the Indian Territory, and turned over to the agent of the Southern Cheyennes and Arapahoes. They were dissatisfied with their new home, refused to affiliate with these Indians, and manifested a repugnance to farming, but strongly desired to return north, where they said they would settle down. Among the disaffected was Dull Knife's band, which had intermarried with the Ogalalla or Red Cloud Sioux and longed to return north and join their friends. On the night of September 9, 1878, this band, more than three hundred in number, left their lodges and started north. There were eighty-seven warriors in the party. They were pursued by the military, and several engagements took place as they passed through Kansas, where they killed settlers, burned houses, and committed other hostile acts. After a journey of six hundred miles, greatly reduced in number, they reached Northern Nebraska, where they surrendered to the troops on condition that they should be taken to Dakota. After two months' imprisonment at Fort Robinson, they were sent back to the Indian Territory, Dull Knife and his warriors protesting that they preferred death to that alternative. It was midwinter, and the cold was intense, and it is stated that as a means of reducing them to submission they were for five days deprived of proper food, clothing, and fuel. Such inhumanity seems incredible. On the evening of January 9, 1879, Dull Knife and his warriors, followed by the women and children, fled from the fort and made for the bluffs, three miles distant. They were hunted down and slain like wild beasts. The surviving women and children, seventy-five in number, were sent to dwell with the Ogalalla Sioux, their relatives, at the Pine Ridge Agency, Dakota.

## CHAPTER VI.

ATTEMPT TO REMOVE JOSEPH'S BAND OF NEZ PERCÉS RESISTED—BATTLES OF WHITE BIRD CAÑON AND THE CLEARWATER—PURSUIT OF JOSEPH'S BAND BY GENERAL HOWARD—REPULSE OF GENERAL GIBBON—STAMPEDE OF HOWARD'S PACK-TRAIN—BATTLE OF BEAR-PAW MOUNTAIN, AND SURRENDER OF THE INDIANS TO GENERAL MILES—TROUBLES WITH THE UTES—CESSION OF THEIR LANDS, SEPTEMBER 13, 1873—MURDER OF AGENT MEEKER AT THE WHITE RIVER AGENCY—ATTACK ON MAJOR THORNBURGH'S COMMAND—UTES AGREE TO LEAVE COLORADO AND SETTLE ON A RESERVATION.

IN consequence of troubles between the Indians and the white settlers, the government, early in 1877, decided to remove chief Joseph and his band of Nez Percés from their old home in the Wallowa Valley, Oregon,—a strip of country fifty miles broad, following the windings of the Snake River from the Powder River,—to the Lapwai Reservation, in Idaho, where since 1863 the larger part of the tribe, known as "treaty Indians," had resided. Joseph, with about five hundred Indians who had refused to accede to the treaty of 1863 excluding them from their homes, rightfully claimed the valley under the Stevens treaty of 1855, and it had also been conceded to them by President Grant in 1873. Two years later this order was revoked, and "in the interests of peace" General Howard was directed to induce Joseph to remove.

When the commissioners appointed to endeavor to compose the trouble with Joseph's band held a council with them, in 1876, and asked them to abandon their claim to the valley, within which a few whites were settled, that chief said, "I was made of the earth, and grew up upon its bosom. The earth, as my mother and nurse, is too sacred to my affections to be valued by, or sold for, silver and gold. . . . I ask nothing of the President. I am able to take care of myself. I am disposed to live peaceably. I and my band have suffered wrong rather than do wrong. One of our number was wickedly slain by a white man last summer, but I shall not avenge his death. But the voice of that brother's blood, unavenged by me, will call the dust of our fathers back to people the land in protest against this great wrong." At the last moment the chief was thought to be acting in good faith for the removal, when some of the younger Indians opposed to it, and panting for excitement, murdered some white settlers, and he was constrained to go with the current now setting so strongly among his followers in the direction of war.

Hostilities began on June 13. Two companies of cavalry under Captain Perry, sent by General Howard to the scene of disorder, were ambushed and defeated on the 17th at White Bird Cañon, losing one lieutenant and thirty-three men,—one-third of the command. On the 11th of July Howard attacked the Indians in a deep

ravine on the Clearwater, near the mouth of Cottonwood Creek, and, renewing the conflict the next day, routed them, capturing their camp and much of their provisions. Twenty-three warriors were killed, a much larger number were wounded, and twenty-three were taken prisoners. Howard's loss was thirteen killed, and two officers and twenty-two men wounded.

On the 17th Joseph began his famous retreat eastward towards the buffalo country, taking the Lolo trail through a pass of the Bitter Root Mountains into Idaho. Followed on the 27th by Howard, the pursuit continued across plains, over mountains, and through forests, most of the way being over a desolate and exceedingly difficult country, for thirteen hundred miles, and lasted seventy-five days. The Indians, accompanied by their women and children, drove along a large herd of ponies, which furnished them with fresh remounts whenever hard pressed. Colonel Gibbon, who with one hundred and fifty men attacked them, August 9, on Wisdom River, Montana, was soon placed on the defensive, and he and his entire command would have been killed or captured but for the approach of Howard. On August 20 Joseph turned upon Howard at Camas Prairie, stampeding and running off his pack-train. On September 13 Colonel Sturgis had a fight with him on the Yellowstone, below the mouth of Clark's Fork. By September 20 the Indians had reached the Missouri River, near Cow Island, and would doubtless have succeeded in their purpose of joining Sitting Bull in the British Dominions had not General Miles been where he could, with his comparatively fresh troops, intercept them. That officer had moved promptly across the country from Tongue River, crossed the Missouri near the mouth of the Mussel-Shell, and on September 30 surprised the Nez Percés in a ravine at Bear-Paw Mountain, near the mouth of Eagle Creek. Making his dispositions to prevent their escape, he fought a bloody and successful battle, winning it before the arrival of Howard. He lost two officers and twenty-one men killed, and four officers and thirty-eight men wounded. The Indians lost six of their leading chiefs and twenty-five warriors, besides forty wounded. On October 5 Joseph and his people, numbering between four hundred and five hundred, surrendered. They were held at Fort Leavenworth until July, 1878, when they were attached to the Ponca Agency, in the Indian Territory.

"Throughout this extended campaign," says General Sherman, "the Indians displayed a courage and skill that elicited universal praise. They abstained from scalping, let captive women go free, did not murder indiscriminately as usual, and fought with almost scientific skill, using advance- and rear-guards, skirmish-lines, and field fortifications." Thus closed one of the most extraordinary Indian wars on record.

Seven different bands of Indians compose the Ute Nation, which formerly roamed over the vast territory embraced in Western Colorado, Eastern Utah, Northern New Mexico and Arizona, and Southern Wyoming. They also followed the buffalo through Eastern Colorado during their periodical hunts, at the risk of war with the Cheyennes and Arapahoes and the Comanche and Kiowa Indians, who claimed as theirs the country over which the great Southern herd of buffalo ranged. The four

principal of these bands of Utes are the Uintahs, in Northeastern Utah, estimated at four hundred and thirty souls; the Los Pinos, in the Uncompahgre Valley, two thousand; the Southern Utes, in Southwestern Colorado, nine hundred and thirty-four; and the White River Utes, in Northwestern Colorado, eight hundred. They are among the fiercest and most warlike of the tribes, and occupy a rough and difficult country, whose mineral wealth alone renders it attractive to white settlers. They hunt the bear, elk, and deer of the mountain-region, and will do no work, nor attempt farming. Captain J. Gunnison, U.S.A., while executing a government survey, was murdered by the Utes, with his entire party, on the Sevier River, October 26, 1853.

In March, 1868, N. G. Taylor, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Alexander C. Hunt, Governor of Colorado Territory, and Colonel Kit Carson, on the part of the United States, concluded a treaty with representative chiefs of these bands, among whom were Ouray, Kinache, and José Maria, by which a large tract of land in Western Colorado was set apart for their "absolute use and occupation," the United States solemnly agreeing that no persons except those authorized by the treaty should ever be "permitted to pass over, settle upon, or reside in the territory described." The Utes agreed to relinquish all claims to any portion of the territory except such as was embraced in the limits defined in the treaty. It was not long before miners began to enter the Ute Reservation and to work the mines. The Utes were uneasy, and in 1871 Ouray asked that a military post be established near the reservation to prevent further intrusion and to expel those unlawfully within it. In July, 1873, a commission consisting of Felix R. Brunot and Nathan Bishop was sent to negotiate with the Utes for the purchase of the reserve. During the conference that ensued, Brunot stated that the intruders could not be kept away. To this Ouray responded with the pertinent question, "Why cannot you stop them? Is not the government strong enough to keep its agreement with us?"

Finally, on September 13, 1873, the commissioners succeeded in making an agreement with the Utes ceding to the United States nearly four million acres of their reservation, comprising the mineral lands. It was, however, stipulated that the Utes should be permitted to hunt on this land as long as the game lasted and the Indians were at peace with the whites, twenty-five thousand dollars per annum to be disbursed or invested, at the discretion of the President, for the use and benefit of the Utes annually forever. It was also stipulated that all the provisions of the treaty of 1868 should remain in force, the prohibitions against unauthorized persons settling upon the reservation being expressly reaffirmed.

With the surrender of this portion of their reservation, the Utes had a right to expect and did expect that they would be relieved from further inroads, and that they would be protected in what was termed the agricultural lands. But it was not so to be, and "ranchmen" soon intruded wherever a good grazing-spot could be found for their stock, and occupied the valleys with their ranches. Early in September, 1879, Mr. Meeker, of the White River Agency, had a difficulty with Chief Johnson about ploughing a piece of land belonging to the Indians, and sent for troops to arrest such

Indian chiefs as were insubordinate, and to afford the agent requisite protection. As soon as the Indians learned that the troops were advancing, they became greatly excited, regarding it as a declaration of war. They requested Major Thornburgh, the commander, to halt his troops, and with five soldiers to come to the agency, where a talk and a better understanding could be had. That officer decided not to comply with this request, and the command entered the Ute Reservation in the afternoon of September 28. On the 29th, Agent Meeker and all his male employees at the White River Agency were killed by the Indians residing there. On the morning of the same day, when about to enter a cañon, and fifteen miles from the agency, Lieutenant Cherry, who had been sent forward with an advance guard to reconnoitre, was fired upon. The fact being communicated to Major Thornburgh, he withdrew his troops and placed them in line of battle, with orders to await the attack of the Indians. The warriors, under Chief Jack, numbering about one hundred, soon delivered a volley, and the battle began. Major Thornburgh, two other officers, eleven citizens, and two soldiers were killed, and forty-one wounded. The Indians admitted a loss of thirty-nine.

A delegation of chiefs and principal men of the Utes visited Washington early in 1880, and by an agreement, dated March 6, and an Act of Congress, approved June 15, consented to remove from the State of Colorado to some other location, on being paid the value of their Colorado lands. George W. Manypenny, Alfred B. Meacham, John B. Bowman, John J. Russell, and Otto Mears were appointed commissioners to secure the ratification and to execute the provisions of the same. Its ratification by three-fourths of the adult males of the tribe having been procured, steps were taken, in September, 1880, to cause the money appropriated to be paid over to the Indians, the portion of the White River Utes to be withheld from that band until the surrender or apprehension of those implicated in the murders at their agency, September 29, 1879.



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