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Contributors

Simon, Barbara Allan, Mrs.

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To Rabbi Frost
with the best wishes of B. A. Simon

THE HOPE OF ISRAEL;

PRESUMPTIVE EVIDENCE

THAT THE

ABORIGINES OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

ARE DESCENDED FROM THE

TEN MISSING TRIBES OF ISRAEL.

נחמו נחמו עמי יאמר
אלהיכם: דברו על לב ירושלם
וקראו אליה כי מלאה צבאה כי
נרצה עונה כי לקחה מיד
יהוה כפלים בכל חטאתיה:

Isaiah xl.

BY BARBARA ANNE SIMON.

LONDON:

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DEDICATION.

To you beloved of the LORD, I dedicate (in His Name, and as His disciple,) this "HOPE OF ISRAEL," "*to whom pertaineth the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the service of God, and the promises; whose are the Fathers, and of whom as concerning the flesh the Messiah came, who is over all, God blessed for ever.*"

Accept this expression of a grateful heart, which can set to its seal, that "*Blessed are they who bless Israel*"—and that I may become more worthy to accompany you in that walk of faith and obedience to which you have been called is the constant prayer of

Your's in the LORD,

B. A. SIMON.

RESTORATION OF ISRAEL.

KING of the dead—how long shall sweep
Thy wrath? how long thine outcasts weep?
Two thousand agonizing years
Have Israel steep'd their bread in tears.
'Tis done—hath breath'd thy trumpet's blast—
The tribes at length have wept their last,
From shore to shore—from sea to sea,
Peals the glad sound of Jubilee.
Now Earth send forth that ransom'd host,
Immur'd within thine utmost coast!

There rides no glittering chivalry
When Judah's banner greets the eye.
The *world within their heart* hath *died*—
"*Peace sprinkled blood*" hath slain *its* pride.
Contrition's pale meek look is there,
And the rent-heart's deep fervent prayer.
Long hoarded in Earth's wildest track,
On bursts the living cataract.

What adverse power can check its speed,
By Judah's warrior LION freed?
He heads His host, beneath whose wheel
Back rolls the sea, the mountains reel.
King of the free! Oh not in vain
Thy lowly pilgrimage and pain!
Oh! not in vain arose thy prayer,
When press'd the thorns thy temples bare!
For this glad "*year of thy redeem'd*"
Thy prayer arose, thy life-blood stream'd.
* * * * * * *
What frowning omens shroud the sky?
Ye nations quail—ye meek draw nigh!

A sanguine moon, a sun's sunk glow—
Strife, uproar, earthquake, famine, woe.
The *heir's return* hath *clos'd your lease* ;
Where are *its fruits*—Faith, love, and peace ?
* * * * * * *

And now expands th' auspicious arch,
To greet the suppliant's homeward march.
The palm-trees wave, and on their gaze
Bride-like attired doth Zion blaze.
And lo ! prophetic scenes unfold
Their glories of unwonted mould ;
Scenes that pure seraphs long to see,
Reserv'd O prodigal for thee.

What [1] City this ? What Potentate
Sits there enthron'd [2] where David sate,
Whom glory covers as a robe,
Whose righteous sceptre awes the globe,
Whom seal'd (once suffering) kindred guard ?
It is the Man whose face was marr'd—
To whom earth's kings shall bend the knee,
The weeper in Gethsemane !
Down in the dust now Judah kneel,
For now thy smitten heart must feel,
Now shall thy wan cheek burn like flame,
[3]THERE REIGNS THY GLORY, and thy shame.

[1] Isaiah lii. 1, 9. liv. 4, &c. lx. lxi. lxii. Psalm cxxxii. 13. Zech. xii. 8—10. Zephan. iii. 15.

[2] Luke i. 32 ; also verse 69, &c. Psalm cx. cxxxii. 17. Zech. xiv. 16, 17. Amos ix. 11.

[3] Jeremiah iii, 17. Ezek. xliii. 7. xlviii. 35. Matt. xxv. 31. Matt. v. 35.

ERRATA.

Page	Line			
6	11	*for*	thousand	*read* others, &c.
11	10	—	even now	—— their word will
24	13	—	Milleniaries	—— Millenaries
25	14	—	Call thee an outcast, saying	—— Call an outcast this Zion, whom no man, &c.
61	23	—	mischevous	—— mischievous
61	24	—	Chichasaws	—— Chickasaws
135	27	—	which did not return	—— none of whom returned
182	8	—	shall be his	—— shall be theirs
196	(Note)	—	ישדאל	—— ישראל
197	10	—	infliction she	—— inflictions, he
218	11	—	by the continued	—— of the continued
222	16	—	relate that	—— relate an anecdote
224	4	—	Arnold delivering his commission	—— Arnold behaved very, &c.
232	8	—	skins	—— skin
265	8	—	corruption	—— practice
265	(Note)	—	from their	—— for their
274	28	—	Anachni	—— Anahuic
285	33	—	brushes	—— bushes
291	3	—	places	—— place
298	2	—	encroachment and that	—— encroachment, together

ADVERTISEMENT.

Since the publication of the prospectus of this work, additional matter having been generously supplied by friends in England and America, the publication of a second volume has been recommended. If, therefore, the subscribers should feel sufficiently interested in the subject, to wish further illustration, or more recent intelligence of the Western Tribes, they are requested to return their names, either to the publishers, or through the medium of those friends from whom they received the prospectus.

INTRODUCTION.

THE history of the Hebrews exhibits to the intellectual world a distinct phenomenon, fraught with instruction the most important, and involving consequences the most momentous to the nations.

The Supreme Ruler chose, of his sovereign will, this peculiar people, on whom he bestowed His NAME; which he also imparted to their Land as a pledge of the perpetuity of their claim to its possession, and as an earnest of his receiving and answering those prayers which, under *any circumstances* and at *any time*, they should in faith of this promise direct thither.

Those who had faith in the power of that *arcanum*, which the ineffable NAME contained and could communicate, urged it as a plea in supplicating immunity from justice, or the bestowment of unmerited favour. "Save us O

LORD, for thy NAME's sake!" was the ever-prevailing prayer, which all the prophets of Israel acknowledged in their day. Isaiah touchingly alludes to this high prerogative, when he thus makes mention of the short time which they had possessed the land. The people of thy Holiness have possesed it but a little time—our enemies have trodden down thy sanctuary—we are thine—thou never bearest rule over them—they were not called by thy Name.——A long interval of estrangement and consequent degeneracy, may have made Israel forget that this never-failing argument, never revoked, and never transferred, is still theirs to urge; but "their unbelief shall not make the faithfulness of GOD" of none effect; He may justify to them and the nations their restoration, by His appeal to that unrevoked claim, of which they have lost sight; "Not for your sakes do I these things, O House of Israel, be ye ashamed and confounded—but for my Holy Name's sake."

Abraham, the father of this peculiar people, against all precedent and analogy—those landmarks which regulate the decision of inferior minds—acknowledged a message from GOD, repugnant as it was to every feeling of human nature; and as an evidence of his faith in its divine authority, left his kindred, home, and temporal possessions, to sojourn in a hitherto unknown land, which by a charter of PROMISE

was secured to him and his lineal posterity, through the lines of Isaac and Jacob, while *Sun and Moon should endure;* he being at that time *childless* and *aged.*

Again, when in a still greater trial of his loyalty to his SOVEREIGN LAWGIVER, he was commanded to offer, as a sacrifice, that son of whom it had been declared—"his posterity should be as the stars innumerable," he obeyed; thus giving evidence of a faith, which could triumph beyond reason, and above nature, in devotion to the AUTHOR of LIFE, from whom he had received *(as it were, from the dead)* that *promised* son. Hence Abraham became "the friend of GOD," and the federal head of his posterity, with whom an *everlasting covenant of heirship* was made; confirmed, on the part of the SOVEREIGN, by an oath, and ratified, on that of Abraham and his descendants, including the MESSIAH, by a perpetual transmission of its seal in their flesh.

Nor were the beneficent blessings which that treaty and alliance involved, limited to the lineal posterity af Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. They were to extend in the person, and by the merits of the MESSIAH'S atonement and obedience to the Divine Law which had been broken by Adam, to bless those out of the nations, who by a faith and obedience, like that of Abraham, should establish their claim of relation to him; not by engrossing but *partaking* of those pro-

mises to Israel, which through the sacrifice of "the LAMB of GOD," become their conjoint inheritance—promises in *kind and degree*, limited only by their own *kind* and *degree*, of *faith* in them. The righteous Abel knew that atonement by shedding of blood, and obedience by a surrender of *self* to the will of GOD, were necessary to do away the effects of the disobedience which had shrouded the fair face of nature with the curse, together with man and the various animal tribes. "The LORD had respect unto Abel, and to his offering,"—but sin, an inconceivable evil, called for an infinite atonement, and propitiation, which in due time, should be made by a greater than he. *Abel* was slain by his envious brother, but was replaced by *Seth*. *Enoch* succeeded in the elect line, of whom came Noah, a preacher of righteousness" to a generation who had corrupted their ways, who questioned the cognizance of the onmiscient ONE, and desired not to know, neither to obey HIM. Of the three sons of Noah, the elect was Shem, to whom was *given* an *independant blessing*—while *Japhet*, of whom came the mingled Gentiles, was to participate in this independant blessing, *faith in their medium of benefaction becoming to them a blessing*. The curse of servitude to both, was to distinguish Ham. *Abraham* succeeded in this line; and of his offspring, not Ishmael, but *Isaac*, was chosen—and not in Esau,

but in *Jacob* and his *twelve sons* the election continued. A *remnant* of these *fell not*, when some of the branches through unbelief were broken off from the elect root and stem of the good olive. Thereby affording a term of access —an interval of probation to the Gentiles.

A revelation of the mind and will of GOD, at successive periods, was communicated to the patriarchs and prophets of Israel, (the latter being generally of the regal and priestly families,) in due time to emanate from them to the nations, —this constellation of divine knowledge, pure from the source of primeval truth, was, by those who received and recorded it, clothed with that form which we now "see" and "handle" as the written "WORD" of GOD—the "living oracles," at which all succeeding generations should reverently and *individually* inquire, that they might *know aright*, and *perform acceptably* the will of GOD.

With this immaculate standard—this unerring guide, *nothing* of *human wisdom* may with impunity be amalgamated or combined; not one iota or tittle of its testimony may (without *fatal results*) be neutralized, evaded, accommodated, or transferred: for as the flaming sword turned every way to guard the tree of life from the approach of the *disobedient*, even so the plagues recorded therein are incurred by those who "*add to*" or "*diminish from*" its minutest truths,

which shall all be fulfilled in *due season*, the *future* as *literally* as the past:—for while the curses which have been the *concomitants of Israel's temporary unbelief* have been literally verified on them, *in the sight of all nations*, much more shall the *blessings* which are *their birthright inheritance by election* be literally glorified in them *in the sight of all nations*. A thousand mighty kingdoms have been ingulphed by the unsparing revolutions of time and other causes—a thousand are now filling up the measure of their cup, reeling onward in reckless intoxication to their fall. Man, like the grass, vegetates a brief season, and is mowed by the scythe of inexorable Death: but the WORD of the LORD, unconscious of mutation, is the same for ever; in whose sun-like compass, time is comprehended as a field of probation for the human race, while all its revolutions are distinctly marked and minutely delineated, with their corresponding relations and duties, in order that the ordeal of faith and obedience, which should prove the visitations of these various periods, might find none unprepared, and overtake none unawares, but the disobedient. At the eve of their visitation, Noah preached *repentance* to the antediluvian generation, who turned a deaf ear to his *prophetic* warning: they and their works perished from the face of the *earth, which survived its baptism*. John the Baptist preached

repentance to that generation who read Moses and the Prophets with a veil upon their heart and understanding—and who by reason of that delusive medium which human wisdom had thus interposed, believed not their announcement of a suffering, as well as a reigning MESSIAH. Blindfolded by those misleading comments, by which the Rabbis darkened Divine counsel, *they fell* in unbelief of their visitation. JERUSALEM, the praise of the whole world, became a desolation —her Holy House, "the earth's one sanctuary," was destroyed—and her people scattered to the four winds of heaven, a scoff and proverb of reproach to all nations.

To the Gentiles their temporary casting-away gave a coeval period of probation. "*They stand by faith*," and are under the enlightening influences of the SPIRIT, whose office it is, to "*lead unto all truth*," and "*show things to come*." Therefore let them be forewarned, by the *unbelief* and fall of the Jews, to give earnest heed, lest, in *unbelief* of its manner, *their* visitation steals on their fallacious repose, and as a snare overtakes them unawares. The Jews stumbled at the humiliation of that stone which was to become the head of the corner, and they were broken and scattered; nevertheless, reunion and restoration await them. But not so with us: if we refuse to listen to *all* that the prophets have spoken—if we are not willing and ready to

welcome MESSIAH, as the glory of his restored people Israel, that highly exalted corner-stone shall fall, in all its weight and power, upon such unbelievers, and crush them for ever without remedy. The re-ingrafting of Israel into their good olive involves that ordeal which shall try the faith of the adopted branches, nationally and individually:—therefore, "let those who think they stand take heed lest they fall."

Before entering on the professed subject, viz. The investigation of evidence in favour of the aboriginal inhabitants of the Western Hemisphere being the outcasts of Israel—a subject which cannot fail to call forth the noblest feelings, the purest affections, and the tenderest sympathies of those who have "*the same mind which was in Christ Jesus*,"—it may be necessary to review those causes which led to that practical atheism, and consequent idolatry of the creature and their devices; which, during a long and dark estrangement and banishment, hid from Israel the joyous sunshine of that countenance, in whose favour is life; in whose smiles they were wont to bask, while yet *true* to their "*first love*." A long season of uninterrupted prosperity alienated the hearts of this ungrateful people from their supreme BENEFACTOR and LAWGIVER. Let us gaze, until we imbibe its spirit, on that glorious picture which the MASTER's hand hath traced, and left to attract and fix the regard of be-

lievers in all succeeding times; and let us especially be admonished "upon whom the ends of the world are come." "As the eagle stirreth up her nest,—fluttereth over her nestlings,—taketh them,—beareth them on her wings, so the LORD alone did lead Israel when there was no strange god with him." The WORD made flesh stooped down,—aroused the unconscious objects of his solicitude to a sense of danger,—took them,—bare them above, and beyond the power of any adversary—and gave his own breast to the arrow of the subtle fowler; O happy image of divine and human relation and communion! But it is in fallen nature to love the creature more than the Creator, whose gifts are alienated from his service to that of others with whom he refuses to share his glory; Israel became unfaithful, and the scene changed—they were left to eat the bitter fruit of their devices. "They provoked Him to jealousy by strange gods whom their fathers knew not, abominations newly sprung up, and the LORD abhorred them, for the provocation was from his sons and his daughters"—those on whom his loving kindness had been thanklessly lavished,—"And he said, I will hide my face from them."

Christendom has been under the enlightening and purifying reign of the SPIRIT for eighteen centuries, and yet many say, "who will shew us any good?" few look for illumination unto HIM

by whose WORD were made "the seven stars and Orion;" whose SPIRIT leadeth unto all truth, searching even the deep things of GOD, "giving songs in the night," "as when a holy solemnity is kept," "and turning the shadow of death into morning." They are a little flock who studiously set themselves to know aright, the revealed mind of GOD, that they may acceptably do his will—watching the indications thereof in the leadings of his providence, as the tempest-beaten mariner watches for the dawn,—"as servants look to the hand of their master, and as an handmaid to the hand of her mistress" for guidance and direction.

The revolt of the ten tribes from the house of David, which led to their idolatry and subsequent captivity and protracted calamity during a period of 2,500 years; forms an epoch in the history of the Hebrews, which, if attended to in all its bearings, would go far in the elucidation of unfulfilled prophecy. The want of due attention to this eventful circumstance, has produced much perplexity and erroneous conception and interpretation of prophetic testimony. Hence that era of obedience, holiness, peace, and unity which Israel's restoration and Messiah's reign shall establish, and which the *seventh* day was blessed and hallowed to prefigure, has either been confounded with the typical reign of Solomon, or the *partial* restoration of the remnant

of the two tribes which only exchanged masters; but more generally and still more preposterously, the clear enunciations made to "the outcasts of Israel," and the "dispersed of Judah" by their prophets, have been wrested into an accommodative sense. Alas! that the spiritualizing system which the Sadducees originated should have outlived its reproof by that Apostle, who, anticipating its pernicious results to Christendom, said, "*Even now* it eats as doth a canker," corroding, vitiating, and finally undermining the simple and healthful testimony of the Spirit! Such is the lawlessness of the human imagination when set free from the restraints of legitimate interpretation; and such the incongruity to which self-love and party-spirit reconciles men—that this blessed and holy restitution of all things to their original "*very good*" estate of innocence and peace, was claimed by the contemporaries of Constantine!! for that chasm of profound torpor which is now looked back upon as the "dark ages." And even so shall those blessed and holy believers, who enter into the sevenfold religious, moral, and intellectual illumination of that Sabbatism which remaineth for the people of God, look back upon this vaunted age of knowledge, science, and discovery, which shall appear as a tale that hath been told.

The circumstances, historical and prophetic, which distinguish the exile of the ten tribes,

recognized by the prophets as the " outcasts," in contradistinction to the " dispersed," are worthy of serious regard, not only as furnishing a clue to the right understanding of the mind of the SPIRIT, but as enabling the scripture student to unravel and follow their mysterious history in an *unknown* character and place, up to the present day; when, according to the voice of prophecy, they shall be discovered, identified, and finally brought back by " the daughter of the dispersed, as an oblation to the LORD in JERUSALEM." Soon after the revolt of the ten tribes from the House of David, every man did that which seemed right in his own eyes. " What portion have we in David—and what inheritance in the Son of Jesse? To your tents, O Israel! Now see to thine own house, David!"

By the prophets they had been instructed that the Messiah should be born of the house of David —but alas! *unbelief* had caused them to depart from that expectation. This portion and inheritance in the house of David they rejected against themselves; and the affront was to the MOST HIGH! Soon were they to experience the effects of departing from the living GOD. Actuated by vain glory and political expediency, their king of the tribe of Ephraim, ordered two Egyptian idols to be placed in Samaria, judging, that should the tribes be permitted to go up, according to the law, to worship the LORD in his holy house

at JERUSALEM, their hearts would return to their anointed king. In order to prevent this, and the evil effects to his person and government, which he apprehended would be the result, he led the people into the snare of that idolatry to which political expediency had resorted. And the jealous GOD of Israel, who will not share his glory with the devices of men, was supplanted in worship by their fallacious inventions.

Nor was this the only evil of his administration, for in order to obtain popularity, prevent exposure, and secure a subservient engine to promote his views, "he made priests of the lowest of the people who were not of the ordained family of Levi."

The prophet Hosea in an especial manner predicts the calamity about to overtake this estranged people. They had forsaken GOD, who had loaded them with benefits; and now he was about to forsake them. "I will wait to see what shall be their end;" leave them to themselves and the consequence of their practical atheism. "They are a very perverse generation,—children, in whom is *no faith*." The prophet receives the sign of their impending visitation; he is directed to call his first son Jezreel, the import of which is, that Israel shall soon assume, and for many days sustain, an *unknown* existence. The house of Israel is to be made to cease in unknown banishment; and yet, because of the election and cove-

nant, the blood shed in that unknown character shall be avenged. The name of his next typical child is Lo-ruhamah. "I will no longer have mercy upon the house of Israel, but I will utterly take them away." The name of the next son, Lo-ammi, is explained, "Ye are not my people and I am not your GOD." The prophet couples, in close succession with this threatening, the entail of the covenant: "Yet the number of the children of Israel shall be as the sand of the sea, which cannot be measured nor numbered: and it shall come to pass that *in the place* where it was said unto them, "Ye are not my people," it shall be said unto them, "Ye are the sons of the living GOD." Then shall the children of Israel and of Judah be brought together, and appoint themselves one head, and they shall come up out of the land, for great shall be the day of Jezreel." The infidelity of this ungrateful visible church is thus declared by the prophet, "She went after her lovers, and forgat me, saith the LORD. Therefore, behold I will allure her into the wilderness, and speak comfortingly to her. And *from thence* will I give her vineyards, and the valley of *trouble* for a door of hope: and she shall sing there as in her youth —as in the day when she came up out of the Land of Egypt:" and it shall be in that day thou shalt no more call me my LORD, but my HUSBAND: "I will betroth thee unto me for ever," "in righteousness," "in judgment," "in loving-kind-

ness," and "in mercies." "I will betroth thee unto me in faithfulness, and I will have mercy upon her that had not obtained mercy, and I will say to them which were not my people," *Thou art my people!* and they shall say, "*Thou art my God!*" The intermediate time, between this predicted casting "afar off" and reconciliation, is peculiarly striking, as we find that while idolatry was the guilt which procured all the evils to which the ten tribes were about to be exposed during the averted face of their indignant BENEFACTOR, they were, while in their state of darkness and banishment, to be true to the worship of GOD alone. "Thou shalt abide many days *for me*,—so will I also be *for thee:* for the children of Israel shall abide *many* days without a king, and without a priest, and without a sacrifice, and without an image, and without an ephod and teraphim. Afterward shall the children of Israel return and seek the LORD their GOD, and David their king, and shall fear the LORD and his goodness in the latter days." Spiritualizing and transferring the promises cannot make void the covenant oath by which they are secured. Why should the concomitant curse which hath followed Israel's unbelief receive a literal fulfilment, and those of their repentance and consequent restoration be wrested into a foreign meaning? As if JEHOVAH had ceased to be immutable—or as if the heirs of promise had become extinct. If there is no

privilege in their promised restoration to their own Land, KING, and Sanctuary, why was there such indescribable calamity in their expulsion and long banishment from thence? Is HE, whose name is "Faithful and True," a man to repent or change—"hath he said and shall he not do?"

Yea, saith the LORD! I will rejoice over them, to do them good; and I will plant them in their own land assuredly, with my whole heart, and with my whole soul. "Like as I have brought all this great evil upon this people, so will I bring upon them all the good that I have promised them. Thus saith the LORD of hosts. I was jealous for Zion, with great jealousy. I was jealous for her with great fury. Thus saith the LORD, I am returned unto Zion, and will dwell in the midst of JERUSALEM; and JERUSALEM shall be called a city of truth, and the mountain of the LORD of Hosts, the Holy mountain." Images of rest and joy are given to illustrate the certainty of that unexpected event. Old men and old women, with their staffs in their hands for very age, dwelling therein—and boys and girls playing in the streets thereof. "If it be marvellous in the remnant of this people in these days, should it also be marvellous in mine eyes, saith the LORD of Hosts?"

Samaria became an easy conquest—the idolatrous inhabitants having turned a deaf ear to the warning voice of the prophets, who were

sent to turn them from their lying vanities, and to announce their approaching retribution. The King of Assyria carried them captive, placing them beyond his empire, and supplanting them in Samaria, by that mingled race from Chaldea, Cuthah, Ava, Hamath, and Sepharvaim, called Samaritans.

It is of importance to consider the evil consequences which originate in disobedience, and alienation of the affections from the SUPREME—for not only had the revolt of this faithless people from the Law of GOD, and their anointed King, brought on themselves a long and dark banishment, but it entailed trouble on that remnant of the two tribes, which returned from the seventy years' captivity in Babylon—who were encouraged by the existing prophets, Daniel, Zechariah, Haggai, &c. to build the second temple —for the envious and faithless Samaritans conspired against the good work, and by intrigue and violence succeeded in putting a stop to it for a time. Artaxerxes *listened to these evil counsellors,* who argued the political inexpediency of the undertaking; but Darius, who had another spirit, *searched the divine records for himself,* and being firmly persuaded in his own mind, that the work was of GOD, he encouraged the people in these remarkable words. "And the GOD that hath caused His NAME to dwell there, destroy all kings and people that shall put to their hand to

alter and to destroy this House of GOD, which is at JERUSALEM." A valuable fragment of history, and the last notice which we have of the ten tribes, is to be found in the second book of Esdras. "Whereas thou sawest another peaceable multitude :—these are the ten tribes which were carried away prisoners out of their own land, in the time of Osea —whom Salmanazar king of Assyria led away captive, and he carried them over the waters, so they came into another land." Conscious of the guilt for which they endured the miseries incident on a state of captivity and vassalage; and fearful of being again led into a repetition of the idolatrous practices for which they had become expatriated, "they took this counsel among themselves, that they would leave the multitude of the heathen and go into a further country, wherein never mankind dwelt, that they might there keep their statutes, which they never kept in their own land. And there was a great way to go, namely, of a year and a half, and that region is called Arsareth." It appears they must have repassed Euphrates at the upper region or small stream toward Georgia, and thence have bent their course between the black and Caspian seas, which would bring them to the north-east of the country which he mentions. It further appears, that the voluntary determination of separating themselves from the neighbouring idolatrous nations, who had so often ensnared

them, was approved by their ever-watchful GUARDIAN, who "shewed signs for them," and "held still" or froze the waters, which they crossed to the uninhabited land, or wilderness to which they were providentially directed; and in which, at the eve of their restoration, they are to be discovered and identified. "There they shall remain until the latter days, when the MOST HIGH shall again shew signs for them," and dry the waters which they shall repass on their way back to their good fold.

The prophet in his vision of the open campaign covered with the dry bones of the whole House of Israel, is taught that at the latter time, *contrary to all expectation*, they shall revive, become organized, and return to their own land, where "clean water shall be sprinkled upon them," and "the law written on their hearts"—"no more divided into two kingdoms" as before, "neither into two nations" as now; but become one flock under One SHEPHERD; and who that appreciates the character of the DIVINE SHEPHERD of Israel, "who slumbers not nor sleeps," but must perceive his prophetic allusion to the outcasts of Israel, who had been seven centuries banished from the good fold, when he said to his disciples who were of the dispersed, "Other sheep I have, which are not of *this fold*, them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice, and there shall be One Fold and One SHEPHERD."

Our LORD then in his character of the Prophet sent to Israel, like unto Moses, intimates their final restoration; and unimportant as this event may appear to us, dimly as it has seemed to recede into the remote vista of the past—it is ever conspicuously present to him, who came in a peculiar sense for the "*lost* sheep of the House of Israel," to seek and to restore whom, he accounted the prime end of his mission.

The prophet Isaiah furnishes a commentary to the citation from Esdras, "He shall set up an ensign for the nations, and shall assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth. The envy of Ephraim shall depart, and the adversaries of Judah shall be cut off.—And the LORD shall utterly destroy the tongue of the Egyptian sea, and with his mighty wind shall he shake his hand over the river, and shall smite it in the seven streams, and make men go over dry-shod. And there shall be an highway for the remnant of his people, which shall be *left from Assyria*; like as it was to Israel, in the day that he came up out of the land of Egypt.—And it shall come to pass in *that day* that the LORD shall beat off from the channel of the river unto the stream of Egypt, and ye shall be gathered one by one, O ye children of Israel! and it shall come to pass in that day that the Great Trumpet shall be blown, and they *shall come who were ready to perish* in

the land of Assyria, and the outcasts in the land of Egypt, and shall worship the LORD in the holy mountain at Jerusalem.—In that day shall the LORD of hosts be for a crown of glory, and a diadem of beauty, unto the residue of his people."

John, who was a companion to Isaiah, and the other prophets in *tribulation*, and in the *kingdom* and *patience* of the suffering MESSIAH, had a vision of these things on the isle of Patmos, whither he was banished on account of his testimony. His words are in harmony with the prophets. "The fifth angel poured out his vial upon the seat of the Beast, and his kingdom was full of darkness, &c. and they blasphemed the GOD of heaven because of their pains and their sores, and repented not of their deeds. And the sixth angel poured out his vial upon the great river Euphrates, and the water thereof was dried up, that the way of the kings of the east might be prepared."

Of inconceivable magnitude must be the guilt of idolatry in the estimation of that Jealous GOD who refuses to share the affections of the heart, or the devotion of the mind with rival devices, whether of the hands, the heads, or the passions of men ; for covetousness too is idolatry.

Let us pause and reflect on its consequences to the ten tribes, who although beloved for their father's sakes—although having the great and

dreadful Name, called upon them for ultimate good—have been left during twenty-five hundred years to experience all the miseries of that famine of hearing the words of the LORD which was predicted by the Prophet. They had forsaken the LORD, and he was about to cast them from his enlightening and gladdening presence. They had neglected to inquire reverently of the Law and the Testimony, and now they were to be deprived of the living oracles. Outcast from the inhabited earth, deprived of letters, and even of the means and materials necessary to civilized life, they must without doubt have retrograded to a barbarous, and finally, in many parts of that "large place" or vast continent where they were to wander, have subsided into a demi-savage state, in which they could no longer (having ceased to know it) make use of that appeal which their forefathers so often found irresistible: "Not for our sakes—but for thy Holy Name's sake, by which thou didst call us, have mercy upon us miserable offenders." Hence we learn, "the year of his redeemed" being "come" and "the times of the gentiles fulfilled," the pitying Father of Ephraim puts into the dumb mouth of his banished, the plea of an ignorance which had long ceased to be wilful: "As a bullock unaccustomed to the yoke—turn *thou* me, and I shall be turned—surely *after* I *was turned*, I repented,—and *after* I was instructed, I smote

upon my thigh—I was ashamed, yea, even confounded, because I did bear the reproach of my *youth*." We are then to look for a people who have experienced the long predicted famine of hearing the words of the LORD—who are outcast from the nations of the earth—and who have lost sight of their primitive name and race.

How touchingly tender is the prophetic allusion to Rachel, the mother of Ephraim, as heir of Joseph's birthright, and representative of the ten tribes: she is represented as weeping and refusing to be comforted for her lost children, who on their way to their long and dark exile, with weeping and lamentation passed her grave, but she is forbid to mourn, as others who have no hope, the Holy ONE of Israel, her comforter, addresses to her the language of consolation; "Refrain thy voice from wailing, and thine eyes from tears, for thy work shall be rewarded, saith the LORD; and they shall come again from the land of the enemy, and there is hope in thine end, saith the LORD, that thy children shall come again to their own border." Paul shews the consistency of the divine character in the temporary rejection of Israel, by reason of unbelief; thus affording a term of probation and access to the adopted branches: but he also makes the final and complete restoration of the outcasts and the dispersed essential to this consistency—the immutable truth and faithfulness of Jehovah, having been volun-

tarily pledged to perform the promises involved in the entail of the covenant with Abraham. Hence he adds, "the DELIVERER shall come out of Zion, and turn away ungodliness from Jacob; for this is the *covenant, &c.* and so all Israel shall be saved." Looking to this, Isaiah exultingly exclaimed in this glowing language, expressive of his joy, "Cry out—and shout, thou inhabitant of Zion, for great is the Holy ONE of Israel in the midst of thee." The restoration of the ten tribes is detailed in the xxx and xxxi chapters of Jeremiah, xxxiv, xxxvi, and xxxvii chapters of Ezekiel. If they have been, for more than two milleniaries, "outcast" from their own land and the nations of the earth—and consequently lost sight of by the dispersion of Judah and the nations, it inevitably follows, that they must have a distinct existence in a forlorn and ignorant state. Hence we infer that GOD would provide and direct them to a suitable place for their secluded existence as his banished. During their long estrangement, they must be undiscovered and unknown; else at their recovery the widowed mother—the terrestrial JERUSALEM would not exclaim—"These, where had they been?" Nor would they at their awakening say, "Though Abraham be ignorant of us, and Israel acknowledge us not." "Now," said the prophet, "*the* LORD *shall feed them as a lamb in a large place*"—while he cast them "*afar off*" from that special counte-

nance and presence which they once enjoyed, he nevertheless would preserve them as his deserted lamb, at a future day to be brought back to the fold. Wherefore he thus speaks of Ephraim his banished. "Is Ephraim my dear son? is he a pleasant child? for since I spake against him, I do earnestly remember him still:" "Thus saith the LORD, there is none to plead thy cause,—thou hast no healing medicines. All thy lovers have forgotten thee—they seek thee not: for I have wounded thee with the wound of an enemy, with the chastisement of a cruel one.—I will restore health unto thee—I will heal thy wounds, saith the LORD, because they call thee an outcast saying, *this is Zion;* whom no man seeketh after." "Yea I have loved thee with an everlasting love: therefore with loving kindness have I drawn thee. *Again* I will build thee, and thou shalt be built, O virgin of Israel—thou shalt *again* be adorned with thy tabrets, and shall go forth in the dances of them that make merry. Thou shalt yet plant vines upon the mountains of Samaria. For there shall be a day that the watchmen upon Mount Ephraim shall cry, Arise ye, and let us go up to Zion unto the LORD our GOD.—*Hear* the Word of the LORD, O ye nations, and declare it in the islands afar off, and say, *He that scattereth Israel will gather Him, and keep him as a shepherd doth his flock.*" In order to avoid relapsing into the ungodly evil of idolatry for which they had been expatriated, it

appears the greater part of the ten tribes had taken counsel together, to leave the neighbouring idolatrous nations among whom the Kings of Assyria had placed them. The dispersion we know is to be found in China, (1) Hindoostan, Africa, and every other country; and it is extremely probable that many of the other branch, viz. the ten tribes, had remained in Scythia, Georgia, and Circassia: but the great body, according to the voice of prophecy, were to go where they should experience the predicted famine of the written WORD, and yet there remain true to the worship of GOD alone. "Thou shalt abide for me many days and not for another, and I also shall be for thee."

There is a prediction by the prophet Amos, which accords with the account of Esdras,—and the tradition of the Indian tribes meets both. Amos was, like Elijah, a prophet from among the ten tribes, and chiefly sent to them. By the image of a basket of ripe summer fruit, he intimated that they must speedily be rendered to the service of the great HUSBANDMAN, or be unfit for his use. The symbol is thus explained;—"The end is come upon my people; I will not pass by, or endure them any more. Behold, the days come, saith the LORD GOD, that I will send a famine, not of bread and water, but of hearing the words of the LORD; and they shall wander from sea to

(1) See Appendix.

sea, and from the north even unto the east, and they shall go to and fro to seek the word of the LORD, and shall not find it." This prediction implies that the knowledge of once having possessed that WORD, which they now seek, but cannot obtain, severely aggravates their sufferings. Never has an account of this famine of the written WORD been attempted. It was to be fulfilled on the ten outcast tribes, not in their own land, to which they never returned since their capture by the Assyrian power, but during a solitary exile, where they should wander from one extreme sea to another, seeking, but not finding that withdrawn treasure, which they had once dishonoured by neglect.

Suppose an extensive continent, a new world, should have been recently discovered, north-east of Media, and at the distance of a year and half's journey from thence, inhabited by a people whose religion is pure Theism (the heathen nations being invariably idolaters) ;—suppose them divided into tribes, and heads of tribes, with symbols ; destitute of letters, and in a benighted state, yet possessing all the marks of a people who had not only been civilized, but favoured by a revelation from God ; the former evident from their tumuli, the mathematical accuracy of their fortresses, and the clay, silver, copper, and other vessels, and relics found in the neighbourhood of Mexico, Peru, and the great rivers where their ancient and populous

towns had been situated—the latter, from the ceremonial observances of their worship and civil government:—superadded to these circumstances, suppose amongst the tribes a variety of traditional fragments of the sacred history of the creation, and of the people of Israel:—suppose the names by which they designated the "Great Spirit," whom they believe the head of their tribes, is Yehowa, whom they also acknowledge as the Omnipotent, Omnipresent, and Omniscient Creator, and Sustainer, on whom they are dependent from day to day for life and all things; who shall punish the unjust, and reward the just, after death:—suppose you find in some of the more intelligent, and in all their prophets, a national feeling of prerogative, as if they were conscious of being a peculiarly beloved people, who shall at a future time be re-possessed of many privileges of which they are now destitute:—suppose that amongst these their return to their own land, where the sun rises, and from which their remote ancestors came, is cherished with a fond faith, together with the re-possession of the great good Book which once belonged to their people:—suppose you find them observing certain appointed festivals and religious dances, in which the words Hallelujah and Yehowa are constantly repeated; counting their time by moons, and observing the first night of the new moon with rejoicing; celebrating anniversary feasts

of a religious nature—one in gratitude for the green corn, and another for the ingathering :—suppose you find among them an evening-feast, in which the bone of the animal may not be broken, and, if the provision is too much for one family, deeming it necessary to call in neighbours to eat it, burying before morning dawn the remainder, and eating bitter herbs to cleanse them from sin :—suppose they have places of refuge, where the man-slayer may flee, and whither the avenger of blood dare not intrude :—suppose they have a sacred place, where the priest must officiate in a certain dress, making an atonement, but from which other persons are excluded; the High Priest, when addressing the people, using what he terms "*the ancient divine Speech*,"—calling his hearers the "beloved peculiar people :" —suppose they have a tradition that they had prophets, who could perform miracles, and foretel future events :—suppose they have an ark of the covenant imitated, which is not permitted to touch the ground, and which no one may presume to touch, or look into, upon pain of death, except the officiating priest; that all their males must appear annually; that they are acquainted with the history of the deluge, the building of Babel, the predicted baptism of the earth by fire, and of the longevity of the ancients, who "lived till their feet were worn out with walking, and their throats with swallowing."

Suppose you find some of the tribes making an altar of twelve stones, on which no iron tool may pass, whereon they offer sacrifice, with the custom of washing, anointing, and making loud lamentation for the dead; when in deep affliction, "putting their hand on their mouth, and their mouth in the dust." Suppose you find all these gleanings of revelation and many more amongst a newly discovered people of Asiatic genius and manners, and Hebrew physiognomy, would you feel justified in refusing to acknowledge in this interesting people, the outcasts of Israel, who, when the times of the Gentiles are ending, must be brought to light, identified, and instructed by "the daughter of the dispersed," preparatory to their re-possession of their own land? With this clew let us, without pre-conceived opinion, listen to their traditions, broken and desultory, it is true, nevertheless derived from a revelation which they are conscious of having lost, but yet hope to regain; and you find in this people their own witness, perishing for lack of knowledge, under the predicted grievous famine of the WORD.

This people are represented in an unresisting and powerless character: "Israel is a silly dove." In this character the Spaniards, like a vulture, swooped upon them in the south, and the disciples of the Cromwelian-school in the north, —both returning evil for good,—both "dealing treacherously with those who dealt not treacher-

ously with them." But how was this secret in due time to be opened to the nations of the Roman earth? God stirred up the mind of Columbus, for the discovery of this unknown region and people. A thirst for this enterprize, which nothing could allay,—a fervour of spirit, which opposition, poverty, and persecution could not repress, fitted him for the arduous undertaking, which, notwithstanding its inconceivable difficulty and peril, he accomplished.

"He mentions this early determination of his mind as a secret impulse from Deity, guiding him to the studies, and inspiring him with the inclinations which should fit him for the high decrees he was chosen to accomplish."*

"When Columbus had formed his resolution, it became fixed in his mind with singular firmness, and influenced his entire character and conduct. He never spoke in doubt or hesitation, but with as much certainty as if his eyes had beheld the promised land. No trial nor disappointments could afterwards divert him from the steady pursuit of his object. He looked upon himself as standing in the hand of Heaven, chosen from among men, for the accomplishment of its *high purpose.* He read as he supposed his contemplated discovery foretold in Holy Writ, and shadowed forth darkly by the pro-

* Letter to the Castillian Sovereigns, 1501.

phets, *The ends of the earth were to be brought together*," &c.

Again, "His visionary spirit took fire at the doctrinal objections of his opponents, and he met them upon their own ground, pouring forth those magnificent texts of Scripture, and those mysterious predictions of the prophets, which in his enthusiastic moments he considered as types and annunciations of the sublime discovery which he proposed!" *

When the LORD has a work to be executed for HIS people, no matter how arduous and seemingly impossible, he prepares agents devoted to its accomplishment; and there can be no doubt but that Columbus in his inextinguishable desire, his firm purpose to discover this unknown world, was as much under the influence of a superior power, as was Cyrus, when he became instrumental in the restoration of the remnant of the two tribes from the seventy years Chaldean captivity. 'Methinks,' observes the Rev. Ethan Smith, 'every one who would draw unprejudiced inferences from these suppositions, if they prove to be well-supported facts, must admit that the most essential pile of the prophet Ezekiel's dry bones of Israel, have been discovered."

* Irving's Life of Columbus.

PRESUMPTIVE EVIDENCE.

"*When ye see a cloud arise out of the* west, *ye say there cometh a* shower, *and so it is. And when the* south *wind blows, ye say there will be* heat, *and it cometh to pass.*"

'THE discovery of the ten tribes of Israel,' writes M. M. Noah, who is by birth a Jew, 'has never ceased to be a subject of deep interest to the Jews. That divine protection which has been bestowed upon the chosen people, from the infancy of nature to the present period, has, without doubt, been equally extended to the missing tribes; and if, as I have reason to believe, our lost brethren were the ancestors of the Indians of the American Continent, the inscrutable decrees of the ALMIGHTY have been fulfilled in spreading unity and omnipotence in every quarter of the globe. Upwards of three thousand years have elapsed, since the nine and a half tribes were carried captive by Palmanazar, King of Assyria. It is supposed they were spread over the various countries of the East, and by international marriages, have lost their identity of

character. It is, however, probable, that from the previous sufferings of the tribes in Egyptian bondage, that they bent their course in a north-west direction, which brought them within a few leagues of the American Continent, and which they finally reached.

'Those who are most conversant with the public and private economy of the Indians, are strongly of opinion that they are the lineal descendants of the Israelites, and my own researches go far to confirm me in the same belief.

'The Indians worship one SUPREME BEING as the fountain of life, and the author of all creation. Like the Israelites of old, they are divided into tribes, having their chief and distinctive symbol to each. Some of these tribes, it is said, are named after the Cherubimical figures that were carried on the four principal standards of Israel. They consider themselves as the select and beloved people of GOD, and have all the religious pride which our ancestors are known to have possessed. Their words are sonorous and bold, and their language and dialect are evidently of Hebrew origin. They compute time, after the manner of the Israelites, by dividing the year into four seasons, and their subdivisions are the lunar months, or our new moons, commencing according to the ecclesiastical year of Moses, the first moon after the vernal equinox. They have their prophets, high priests, and their

sanctum sanctorum, in which all their consecrated vessels are deposited, and which are only to be approached by their archimagas, or high priest. They have their towns and cities of refuge,—they have sacrifices and fastings,—they abstain from unclean things, in short, in their marriages, divorces, punishment of adultery, burial of the dead, and mourning, they bear a striking analogy to our people. How came they on this continent, and if indigenous, when did they acquire the principles and essential forms of the Jews? The Indians are not savages, they are wild and savage in their habits, but possess great vigour of intellect and native talent,—they are a brave and eloquent people, with an Asiatic complexion, and Jewish features. Should we be right in our conjecture, what new scenes are opened to the nation,—the first of people in the old world, and the rightful inheritors of the new;—Spread from the confines of the north-west coast to Cape Horn, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

'If the tribes could be brought together, could be made sensible of their origin, could be civilized, and restored to their long-lost brethren, what joy to our people, what glory to our GOD; how clearly have the prophecies been fulfilled, how certain our dispersion, how miraculous our preservation, how providential our deliverance.'

The following extracts are from a work pub-

lished by James Adair, Esq. 1775, who, during a residence among the Indians, of forty years, had become thoroughly conversant with their language and customs.

'When we consider the various revolutions which these unlettered tribes must have undergone, through a long-forgotten measure of time, and that probably they have been above twenty centuries, without the use of letters to convey their tradition, it cannot be reasonably expected they should still retain the identical names of their primo-genial tribes. Their main customs corresponding with those of the Israelites, sufficiently clears the subject. Besides, as hath been hinted, they call some of their tribes by the names of the cherubimical figures that were carried on the four principal standards of Israel.

'I have observed with much inward satisfaction, the community of goods that prevailed among them, after the patriarchal manner, and that of primitive Christians: especially with those of their own tribe. Though they are become exceedingly corrupt, in most of their ancient commendable qualities, yet they are so hospitable, kind-hearted, and free, that they would share with those of their own tribe the last part of their provisions, even to a single ear of corn. An open generous temper is a standing virtue among them; and to be narrow hearted, especially to those in want, or any of their own kindred, is accounted a great crime,

and to reflect scandal on the rest of the tribe. Such wretched misers they brand with bad characters, and wish them the fate of Prometheus or of Tantalus. The Cherokees have a proverbial expression. 'The great hawk is at home.' When one speaks of his tribe he says, 'he is of my house,' or 'it is my house.' Thus when king David prayed that the Divine wrath might only fall on his house, he meant the tribe of Judah, as well as his immediate family, exclusive of the aggregate body of Israel. Every town has a state house, or synedrion, as the Jewish sanhedrim, where almost every night the head men resort to converse about public business: or the towns-people to sing, dance, and rejoice in the Divine Presence, as will be hereafter described. And if a stranger comes there he is treated with the greatest civility and hearty kindness, he is sure to find plenty of their simple home fare, and a large cane bed covered with the softened skins of bears or buffalos to sleep on. But when his lineage is known to the people, (by a stated custom they are slow in greeting one another,) his relation, if he has any, addresses him in a familiar way, invites him home, and treats him as his kinsman. When a warrior dies a natural death, the drums, and all kinds of diversion are laid aside for the space of three days and nights. In this time of mourning for the dead I have known some of the frolicksome young sparks ask the name of the

deceased warrior's tribe; and once being told it was the *racoon*, (the genealogical name of the family,) one of them scoffingly replied, 'then let us away to another town and cheer ourselves with those who have no reason to weep; for why should we make our hearts weigh down heavily for a dead racoon?'

'The ancient heathens worshipped a plurality of gods—according to their own liking; as various as the countries they inhabited, and as numerous with some, as the days in the year. But these Indians pay their religious devoir to Loàk. Ish, ta, hoola-aba, the great supreme, beneficent holy spirit of fire, who resides above and on earth also with the unpolluted from among men. They are utter strangers to all the gestures practised by the pagans in their religious rites. They kiss no idols, nor if they were placed out of their reach would they kiss their hands, in token of reverence or willing obedience. Instead of consulting such as the heathen oracles—the Dii Penates—or Dii Lares of the ancients, concerning future contingencies, the Indian tribes only pretend to divine by dreams; which doubtless proceeds from the tradition they still retain of the knowledge which their ancestors obtained from heaven in visions of the night. "God speaketh once, yea twice, yet man perceiveth it not. In a dream, in a vision of the night, when deep sleep falleth upon men, in slumberings upon the bed; then he openeth

the ears of men and sealeth their instruction." When we consider how well-stocked with gods all the neighbouring nations of Judea were; especially the maritime powers, such as Tyre and Sidon, Carthage and Egypt, which continually brought some strange gods and entered them into their own Palladia: and that these aborigines are utterly ignorant both of the gods and their worship, it proves with sufficient evidence, that the gentlemen who trace them from either of those states, only perplex themselves in wild theory without entering into the merits of the question. That the Indians derived their symbolic representations from the compound figures of the cherubim, seems yet more clear, from the present cherubic names of their tribes, and the pre-eminence they formerly bore over the rest. At present, indeed, the most numerous tribe generally bears the highest command; yet their old warriors assure us it was not so, even within their remembrance. The title of the *old beloved men* or archi-magi, is still hereditary in the panther or tyger family. As no lions are found in North America, the panther is the nearest representation of it. The Indian name of each cherub, both celestial and terrestrial, reflects great light on the present subject, for they call the buffalo or Indian bull, Yanasa; the panther or supposed lion, Koè-ishto 'the Cat of God;' the man or human creature, Ya-we; and the eagle, Ovòle; fire is

Loàk ; the solar light, Ashtahále ; and air, Màhàle, in allusion to מי water, and אל the omnipotent. At the time of their religious meetings or rejoicings, they do not pay the least adoration to these expressive emblems, which is the reverse to the usage of all the ancient heathens. All the Indians are intoxicated with religious pride. *Nothings* is the most favourable term which they give those white people who act without reference to religion. In their war orations, *hottuck ookproose,* ' the accursed people.' But they flatter themselves with the term *hottuck oretupah,* ' the beloved people,' because their ancestors, they affirm, were under the immediate government of the GREAT MASTER OF LIFE, who was present with them in a very especial manner, and directed them by prophets : while all other nations were aliens and outlaws to the covenant. When the Archimagus, or any one of the prophets is persuading the people at their religious solemnities to a strict observance of the old beloved or divine speech, he always calls them, ' the beloved, or holy people,' agreeable to the Hebrew epithet Ammi, during the Theocracy of Israel ; he urges them with the greatest energy of expression to imitate the noble actions of their great and virtuous forefathers, which they performed in a surprising manner by their holy things, and a strict observance of the old beloved speech. Then he flourishes on their beloved land that flowed with milk and

honey, telling them they had good, and the best things in plenty: strictly charging them not to deviate in the least out of the old beaten beloved path, and they will surely meet with all the success that attended their beloved forefathers. I heard the same speaker, on these occasions, after quoting the war actions of their distinguished leaders who fell in battle, urging them as a copy of imitation to the living, assure the audience that such a death, in defence of their beloved land, and beloved things, was far preferable to some of their breathing pictures, who were only spending a dying life, to the shame and danger of society, and of all their beloved things, while the others died in their virtue, and still continue a living copy. Then, to soften the thoughts of death, he tells them, They, who died in battle, are only gone to sleep with their beloved forefathers (for they always collect the bones), "the days appointed him being finished." (Natak Intàhāh.) And this is their firm belief, for they affirm that there is a certain fixed time and place, when and where every one must die, without any possibility of averting it. They frequently say, 'Such an one was weighed on the path, and made to be light;' ascribing life and death to God's unerring and special providence. These tribes, are so far from being atheists, as some godless Europeans have flattered themselves, to excuse their own stupidity, that they use the great and dreadful Name of

God, which describes his Divine essence, and by which he manifested himself to Moses—and are firmly persuaded they now live under the immediate government of the Almighty Ruler. The ascension of the fume of their victim, as a sweet savour to Yohewah, is a full proof to the contrary, as also that they worship God in a smoke and cloud, and in the element of the supposed sacred annual fire. If we trace Indian antiquities ever so far, we shall find that not one of them ever retained, or imbibed atheistical principles, except those few whose evil practices made them tremble whenever they thought of a just and avenging God. These tribes believe the higher regions to be inhabited by good Spirits, whom they call *Hottuck Ishtohoolo*, and *Nana Ishtohoolo*, 'holy people, and 'relations to the Great Holy One.' The *Hottuck ookproose*, 'accursed beings,' they say possess a dark region: the former attend and favour the virtuous and just among men, the latter instigate and accompany with their power the vicious. Several warriors have told me that the Nana Ishtohoolo, 'concomitant Holy Spirits,' have forewarned them, as by intuition, of danger of which they were not aware at the time, but which afterwards they found to have been inevitable. Ishtohoolo is an appellative for God, which is descriptive of his greatness, purity, and goodness, as Creator in forming איש and אישה it is derived from ishto, Great, which was the Name

of God throughout the prophetic writings; dedicated women are termed Hoola, that is, sanctified to Ishtohoolo. Netakhoola signifies a sanctified day, and Ookka Hoollo, signifies water sanctified, so that the term which they use in expressing God, in its radical sense, imports the Great beloved holy Cause. Whenever they apply the epithet compounded, to any of their own religious men, it signifies the great, holy, beloved, and sanctified men of the Holy One.

They have another appellative which with them is the mysterious essential name of God—the tetragrammaton, or great four-lettered name which they never mention in common speech—of the time and place, where and when they mention it, they are very particular, and always with a solemn air. There is a species of tea growing spontaneously, and in great plenty along the sea coasts of the two Carolinas, Georgia, and the Floridas which is called Cussena. The Indians transplant, and are extremely fond of it: they drink it on certain stated occasions, and in their most religious solemnities, with awful invocations: but the women and children, and those who have not successfully accompanied the holy ark, *pro Aris et Focis*, dare not even enter the sacred square, when they are on this religious duty! otherwise, they would be scratched with snake's teeth, fixed in the middle of a split reed,

without the privilege of water to soften the stiffened skin.

When this beloved liquid or holy drink-offering is fully prepared and fit to drink, one of the select men, take two old sacred conch shells out of a place appropriated to the keeping of these holy things, and deliver them into the hands of two religious attendants, who after a wild ceremony, fill them up with the supposed sanctifying bitter liquid: then they approach near two central red and white seats, the first call the "war" and the second the "beloved" seat. Stooping with their heads and bodies—advancing a few steps in this posture, they carry their shells in both hands, at the same instant, to the principal men seated on those red and white seats, saying, in a bass key YAH, very short, then they retreat backward, facing each other, with their heads bowing forward, their arms across, rather below their breasts, and their eyes half shut: and thus in a very grave and solemn manner they sing in a bass key the awful monosyllable, YO, for the space of a minute: then they strike up the majestic HE, on the treble with a very intent voice as long as their breath allows them: and in a bass key, with a bold tone and short accent, they finally utter the strong mysterious WAH, and thus finish their solemn song to, and invocation of, the Divine Being. It may be worthy of notice

that they never prostrate themselves, nor bow their bodies to each other by way of salute, or homage, though usual with the eastern nations, except when they are making or renewing peace with strangers who come in the name of YAH; then they bend their bodies in that religious solemnity—but they always bow in their religious dances, because then they sing what they call divine hymns, chiefly composed of the great beloved Divine Name, and addressed to YO-HE-WAH.

If any of their foreign visitors should, when invited to drink with them neglect this religious observance, they would reckon us as godless and wild as the wolves of the desert. Their method of adjuring a witness to declare the truth, strongly corroborates the former hints, and will serve as a key to open the vowels of the great mysterious four-lettered name of God. On small affairs the judge, who is an elderly chieftain, asks the witness Cheeakohga' sko? "Do you lie?" To which he answers, Ansa Kai-e-koh-ga.' "I do not lie," but when the Judge wishes to search into something of material consequence and adjures the witness to speak the naked truth, OEA sko, "What you have now said, is it true by this strong emblem of the self-existent God?" To which the witness replies O, E, A, "It is true by the strong pointing symbol of YO-HE-WAH." When the true knowledge of the affair in dispute

seems to be of very great importance, the judge swears the witness thus O, E, A,—YAH. sko? "Have you now told me the real truth by the lively type of the great and awful name of God, which describes his necessary existence without beginning or end, and by his self-existent literal name, in which I adjure you?" the witness answers OEA-YAH, "I have told you the naked truth, which I most solemnly swear, by this strong religious picture of the adorable, great, divine self-existent name, which we are not to profane: and I likewise attest it by his other beloved, unspeakable, sacred, essential name." When we consider that the period of the adjuration according to their idiom, only asks a question; and that the religious waiters say YAH with a profound reverence, in a bowing posture of body immediately before they invoke YO-HE-WAH—the one reflects so much light on the other as to convince me, that the Hebrews, both invoked and pronounced the divine tetragrammaton, YO-HE-WAH, and adjured their witnesses to give true evidence on certain occasions, according to the Indian usage; otherwise how could they possibly, in a savage state, have a custom of so nice and strong-pointing a standard of religious caution? It seems exactly to coincide with the conduct of the Hebrew witnesses even now, on the like religious occasions, who being sworn by the name of the Almighty Ever-living God,

openly to declare the naked truth, hold up their right hand and answer אמן אמן. Amen, Amen. "I am a faithful witness."

The Cherokee use another expression, which bears a strong analogy to the former method of adjuration, though it is not so sacred in their opinion, because of one letter prefixed and another subjoined. The judge, in small controversies, asks the witness, To, e, u, sko? to which he answers, To, e, u, hah, 'It is very true,' or 'a most certain truth.' Such an addition of any letter or letters to the vowels of the supposed divine, four-lettered name, seems to proceed from a strict religious custom of proportioning them to the circumstances of persons and things, lest otherwise they should blaspheme, or profane the emblems of the great divine name. They esteem To, e, u, hah so strong an assent to any thing spoken! *Cheesto Kaiehre*, 'the old rabbit,' who, as interpreter, accompanied seven of their head warriors to London, assured me, they held there a very hot debate, in their subterranean lodgings, in the dead hours of the night of Sept. 7th, 1730, whether they should not kill him and one of the war-chiefs, because, by his mouth, the other answered, To, e, u, hah to his Majesty's speech, wherein he claimed, not only their land, but all the other unconquered regions as his right and property. When they returned home they were tried again by the

national Sanhedrim, for having betrayed the public faith, and sold their country; they having received a certain quantity of goods, and a decoying-belt of white wampum: but upon serious deliberation they were honourably acquitted, because it was judged, the interpreter was bound by the like oath to explain their speeches, and that surprise, and inadvertence, self-love, and the unusual glittering show of the courtiers, extorted the sacred assent To, e, u, hah out of the other's mouth, which spoiled the force of it, being greatly afraid of saying something amiss, on account of the different idiom of the English and Indian languages. The cheerful inoffensive interpreter *old rabbit* told me, he had urged on them with a great deal of earnestness, that it was certain death by the English laws to give his Majesty the lie in his face; and cautioned them to guard their mouths very strongly from uttering such dangerous language: otherwise their hearts would become very heavy, and even sorrowful unto death: as he would be bound as firmly by his holy book to relate the naked truth, as they were by repeating To, e, u, hah, or even O-E-A-YAH.

The Chocktaws employ mourners for the dead as the Hebrews, and both they and the Chickasaws term a person, who through a pretended religious principle bewails the dead, Yah-ah, "Ah God!" *

* Jeremiah xxii. 18.

and one who weeps on other occasions, *Yahma*, 'pouring forth tears before God,' which is similar to יחמי. When a person weeps bitterly they say, Yahmiahts, which is a compound word, derived from ומי and יה. When the inspired penman is describing the creation, and the strong purifying רוה which swept along the surface of the waters, he calls it 'the air or spirit,' and more significantly, 'the wind of God.' They also apply the former words, Yah-ah, Yahma, and the like, to express the very same ideas through all the moods and tenses; as Cheyaaras, 'I shall weep for you;' Sawa Cheyaara Awa, 'Wife, I will not weep for you.' Neetak Yah-ah signifies a 'fast day,' because they were then humbly to say Ah, and afflict their souls before Yah.

When two nations of Indians are making or renewing peace with each other, their ceremonies and solemnities carry the face of great antiquity. When strangers of note arrive near the place where the new friendship is to be contracted, or the old amity confirmed, they send a messenger a-head to inform the people of their amicable intention. He carries a swan's wing in his hand, as an emblem expressive of their embassy. The next day, when they have made their friendly parade, with firing off their guns and whooping, and have entered the beloved square, their head chief is met by one of the old beloved men or prophets. He and the visitant mutually approach

in a bowing posture; the former says, 'Yo, Ish la, chu Anggona?' 'Are you come a friend in the name of the great Spirit?' Or, 'Is the great Spirit with you, friend?' *Yo* is a religious contraction of *Yohewah—Ish*, 'the man'—*La*, a note of joy—*Chu*, a query, and *Anggona*, 'a friend.' The other replies, 'Yah—Arahre—O, Anggona;' 'God is with me, I am come, a friend in God's name.' The magus then grasps the hand of the stranger with both his, around the wrist of his right hand, which holds some green branches, again the elbow, then round the shoulder-blade as a nearer approach to the heart. Then his immediately waving the eagle's wings over the head of the stranger, is the strongest pledge of good faith. Their common method of greeting each other is, *Ish-la-Chu?* and the guest replies, Arahre-O; "I am come in the Name of O, E, A," or "Yo, HE, WAH."

The Indian dialects, like the Hebrew, have a nervous and emphatical manner of expression. The Indians do not personify inanimate objects, as did the heathens, but their style is adorned with images, comparisons, and strong metaphors, like the Hebrews, and equal in allegory to any orientalists. Their poetry is seldom exact in numbers, rhymes, or measure: it may be compared to prose in music, or a tuneable way of speaking. The period is always accompanied with a sounding vehemence, to enforce their

musical speech; and the music is apparently designed to please the ear, and affect the passions. The Indians express themselves with much vehemence, and short pauses in all their set speeches; but in common discourse they express themselves according to our usual method of speech, only when they scold, which I never observed except when intoxicated with spirituous liquor. They always act the part of a stoic philosopher in outward appearance, and never speak above their natural key; and in their philosophic way of reasoning, their language is the more sharp and biting,—like keen irony and satire, that kills whom it praises. They thus correct and subdue the first boilings of anger, which, if unchecked, proves one of the most dangerous passions to which human nature is subject: so that remote savages, who have heard only the jarring screeches of night-owls, and the roaring voices of ravenous animals, in this respect give lessons and set a worthy example to our most civilized nations. I have heard several eloquent Indian leaders, just as they were ready to set off for war, use as bold metaphors and allegories in their speeches, and images almost as full and animating, as the eloquent penman of the old divine book of Job, even where he is painting, with his strong colours, the gladness and contempt of the beautiful war-horse at the near approach of the enemy. I heard one of their chiefs, at the end of his oration, tell

the warriors that stood outermost, he feelingly knew their tomahawks were burning in their hands with thirst to drink the blood of the enemy; and their trusty arrows impatient to be on the wing; and, lest delay should consume their hearts any longer, he gave them the cool, refreshing word, 'Join the holy ark, and away to cut off the devoted foe!' They then sounded the shrill war-whoop, and struck up the solemn, awful song, 'Yo,' &c.

The Indians call the lightening and thunder, Eloah; and its rumbling sound, Rowah; which words are clearly Hebrew.

I have seen them in thunder-storms fire off their guns, pointed toward the sky—some in contempt, and some in religion; the former, to show they were warriors, and not afraid to die in any shape, much less to be afraid of that threatening, troublesome noise; the latter, because their hearts directed them to assist Ishtohoolo Eloah in his war with evil spirits. Nothing sounds bolder, or is more expressive, than the Cherokee name of thunder, *Eentaquaroske*. It points at the effects and report of the battles which they imagine the holy people are fighting. With the Muskòhge, *Algeh* signifies 'a language;' and because several of the Germans among them frequently said, Ya, ya, as an affirmative, they called them, *Yah-yah-Algeh*, 'Those of the blasphemous speech;' which shows that they

still retain a glimpse of the third command delivered at Sinai, " Thou shalt not take the Name of the LORD thy GOD in vain." They call the earth, Yah-kàne, because YAH formed it by the power of His WORD. They reckon by moons, after the manner of the Israelites: they call the sun and moon by the same word, to which is added a letter, which makes " the day-moon, or sun ; " and the latter, the " night-sun, or moon." They count very remarkable things by knots of various colours and make, or by notched square sticks, which are likewise distributed among the head warriors &c., in order to number the winters &c. the moons also—their sleeps—and the days when they travel, and especially their secret acts of hostility. Under such circumstances, if one day elapses, each of them loosens a knot, or cuts off a notch, or else makes one according to previous agreement, which are called broken days.

In conformity to the Israelitish worship the Indian tribes have their prophets, high-priests and others of a religious order; and as they had a most holy place in their sanctuary so have the Indians, particularly the Muskohge. It is partitioned by a mud wall about breast high, behind the white seat, which always stands to the left hand of the red-painted war-seat: there they deposit their consecrated vessels, and supposed holy utensils, none of the laity daring to approach that sacred place, for fear of particular

damage to themselves and general hurt to the people from the sacred nature of the place.

With the Muskohge, *Hitche Lalaqe* signifies "cunning men" or persons prescient of futurity, as the Hebrew seers. They call their pretended prophets also *Loa-che*, 'men resembling the holy fire,' or as Elohim, for the termination expresses a comparison. Their tradition says, that their forefathers were possessed of an extraordinary divine Spirit, by which they foretold things future, and controlled the common course of nature: and this they transmitted to their offspring, provided they obeyed the sacred laws annexed to it. They say it is out of the reach of Nana Ookproo, either to comprehend, or perform such things, because the beloved fire or the holy spirit of fire, will not co-operate with, or actuate *Hottuk* Ookprooze, 'the accursed people.' In resemblance to the ancient breast-plate, their archimagus wears a white conch shell, with two holes bored in the middle of it, through which he puts the ends of an otter-skin strap, and fastens a white button of buck's horn to each, as if in imitation of the precious stones of the Urim. Instead of the golden plate which the Levite wore on his forehead bearing these words קדש ליהוה, Holy or separate to God, the Indian wears around his temples a wreath of swan feathers, and for a Tiara a tuft of white feathers, which are called Yatira.

The religious beloved men are supposed to procure by their mediation rain when they please. They have a traditon that their ancestors often sought for and obtained such seasonable rains, as gave them plentiful crops, and they after their manner follow up the shadow of this tradition. The prophet assumes a displeased countenance and carriage, and attacks them for their ungodly conduct, and for multifarious crimes that never could enter into his head to suspect them of perpetrating; but that the divinity with which his holy things were endued, had now suffered a great decay, although he had fasted, purified himself, and in every other way lived an innocent life, according to the beloved speech; adding, Loak Ishtahoolo will never be kind to ungrateful people.' He concludes with a religious caution to the penitent; advising them to mend their manners, and the times will mend with them: then they depart with sorrow and shame. The old women, as they go along, exclaiming loudly against the young people, and protesting that they will watch their manners very narrowly for the time to come, being assured of their own steady virtue.

As the Hebrew prophets had oracular answers, so the Indian magi, who are to invoke Yo, HE WAH, and mediate with the supreme holy fire, that he may give seasonable rains, have a transparent stone, of supposed great power, when it is

put into a bason of water, by a reputed divine virtue, impressed on one of the same sort in old time, which communicates itself circularly. This stone, they assert, would suffer a great decay, were it even seen by their laity; but if by foreigners, it would be utterly despoiled of its divine communicative power. Does not this allude to the precious blazing stones of the Urim and Thummim? Not long ago, I attended a friendly, religious love-feast, in West-Florida, during a long-continued drought: I earnestly importuned the old rain-bringer for a sight of the supposed efficacious stone, of which he assured me he was possessed; but he would by no means gratify my request, telling me that I was an infidel, or, literally, 'one who shakes hands with the accursed speech,' and did not believe in its virtue, therefore the sight of it could not benefit me, and would endanger it. I jested him in a friendly way, saying, I imagined the supreme fire would have proved more kind to his honest devotees, than to sicken him so severely, at that critical season, when the people's food and his own entirely depended on his health: that, though our beloved men never undertook to bring down seasonable rains, yet we seldom failed of a good crop, and always paid them the tenth basketful of our yearly produce; because they persuaded our young people, by the force of their honest example and precept, to shun the

crooked ways of *Hottuk Kallakse*, 'the mad, light people,' and honestly to shake hands with the old beloved speech: that the supreme fatherly CHIEF had told his prophets to instruct how to obtain peace and every good thing while we live, and, when we die, to shun the accursed place, where the sun is drowned, and to live happy in the beloved land. He replied, that my speech consisted of a mixture of good and evil—the beginning of it was crooked, and the conclusion straight. He said, I had wrongfully blamed him for the disorderly conduct of the young people, although it was well known he had fasted at different times for days together; and at other times ate green tobacco leaves; some days drinking only a warm decoction of snake-root, without allowing any one, except his religious attendant, to come near him; and in every other respect had severely observed the austere rules of his religious place, according to the beloved speech which *Ishtohoolo Eloah* had given to the *Loache* of their forefathers. Now *Loak Ishtohoolo* was displeased with the defection and disorderly carriage of the young people, which spoiled the power of his holy things, and provoked *Mingo Ishto Eloah*, 'the great chief of thunder,' to bind up the clouds and withhold rain. Besides, that the old women were less honest in paying the rain-bringers, than the English women were with reference to their beloved men, unless I had spoken too well

of them. The wives of this and the other person, he said, had cheated him in not paying any portion of last year's light crop, to which their own bad lives greatly contributed: not to mention a late custom of planting a great many fields of beans and peas, in distant places, after the summer crops were over, on this dishonest principle: likewise in affirming, that when the harvest was over, it rained for nothing; by which means they had blackened the old beloved speech that *Ishtohoolo Eloah* of old spake to the *Loache*, and conveyed down to him, only that they might paint their own bad actions white. He concluded by saying, that if the hearts of those light, mad people he complained of did not speedily grow honest, the dreadful day would soon come, in which *Loak Ishtohoolo* would send *Phutchick Keeraah Isto*, 'the great blazing star,' *Yahkane eeklénna, Loak loachaihe*, 'to burn up half of the earth with fire,' &c. The Indians believe that a virtuous life will sufficiently enable their beloved men to bring blessings of plenty to the beloved people; but if otherwise, they are dangerous enemies, and a curse to the community. They say, Ishtohoolo Aba allows the winter-rain to fall unsought; but that he commanded their forefathers to seek for the summer-rain, according to the old law, otherwise he would not give it to them. If the seasons have been good, when the ripened harvest is gathered in, the old women

pay their reputed prophet with good will a certain quantity of each kind of the new fruits, measured in the same large back-baskets wherein they carried home their ripe fruits. This they observed yearly; which is as consonant to the Levitical constitution as can be reasonably expected from those whose traditions have been, time out of mind, preserved by oral echo.

I shall, continues Mr. Adair, insert a dialogue, which formerly passed between the Chickasaw Loache and myself, which will illustrate the subject, and also show the antichristian advantages and arguments by which the French used to undermine us with the Indians. I asked him, how he could reasonably blame the English traders for cheating his people, 'the red folks,' since he, their divine man, had cheated them out of a great part of their crops, and had the assurance to claim it as his religious due, when, at the same time, if he had shaken hands with the straight old beloved speech, or strictly observed the ancient divine law, his feeling heart would not have allowed him to have done such black and crooked things, especially to the helpless, the poor, and the aged: rather it would have urged him to stretch out to them a kind and helping hand, according to the old beloved speech of *Ishtohoolo Aba* to his priests, who were supported at the public expense, and strictly ordered to supply the wants of others. He

smartly retorted my objections, telling me, that the white folk's excuses for their own wrong conduct were as false and weak as my complaints against him. The red people, he said, saw very clearly through such thin black paint, though his sacred employment was equally hid from them and me; for which reason neither could reasonably pretend to be proper judges of his virtuous conduct, nor blame him for the necessary effect of our own crimes; or urge, as a plea for cheating him out of his yearly dues, contrary to the old divine speech—for the crops had become light by their vicious conduct, which spoiled the power of his holy things. So that it was visible, both the red and white were too partial to themselves; and that, by the bounty of the supreme fatherly RULER, it was as much out of his power, as distant from his kindly heart, either to wrong the beloved red people, or the white nothings; and that it became none, except mad, light people, to follow the crooked steps of the accursed people.

As there was no interruption to one winter night's chat, I asked him in a friendly manner whether he were not afraid thus boldly to snatch at the divine power of distributing rain at his pleasure? He told me, that by an ancient tradition their Loàch were possessed of an extraordinary virtue and divine power, by which they foretold hidden things, and by the beloved speech brought down showers of plenty to the beloved

people; that he very well knew, that the giver of virtue to nature resided on earth in the unpolluted holy fire; and likewise in the form of a fiery substance above, attended by many beloved people; and that he continually weighs us, and measures out good or bad things to us according to our actions. He added, that though the ancient beloved speech had a long time subsided, it was reasonable they should continue their old beloved custom; especially as it was both profitable in supporting many of their helpless old beloved men, and very productive of virtue, by awing the young men against violating the ancient laws. My old prophetic friend told me, with a good deal of surprise, that though the beloved red people had by some means or other, lost the beloved old speech, yet *Frenshe Lakkane ookproo*, 'the ugly yellow French,' had obtained it; for his own people had seen them at New Orleans bring down rain in a very dry season, when they were giving out some blood-thirsty speeches to their head warriors against the English traders. On a mischevous politic invitation of the French, several of the Chichasaws had paid them a visit, during an alarming drought, and a general fast, when they were praying at mass for seasonable rains. When they came the interpreter was ordered to tell them, that the French had also holy places and holy things, after the manner of the red people—that if their young people proved honest,

they could bring rain whenever they stood in need of it—and that this was one of the chief reasons which induced all the various nations of the beloved red people to bear them so intense a love; and on the contrary, so violent and inexpressible an hatred even to the very name of the English, because every one of them was marked with *Anumbole Ookproo*, 'the curse of God.' The method of the Chickasaw prophet, in relating this matter, had some humour in it—for their ignorance of the Catholic religion, &c. perplexes them; I shall for this reason literally translate it. The Chickasaw warriors, during three successive days accompanied the French *Loache* and *Ishtohoole* to their great beloved house, where a large bell hung at the top, which exceedingly surprised them, for instead of being fit to hang at the neck of a horse a great many ten horses would be required to carry it. Around the inside of the beloved house there was a multitude of beloved male and female saints and angels, whose living originals they affirmed dwelt above, and helped them to get every good thing from *Ishtohoola Aba*, when they earnestly crave their help. The French beloved men spake with much warmth, the rest were likewise busily employed in imitation of the *Ishtohoole* and *Loache*.

At one time they spoke high, at another they muttered low. One chose this, and another chose

that song. Here they kneeled before the images of their beloved squaws, and there they did the same before their beloved men-pictures, entreating from them some particular favour. Some of them made very wild motions over their foreheads and breasts; others struck their stomachs with vehemence like warriors when they drink much 'bitter waters,' or Ookka Homma, 'spirituous water,' while each had a bunch of mixed beads, to which they frequently spoke, as well as counted over; that they loved those beads, for one warrior strictly observed they did not give them to their Loàche and Ishtohoolo, as the red people would have done to those of their own country, though it was very plain they deserved them, for beating themselves so much for the young roguish people's misconduct; and likewise labouring so much in pulling off their clothes and putting on others, and again, pulling off and putting on, to make their beloved medicine work, which they took in small pieces to procure rain. On the third day they brought it down in great plenty, which was certainly a very difficult performance; and as surprising too, that they who are always, when opportunity offers, persuading the red people to take up the bloody hatchet against their old steady friends the English, should still have the beloved speech which *Ishtohoola*, Aba Eloha, formerly gave to *our* beloved Loàche.'

A dim vestige of the celebrated feast of taber-

nacles, which is to be more magnificently and universally celebrated at the restoration of the twelve tribes to Jerusalem, may be traced in Mr. Adair's description of their observance. 'While their sanctified first fruits are preparing, a religious attendant is ordered to call six of their old beloved women to come to the temple, and dance the beloved dance with joyful hearts, according to the old beloved speech. They cheerfully obey, entering the sacred enclosure in solemn procession, each carrying in her hand a bundle of small branches of various green trees; and they join the same number of aged magi, or priests, who carry a cane in one hand, adorned with white feathers, having likewise green boughs in their other hand, which they pulled from the holy arbour, and carefully place there, encircling it with several rounds. Those beloved men have their heads dressed with white plumes, but the women are decked in their finest, and anointed with oil, having small tortoise-shells and white pebbles, fastened to a piece of white dressed deer skin, which is tied to their ancles. The oldest priest leads the sacred dance of the innermost row, which is nearest the holy fire. He begins the dance around this fire, by invoking YAH, after their usual manner, in a bass key, and a short accent; then he sings YO-YO, which is repeated by the rest of the religious procession, and he continues his sacred invocations and

praises, repeating the divine word or notes as they return to the same point of the circular course, then HE, HE and WAH, WAH. Frequently the train strike up Halelu, Halelu, then Haleluyah, Haleluyah, Aleluyah and Alelu-YAH, 'Irradiation of the Divine Essence,' with great earnestness and fervour, till they encircle the altar, while each strikes the ground with right and left feet alternately, very quick, but well-timed; then the awful drums join the tuneful choir, which incites the aged to shout their pious notes and grateful praises before the Divine Essence, and to redouble their former quick and joyful steps in imitation of their leader. What with the manly strong notes of the one, and the shrill voices of the other, in concert with bead-shells and the two sounding drum-like earthen vessels, with the voices of the musicians, who beat them, the reputed holy ground echoes with the praises of YO-HE-WAH. In the same manner they sing on certain other religious celebrations, Ail-Yo, Ail-Yo, which is the Hebrew אל for God, by his attribute of omnipotence; they likewise sing Hewah, Hewah, which is הוה, the 'immortal soul,' drawn from the essential name, and deriving its faculties from Yohewah. Those words sung at their religious rejoicings are never uttered at any other time, which must have occasioned the loss of their divine hymns; for so corrupted are they become, as neither to

understand the spiritual nor literal meaning of their chaunting, further than by allusion. They on some occasions sing Shilù YO, Shilù YO, Shilu HE, Shilù HE, Shilù WAH, Shilú Wah. They transpose them several ways, but with the same notes. The three terminations make up in their order the four lettered divine name. Hah is a note of gladness; the word preceding it, Shilú, seems to express the predicted human and divine שילוה SHILOH, who was to be the peace-maker.'

'As they degenerate,' observes Mr. Adair, 'they lengthen their dances and shorten their fasts and purifications, insomuch that they have so exceedingly corrupted their primitive rites and customs within the space of the last thirty years, that at the same rate of declension there will not long be a possibility of tracing their origin, but by their dialects, genius, physiognomy, and war customs. At the end of this religious dance, the old beloved holy women return home to hasten the feast of the new sanctified fruits. Meanwhile every one at the temple drinks plentifully of the cuscena and other bitter liquids, to cleanse their sinful bodies: after which they retire to a convenient deep water, and there, according to the law, wash away their sins with water. Thus sanctified they return home with joyful hearts in solemn procession, singing praise until they enter into the sacred inclosure to

partake of the new fruits of their wild Canaan. The women now with cheerful countenances, bring to the outside of the sacred square, a plentiful variety of all those good things with which the divine fire has blessed them in the new year, and the religious attendants lay it before them according to their merit. Every seat is served in succession from the white and red imperial broad seats, and the whole square is soon covered: frequently they have a change of fifty different courses, and then they regale themselves with joy and gladness. They all behave so modestly, and have such an extraordinary constancy and equanimity in the observance of their religious mysteries, that they do not exhibit the least symptom of joy at the first sight of the new sanctified fruits, nor the least impatience to taste those tempting things. If one of them acted in a contrary manner, they would say, Che, Hakect, Kana; 'You resemble those who were reproved in Canaan.' The celebration of Neetak Hoolo is preceded by a strict fast of two nights and a day. They eat as much strong food as to enable them to observe inviolate the succeeding fast, the Sabbath of Sabbaths, the *Natak Yah-ah.*

The feast lasts only from morning until sun-set. Being great lovers of the ripe fruits, and only as yet tantalized with the near sight of them, and having at this season lived sparingly on the wild

produce of nature,—such a fast as this may truly be said to afflict their souls and to prove a sufficient trial of their religious principles. During this feast some of their people are employed in putting their temple in order for the annual expiation; and others are painting the white cabin and the supposed holiest with white clay; for it is a holy peaceable beloved place, and white is its emblem. Some are painting the outside, or war-cabin, with red clay; while others, of an inferior order, are covering all the seats of the beloved square with new mattresses, made out of the fine splinters of long canes, tied together with flags. Meanwhile several others are busied in sweeping the temple, clearing it of every supposed polluting thing, and carrying the ashes from the hearth. Several towns join together to make the annual sacrifice; and if the whole nation lies in a narrow compass, they make but one annual offering. The Archimagus orders some of his attendants to dig up the old hearth, or altar; then he puts a few bitter roots with some green leaves of short and small tobacco, and a little of the new fruits at the bottom of the fire-place, which he orders to be covered up with white marley clay, and sprinkled with the purest water. He orders his magi to make a thick arbour over the altar, with green branches of various young trees. The women, in the interim, are busy at home in

cleaning their houses, renewing the old hearths, and cleansing all their culinary vessels, that they may be in a fit state to receive the supposed sacred fire, and sanctified new fruits, according to the purity of the law, lest by a contrary conduct, they should incur damage in life, health, crops, &c.

Having every thing in order for the solemnity, the religious waiters carry off the remains of the feast, and lay them on the outside of the square; others, of an inferior order, carefully sweeping the smallest crumbs, for fear of polluting the first fruit offering; and before sun-set the temple must be cleared, even of every kind of vessel or utensil which had been used during the expiring year. The women carry all off, but only six old beloved women are permitted to tread the holy ground till after the fourth day. One of the waiters calls for all the warriors and beloved men, whom the purity of the law admits to come and enter the beloved square and observe the fast; he likewise exhorts all women and children, and those who have contracted impurity, to keep apart according to law. They observe the same strict law of purity in their method of sanctifying themselves for war, in order to obtain the divine protection, assistance, and success. 'But a few weeks since,' observes Mr. Adair, 'when a large company of warriors were about to set off against their enemies, the

French, some of the wags decoyed a heedless English trader into their holy ground, where he was stripped, and left to redeem his clothes with white clay and vermillion: and for the same reason two little Indian children were detained two nights and a day, until their parents made restitution.' Their great beloved men place four centinels, one at each corner of the holy square, in order to keep out every living thing as impure, except their religious order and those warriors who are known not to have violated the law of the first fruit offering, and that of marriage, since the last year's expiation. These centinels are regularly relieved and are firm to their sacred trust; if they saw a dog or cat, even on the outer limit of the square, before the first fruit offering was made, they would kill it with their arrows on the spot. They observe the fast till the rising of the second sun, and be they ever so hungry, in that sacred interval, the healthy warriors deem the duty so awful, and the violation so inexpressibly vicious, that no temptation would induce them to violate it. They drink largely of button-snake root, highly embittered, in order to cleanse their sinful bodies. Thus they continue to mortify and purify themselves till the end of the fast. When we consider their earnest invocations of the Divine Being during this solemnity, their great knowledge of specific virtues in simples, that this

root is never used but on religious occasions, that they frequently drink it to such an excess as to impair their health, and take into account its well-known medicinal property of curing the bites of the most dangerous of the serpent kind, may it not be thought that this people chose it as a strong emblem of that certain cure which was to be afforded for the bite of the old serpent in Eden?

That the women and children, and those godless fellows who have not yet hazarded their lives in defence of their holy place and holy things, and for the beloved people, may not be entirely neglected, one of the old beloved men lays down a large quantity of the small-leafed green tobacco, on the outside of a corner of the sacred square, and an old beloved woman carries it off, and distributes it to the sinners without in large pieces, which they chew heartily and swallow, in order to afflict their souls. She commends those who perform this duty with cheerfulness, and chides those who seem by their wry faces to eat unwillingly the sanctifying herb. She distributes it in such quantities as she thinks are equal to their respective capacities for sinning.

In the time of this general fast, the women and children and men of weak constitutions, are allowed to eat as soon as they are certain the Sun has begun to decline from his meridian

altitude; but not before. Their indulgence to the sick and weak seems to be derived from divine precept, which forbade the offering of sacrifice at the cost of mercy: and the snake root joined with their sanctifying bitter herbs, seem as strongly expressive emblems as they could possibly have chosen in their situation, to represent the sacred institution of eating the paschal Lamb, with bitter herbs; and to show, that though the old serpentine deceiver bit us in Eden, yet there ariseth a branch from the root of Jesse, for those who deny themselves the present sweet taste of the world, which will be an all-sufficient purifier and cure.

At the conclusion of this solemn fast, the women, by the voice of a crier, bring to the outside of the holy square a plentiful variety of the old year's food newly drest, which they lay down, and immediately return home; for every one of them know their several duties, both as regards time and place. The centinel reports, and soon afterwards the waiters by order go, and reaching their hands over the holy ground, bring in the provisions and set them down before the famished multitude. Though most of the people may have seen them they reckon it vicious and mean to shew gladness, for that which ends their religious duties. As soon as the Sun visibly declines from his meridian, this third day of the fast, the Archimagus

orders an attendant to cry aloud to the crowded town, that the holy fire is to be brought out for the sacred altar, commanding every one of them to abide within their houses, as becomes the beloved people, without doing the least bad thing, and to be sure to extinguish and throw away every spark of the old fire; otherwise the divine fire will afflict them severely with new diseases, and other evils which he sententiously enumerates, finishing his monitory caution by setting 'life and death before them.' Now every thing is hushed—nothing but silence all around. The Archimagus and his beloved waiter rising up with a reverend carriage, steady countenance, and composed behaviour, go into the beloved place, or holiest, to bring them from thence the beloved fire. The former takes a piece of dry willow or white oak, and by friction he procures a fresh spark of fire, which they believe the immediate issue or son of the spirit of fire. The Muskoghees call the fire their Grandfather, and the Supreme one, *Esakata-Emishe*, 'the breath master.' When the fire is struck the beloved waiter cherishes it with very fine chips, and shaved splinters of pitch pine which had been deposited to dry in the holiest: he then takes the unsullied wing of a swan, waves it gently, until he fans it into a flame. It is then carried by the priest in an earthen vessel, and laid on the sacred altar, which is under an

arbour interlaced with green boughs. Their hearts are elevated with joy at the appearance of the fresh holy fire, which atones for their past sins, except murder; and the beloved waiter shows his happiness by his cheerful industry in feeding it with dry fresh wood. Although the people without know what is transacting within, yet by order the crier informs them of the good things, and orders an old beloved woman to pull a basket full of the new ripened fruits, and bring them to the beloved square. As she before had been appointed, and religiously prepared for that solemn occasion, she readily obeys, and soon lays it down with a cheerful heart, at the out-corner of the beloved square.

By ancient custom she is either at liberty to return home or stand there till the expiation of sin has been made, which is thus performed. The Archimagus or fire-maker rises from his white seat and walks northward three times round the sacred fire, with slow pace, and in a very grave and sedate manner, stooping now and then, speaks certain old ceremonial words, with a low voice and a rapidity of expression which is only understood by a few of the beloved men who observe this secrecy, lest their mysteries should be profaned. He then takes a little of the new harvest of each kind, which the old woman had brought to the extremity of the supposed

holy ground, pours some bear's oil over it, and offers it up, together with some flesh, to the bountiful Spirit of holy fire, as a first-fruit offering, and an annual oblation for sin. He likewise consecrates the snake root, and the cuscena, by pouring a little of those strong bitter decoctions into the fire. He then purifies the white and red seats with those liquids and sits down. Now every one of the outlaws who had been caught tripping, may safely creep out of their lurking places, anoint themselves and sit down drest in their holiday attire, to pay their grateful devoir to the forgiving divine fire. A religious waiter is soon ordered to call the women to come for sacred fire. They joyfully obey.—When they approach the sacred square, the Archimagus addresses the warriors, and gives them particular and positive injunctions, &c. Then he changes his note, and uses much sharper language to the women, as if suspicious of them. He first tells them very earnestly that if there are any present who have not extinguished the old fire, or have contracted impurity, they must forthwith depart, lest the divine fire should consume both themselves and their people. He then charges them not to give the children a bad example, in eating any unsanctified or impure food, otherwise they will have worms and be devoured by famine and various diseases, and bring these evils upon the beloved and holy people.

Afterwards he addresses himself to the whole congregation, telling them in rapid, bold language, with great energy and expressive gesture, to look at the holy fire, which again has introduced all those godless persons to social privileges. He warns them against future misconduct, but to remember and shake hands with the old beloved straight speech, otherwise the divine Spirit of fire, which sees, hears, and knows them thoroughly, will be exceedingly provoked, even to destroy them. Then he enumerates all the supposed lesser crimes, and moves the audience by the great motives of the temporal good promised to them, and the fear of temporal evil which they have experienced, assuring them, that by these careful observances of the ancient law, the holy fire will enable their prophets to procure them plentiful harvests, and give their war-leaders victory over their enemies; and by the communicative power of their holy things, health and prosperity are certain: whereas on their failure they have to expect many extraordinary calamities, such as hunger, a subjection to witchcraft, captivity and death by the hateful enemy in the woods, where the wild birds of prey will feed on their flesh, and the ravenous beasts destroy even their remaining bones, so that they can never be gathered to their forefathers—because their ark abroad, and beloved things at home would lose their virtual power of averting evil. He

concludes by enjoining a strict observance of the ancient rites and customs, and then every thing shall go well with them. He then orders his religious attendants to take a quantity of the fire, and lay it down on the outside of the holy ground, for every house of the associated towns, which sometimes are several miles apart. The women speedily take it up, gladly carry it home and lay it down on their unpolluted hearths with the prospect of future peace and joy. They think it improper to observe the annual expiation without bear's oil, both to mix with that yearly offering, and to eat with the new sanctified fruits; and some years they have much toil and anxiety in procuring a sufficient number of bears for the use of this solemnity and their other sacred rites for the approaching year; for at such seasons they are scarce and very lean. The traders supply themselves with plenty of this oil from season to season: but this people are so prepossessed with notions of the white people being impure, that they deem their oil as polluting on those occasions, as the Jews were wont to suppose that of the Greeks. An Indian warrior will not light his calmut at a white man's fire, if he suspects any unsanctified food has been dressed at it, in the new year. And in the time of the new-ripe fruit, then their religious men carry a flint and steel when they visit us, for fear of being polluted by lighting their pipes at our supposed

Loak soproose, 'accursed fire,' and thereby spoiling the efficacy of their holy things. During that eight days they are prohibited from touching the skin of even a female infant.'

'It would, continues Adair, 'surprise a stranger to see how astonishingly they vary their dishes, their dainties consisting of dried or fresh venison, wild fowl, fish, oil, corn, beans, pease, pompeons, and wild fruit. During this time of rejoicing, the warriors are drest in their wild martial array, with their heads covered with white down, or decorated with eagles' plumes. They carry the the wing of a swan in their hands, or fastened to white scraped canes, as emblems of purity and sceptres of power, while they are dancing in three circles, and singing their religious praises around the sacred arbour in which burns the sacred fire. Their music consists of two drum-like clay pots, covered on the top with thin wet deer-skins drawn tight, on which the musicians beat with a stick, accompanying the noise with their voices; at the same time the dancers prance with wild and quick gliding steps, and variegated attitudes, keeping time with the drums and the rattling calabashes shaken by some of their religious heroes, each singing their old sacred songs. Such is the graceful dancing, &c. of these red Hebrews, which they must have derived from early antiquity. Toward the conclusion of the great festival, they paint and attire

themselves anew, giving themselves the most terrific appearance possible. The women are called to join in the dance, and if they disobey they are fined. But as they are extremely fond of this religious exercise, and deem it productive of temporal good, all soon appear in their gayest apparel, decorated with ear-rings, necklaces, rings, broad silver bracelets upon their wrists and ancles, to the latter torrepine-shells, and pebbles, and deer's hoofs are appended, in order to produce a rattling sound. At the conclusion of this ceremony, the *Archimagus* orders one of his religious men to proclaim to all the people, that their sacred annual solemnity is now ended, and every kind of evil averted from the beloved people, according to the old straight beloved speech; they must therefore paint themselves, and come along with him, according to ancient custom. They joyfully paint themselves white. By their religious emulation they soon appear covered with this emblem of purity, and join at the outside of the holy ground with all who have sanctified themselves within it: recusants would undergo a heavy penalty. They go in solemn procession to purify themselves in running water. The priest leads the holy train—his waiter next—the beloved men according to their seniority—and the warriors by their reputed merit. The women follow in the same orderly manner, with as many children as are able to walk, ranged

according to their height; the papooses, or infants, they carry in their arms. Those who are known to have eaten unsanctified fruits bring up the rear. In this manner the procession moves along, singing ALELUYAH to YO HEWAH, till they arrive at the water, when the Archimagus jumps into it, all the sacred train following his example. Having purified themselves by thus washing away their sins, they come out of the water with light hearts and joyful countenances, believing themselves out of the reach of temporal evil for their past vicious conduct. They return in the same religious, cheerful manner, into the centre of the holy ground, where having made a few circles, singing and dancing around the altar, they thus finish their great annual festival, and depart in joy and peace.'

Though the heathen nations offered sacrifice and had oblations frequently by fire, yet their religious observances differed widely from the divine institutions: whereas these Aborigines observe strict purity, in the essential parts of the divine law. The former concealed their mysteries from the light of the Sun, some seeking thick groves, others descending into deep caverns. But we find the latter in their state-houses or temples, imitating the JERUSALEM copy in a surprising manner. The red-cabin looks north, and the second holy square enclosure looks south,

according to the plan of the Israelitish camps in the wilderness. We find them also sanctifying themselves according to the emblematical laws of purity, offering their annual sacrifices in the centre of their quadrangular place, under the light of the meridian sun. Their magi are devoted to and bear the name of the Holy One—their supposed prophets, likewise that of the divine fire; and each of them bear the image of purity and holiness—while in their sacred dances they sing ALELUYAH and YOHEWAH both day and night—and sometimes during great rejoicing Meshiha YO—Meshiha HE—Meshiha WAH. In the Hebrew language the Anointed One is משיח or MESSIAH. The Indians have a similar custom to that of the daily sacrifice, or rather such an imitation of it as their circumstances would admit. Like the Israelites they believe their sins are the true cause of all their evils, and that the divinity in their ark, will always bless the more religious party with best success. This is their invariable sentiment, and is the sole reason of their severe mortification of self, while they go out to war, living very abstemiously, even in a buffalo-range, under a strict regimen, lest by luxury their hearts should grow evil, and give them occasion to mourn."

These red Hebrews imagine their temples to have such a typical holiness, that if they offered up the annual sacrifice elsewhere, it would not

atone for the people, but rather bring down the anger of the MASTER OF LIFE, and utterly spoil the power of their holy things. The heathens offered to a multitude of idols the most abominable and impure sacrifices, their rites are so atrocious, in the eyes of these tribes, that they suppose there needs no law but that of nature to prevent the crime of infant sacrifice &c. the brutes themselves being endued with an intense love to their young ones. The surprising purity which they still observe in their religious ceremonies, under the circumstances of time and place, points strongly at their origin.

The Hebrews had various ablutions and anointings, according to the Mosaic ritual—and the Indians observe the same customs from religious motives. Their frequent bathing and dipping themselves in the severest weather, proves this high feeling; for when the ground is covered with snow, against their natural feelings they turn out of their warm lodges, men, women and children, at the dawn of day, adoring YO-HE-WAH at the gladsome dawn of morn; and thus they skip along echoing his praises, till they get to the river, when they plunge in. If the water is frozen they break the ice with religious impatience. After bathing, they return home, rejoicing as they run, after their religious duty of ablutionary purification. The neglect of this has been deemed so heinous a crime, that they

have scraped the arms and limbs of the delinquent with snake's teeth, not allowing warm water to relax the stiffened skin. This is called dry-scratching. The criminals, through a false imitation of heroism scorn to move themselves in the least degree from their erect posture, be the pain ever so intolerable; if they did, they would be laughed at, even by their own relatives—first for being vicious; and next for being timorous. This may help to lessen our surprise at the extraordinary patience and constancy with which they are endued, beyond the rest of mankind, in suffering long-continued torture; especially as it is one of their earliest and strongest impressions —and they have constant lessons and examples of fortitude, exhibited before their eyes.

The Indian priests and prophets are initiated by anointing. The Chickasaws, some time ago, set apart some of their old men. They first obliged them to undergo a medicated vapour-bath for three successive evenings, in a small green hut, constructed for the purpose, at a considerable distance from any dwelling, through a scrupulous fear of contracting pollution by contact, or from the breath of polluted people, and a strong desire to keep secret their religious mysteries. During that period they were permitted only to drink a dilution of snake-root and warm water, to cleanse their bodies, and to prepare them for their holy, beloved office before

the Divine BEING, who, during this preparation, they constantly and solemnly invoke by his essential Name. After this, their priestly garments and ornaments are put on, bear's oil being poured on their heads. If they could procure olive, or palm oil, they would prefer it, the other being their only substitute.

According to the Mosaic law, women, after child-birth, absented themselves from *all* society for forty days for a male, and double that period for a female child.—The Muskohge mothers are separated for three moons, exclusive of that in which they are delivered. Should any one violate this law of purity, they would be severely censured, and suffer, as the cause of any sudden death, or sickness, that might happen among the people; which, they conclude, would be the necessary effect of the Divine displeasure for their pollution, contrary to their old traditional beloved law of female purity.

The Israelites became unclean by touching the dead.—The Indians, in order to prevent pollution, when the sick person is past hope of recovery, dig a grave, prepare a tomb, anoint his hair, and paint his face: when his breath ceases, they hasten the remaining funeral preparations, and soon inter the corpse. One of a different family will not pollute himself for a stranger; though, when living, he would cheerfully have hazarded his life for his safety: the relations who become

unclean by performing the funeral duties, must live apart from the clean several days, and be cleansed by some of their religious order. After three days, the funeral assistants may meet at the council-house, and follow their usual diversions: but the relatives live recluse a long time, mourning for the dead. Like the Jews, the Indians abstain from most things either in themselves, or in the general apprehension of mankind, loathsome and unclean: where we find a deviation from this general rule, it is a corruption—either owing to their intercourse with Europeans, or having contracted an evil habit from necessity. They generally affix very vicious ideas to the eating of impure things: and all their priests, prophets, and war-leaders, before they enter into their religious duties, and while engaged in them, observe the strictest abstinence on this point. Formerly, if any of them did eat in white people's houses, or even of what had been cooked there, while they were sanctifying themselves, it was deemed a dangerous sin of pollution. They reckon all bird's of prey and night-birds to be unclean, and unlawful to be eaten. Not long ago, when the Indians were making their winter's hunt, and the old women at home were without meat, I shot a fat hawk, and desired one of them to take and cook it: but, though I strongly importuned her, by way of trial, she decidedly refused it, for fear of contracting pollution, which

she called the 'accursed sickness;' supposing that sickness would be the necessary result of such an impurity. Eagles of every kind they esteem unclean food, also ravens, crows, buzzards, &c. It must be acknowledged they are all degenerating; insomuch that the Chocktaws, on account of their great scarcity of ammunition, while they traded with the French, began to eat horse-flesh, frogs, and even snakes, which are all accounted in the highest degree impure by the neighbouring tribes, who, in ridicule of the Chocktaws for their cannibal apostacy, call them 'the evil, ugly Choctah.' It may be objected that they seldom refuse to eat swine's flesh: but this proceeds entirely from vicious imitation, equally common to civilized nations. When swine were first brought among them, they deemed it such horrid abomination in any of their people to eat the flesh of that filthy creature, that they excluded the criminal from all religious communion in their circular town-house, or in their quadrangular sacred ground at the annual expiation of sins, equally as if he had eaten unsanctified fruit. After the yearly atonement, he was again admitted to his usual privileges. Our eating the pork and venison with the juice in it, helped to rivet the dislike of their chiefs, who account this as blood. I once invited the Archimagus to partake of my dinner; but he excused himself, saying, in a few days he had

a holy duty to perform, and that if he should eat evil, or accursed food, it would spoil him. Though many of their hereditary laws have been corrupted, they affix vicious and contemptible ideas to the eating of swine's flesh; insomuch, that *shukapa*, 'swine-eater,' is the most opprobrious epithet with which they brand us: sometimes they add, *akanggapa*, 'eater of dunghill fowls.' Both expressions signify 'filthy, helpless animals.' When the English traders have been making sausages of hog's blood, I have observed the Indians cast their eyes upon them with the horror of their reputed forefathers, when they viewed the predicted abomination which, by Antiochus the Greek, was brought into the sanctuary in order to defile it.

An instance lately happened, which sufficiently proves their utter aversion to blood. A Chickasaw woman became ill with a complication of disorders. The Indian physician could not cure her, after trying all his remedies: he at last ascribed her ailment to eating swine's flesh, blood, &c. and said, that such an ugly, or accursed, sickness overcame the power of all his beloved things and medicine; and in anger he left his supposed criminal patient to the anger of Loah Ishtohoolo. I asked her, some time afterwards, from what cause her illness proceeded? she said, 'The accursed sickness;' having eaten fowls after the manner of the white

people, with the *issish ookproo*, 'the cursed blood,' in them. She recovered, and now strictly abstains from eating tame fowls, unless they have been bled to death, for fear of incurring future evil.' After giving a dismal account of the seduction of the Indians by the French, Adair continues—'A seduced Indian is infinitely less guilty than the apostate Christian, who instigated him to bloodshed, contrary to the laws of his people. When an Indian sheds blood, it does not proceed from wanton cruelty, or with the wish to do evil, but solely to put in execution the ancient beloved law of "blood for blood"—retaliation for injury in kind. If he has received no evil from the captives who are in his power, he seldom harms them; but is rather moved with compassion, in proportion to what they seem to have undergone. Such as are devoted to fire, they flatter with the hope of being redeemed, as long as they can, to prevent giving them any previous anxiety or grief, which their law of blood does not demand. They understand well, and always endeavour to practise, the law—'He shall be dealt with exactly as he intended to do to his neighbour.' It ought to be remarked,' continues Adair, 'that they are careful of their youth, and fail not to punish them when they transgress. Anno 1766, I saw an aged chief, called Sun-down, correct several young persons; some for supposed faults, and others by way

of prevention. He began with a gay young fellow, who was charged with being too effeminate for a warrior, and with acting contrary to their ancient religious customs; particularly, because he lived nearer than any of the rest to an opulent and helpless Dutchman, by whom they supposed he must have been corrupted. He bastinadoed the young sinner severely, with a whip of plaited grass and the fibres of snake-root stalks, tapering to a point, which was secured by a knot. He reasoned with him as he corrected him, literally thus; 'You are as a wicked one that is almost lost.' The grey-haired man said, he treated him according to the ancient custom through love, in order to induce him to shun vice, and imitate the virtues of their illustrious ancestors, whom he at length enumerated. Their corrections lessen in severity according to the youth of the offenders. While this veteran was chastising the little ones, he said, 'Do not become vicious;' and when they wept, he said, Che-Abel-Awa, 'I shall not kill you as bleeding Abéla.'

To convey the idea of great criminality, they say *Hackset Caneha,* pointing, as it seems, to those who sinned in Canaan. As they use no weights, the parity of language here with the Hebrews, assures us they originally must have derived this mode of expression from the Israelites. Job says, "Let me be weighed in an even balance

that I may know my weight," and they call weighing, or giving a preference, Tekàle, which agrees both in expression and import with the Chaldean Tekel; when they prefer one person and would disparage another, they say, Eapa Wehke Tekàle, 'this one weighs heavy,' and Eàko Kallakse Tekàle, 'that one weighs very light;' when any of their people are killed on the hunting paths, they say Henna tnugga Tannip Tekàle, 'on the path he was weighed for an opposite, or an enemy,' one word serving to express the two latter ideas.

When the war-chief beats up for volunteers, he goes three times around his dark winter-house contrary to the sun's course, sounding the war whoop, singing the war song, and beating the drum. Then he speaks to the listening crowd with very rapid language, short pauses, and an awful commanding voice, telling them of the continued friendly offices they have done the enemy, but which they have returned with ingratitude and bad faith, in shedding the blood of his kinsman. Therefore as the white paths have changed their beloved colour, his heart burns within him with eagerness to tincture them all along, and even to make them covered over with the blood of the base and contemptible enemy. Then he strongly persuades his kindred and warriors, and others, who fear not the enemies' bullets and arrows, to come and join

him with manly and cheerful hearts, assuring them that as they are all bound by the same love-knot, so they are ready to hazard their lives to avenge the crying blood of their kindred; that the love of order and the necessity of obeying the old beloved customs, had hitherto checked their daring generous hearts, but now those hindrances are removed; and then proceeds to whoop for the warriors to join him, and sanctify themselves for success against the common enemy, according to their ancient religious laws.

In speaking of the Indian places of refuge for the unfortunate, I observed that if a captive, taken by the reputed power of the holy things of their ark, should be able to make his escape into one of these towns, or even into the winter-house of the Archimagus, he is delivered from the fiery torture, otherwise inevitable. This when taken in connection with the many other faint images of Mosaic customs, seems to point at the mercy-seat of the sanctuary. It is also worthy of notice, that they never place the ark on the ground. On hilly ground where large stones are plenty, they rest it thereon, but on level prairies, upon short logs, where they also seat themselves. And when we consider in what a surprising manner the Indians copy after the ceremonial law of the Hebrews, and their strict purity in the war camps; that *opae* "the leader"

obliges all during the first campaign which they have made with the beloved ark, to stand, every day they are not engaged in warfare from sun-rise to sun-set, and after a fatiguing day's march, and scanty allowance, to drink warm water embittered with rattle-snake root very plentifully in order to purification; that they have also as strong a faith in the power of their ark, as ever the Israelites had in theirs, ascribing the success of one party to their stricter adherence to the law than the other, we have strong reason to conclude them of Hebrew origin. The Indians have an old tradition, that when they left their own native land, they brought with them a *sanctified rod*, by order of an oracle, which they fixed every evening in the ground, and were to remove from place to place on the continent towards the sun rising, till it budded in one night's time. I have seen other Indians who related the same thing.' Instead of the miraculous direction, to which they limit it, in their western banishment, it appears more likely that they refer to the ancient circumstance of the rod of Aaron, which, in order to check the murmur of those who conspired against Aaron, was in his favor made to bud, blossom, and yield almonds at one and the same time. It is a well attested fact, and is here corroborated by Adair, that in taking female captives, the Indians have often protected, but never despoiled them of

honour; 'unless,' observes Adair, 'the black tribe of Canadian priests corrupted their traditions, they would think such godless actions defiling, and consequently fatal to themselves and their people. We have, he adds, an attested narrative of an English prisoner who made his escape from the Shawanoh tribe, printed in Philadelphia, anno 1757, by which we are assured that even that most ferocious warrior, Captain Jacob, did not take advantage of his power over his female captives, lest, as he informed the writer, it should offend the Indians' God. When returning home victorious, they sing the triumphant song to YO-HE-WAH, ascribing to him the victory, according to the religious custom of the Hebrews, who were always taught to attribute their success to Jehovah, but never to their swords and arrows. On the arrival of the ark, the leader's Hettifore, or "waiter" placed a couple of new stakes of wood, on which he rested the ark, so that it and the sacred fire faced each other. Silence was observed for some time. At length the chief bade them sit down, and then inquired whether his house was prepared for the solemn occasion, being answered in the affirmative, they arose, and after their usual manner, invoked YO-HE-WAH. When the time of their purification and thanksgiving expired, the men and women went and bathed themselves separately, returned in the same

orderly manner, and anointed themselves according to their custom.

It was invariably the custom of the southern, as it is of the northern Indians, to bury with the dead his effects—no enemy amongst them ever molests the bones, or robs the graves of the dead. The grave proves an asylum and sure place of inviolable rest. This custom has unfortunately swallowed up their medals, and other reliques, without the hope of recovering them. On the Tallapoose river, thirty miles above the Alabammah garrison, are two brazen tablets, and five of copper. They esteemed them so sacred as to keep them constantly in their holy of holies, without touching them, except at their two most solemn festivals. *Old Bracket*, an Indian chief of a hundred years, lives in that old beloved town, who gave the following description of them. He said he was told by his grandfather that those plates were given to them by the chief we call God, that there had been many more of other shapes, some as long as he could stretch with his arms, and some had writing upon them, but these were buried with particular beloved men. They must only be handled by particular persons, and by those fasting. No women must come near them, or even the place where they are deposited, but after strict purification. This account was taken in Tuccabatchey-square, 27th of July, 1759, by William Bolsover, Esq.

When the funeral rites of a chief are to be celebrated, they lay the corpse in the tomb sometimes in a sitting posture, with his face toward the east, his head anointed with bear's oil, and his face painted with red; he is dressed in his gayest apparel, having his trusty hiccory bow, with a young panther's skin full of arrows by his side. The tomb is firm and clean inside—they cover it with thick logs, over which are laid several tiers of cypress-bark, and such a quantity of clay as to make it on a level with the floor. They often sleep over these tombs, which by the loud wailing of the women at dusk of eve, and dawn of day, on benches close by the tombs, must awake the memory of their relatives very often; and if they were killed by an enemy it helps to keep alive the desire of retaliation.

When the Hebrews gave names to their children they had always a present or prophetic import—these were usually given by the mother. This is a standing custom among the Indians without deviation. A male child they call, 'the moon-beam,' the 'fox,' the 'curly-eye,' &c. and the female infant, 'the bud,' or 'the blossom,' the 'humming-bird,' &c. They call a dull stalking fellow—Loorah, 'the Turkey buzzard,' and one of a malignant temper, *Kana Cheesteche*, 'the wasp.' An English trader who was very talkative, they called Jekakee, 'the grasshopper,' and to one with an unpleasant voice they gave

the name of Kanoona, ‘ the big frog.’ The katabar call their chief old interpreter, because of his obscurity, *Ematte*-Atikke, ‘ the smoke interpreter.’

Lopez de Gomara informs us, that the Mexicans were so devout, as to offer to the sun and earth, a small quantity of every kind of meat and drink before any of themselves have tasted it; and that they sacrificed part of their corn, fruits, &c. in like manner, otherwise they were deemed haters of, and condemned by, the Supreme. The Spanish writers say that when Cortes approached Mexico, Montezuma shut himself up, and continued for the space of eight days in prayer and fasting, but to blacken that venerable prince, and to excuse their unprovoked butcheries, they assert he offered human sacrifices to abominable and frightful idols.

‘The Spaniards,’ observes ‘ Adair, looking upon themselves as divine ambassadors, under the imperial signature of the Holy Lord of Rome, were excessively enraged against the simple people of the South, because they slew forty of their people by reprisal. The Spanish terror, and hatred on this account, their pride, religious bigotry, and an utter ignorance of the Indian laws, and dialects, and customs, induced them thus to libel the Mexicans. Emanuel de Mores and Acosta affirm that the Brasilians marry in their own tribes and family. And Jo de Laet

says they call their uncles and aunts, fathers and mothers, which is a Hebrew custom. He also assures us they make much mourning for the dead, and wear their clothes in the fashion of the Hebrews. Lact, in his description, as well as Escarbotus, inform us that they often heard the southern tribes repeat the sacred notes, Ha, le, lu, yah, which set them to conjecture how they came by it. And Malvenda states, that the natives of St. Michael had tomb-stones, which the Spaniards digged up, with several ancient Hebrew characters upon them, as, 'Why is GOD gone?' and, 'He is gone, GOD knows.' When the Spaniards were busily engaged in digging up their graves for the gold and silver which they contained, the Indians requested them to forbear scattering the bones of their dead in that ungodly manner, lest it should affect their future re-union and resurrection.*

Peter Martyr writes, that the Indian widow married the brother of her deceased husband, according to the Mosaic law: and he says, the Indians worship HIM who created the sun, moon, and all that is visible and invisible, and who gives them all good things. He affirms, the Indian priests had chambers in their temple according to the Israelitish custom: and Key also observes, they have in some parts of the

* Vid. Cento ad Solin. Beng. and Hist. Peruv.

western continent an exact form of prophet, priest, and king, as was of old in Canaan. Baron Lahonton writes, that the Indian mothers purify themselves after travail; thirty days for a male child, and forty for a female; that the unmarried brother of the deceased husband marries the widow six months after his decease; and that the warriors address the Great Spirit every day, till they set off with sacrifices, songs, and dancing.

Though a single argument of the general subject may prove little, disjointed from the rest, yet according to the true laws of history, and the best rule for tracing antiquities, the conclusion is to be drawn from clear corresponding circumstances united: the force of one branch of the subject ought to be connected with the others, and then the whole thus judged of. Those persons who differ in opinion about the origin of the aboriginal people of America ought to inform us how they got there, and by what means they formed the long chain of rites, ceremonies, and laws given to the Hebrew people. The Indians seldom if ever die by the bite of a snake when out at war or hunting, although they are frequently bitten by the most dangerous kinds; every one carries in his panther-skin quiver a piece of the best snake-root, called the *Senecka*, or fern snake-root, the wild hore-hound, and a variety of other roots and

plants, well known to those who range the forests, and are constantly exposed to such dangers. When an Indian perceives that he is struck by a snake, he immediately chews some of the root, which he also applies to the wound. For some time there is a terrible conflict throughout the system—the jarring qualities of the burning poison contending with the powerful antidote. The poison is however repelled by the same wound, and the patient is cured. The Cherokee mountains appear very formidable, their vallies, encircled by their prodigious proud contending crests, giving the appearance of vast masses of blue and black clouds interspersed with rays of light. But they produce every thing for health, and probably for wealth. Many stones of various colours and of beautiful lustre may be gathered on those mountains.

Between the heads of the northern branch of the lower Cherokee river, and the heads of the Tuckasechchee, winding in a mazy course until it enters the Mississippi, there is both in its nature and circumstances a great phenomenon. Between two high mountains nearly covered with old mossy rocks, lofty cedars, and pines, in the valleys of which the sunbeams reflect in summer a powerful heat, there are, the natives affirm, some 'bright old inhabitants,' or rattlesnakes, of a more enormous size than any made

mention of in natural history. They are so large and unwieldy as to require a circle almost as wide as their length to crawl round in their shortest orbit; but to compensate for this disability the attraction of their eyes is such that no living creature within reach of their sight can avoid their bewitching craft and power. The description given of their colour, which they say is ever varying, is wonderful. In every position it gleams with new aspects of brilliant illusion; in consequence, they say, of the piercing rays of light that blaze from their foreheads, dazzling the eyes that would look upon it; for in each of their fronts there is a large gem-like appearance, which not only repels, but they affirm, mocks the beams of the sun. The Indians account it so dangerous to disturb these creatures, that no temptation could induce them to betray their secret recess. They call them, together with all the rattle-snake kind, the chieftains or kings of the snakes, and they allow one such king to every species of the brute creation. An old trader of Choeowhee promised, for the reward of two pieces of stroud cloth to engage two young warriors to show the place of their resort; to which however the head men would not agree, on account of their tradition—for they fancy that they would be exposed, by killing them, to the danger of being bit by the plebeian order who love their chiefs,

and know by instinct those who would kill them.

'Every Indian warrior,' observes Adair, 'holds his honour and the love of his country in such high esteem as to prefer it to life, and they will suffer the most exquisite tortures rather than renounce it: there is no such thing among the Indians as desertion in war, because they do not fight like the Swiss for hire, but for wreaths of swan-feathers. The just awards which they always bestow on merit, are the great and leading —the only motives that warm their hearts with a strong and permanent love of their rights. Governed by simple and honest laws, their whole constitution breathes nothing but liberty; by which means there glows such a cheerful warmth of courage and constancy in each of their breasts as cannot be described. They believe that their readiness to serve their country should not be subservient to their own knowledge and wishes, but always by the divine impulse. I have seen a large company set out to war return in small parties, and sometimes by single persons, and be applauded by the united voice of the people, because they acted in obedience to their *Nana Istahoolo,* or 'guardian angels,' who impressed them in visions of the night with the friendly caution. There is a small uncommon bird, called the 'kind ill messenger,' which they also deem a true harbinger of good or bad events.

If he perches and soars over the war-camp, they speedily break up. In the time of their rejoicings they fix a certain day for the warriors to be crowned; for they cannot sleep easy under their old title while a new or higher one is due. On that wished-for day they all appear on parade as gay in attire and as cheerful in heart as the birds in spring. The drums are beaten, the colours displayed, and the young people dance and rejoice for the success of their arms, and the safe return of their relatives and friends. Every candidate for the honors of that joyful day wears his deer skin mocassins dyed red and embroidered, his body and head anointed, a young otter skin tied to his girdle, while a long collar of fine swan feathers descends from his neck, his face being painted so as to represent the rainbow. Two old magi then appear, holding forth as many white wands and crowns as there are warriors to be graduated: and in a standing posture they alternately deliver an oration with great vehemence of expression, chiefly commending their strict observance of the beloved old law of purity, while they accompanied the holy ark, which induced the Supreme Chief to give them the victory. At the conclusion of these orations, one of the magi calls three times with a loud voice to one of the warriors by his new name, or war title; holding up the white crown and sceptre or rod. One of the old beloved men puts

the crown on his head, and the rod in his right hand, and when thus invested he returns to his place, chaunting a joyful note. After having gone through the same ceremony with each candidate, he concludes with this caution, "Remember what you are (mentioning his titles) according to the beloved speech." The crowns are wrought round with the long feathers of the swan, where it surrounds the temples, and it is curiously wove with a quantity of white down to make it appear more beautiful. In this part that wreathes the brow, the skilful artist wraps it close together with deer sinews, it is open at the top and is fifteen inches high. The crowns of war-leaders are always of the feathers of the eagle, and are therefore some inches higher than the former. By education, precept, and custom, as well as strong example, they are taught to shew acquiescence in every thing prosperous or adverse that befals them: they account it a scandal for the steady warrior to let his temper be ruffled by such things; their virtue, they say, should prevent it.

Their treatment of infants is curious. They are swathed on a cradle-like board which is hung at the back of the mother in travelling, and occasionally on low branches of the maple trees while they are extracting the sap for making sugar. Before European blankets, cloth, or silks, were known among them, they used to line and

cover these board-cradles with panther skins, if the *Papoose* were a boy; on account of the communicative principle of which they suppose all nature possest. And as the panther is endued with qualities beyond any other animal of their forests, as smelling, strength, cunning, and surprising agility, they consider in such a bed the first rudiments of war are given and received—on the contrary they nourish their female infants on the skins of fawns, and young beavers; because the one is shy and timorous, and the other is notable.

The Indians consider it most natural to put the right hand on the mane, while they also put the right foot in the stirrup in mounting a horse. 'As they on one occasion boasted of the swiftness of their horses, and their being able to guide them better with a rope than with a bridle, I resolved,' writes Adair, 'to convince them of their mistake. They allowed me to take the centre, and away we dashed when the signal was given. My horse being accustomed to such diversion soon left them behind; presently I discovered a swampy thicket on the right hand, which ran almost in a direct course by the creek. As the wild coursers followed each other, according to their general custom, I there diverged, leading some of the others off the path into the thicket covered with high brambles. I had little trouble in disposing of the rest: my whooping and

cracking the whip sent them full speed; for the horses having become frightened, the riders had no command of them with their rope bridles. They were now in a dismal pickle, for being in the habit of carrying, together with their other ornaments, their looking-glass over their shoulder on such public occasions, my companions were fully equipped, contemplating no disaster. In stooping to save themselves from being dismounted, their favorite looking-glasses were shattered to pieces, the paint nearly rubbed off their faces, their hawk skins and tufts of eagle plumes torn from their heads, and their other ornaments, clothes and skins, all equally made to share in the misfortune; so soon as they could stop their horses, they alighted. And when I had done laughing at the piteous plight to which they were reduced, they according to their custom, only said, *La Phene—'O strange!'* The Indians are happy in not shewing the least emotion of anger for any mischance that befals them. The young ambitious heroes however attributed their whole disaster to my horse, saying, '*He is mad.*'

'When any national affair is in dispute, you may hear every father of a family speaking in his house on the subject with rapid bold language, and the greatest freedom. They are very deliberate in their public councils, and never give an immediate answer to any message sent them by

strangers. They reason in a very orderly manner, with much coolness and good-natured language, though they may differ widely in opinion Through respect to the silent audience, the speaker always addresses them standing. Not the least passionate expression is to be heard among them, and they behave with the greatest civility to each other. In their stated orations, they have a beautifully modest way of expressing their dislike. They only say, 'It is not goodly, or commendable.'

'There are many petty misdemeanors among the youth, to which our laws would annex severe punishment, but their's only an ironical lecture. They commend the criminal before a large audience, for practising that virtue opposed to the crimes of which he has been guilty. If it is for theft, or cheating, they praise his honest principles: they introduce the minutest circumstances of the affair with the most deeply wounding sarcasms. They aim so skilfully and successfully those sweetened darts, that the delinquents would rather die by torture, than renew their shame by repeating the action. They tell us that when their chiefs are deliberating on public affairs, they dispassionately examine things, and always speak the naked truth, for its honest face hates a mask, having nothing to hide or to fear, and its dress being plain and simple. They say that the quotation of dark quibbles out of old books

should be considered as white paint over a black man's face: or as black over one that is naturally white. They wonder that as an honest and just cause is always straight, judgment is not freely given in its favor without delay: and insist that every bad cause should meet a suitably severe award, in order to check vice and promote virtue in social life, and in society at large.' ADAIR.

When the Spaniards invaded Mexico, the Cholula was by the natives esteemed a holy city, the residence of the priests, and no place is said to have displayed greater magnificence in the celebration of public worship, or more austerity in penances and fasts. On a pyramid of Cholula was an altar dedicated to Quetzalcoatl, who was high priest of Tula. This saint had the reputation of great sanctity and self-denial. "He preached peace to men and would permit no other offerings to the MASTER OF LIFE than the first fruits of the harvest.' 'He disappeared after he had declared to the Cholulans that he would return, and govern them in renewed happiness.' The author of the Archaeology says, 'It was the posterity of this saint whom the devoted Montezuma thought he recognized in the unexpected appearance of the soldiers of Cortez the Spanish general.

'We know by our traditions,' said Montezuma in his first interview with the Spanish general, 'that we who inhabit this country *are not the natives, but strangers who came from a great*

distance. We know also that the Chief who led our ancestors hither, returned for a certain time to his primitive land. We have always believed that his descendants would one day return to this country. Since you come from *that region where the Sun rises;* and as you assure me you have long known us; I cannot doubt but that the king who sent you is *our natural master.*' p. 263.

Moses seems to have been in the eye of the Mexicans, who they denominated Quetzalcoatl, or, as it signifies, 'the serpent with green feathers.' They say he introduced the practice of piercing the ear, walking *barefoot* himself, and seeking as a chosen place of retirement the *volcano* Catcitepetl or *speaking mountain.* But his reign, (the golden age of the people of Anahuac,) was not of long duration. He held the reins of government, taught them to cast metals, ordered fasts, and regulated the intercalations of the Taltic year. Though their ancient legislator is called by a name importing a serpent of green feathers, yet he *was an ancient man and white-bearded,* called by Montezuma a *saint,* who led and taught them many things. The brazen serpent in the wilderness and its healing power might have been implied by that figure, and the green plumage, which is their '*amulet.*' This green plumage is a precious symbol of healing virtue, which is kept in their ark, and their '*medicine bag.*' The great famine with which Culan was visited, leads

naturally to that in Egypt; his retiring to a place of a *volcano*, or *speaking mountain*, recalls the time when Moses on the mount saw and heard the Word of God from the burning bush; or it may refer to the mountain which burned and the voice which spake. When, 'so terrible was the sight, that Moses said, I exceedingly fear and quake.' Having wofully verified the truth of those predictions to which they turned a deaf ear in their own land, they would naturally cling to those prophecies which declared their final pardon, deliverance, and restoration to their own inheritance: hence the more intelligent Indian tribes have (like the venerable and unfortunate Montezuma) retained in broken links of tradition this expectation. Often, says the Rev. Mr. Smith in his 'View of the Hebrews,' have we had information from Indian chiefs and others from different regions, that they have ever understood from their tradition that the time is coming which shall make them more happy. This led the aged wife of an Indian chief to say (after the missionaries had unfolded the object of their visit) 'We have ever understood that at some time good people are to come and teach us.' Baron Humbolt, discoursing on the 'Theocratic form of government' of the Zac, Bologa, and Peru, remarks that by the tradition of the former, their government was founded by 'a mysterious personage' who lived in the temple of the Great Light two

thousand years ago. This tradition, dim and imperfect as it is, of their ancient lawgiver, together with the structure of their pyramids, exactly similar in form and appropriation to those of Egypt, declare in favour of the Hebrew origin of this people.

Their ideas originally from Scripture and the Cabala, (2) are illustrated by the figures which in place of letters they have adopted. A curious relic of this kind is described by the author of the Archaeology. It is a 'triune vessel' of emblematic design, and was discovered four feet below the surface of the Cumberland river, in alluvial soil. It is composed of fine clay of pale amber color, rendered hard by fire, coloured in some parts with bright vermillion. The top is a hollow stem of three inches in diameter, swelling toward the centre in very prominent relievo. There are represented three well-formed faces; each face outward in a triangular form—'even a modern artist might be proud of the performance.' The Indians are familiar with hieroglyphics and figures of speech, and they never frame them without a purpose. They had another manner of exhibiting this mystery. After enclosing, as holy, one piece of ground, they reared three lofty pyramids. Three such are to be seen standing on a line on the north side of Detroit; three such

(2) See Appendix.

near Athens, and such at various places on the River Ohio, and other great rivers. 'Were they not altars,' inquires the writer, 'dedicated to their principal gods?' But is it not more probable those emblems were expressive of the ALOHIM OF ISRAEL, whom they had known as the GOD without similitude—the embodied Angel of the covenant —the Spirit who spake by the prophets? If those tumuli were too material to express the FATHER and the SPIRIT, invisible as they are; was it to be expected, that a rude people, with only material substances in their power, could give a more suitable idea of JEHOVAH, whose Unity was as perfect as those manifestations of His Power were distinctive? The writer observes of the Southern Indians;—'Their great supreme object of worship, had a name importing "the shining mirror" one who reflected his perfections and was represented by a mirror which revealed them. The numerous volcanoes in South America account for the abundance of osidian, from which their mirrors were made. It has been universally testified by one and all who know the Indian character and customs, that they worship One Supreme Being who they believe (and that in a *practical* sense which would shame Christians) is Omnipresent and Omniscient, and who provides from day to day for their returning wants.' The Rev. Mr. Chapman in the Union Mission of the Osage Tribe, describing their religious ceremonies, when

about to form a peace, says, 'About two feet in advance and in a line with the path, were three tufts of grass in a circular spot, the emblem of His* Powers whom they worshipped. There stood the priest to pray, while each Indian made a step toward each pile of grass, the speaker informed him this was an emblematical representation of the GREAT MASTER OF LIFE of whom they boast as the Head of their nation in *covenant with their ancestors*.' The late Hon. Dr. Elias Boudinot states, that while at the seat of government, on a certain occasion, chiefs and leading characters were present from seven different tribes. On Sunday he was much pleased to observe their solemnized behaviour, having learnt that it was a day wherein the whites worship the Great SPIRIT. An old Sachem addressed his sun-brown brethren very devoutly on the great love which the MASTER OF LIFE always had manifested towards Indians, '*in providing for their daily wants during so many ages in the wilderness, where rattle-snakes and other enemies menaced their life: that they were under his special care and protection, and hence they ought gratefully to acknowledge him, obey his laws, do his will, and avoid every thing displeasing to him.*'

Columbus and his crew were welcomed by the Lucayayans with kindness truly patriarchal; but

* אלהים literally, Powers.

scarcely had twenty years elapsed before their antichristian invaders transported them by force or by artifice to the mines of Hispaniola. A few effected their escape from hated servitude and confinement, but were afterwards sent to the coast of Cumana as divers for pearls. They survived but a few years under the dominion of their oppressors.

The Natchez, formerly a powerful nation, inhabited the region east of the Mississippi: nothing now remains of them but their name. The French completed their destruction in 1730. Du Pratz gives the following account of the tradition of these Indians:—

"Our enemies being very numerous and wicked, our "suns" or "princes" sent persons to find a country, where we might retire—when they found for us a pleasant region on this side the river, we were ordered to remove to this land to build a temple, and to preserve the Eternal fire. After many generations others joined us, and we were multiplied as the leaves of the summer trees. Now warriors of fire and smoke, who made the mountains to echo with their thunder, arrived in our country—the arms which they carried darted fire, smoke and noise. To the inquiry, "whence came ye?" their reply was, —"The ancient speech does not say from what land; all we know is, that our Fathers to come hither, followed the Sun, and *came from the place*

where he rises. They were *long on their journey.* They were nearly perishing and were brought to this wilderness of the sunsetting, wishout seeking it."

According to Columbus the tribes inhabiting the greater Antiles, had made some steps toward civilization — they cultivated maize and wore gold ornaments. They were, he says, "the most unoffending, gentle, and benevolent of the human race." To gratify the Spanish government, Columbus imposed a tax in 1495, on all above fourteen years of age. Ovando the governor, from 1500 to 1509, nearly exterminated them. This writer describes the original population of Chili, as speaking the same language, and resembling in appearance the former. Those on the plains were of the ordinary stature of men; those of the Andes surpassed it. Their complexions are of a reddish brown, easily changing to white. One branch dwelling in Baroa near the Canton, was absolutely white, they cultivated maize—their agricultural implements were the spade and plough, both entirely of wood, the plough was drawn by a camel. From the earth they extracted gold, silver, copper, tin, fashioning them into various ornaments and instruments—they were not acquainted with the use of iron. Their clothing was of Camel's wool variously dyed—their vessels were of clay, hard wood, and marble—they could express any

quantity in numbers, and their advances in astronomy, and surgery were singular. The Aurucanians are of the common height, muscular, robust, well-proportioned and dignified in their appearance, they are courteous, faithful, grateful for kindness, jealous of their honours, ardent, intrepid, patient of hardships, enthusiastic lovers of liberty, generous and humane to the vanquished. The Spaniards who trade with them for furs, deposit their merchandize in their huts certain of being punctually paid at the time agreed on. Their history from the first incursions of the Spaniards to the year 1776, furnishes a long list of battles, evinsive of a valor which no fatigue could weary—and no danger dismay."

"The Brazil Indians are very numerous, living in clans—the degree of their independance depends on their distance from the Portuguese settlements. They are generally under the middle size, muscular and active, of a light brown complexion, black uncurling hair, and dark eyes, which discover no mark of imbecility of intellect. Nor does the turn of their features convey the character of meanness or vulgarity; on the contrary, their looks and expression are intelligent. None except the Aurcanians have been so difficult to subdue, none have discovered a more invincible attachment to liberty." The natives of the vast western hemisphere have one origin, this appears from their appearance, cus-

toms, and language, which although in so many ages divided into numerous dialects has the same radical character. The Algonquin and Huron languages which are the parents of the others, resemble each other as the French and old Norman. The language has the Hebrew primitive construction prefixes and suffixes, with no auxilliary verb. The same traditional song of praise to the GREAT RULER and MASTER OF LIFE, is sung in the South and the North. With beating and exact keeping of time, they begin a religious dance. Pedro de Cicca de Leon, one of the conquerors of Peru, and who had travelled over many provinces, says of the Indians; "The people, men and women although they are such a multitude of tribes, or nations, in such diversities of climates, appear nevertheless like the *children of one family*." The Esqimaux and Tartars who are found in Labrador, Greenland, and round Hudson's Bay are a different race of men—many of the Tartar race, had undoubtedly accompanied the exiles to their banishment. Those of Hebrew derivation seem in general to have gone to the South, and to those degrees of latitude in the North, most resembling their original climate and oriental constitution,—whereas the race is evidently mixed with Tartar blood, in the colder latitude of the north.

Du Pratz had a particular intimacy with one

of the guardians of the temple, in a nation near the Mississippi; he was told, on his requesting to be informed of the nature of their worship, that they acknowledge the SUPREME BEING, whom they call *Cayo-cop-chill*, or the Spirit supremely great. The word *chill* in their dialect signifying the superlative degree of perfection. By their word expressive of the DEITY, they mean a Spirit surpassing other spirits, as much as the Sun surpasses a taper or common fire. The guardian said, in comparison of this GREAT ONE, all else is as nothing. He made all that we see, and all that we cannot see. He is goodness itself. He made all things by his Word or will; that nevertheless subordinate spirits who are his servants, might make many very excellent works, but that GOD made all things, and man with his own hands. The superior spirits they call "HIS *free servants*," being those spirits always in the presence of the GREAT MASTER OF LIFE, and ready to execute his will with an extreme diligence. That the air is the region of many spirits, some good and some evil, and that the latter has a chief who is more mighty in evil than all the rest—who had become so daringly wicked, that the GREAT SPIRIT had bound him so that the others could do less harm. He was asked how God made man—when he answered—He kneaded some clay, and after examining it and

finding it perfect, he breathed on his work, and forthwith he had life and motion. He was then asked about the formation of the woman—he said he thought probably in the same manner as the man, but their ancient speech made no mention of any difference, only that the man was made first."

Souard says of the Indians of Surinam, on the authority of Nasci a learned Jew residing there, that 'the dialect of those Indians, common to all those in Guinana, is soft, agreeable, and regular, and their substantives are Hebrew. The word expressive of the soul in each language is the same, and is synonimous with breath.' "GOD breathed into man the breath of life, and man became a living soul." 'Their language in the roots, idiom, and particular construction has the genius of the Hebrew language, as their orations have the bold laconic and figurative style of the Hebrew prophets. A tribe of Indians in the south, call GOD, Abba-mingo-ishto; Father-chief-man. Their holy names, "Yahowah" and "Ail" are compounded into a prodigious number of words, throughout their dialects.'

A chief of the Delaware Indians visited by two missionaries in 1824, gave them the following information. This chief was said by them to be a grave and venerable character, possessing

a mind, which, if cultivated, would have rendered him distinguished in the first order of human beings.*

The excellent William Penn, who in all his

* 'Long ago, before the white man put a foot on our wilderness, the Delawares knew there was a GOD, and believed there was a place of suffering where the unjust go when they die, and a good land in the east, where the just and brave shall live happily for ever. He believed there was 'an evil spirit, and was afraid of his temptations.' These things were handed down by his ancestors long before the good brother (Penn) came hither.' He was asked, Whether he had ever heard of JESUS CHRIST, THE SON OF GOD, and our SAVIOUR? He replied, he knew 'little about HIM.'' Lewis and Clarke in their travels toward the Pacific, observe of the Mandans, 'that their religion consists in a strong belief of ONE GREAT SPIRIT presiding over all that is visible. To propitiate whom every attention is lavished, and every personal consideration sacrificed.' The Mandan informed them, that lately he had eight horses, but that he had offered them all up to the GREAT SPIRIT. This mode of offering was to take them into the plains, and turn them loose, committing them to the MASTER OF LIFE, to whom he owed all.' Heckewelder, a venerable Moravian Missionary, for forty years resident among the Indians, remarks, 'Habitual devotion to the GREAT FIRST CAUSE, and a strong feeling of gratitude for the favors which HE daily confers, is one of the most prominent traits in the character of the unsophisticated Indian. He believes it his duty to worship, and in all his gifts acknowledge HIM as the SUPREME BENEFACTOR.'

Roger Williams, one of the first settlers in New England, said, 'He that questions whether GOD made the world, and whether there is a particular providence, will be instructed by the Indians, both by precept and example.'

intercourse with this people 'did justly' and 'loved mercy,' but who alas! was *solitary* in recognising to *this* interesting race '*the rights of man*,' gives an account of the Delawares of Pennsylvania before the vices of civilization had demoralized and wasted them. In a letter to a friend in England he thus writes. '*I found them with like countenances to the Hebrew race*; and their children of so lively a resemblance to them, that a man would think himself in Duke's-place, or Barry-street, in London, when he sees them.' Here without the slightest previous idea of those natives being of Israelitish origin, that sagacious observer was struck with their personal resemblance. Without any intention of tracing such identity, he goes on to describe their dress, and love of trinkets, ear-rings, nose-jewels, and bracelets on their arms and ancles, (such as they were,) made of polished shells, found in the rivers. 'I consider this people under a dark night, yet they believe in GOD and immortality, without the help of metaphysics. They informed me there was a great KING who made them, and the souls of the good shall go to HIM.' Their worship consists of two parts, *sacrifice* and *canteo* (songs). The first is *with first-fruits*; and the *first* '*buck which they kill goes to the fire*.' He proceeds to describe their 'feast of first-fruits,' one of which he attended. 'All that go to this feast, take a

piece of money, which is made of the bone of a fish.' "None shall appear empty before me." He adds, 'They reckon by *moons;* they offer their *first ripe fruits;* they have a *kind of feast of tabernacles;* they are said to lay their *altars with twelve stones*; they mourn a year, and *observe the Mosaic law with regard to separation,* with *many* things which do not now occur.' Here is an artless testimony given by that worthy man, drawn from personal observation, while the idea, that the people so descended were really Hebrew, was far from his mind.

In a letter, dated March 24, 1823, a Missionary,* gives an account of some of the customs of the Osage Indians. He attended a large company of them to Fort Smith, where a treaty of peace was to be formed with the Cherokees. The evening before, they arrived on the hill, where, in the morning, they should celebrate their customary peace-medicine, (a religious ceremony, previous to a treaty,) for the purpose of cleansing their hearts, and *securing* to themselves sincerity in thinking and acting. Ten of the chiefs, including the priest of the atmosphere, (the name of one of their clans,) were selected, and sent beneath a hedge, to dream, or learn, whether any error had thus far been committed; or, as they expressed it, to '*watch*

* Rev. Mr. Chapman.

the back track.' Among their sacred ceremonies were prayers, sacred paintings, anointings, &c. The priest ordered his senior attendant to form a circle of grass, about four feet in diameter, and to place a large tuft in the centre. By this he made a long prayer: then stepping on the circle, and followed by his attendant, they passed on. The chief informed Mr. C. that this circle of grass was a representation of GOD. He adds, 'It is their universal* practice to *salute the dawn* of every morning with their devotion.' This is either in silent or other aspiration to GOD. He, in concluding, observes, 'Perhaps the curious may suppose that some allusion to the lost ten tribes of Israel may be discovered in the select dreamers, to the triune JEHOVAH; in the grass circle, to the Jewish purifyings and anointings; to the sacred rite of the sanctuary, in their secret consultations; and to the prophetic office, in that of the dreamers.' When they possessed the written ORACLES in their own land, the tribes of Israel, or rather their leaders, were reproached for preferring, and gaining more attention to, *their own dreams*, than to its testimony. The Holy ONE of Israel accused them of then speaking from their own mind, and saying, "*We have dreamed—we have dreamed!*" as if secure of a regard which was denied to the written WORD.

* A custom among all pious Hebrews at this day.

Wherefore it was said, He that hath a dream, let him tell it as a dream: and he that hath *my* WORD, *let him speak my* WORD *faithfully*. What is the chaff to the wheat? saith the Lord: Is not my WORD as a fire, and as a hammer to break the rock in pieces?"

Don Alonza Erecilla, in his history of Chili, says of the natives there, 'The religious system of the Auricanians is simple. They acknowledge a Supreme BEING, whom they call PILLAU; a word derived from Pilli, the soul, which signifies *Supreme Essence*. They call him, also, GUEMI-PILLAU, the Spirit of Heaven; BULAGEU, the Great Being; THALCOVE, the Thunderer; VIL-VEMVOE, the Omnipotent; MOLLYLU, the Eternal; and AONOLU, the Infinite. The universal government of PILLAU is a prototype of the Auricanian polity.' 'They are all agreed in the immortality of the soul. This consolatory truth is deeply-rooted and innate with them. They hold that man is formed of two substances essentially different—the corruptible body, and the incorruptible and eternal spirit.' He says, 'They have among them a tradition of a great deluge, in which only a few persons were saved, by constructing a vast canoe.' 'The earth was once covered with water, but not destroyed. The earth shall be covered with fire, but not destroyed: it will then be turned upside-down.' 'There are to be great signs before the end

of the world, and amongst these shaking of the earth, &c.'

In Major Long's expedition to the Rocky Mountains, there are some interesting gleanings with reference to this people: and his testimony, he not having the slightest idea that the aborigines are the descendants of Israel, cannot but have peculiar weight. He says, 'In conversation, the Omawhas frequently appeal to the omniscience of GOD:—'WAHCONDAH *hears what I say*.'' He relates, that 'from the age of between five and ten years, their little sons are obliged to ascend a hill fasting, once or twice a week, during the months of March and April, to pray aloud to WAHCONDAH. When this season of the year arrives, the mother informs the little son, that 'the ice is breaking up in the river, the ducks and geese are migrating, and it is time for you to prepare to go in *clay*.' The little worshipper then rubs himself with clay, and at the sun-rise sets off for the top of the hill, instructed by the mother what to say to the Master of LIFE. From his elevated position he cries aloud to WAHCONDAH, humming a melancholy air, and calling on him to 'have pity' on him, and make him 'a great and good man.'' In the Percy Anecdotes, we have an account of an execution. The Shawnese Indians captured the Indian warrior, (old Scranny,) of the Muskoghe tribe, and condemned him to fiery torture. He told them, that the

reason of his falling into their hands was, his having forfeited the protection of the Divine Power by some impurity, or other, *when carrying the holy ark of war* against his enemy. Malvenda and Acosta both affirm, that some of the natives had a tradition of a jubilee, according to the jubilee in Israel. Edwards, in his West Indies, informs us, that the striking similarity between the customs and prejudices of the Jews and the Caribbean Indians, had not escaped the notice of historians; as Gomella, Du Testre, and others.

It is believed, on the authority of revealed Truth, that a variety of peculiar observances were given exclusively to the Hebrews, in order to distinguish, and keep them a distinct people; and amongst these, cities of refuge, where the man-slayer, who had no previous malice, might flee, and be safe. Dr. Boudinot relates, that 'the town of refuge, called Coate, is on a large stream of the Mississippi, five miles above where Fort Loudon formerly stood. Here, some years ago, a brave Englishman was protected, after killing an Indian warrior, in defence of his property. He informed Mr. Adair, that, after some months' stay in this place of refuge, he intended to return to his house in the neighbourhood: but the chiefs told him, it would prove fatal to him. So that he was obliged to continue there till he pacified the friends of the deceased with

presents, &c. to their satisfaction. In the upper part of Muskagee was the '*old beloved town*,' called Koosah, which imports, '*a place of safety for those who slay undesignedly*.'' 'In almost every nation,' he adds, 'there are these peaceable towns, which are also called *holy*, *old beloved*, and *white towns*.' It is not within the recollection of the most aged, that ever blood was shed in them; although they often force refugees out of them, and elsewhere put them to death. And this as a sacred duty,—the manes of their murdered relatives crying for vengeance. "An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth, blood for blood," is the Indian law. Retaliation is therefore thus eagerly sought for as an imperative duty. This has no doubt often appeared as a revengeful disposition, when, with more justice, it ought to have been traced to a higher motive, however much obscured and mistaken.'

Dr. Beatty gives an account of what he witnessed amongst the Indians west of the Ohio. 'Before they make use of any of the first fruits of the earth, twelve of their old men meet, when a deer is divided into twelve parts; and the corn, beaten in a mortar, and prepared for use by boiling, or baking under the ashes, (of course, unleavened); this also is divided into twelve parts. *These twelve men hold up the venison and fruits, and, with their faces to the east*, acknowledge the bounty of God to them. It is then

eaten. On the evening of the same day,' continues the Doctor, 'they have another feast, which looks like the Passover. A great quantity of venison is provided, with their things dressed in the usual way, and distributed among the guests: that which is left is thrown into the fire and burned; *and none of it must remain till sunrise, nor must a bone of the venison be broken.*' The Indians also purify themselves with *bitter herbs* and roots. Describing one of their feasts, the writer says;—'One of the old beloved women returns home to hasten the feast. Meanwhile every one at the temple drinks plentifully of the cussena, and other bitter liquids, to cleanse, as they suppose, their sinful bodies.'

As the high-priest of old was inducted into office by various ceremonies and anointings, so is the Indian high-priest by purification and by anointing. When the sacred garments are put on him, bear's oil is poured on his head. The imitation of the ancient breast-plate is among the other priestly vestments. He appears in the rude temple, arrayed in white deer-skin garments. His attendant spreads a white skin close by the most sacred apartment of the lodge, and puts on him white beads, dedicated by the people. This dress is left in that sacred part of the lodge, until he next officiates. His breast-plate is made of a white conch-shell, through which pass two straps of otter-skin: white buttons of buck's-horn are

superadded, as if in imitation of the twelve precious gems, which designated the twelve tribes of Israel.

Bertram describes a southern temple. It is a square of small lodges in the centre of an Indian village. In one of these they hold their councils; part of it is shut up as peculiarly sacred—none but the high priest being permitted to enter it. Here they deposit their most precious emblems or amulets. To this place the males collect three times a year; viz. at the first ripe corn, at the feast of hunting-success, and about the time of ingathering. When they die they soften the thought of death by saying of their beloved men, 'he has gone to sleep, and rise with his forefathers.' The ancient pious Hebrew saying was, 'He sleeps, and is gathered to his fathers.' He adds, 'the southern Indians procure mourners to bewail and magnify the deceased: and, as the Israelites, this people have their solemn songs on such occasions. A religious procession moves round the corpse, singing mournfully, Yah! Ho! Wah! The first syllable is sung by the leader, the second by the relatives and mourners, the third by all. The corse is then buried with *the face turned to the east.*' Lewis and Clarke affirm, that in their tour toward the Pacific, in visiting their receptacles for the dead they *invariably* found the bodies in the tombs laid

with their *faces to the east.*' The Indians bury with their relatives all their valuables. Josephus mentions this ancient custom; when, by the treachery of an apostate of the Maccabean family, the Syrian invader of Jerusalem robbed the sepulchre of David of 3000 talents of gold, which had 1300 years before been entombed with his body.

How primitive and pure was the faith of the following well-attested fact; it was worthy of a daughter of Abraham. An Indian mother having successively lost five infant children, was, at the birth of the sixth son, greatly distressed with the fear of losing him as she had the former. As soon as she was able she took him up with a sorrowful heart, and went to a solitary place, where she might unconstrained pour forth her solicitude to the MASTER of Life. While she was on her knees there, reflecting on the insufficiency of human help, she felt it powerfully suggested to her mind, that the almighty MASTER of Life would hear her prayer for the life of her child; since he who created all things, and who had given being to herself and her child, was able to preserve it. She earnestly cried out for his life, in full confidence that GOD was able and willing to do that which she asked. The improvement in the health of her child, and the consideration of the divine goodness manifested to her, caused her to dedicate this son to the

service of GOD, who had preserved his life at her request. He was in early childhood informed of this dedication, and as far as she could trained accordingly. Dr. Mather and Mr. Mayhew state, that this took place before she heard of the name of Jesus; and that she was thus prepared to embrace the gospel of salvation by the Saviour. Her son became a truly pious exemplary believer, was captain of the island called Martha's Vineyard; was a friend to the English; became pastor of a small church of Indian believers there, and finally departed this life triumphing in a hope full of immortality. The aged Indians who heard the children repeat some of the scripture precepts which this good man taught them said, 'Now this is good talk; it is like that ancient talk which our beloved old men and women used when we were young. But alas, the wicked white people who have come among us have rooted out the old good talk from our nation. We are glad the Great SPIRIT has sent these things back to us.'

'It was very interesting,' writes a missionary to the Foreign Missionary Society, 'to hear them joining in a kind of sacred singing. Every morning, while at the garrison, at the first dawn of light, we heard them on all sides around us, for a great distance from the camp, engaged in very earnest prayer to their omniscient CREATOR and PRESERVER. This they did on

every occasion of a special providence before a missionary was among them.' It is added. 'They are very sincere, temperate, and considerate, and regard the particular providences of God with as much attention as the most devoted Christians.' The missionaries who give an account of them in the west, write, 'The men are generally of a lofty mind, a fine form, and open countenance. In council they are dignified and grave, and in their speeches eloquent. Their children are remarkably submissive to parental authority. As a people they are punctual and fervent in their morning and evening devotions. In a tour among the wild native Osages, the Rev. Mr. Pixley writes—'I asked White Hair, a chief, why he painted his face this morning? when he replied, That I might call upon the MASTER OF LIFE as you do before you eat. 'And,' continues the writer, 'I must confess their early rising, and constancy in the performance of their devotions, made me sometimes to inquire, What is the power of my greater light—are its effects at all in comparison with its excellence?' He adds, 'Under the force of this habit, if their hearts are ever led to feel and pray aright, they will undoubtedly make most *apostolic* Christians, since the heaping up of wealth, and consequently the love of the world, seems not to have influenced their minds.'

It has frequently been stated, that these tribes have a tradition, that they were once, when in a far distant country, in possession of the good book which contains their old divine speech; which they hope to recover, and with which they hope to be happy at a future time. To a deputation sent to a wild region beyond Council Bluff, one of the chiefs said, 'Brothers, we have long since learned from our old men, that the red people would one day be joined to the white, and have houses and food for ever where no harm can approach them. These things are long in coming to pass. *I wish it would come.* I have now grown old but have not seen it.' Few men in any nation have such a native art of pleasing. We made known to him the object of our journey. He was very thankful, and said he would lay the subject before the other chiefs and let us know the result of their consultation.*

Spanish visitors, observes Dr. Boudinot, in their coming to America, with some few exceptions, were principally actuated by the covetous desire of amassing wealth, and obtaining immense riches at all risks, and by every means. Also it must be remembered, how few concerned themselves about the religious state of the natives, if they could but get their property; neither did they give themselves any trouble to know their his-

* Rev. Mr. Battruck's Journal.

tory, their origin, customs, or future expectations; but their gold, their silver, their lands, and their furs, were the whole object of their attention. We thank God there were some favourable exceptions.

The learned world are by this time pretty well acquainted with the degree of confidence that ought to be put in the Spanish historians in general, further than their accounts are confirmed and supported by after labours of historians of character among other nations.

Few of them conversed with the natives in such a manner as to gain their confidence, or obtain any intimate knowledge of their customs and manners, with any tolerable degree of certainty. They did not treat them as friends, but as the most inveterate enemies, and *despised, hated,* and *murdered* them, without remorse or compunction, in return for their kindness and respect. And to excuse their own ignorance, and to cast a mantle over their most shocking, barbarous, cool, and premeditated murders, they artfully described them as an abominable swarm of idolatrous cannibals, offering human sacrifices to their false deities, and eating the unnatural victims.*

Lericus tells us, that he was present at the triennial feast of the Charibbeans, were a multi-

* Star in the West.

tude of men, women, and children were assembled. That they soon divided themselves into three orders, apart from each other, the women and children being strictly commanded to stay within, and attend diligently to the singing. That the men sang in one house, he-he-he, while the others in their separate houses answered by a repetition of the like notes. Thus they continued a quarter of an hour, dancing in three rings, with rattles. They also tell us, that the high priest, or beloved man, was anointed with holy oil, and dressed with pontifical ornaments peculiar to himself, when he officiated in his sacred function.

Ribault Landon, describing the annual festival of the Floridians, says, that the day before it began, the women swept out a great circuit of ground, where it was observed with solemnity. That when the main body of the people entered the holy ground, they all placed themselves in good order, decked in their best apparel, when three beloved men, or priests, with different painting and gestures, followed them, playing on musical instruments, and singing with solemn voices, the others answering them. And when they made three circles, the men ran off to the woods, and the women staid weeping behind, cutting their arms with muscle shells, and throwing the blood towards the sun. And when the men returned the three days were finished.

This is no other than the northern Indians' Passover, or Feast of Love, badly told, attended with their universal custom of bleeding themselves after great exercise, which the Spaniards foolishly supposed they offered up to the sun.

These Spanish writers also assure us, that the Mexicans had a feast and month, which they called Hueitozolti, when the Indian corn was ripe. Every man at that time bringing a handful to be offered at the temple, with a kind of drink made out of the same grain. This is no other than the first fruit offering of the northern Indians.

Acosta says, that the clothes of the South Americans are shaped like those of the ancient Jews, being a square little cloak, over a loose coat.

The Michuans, one of the original nations of Mexico, held, according to the *Abbe Clavigero's* declaration, this tradition, that " there was once a great deluge, and *Tepzi*, as they call Noah, in order to save himself from being drowned, embarked in a ship formed like an ark, with his wife, his children, and many different animals, and several seeds and fruits. As the waters abated, he sent out the bird, which bears the name of *aura*, which remained eating dead bodies. He then sent out other birds, which did not return, except the little bird called the *flower-sucker*, which brought a small branch with it."—Panoplist for June 1813, page 9. From this family of

Tepzi, the *Michuccans* all believed they derived their origin. Both Malvenda and Acosta affirm that the natives observed a year of jubilee, according to the usage of the Israelites.

Emanuel de Moraez, a Portuguese historian, in his history of Brazil, says, "America has been wholly peopled by the *Carthaginians* and *Israelites.* As to the last, he says, nothing but circumcision is wanting to constitute a perfect resemblance between them and the Brazilians." And we have seen, that some of the nations practise it to this day.

Monsieur Poutrincourt observes, that at an early day, when the Canada Indians saluted him, they said *ho-ho-ho.*

Charlevoix, in his history of Canada, says, that Father Grillon often told him, that after having laboured some time in the missions in Canada, he returned to France and went to China. One day as he was travelling through Tartary, he met a Huron woman, whom he had formerly known in Canada. She told him, that having been taken in war, she had been conducted from nation to nation, till she arrived at the place where she then was.

There was another missionary, passing by the way of Nantz, on his return from China, who related the like story of a woman he had seen from Florida, in America. She informed him, that she had been taken by certain Indians, and

given to those of a distant country; and by these again to another nation, till she had been thus successively passed from country to country; had travelled regions exceedingly cold, and at last found herself in Tartary, and had there married a Tartar, who had passed with the conquerors into China, and there settled.

The Cherokees had an honourable title among them, called "the deer-killer of the Great Spirit, for his people." Every town had one solemnly appointed, who killed deer for the holy feasts. Thus Nimrod is said to have been "a mighty hunter before the Lord."—Gen. x. 9.

The Indians would not eat either the Mexican hog, or the sea-cow, or the turtle, as Gumilla and Edwards inform us; but held them in the greatest abhorrence. Neither would they eat the eel; nor many other animals and birds they deemed impure.

We have already enumerated one hundred and ninety nations, within our scanty means of knowledge, and though many of them are destroyed and done away, for the consumption was decreed, yet if we look at the maps of travellers, and attend to the account given of the nations from Greenland to Mexico, and from thence to the nation of the Dog-ribbed Indians; thence to the southern ocean, and along its coast northward to the Lake of the Woods, and thence to Hudson's Bay and Greenland, and estimate in addition, the

nations of the interior, what nation or people in the world, can so literally answer to the strong figures, of the stars of heaven, and the sands of the sea.*

Mr. Bartram, who visited the southern Indians in 1778, says that the Feast of First Fruits is their principal festival. This seems to end the old and begin the new ecclesiastical year. It commences when their new crops are arrived to maturity. This is their most solemn celebration.†

When a town celebrates the first fall fruits, having previously provided themselves with new clothes, new pots, pans, and other household utensils and furniture, they collect all their worn out clothes and other despicable things, sweep and clean their houses, squares, and the whole town, of their filth, which, with all the remaining grain and other cold provisions, they cast together in one common heap, and consume it with fire. After taking medicine, and fasting for three days, all the fire in the town is extinguished. During this fast, they abstain from the gratification of every appetite and passion whatever. A general amnesty is proclaimed. All malefactors may re-

* Star in the West.

† This is plainly the great feast on the day of expiation, and that of harvest, when they offer up their fall fruits, and not the spring first fruit feasts, and should have been called the new civil year.

turn to their town, and they are absolved from their crimes, which are now forgotten, and they are restored to favour. On the fourth morning, the high-priest, or chief beloved man, by rubbing dry wood together, produces new fire in the public square, from whence every habitation in the town is supplied with the new and pure flame. Then the women go forth to the harvest fields and bring from thence new corn and fruits, which being prepared in the best manner, in various dishes, and drink withal; is brought with solemnity to the square, where the people are assembled, apparelled in their new clothes and decorations. The men having regaled themselves, the remainder is carried off and distributed among the families of the town. The women and children solace themselves in their separate families, and in the evening repair to the public square, where they dance, sing and rejoice, during the whole night, observing a proper and exemplary decorum. This continues three days, and the four following days they receive visits and rejoice with their friends from neighbouring towns, who have also purified and prepared themselves.*

The Rev. Mr. Brainerd, in his Journal, says he visited the Indians on the 20th of September, 1745, at the Juniata, near the Susquehannah, in Pennsylvania. This is the first month of their

* Bartram's Travels.

civil year, and the usual time of the feast of fruits, or harvest. It ought to be noted, that Mr. Brainerd, though an excellent man, was at this time wholly unacquainted with the Indian language, and indeed with their customs and manners. These Indians, in particular, were a set of the lowest grade; the most worthless of the nations, wholly ruined by the example and temptations of the white people. Mr. Brainerd's interpreter was a common Indian, greatly attached to the habits of his countrymen, and much in their interest. He says, he found the Indians almost universally busy in making preparations for a great sacrifice and dance. In the evening they met together, to the number of about one hundred, and danced round a large fire, having prepared ten fat deer for the sacrifice. They burned the fat of the inwards in the fire, while they were dancing, and sometimes raised the flame to a prodigious height, at the same time yelling and shouting in such a manner, that they might easily be heard two miles off. They continued their sacred dance nearly all night; after which they ate the flesh of the sacrifice, and then retired each to his lodging. As Mr. Brainerd acknowledges that he dared not go among them, he could give a very imperfect account of their proceedings, as he must have received it from the interpreter.

THE FEAST OF THE DAILY SACRIFICE.

The next remarkable feasts they religiously observe, are those of the Daily Sacrifice, and some occasional ones.

The Hebrews, it is well known, offered daily sacrifices of a lamb every morning and evening; and, except the skin and entrails, it was burnt to ashes.

The Indians have a very humble imitation of this rite.—The women always throw a small piece of the fattest of the meat into the fire, before they begin to eat. At times they view it with pleasing attention, and pretend to draw omens from it. This they will do, though they are quite alone, and not seen by any one.

Those who have been adopted by them, and fully considered as belonging to their nation, say, that the Indian men observe the daily sacrifice, both at home and in the woods, with newly-killed venison. They also draw their new-killed venison, before they dress it, several times through the smoke and flame of fire, both by way of an offering as a sacrifice, and to consume the blood, which with them, as with the Hebrews, would be a most horrid abomination to eat. They also sacrifice, while in the woods, the melt, or a large fat piece of the first buck they kill.

They imagine that their temples have such a

typical holiness, beyond any other place, that if they offered up the annual sacrifice elsewhere, it would not atone for the people, but rather bring down the anger of Ishtohoolo Aba, and utterly spoil the power of their holy place and holy things.

The Rev. Mr. Beatty says, 'I have before hinted that I have taken great pains to search into the usages and customs of the Indians, in order to see what ground there was for supposing them to be part of the ten tribes: and I must own, to my no small surprise, that a number of their customs appear so much to resemble those of the Jews, that it is a great question with me, whether we can expect to find among the ten tribes (wherever they are) at this day, all things considered, more of the footsteps of their ancestors than among the different Indian tribes. It is not forgotten that the Indians are charged, as a barbarous, revengeful, cruel, and blood-thirsty race—deceitful, ungrateful, and ever ready for murder and rapine. Most of this will not be disputed. They are educated from their infancy to make war in this cruel manner. They scalp their fallen enemy, and most cruelly torment and burn some of those whom they take prisoners. This they think lawful, and often plead the will of the Great Spirit for it. It is their habitual custom, and they make war on these principles. But they have their virtues too. They pay the greatest respect to female prisoners,

and are never known to offer them the least indecency. Whenever they determine to spare their enemies, which is often done, they not only make them free, but they adopt them into their families, and make them a part of their nation, with all the privileges of a native Indian." This is an instance of mildness and generosity altogether unknown in civilized warfare.

'They are generous, hospitable, kind, and faithful, to their friends or strangers, in as great a degree as they are vindictive and barbarous to their enemies in war.'

Col. Smith, in his Journal, mentions, that he went a great distance hunting with his patron Tontileaugo, along the shore of Lake Erie. 'Here we staid several days on account of the high winds, which raised the lake in great billows. Tontileaugo went out to hunt. When he was gone a Wiandot came to the camp—I gave him a shoulder of venison well roasted. He received it gladly—told me he was hungry, and thanked me for my kindness. When my patron came home, I told him what I had done. He answered, it was very well; and supposed I had given him also sugar and bear's oil to eat with his venison. I told him I did not, as both were down in the canoe, and I did not go for them. He replied, You have behaved just like a Dutchman. Do you not know, that when strangers come to our camp, we ought always to give them the best that

we have. I acknowledged my fault. He said that he would excuse this, as I was young; but I must learn to behave like a warrior, and do great things, and never be found in such little actions.'—Pp. 25, 26.

The Rev. Mr. Cushman in a discourse at Plymouth, in 1620, intended to contradict the slanders which their spoilers uttered against the poor Aborigines, says—'The Indians are said to be the most cruel and treacherous people—like lions: but to us they have been like lambs; so kind, and helpful and trusty, that a man may say truly, few Christians are so sincere and kind. When there were not six able persons among us, and the Indians came daily to us by hundreds, with their Sachems or Princes, and might in one hour have made despatch of us; yet they never offered us the least injury in word or deed.' Governor Huchenson says of them,—'The natives shewed courtesy to the English on their first arrival;—were hospitable; and made such as would eat their food welcome to it; and readily instructed them in planting and cultivating Indian corn. Some of the English who lost themselves in the woods they conducted home.'

Smith, in his History of New Jersey, informs us, 'that the Indians long remembered kindnesses families or individuals had shown them. This also must undoubtedly be allowed, that the original and more incorrupt among them very seldom

forgot to be grateful, where real benefits had been received. And notwithstanding the stains of perfidy and cruelty, which latterly, in 1754, and since, have disgraced the Indians on the frontiers of these provinces, (but which the writer well knows had been produced by the wicked and unjust oppression of these sons of nature, by the white people) even these, by the uninterrupted intercourse of seventy years, had on many occasions given irrefragable proofs of a liberality of sentiment, and hospitality of action, that seemed to promise better things. Witness their first reception of the English—their selling their lands to them afterwards—their former undeviating candour at treaties in Pennsylvania, and other incidents.'—P. 144.

But however guilty these unhappy wandering nations may have been, neither Europeans or Americans ought to complain so heavily of Indian cruelties, particularly in scalping their enemies, which is one of their most habitual cruelties, and in which they glory. They are too fully justified in this horrible practice by the encouragement and example of those who call themselves *civilized*, and even Christians. Herodotus informs us that the Scythians scalped their enemies, and used them as trophies of victory. Polybius says, in the war with the mercenaries, Gisco, the Carthaginian general, and seven hundred prisoners, were scalped *alive*. Varrus, the Roman general, caused two

thousand Jews, whom he had taken prisoners, to be crucified at one time.*

Under the mild government of Great Britain, and that of France, premiums have been promised and given to the Indians, by their governors and generals, for the scalps of their enemies. Nay, even in America, acts of assembly have been passed, giving rewards to the *civilized* inhabitants, for scalps and prisoners, even so high as one hundred pounds for an Indian scalp.—2d Colden, 120. If it should be said, the Government of Great Britain ought not to be charged with this: it is answered, that Government not only knew of all this, but during our revolutionary war, the British Secretary of State, in the House of Lords, supported its policy and necessity; as they ought to use every means that God and nature had put into their hands.† They had in their service at that time at least fifteen hundred Indian warriors.

The famous Captain Cook, in his visit to the coast of America, in the south seas, without any reference to this great question, barely gives us the facts that appeared to him during the very short intercourse he had with them.—Vol. ii. 266, 283.

He says, that ‘ the inhabitants met them, singing in slow and then quicker time, accompanying

* Josephus, vol. 4, c. iii. p. 12. † Belsham.

their notes with beating time in concert with their paddles, and regular motions of their hands, and other expressive gestures. At the end of each song they remained silent, and then began again, pronouncing *ho-ho-ho* forcibly, as a chorus. The ship's crew listened with great admiration—the natives behaved well.'

Father Joseph Gumella, in his account of the nations bordering on the Oroonoko, relates that the Caribbee Indians of the continent punished adultery, like the ancient Jews, by stoning the criminal to death before the assembly of the people. Edwards' West Indies, vol. i. p. 39, in a note.

We are indebted to Dobsons's Encyclopedia for the following testimony in favour of Indian morality. Vol. i. p. 557. It is the advice given from a father to a son, taken from a Spanish author. 'My son, who art come into the light from the womb, we know not how long heaven will grant to us the enjoyment of that precious gem, which we possess in thee. But however short the period, endeavour to live exactly, praying to the Great Spirit continually to assist thee. He created thee; thou art his property. He is thy father, and loves thee still more than I do. Repose in him thy thoughts, and day and night direct thy sighs to him. Reverence and salute thy elders, and hold no one in contempt. To the poor and distressed be not dumb, but rather use

words of comfort. Mock not, my son, the aged or the imperfect. Scorn not him whom you see fall into some folly or transgression, nor make him reproaches; and beware lest thou fall into the same error, which offends thee in another. Go not where thou art not called, nor interfere in that which does not concern thee. No more, my son. Enough has been said in discharge of the duties of a father. With these counsels I wish to fortify thy mind. Refuse them not, nor act in contradiction to them; for on them, thy life and all thy happiness depend.'

Mr. Beatty, when among the Indians on the Ohio, addressed them. In answer, the speaker said, 'That they believed that there was a Great Spirit above, and desired to serve him in the best manner they could. That they thought of him at their rising up, and lying down; and hoped he would look upon them, and be kind to them, and do them good.' In the evening several came to their lodging. Among these was one called Neolin, a young man, who used for some time past to speak to his brethren, the Indians, about their wicked ways. He had taken great pains with them, and so far as Mr. Beatty could learn, he had been the means of reforming a number of them. He was informed by a captive, who had been adopted into Neolin's family, that he frequently used to boil a quantity of bitter roots, till the water became very strong—that he drank

plentifully of this liquor, and made his family and relatives drink of it. That it proved a severe emetic. The end of which, as Neolin said, was to cleanse them from their inward sins.

The following is an account of their evening entertainment at Altasse, one of the Creek towns, in the year 1778. 'The assembly being now seated in order, and the house illuminated by their mystical cane fire in the centre; two middle aged men came in together, each having a very large conch shell, full of black drink, advancing with slow, uniform, and steady steps, their eyes and countenances lifted up, and singing very low, but sweetly, till they came within six or eight steps of the king's and white people's seats, when they stopped, and each rested his shell on a little table: but soon taking it up again, advanced, and each presented his shell, one to the king, and the other to the chief of the white people; and as soon as he raised it to his mouth, they uttered or sang two notes, each of which continued as long as he had breath, and as long as these notes continued, so long must the person drink, or at least keep the shell to his mouth. These long notes are very solemn, and at once strike the imagination with a religious awe and homage to the SUPREME BEING.—After this manner the whole assembly were treated, as long as the drink and light continued to hold out. As soon as the drink began, tobacco and pipes were brought in.

The king or chief smoked first in the great pipe, a few whiffs, blowing it off ceremoniously, first towards the sun, or as it is generally supposed, to the Great Spirit, for it is puffed upwards: next towards the four cardinal points; then towards the white people in the house. Then the great pipe is taken from the hand of the *king*, and presented to the chief *white man*, and then to the great *war chief*, from whence it is circulated through the ranks of head men and warriors; and then returned to the chief. After this, each one filled his pipe from his own, or his neighbour's pouch.—Here all classes of citizens resort every night in the summer or moderate seasons. The women and children are not allowed, or very seldom, to enter the public square.'

In the same year, the son of the Spanish governor of St. Augustine, in East Florida, with two of his companions, were brought in prisoners, they being then at war with that province. They were all condemned to be burned. The English traders in the town petitioned the Indians in their behalf, expressing their wishes to obtain their pardon, offering a great ransom, acquainting them at the same time with their rank. Upon this, the head men, or chiefs of the whole nation, were convened; and after solemn and mature deliberation, returned the traders their final answer, in the following address:

'Brothers and friends—We have been con-

sidering upon this business concerning the captives, and that under the eye and fear of the Great Spirit. You know that these people are our cruel enemies—they save no lives of us red men, who fall in their power. You say that the youth is the son of the Spanish governor—we believe it. We are sorry that he has fallen into our hands, but he is our enemy. The two young men, his friends, are equally our enemies. We are sorry to see them here. But we know no difference in their flesh and blood. They are equally our enemies. If we save one, we must save all three. But we cannot do this. The red men require their blood to appease the spirits of their slain relatives. They have entrusted us with the guardianship of our laws and rights—we cannot betray them. However, we have a sacred prescription relative to this affair, which allows us to extend mercy to a certain degree. A third is to be saved by lot. The Great Spirit allows us to put it to that decision. He is no respecter of persons.' The lots were cast. The governor's son and one of his friends were taken and burnt.

A minister preaching to a congregation of Christian Indians, west of the Delaware, observed a strange Indian, listening with great attention. After the service, the minister inquired who he was? It appeared on inquiry, that he lived three hundred miles to the westward—that he had just arrived, and gave this account of himself. 'That

his elder brother living in his house, had been many days and nights in great perplexity, wishing to learn to know the Great Spirit, till at length he resolved to retire into the woods, supposing that he should succeed better in a state of separation from all mankind. Having spent many weeks alone in great affliction, he thought he saw a man of majestic appearance, who informed him that there were Indians living to the south-east who were acquainted with the Great Spirit and the way to everlasting life; adding that he should go home and tell his people, what he had seen and heard. For this reason, as soon as he heard his brother speak, he determined to travel in search of the people he had described, till he found them; and since he had heard what had been said that day, the words had been welcome to his heart.'

A missionary made a journey to the Shawanese country, the most savage of the Indian nations. He stopped at the first village he came to, and lodged with one of the chief men. He informed the chief of his business, and opened some truths of the Gospel to him by means of an interpreter who accompanied him. The chief paid great attention, and after sometime told him, that he was convinced the missionary's doctrines were true, pointing out the right road. That the Shawanese had been long striving to find out the way of life; but he must own, with regret, that

all their labour and researches had been in vain. —That they, therefore, had lost all courage, not knowing what they should do further to obtain happiness. The chief accompanied the missionary to the next village and persuaded him to lodge with a native teacher.

The missionary then preached to him, and told him that he had brought him the words of eternal life. This the Indian said, was what they wanted, and they would hear him with pleasure. After some days, the native teacher said, 'I have not been able to sleep all night, for I am continually meditating upon your words, and will now open to you my whole heart. I believe what you say is the truth. A year ago I became convinced, that we are altogether sinful creatures, and that none of our good works can save us; but I did not know what to do to get relief. I have therefore always comforted my people, that some body would come and show us the true way to happiness, for we are not in the right way. And even but the day before you came, I desired my people to have a little patience, and that some teacher would certainly come. Now you are come, and I verily believe that the Great SPIRIT has sent you to make known his Word to us.'

Monsieur de Lapoterie, a French author, speaking of the Cherokees and other southern Indians, gives this account of them: 'These Indians look upon the end of life, to be living

happily; and for this purpose their whole customs are calculated to prevent avarice, which they think embitters life.'

'Nothing is a more severe reflection among them than to say, that a man loves his own. To prevent the use and propagation of such a vice, upon the death of an Indian, they burn all that belongs to the deceased, that there may be no temptation for the parent to hoard up a superfluity of arms or domestic conveniences for his children. They cultivate no more land than is necessary for their plentiful subsistence and hospitality to strangers. At the feast of expiation, they also burn all the fruits of the earth and grain left of the past year's crops.'

Mr. Brainerd informs us, that at about one hundred and thirty miles from our settlement, he met with an Indian, who was said to be a devout and zealous reformer. He was dressed in a hideous and terrific manner. He had a house consecrated to religious purposes. Mr. Brainerd discoursed with him about Christianity, and some of the discourse he seemed to like, but some of it he wholly rejected. He said that God had taught him his religion, that he would never turn from it; but wanted to find some who would heartily join him in it, for the Indians had grown very degenerate and corrupt. He had thoughts of leaving all his friends and travelling abroad, in order to find some who would join with him, for he

believed that the Great SPIRIT had good people some where, who felt as he did—that he had not always felt as he then did, but had formerly been like the rest of the Indians, until about four or five years before that time. Then his heart was much distressed, so that he could not live among the Indians, but got away into the woods for some months. At length, he said, the Great SPIRIT had comforted his heart, and showed him what he should do; and since that time he had known the Great SPIRIT and tried to serve him, and loved all men, be they who they may, so as he never did before.

The other Indians said, that he had opposed their drinking strong liquor with all his power; and if at any time he could not dissuade them from it, he would leave them and go crying into the woods. It was manifest that he had a set of religious notions of his own, that he had looked into for himself, and had not taken for granted upon bare tradition; and he relished or disrelished whatever was spoken of a religious nature, according as it agreed or disagreed with his standard. He would sometimes say, 'Now *that* I like, so the Great SPIRIT has taught me.' He said, that departed souls went southward, and that the difference between the good and bad was, that the former were admitted into a beautiful town with spiritual walls, or walls agreeably to the nature of souls. The latter would for ever

hover round those walls, and in vain attempt to get in. He seemed to be sincere, honest, and conscientious in his own way, and according to his own religious views.

Smith, in his history of New Jersey, gives the following extract from a letter on this subject, from an Indian interpreter, the well known Conrad Wiser, p. 145.

'I write this to give an account of what I have observed amongst the Indians, in relation to their belief and confidence in a Divine BEING, according to the observations I have made from the year 1714, in the time of my youth to this day. If by the word *religion*, is meant an assent to certain creeds, or the observation of a set of religious duties, as appointed prayers, singing, preaching, baptism, &c. then it may be said, the Five Nations have no religion; but if by religion we mean, *an attraction of the soul to God, whence proceeds a confidence in and an hunger after the knowledge of him*, then this people must be allowed to have some religion among them, notwithstanding their sometimes savage deportment; for we find among them some traits of *a confidence in God alone, and even some times, though but seldom, a vocal calling upon him.*

'In the year 1737, I was sent for the first time to Onondago, at the desire of the governor of Virginia. I set out the latter end of February, for a journey of five hundred miles, through

a wilderness where there was neither road nor path; there were with me a Dutchman and three Indians.' He then gives a most fearful account of the distresses to which they were driven—particularly on the side of a mountain where the snow was so hard, that they were obliged to make holes in it with their hatchets to keep their feet from sliding down. At length, one of the Indians slipped and went down the mountain, but on his way was stopped by the string of his pack hitching fast to the stump of a small tree. They were obliged then to go down into the valley, when they looked up and saw, 'that if the Indian had slipped four or five paces further, he would have fallen over a rock, one hundred feet perpendicular, upon craggy pieces of rock below. The Indian, with out-stretched arms, and great earnestness, spoke these words, 'I thank the Great LORD and GOVERNOR of this world, that he has had mercy upon me, and has been willing that I should live longer:' which words, I, at that time, set down in my journal. This happened on the 25th of March 1737.''

On the 9th of April following, he was reduced so low, that he gave up all hopes of getting to his journey's end. He stepped aside and sat down under a tree, expecting there to die. His companions soon missed him—they came back and found him sitting there, 'I told them that I would go no further, but would die there.'

They remained silent awhile, at last the old Indian said, *My dear companion, thou hast hitherto encouraged us, wilt thou now quite give up? Remember that evil days are better than good days, for when we suffer much, we do not sin; and sin will be driven out of us by suffering; but good days cause men to sin, and God cannot extend his mercy to them, but contrarywise, when it goeth evil with us, God hath compassion on us.* 'These words made me ashamed: I rose up and travelled on as well I could. Two years ago, I was sent by the governor to Shamoken, on account of the unhappy death of John Armstrong.' After I had performed his errand, which was to make peace by the punishment of the murderer, the Indians made a great feast for me; and after they had done, the chief addressed his people, and exhorted them to thankfulness to God,—then began to sing with an awful solemnity, but without expressing words, the others accompanied him with their voices. After they had done, the same Indian, with great earnestness said, 'Thanks! thanks! be to thee, thou great Lord of the world, in that thou hast again caused the sun to shine, and hast dispersed the dark cloud. The Indians are thine.'

'The old king *Ockanickon*, who died in 1681, in Burlington, just before his death, sent for his brother's son, whom he had appointed to be king after him; he addressed him thus, 'My brother's

son, this day I deliver my heart into your bosom, —mind me. I would have you love what is good, and keep good company; refuse what is evil, and by all means avoid bad company.'— 'Brother's son! I would have you cleanse your ears, that you may hear both good and evil; and then join with the good and refuse the evil; and where you see evil, do not join with it, but join to that which is good.' 'Brother's son! I advise you to be plain and fair, with all, both Indians and Christians, as I have been. I am very weak, otherwise I would have spoken more.' After he stopped, one of the proprietors of West-Jersey said to him, 'There is a great God, who created all things; who has given man an understanding of what is good and bad; and after this life rewards the good with blessings, and the bad according to their doings.' The king answered, 'It is very true. It is so. There are two ways, a broad and a strait way; there are two paths, a broad and a strait path; the worst and the greatest number go in the broad, the best and the fewest, in the strait path.'* The Indians originally shewed great integrity in their dealings, especially with one another.'

Col. Smith informs us, that going a hunting to a great distance; and having got skins and furs by the way, very inconvenient to carry,

* Smith's History of New Jersey, page 149.

they stretched them on scaffolds and left them till their return.

When they returned, some time after, they found their skins and furs all safe. 'Though this was a public place, and Indians often passing, and our skins hanging up to view, yet there were none stolen, and it is seldom that Indians do take any thing from each other; they say they never did, until the white people came among them, and learned some of them to lie, cheat, and steal.' P. 42.

He further informs us, that being in the woods in the month of February, there fell a snow, and then came a severe frost, that when they walked, caused them to make a noise by breaking through the crust, which so frightened the deer that they could get nothing to eat. He hunted two days without food, and then returned fatigued, faint, and weary. He related his want of success. Tontileaugo asked him if he were not hungry,—he said he was,—he ordered his little son to bring him something to eat. He brought him a kettle with some bones and broth made from those of a fox and wild cat that the ravens and Turkey buzzards had picked, and which lay about the camp. He speedily finished his repast, and was greatly refreshed. Tontileaugo gave him a pipe and tobacco,—and when he had done smoking, he said that he had something of importance to tell him;—Smith said he was ready to hear.

He said he had deferred his speech, because few men were in a right humour to hear good talk when they are extremely hungry, as they are then generally fretful and discomposed; but as you appear now to enjoy calmness and serenity of mind, I will now communicate the thoughts of my heart, and those things which I know to be true.—Brother! as you have lived with the white people, you have not had the same advantage of knowing that the GREAT BEING *above feeds his people, and gives them their meat in due season, as we Indians have, who are frequently out of provision, and yet are wonderfully supplied, and that so frequently, that it is evident the hand of the* GREAT OWANEEYO, (this in their language, signifies the Owner and Ruler of all things) that doeth this. Whereas the white people have large stocks of tame cattle that they can kill when they please, and also their barns and cribs filled with grain, and, therefore, *have not the same opportunity of seeing and knowing that they are supported by the Ruler of heaven and earth.** Brother! I know that you are now afraid that we shall all perish with hunger; but you have no just reason to fear this. Brother! I have been young, but am now old! I have frequently been under the like circumstances that we now are, and that, some time or other, in almost every

* What an admirable missionary this practical believer would have made.

year of my life; *yet I have hitherto been supported, and my wants supplied in times of need.* Brother! OWANEEYO sometimes suffers us to be in want, *in order to teach us our dependence upon him, and to let us know that we are to love and serve him; and likewise, to know the worth of the favours that we receive and to make us more thankful.*' '*Brother*' *be assured that you will be supplied with food, and that just in the right time;* but you must continue diligent in the use of means,—go to sleep and rise early in the morning and go a hunting,—be strong and exert yourself like a man, and the GREAT SPIRIT *will direct your way.*' The next morning Smith rose early and set off. He travelled near twelve miles, and was just despairing, when he came across a herd of buffaloes and killed a large cow. He loaded himself with the beef, and returned to his camp and found his patron, late in the evening, in good spirits and humour. The old Indian thanked him for his exertion, and commanded his son to cook it—which he did, but eating some himself almost raw. They put some on to boil, and when Smith was hurrying to take it off, his patron calmly said, Let it be done enough, as if he had not wanted a meal. He prevented his son from eating but a little at a time, saying it would hurt him, but that he might take a few spoonfuls of the broth. When they were all refreshed, Tontileaugo delivered a speech upon

the necessity and *pleasure of receiving the necessary supports of life with thankfulness, knowing that* OWANEEYO *is the Great Giver.* Sometime after, they set off for home, Tontileaugo on the way made himself a vapour bath, and went into it, and put himself in a most violent perspiration, for about fifteen minutes, singing aloud. This he did in order to purify himself before he would address the SUPREME BEING. He then began to burn tobacco and to pray. He began his address in the following manner:—

'O GREAT BEING! I thank thee that I have obtained the use of my legs again,—(he had been ill with rheumatism) that I am now able to walk about and hunt without feeling exquisite pain and misery. *I know that thou art a hearer and a helper, therefore I will call upon thee.*—Oh! Oh! Oh! grant that my knees and ancles may be right well, and that I may be able not only to walk but to run as I did last fall. Oh! Oh! Oh! grant, that on this voyage we may frequently kill bears, as they may be crossing the Sciota. Oh! Oh! Oh! grant that rain may come to raise the Ollentangy about two or three feet, that we may cross in safety, down to Sciota, without danger of our canoe being wrecked on the rocks. And now, O GREAT BEING! thou knowest how matters stand,—thou knowest that I am a great lover of tobacco, though I know not when I may get any more, I now make *a present of the last I have*

unto thee, as a free burnt-offering; therefore, I expect that thou wilt hear and grant these requests, and I thy servant will return thee thanks and love thee for thy gifts.'

'During this time Smith was greatly affected with his prayers, until he came to the burning of the tobacco, and as he knew that his patron was a great lover of it, when he saw him cast the last of it into the fire, it excited in him a kind of merriment, and he insensibly smiled. The Indian observed it, which displeased him, and occasioned the following address. 'Brother! I have somewhat to say to you, and I hope you will not be offended when I tell you of your faults. You know, that when you were reading your book in town, I would not let the boys or any one disturb you; but now, when I was praying, I saw you laughing. I do not think that you look upon praying as a foolish thing. I believe you pray yourself. But, perhaps, you may think my mode or manner of praying, foolish. If so, you ought in a friendly manner to instruct me, and not make sport of sacred things.'

'Smith acknowledged his error. On this the Indian handed him his pipe to smoke, in token of friendship, though he had nothing to smoke but red willow bark. Smith then told him something of the method of reconciliation with an offended God, as revealed in His Word. The Indian said, · That he liked that story better than

that of the French priest's; but that he thought he was now too old to begin to learn a new religion; he should, therefore, continue to worship GOD in the way that he had been taught, and that if future happiness was to be had in his way of worship, he expected he would obtain it; *and if it was inconsistent with the honour of the* GREAT SPIRIT *to accept of him in his own way of worship, he hoped that* OWANEEYO *would accept of him in the way Smith had mentioned, or in some other way, though he might now be ignorant of the channel through which favour or mercy might be conveyed.*—Page 54, 55. He added that OWANEEYO *would hear and help every one who sincerely waited upon him.*'

At another time Tontileaugo informed him that there were a great many of the Caughnawagas and Wiandots, a kind of half Roman Catholics; but as for himself, he said, that the priest and he could not agree; as the priest held notions that contradicted both sense and reason; and had the assurance to tell him, that the book of God taught them those foolish absurdities; but he could not believe the great and good SPIRIT ever taught them any such nonsense. And therefore he concluded *that the Indians' old religion was better than this new way of worshipping God.**

* Star in the West.

Mons. de Guignes, who wrote so long ago, in one of his memoirs, speaking of the discoveries made in America, before the time of Columbus, says, 'These researches, which of themselves give us great insight into the origin of the Americans, lead to the determination of the route of the colonies sent to the continent. He thinks the greater part of them passed thither by the most eastern extremities of Asia, where the two continents are only separated by a narrow strait easy to cross. He reports instances of women, who from Canada and Florida have travelled to Tartary without seeing the ocean.' In this case they must have passed the straits on the ice.

'Let the foregoing facts,' writes the worthy Dr. Boudinot, 'collected in these pages, however imperfectly and immethodically put together by one whose means of knowledge have been very scanty, be impartially examined without prejudice, and weighed in the scale of testimony, compared with the language, customs, manners, habits, religious prejudices, and special traditions of the Hebrews, especially under the impression of their being related and confirmed by so many authors, separated by birth, national manners, distance of time, strong prejudices, religious jealousies, various means of knowledge, and different modes of communicating the facts, from Christopher Columbus down to Mr. Adair, who

lived with them in social intercourse and great intimacy for more than forty years, and Sir A. M'Kenzie, a traveller of a late day, but the first who crossed from the Atlantic to the southern ocean. Portuguese, Spaniards, English, French, Jews, and Christians, men of learning, plain illiterate travellers and sea-faring men, all—all combining, without acquaintance or knowledge of each other, to establish the material facts, such as they are. Is it possible that the languages of so many hundred nations of apparent savages, scattered over a territory of some thousands of miles in extent, living excluded from all civilized society, without grammar, letters, arts, or sciences, for two thousand years, should, by mere accident, be so remarkable for peculiarities, known in no other language but the Hebrew—using the same words to signify the same things—having towns and places of the same name?

Their variety of traditions, historical and religious, go to evince that they are the ten tribes of Israel. Being destitute of books and letters, the Indians have transmitted their traditions in the following manner. Their most sedate and promising young men are some of them selected by what they call their beloved men, or wise men, who in their turn had been thus selected. To these they deliver their traditions, which are carefully retained. These are instead of historic pages and religious books.'

Some of these Indian traditions, as furnished from good authorities, shall be given. Different writers agree that the natives have their historic traditions of the reason and manner of their fathers coming into this country, which agree with the account given in Esdras, of their leaving the land of Media, and going to a land to the northeast, to the distance of a year. Sir Alexander M'Kenzie gives the following account of the Chepewyan Indians, far to the north-west. He says, 'They have also a tradition among them, that they originally came from another country, inhabited by very wicked people, and had traversed a great lake, which was in one place narrow, shallow, and full of islands, where they had suffered great misery; it being always winter, with ice, and deep snows. At the Copper Mine River, where they made the first land, the ground was covered with copper, over which a body of earth has since been collected to the depth of a man's height.' Doctor Boudinot speaks of this tradition among the Indians. Some of them call that obstructing water a *river*, and some a *lake*. And he assures us the Indian tradition is, 'that nine parts of their nation, out of ten, passed over the river; * but the remainder refused and staid behind.' Some give account of their getting over it; others not. What a striking description

* The Mexicans affirmed that seven tribes or houses passed from the east to the wilderness.

is here found of the passing of the natives of this continent, over from the north-east of Asia, to the north-west of America, at Beering's Straits. These Straits, all agree, are less than forty miles wide, at this period; and no doubt they have been continually widening. Doctor Williams, in his history of Vermont, says they are but eighteen miles wide. Probably they were not half that width 2500 years ago. And they were full of Islands, the Indian tradition assures us. Many of those islands may have been washed away; as the Indian tradition says, 'the sea is eating them up.'

Other tribes assure us that their remote fathers, on their way to this country, 'came to a great river which they could not pass; when God dried up the river that they might pass over.'

Some gleanings from a literary work by Constantine Beltrami Esq., who discovered the sources of the Rivers Mississippi and Sanglante, shall be given; not only because they are interestingly related, but because many valuable hints and illustrations are inadvertently furnished in favour of the subject before us. 'Women and old men station themselves behind the performers, and join chorus in the canticle, which each person present utters in accompaniment to the instruments. To give you an idea, however, of the clatter and hubbub of music thus produced, it would be necessary to be either an Indian or a

Jew.'—'Public sacrifices are considered indispensable by the Indians, when they hold their grand assemblies for deliberating on the question of peace or war. Here also we trace the resemblance to *antiquity*.' 'I have been present at one of their feasts; as there was a *mystic solemnity* connected with it, every individual was obliged to eat or make some other eat the allowance set before him; *to leave a single morsel on the bark or trencher on which the repast was served, would have been an insufferable insult to the divinity to which it was consecrated*.' * * 'After having viewed the dying Indian, let us now consider him in the state of actual death, and proceed to follow him to the grave. The deceased, dressed as he generally was during life, placed in a sitting attitude upon a mat in the middle of his hut, with all his weapons by his side; *his face is turned toward the east*, and decked and ornamented most elaborately. All his relations are seated around him, and for a certain time observe a profound silence, exhibiting countenances indicative at once of seriousness and grief. Each person then addresses him; some in pathetic tones, but without tears—others more emphatically but still calmly, and all uttering some eulogium on his virtues, or some expression of regret for his loss. 'Where are you my beloved husband? You are present indeed, but you do not speak to me—you are now entirely in

the society of the spirits, and can no longer interest yourself about your wife—but your wife will never cease to interest herself about you ;—look on me once more, if only for a moment—but your eyes are employed in looking upon something much more amiable and engaging than your wife. Perhaps you even have it not in your power to remember me. Your wife nevertheless will remember you. The sun, moon, and stars shall witness me deploring your loss—and I will make no delay in rejoining you.'

'Catalani could not sing *Ombra adorata aspettami* with more expression than the Indian widow delivered the above address. Another said, 'you are still among us my brother, your person still has its usual appearance, like our own—not the slightest alteration—nothing wanting but action. But where is that heaving breast, which only a few hours since inhaled the fume and then wafted it to the Great Spirit? Why is there silence now on those lips, which so lately spoke a language so energetic and expressive? Why are now motionless those valiant arms which sped the farthest flying arrows—arms which were the terror of our enemies? You are gone to the place where you existed before you came into these countries—but your glory will remain with us for ever.' A third added, 'Alas! alas! alas! that form which was viewed with such high admiration, is now become as inanimate as it was *three hundred*

winters ago. But you will not be for ever lost to us, we will go and rejoin you in the Supreme Region of Spirits—again we will unite in the chase—again we will go forth together against the enemy. Meanwhile, full of respect for your virtues and your valour, we come to offer you a tribute of kindness; your body shall not be exposed in the fields to beasts of prey, but we will take care that *it*, like *yourself*, shall be added to your forefathers.' '*The face of the corpse is always turned to the East, &c.*' After describing a marriage ceremony among the Indians, he adds, 'The father grants his requests on condition of his *remaining with him and hunting for him a year longer*.' Such are the wages of the Sioux. Among the Chipaways he is not at liberty to remove till he has obtained offspring of his marriage. *Here we see the case of Jacob and Laban.*'

'The chief who followed me with Mr. Renville, let fly his arrow and shot a buffalo, &c. Never did I see attitudes so graceful as those of the chief. They alternately reminded me of the Equestrian Statue of Marcus Aurelius on the Capitol, and that of the great Numidian King. Altogether it was the most astonishing spectacle I ever saw. I thought I beheld the games and combats of the ancients.—I played nearly the same part as the Indians of former times, who thought the first European they saw on horseback,

was a being of superior order; while the chief, with his quiver, his horse, and his victim, formed a group worthy the pencil of Raphael or the chisel of Canova. I was so enchanted with this living model of classical beauty, that I forgot my part in the chase, and was roused to a recollection of it by the voice of the chief, who pointed to a young buffalo which I had fired at and killed.'

'When the chiefs pronounce a speech, they make frequently very marked pauses, at which all who wish to signify their approbation call out *Uhoa*. Every Indian is at liberty to speak to the agent, as a common father; but as presumption and gossipping are vices unknown among the Red people, it rarely happens that the agent has to reply to any but the chiefs, civil and military, the orators or the prophets. Every individual may also lay complaints before him against the traders; but the privilege is rarely used, for the Indians will revenge themselves, but will not descend to the office of accuser. There is great dignity and magnaminity in the silence they observe with regard to the traders, who are not ashamed to cheat them in every possible way.—This is one powerful cause of their constant and increasing hostility to civilized people. *The Red men, who are most in contact with the whites, are uniformly the worst.* They have all the vices of both races; nor can they find a single virtue

to imitate in men who come among them only to gratify their sensuality and their avarice.'

* * * * * * *

'The assemblies of this nation in the council hall, were more noisy than those of the Sioux, because they were divided into two parties, one of which wished to retain the Chiefs now in power, and the other to elect new ones. I should be happy to give you some account of this comical and truly interesting drama.'—'I heard *morceaux* of eloquence worthy of Athens or of Rome;'—'that M. B. Constant never employed more resistless arguments against M de Villèle;—that Peskawé descended from the throne with Spartan dignity, and that Kendouswa extended his hand to him as he ascended it, with the noble air of a truly generous spirit. I am sometimes astonished at finding the grand incidents of ancient and modern history in these wilds.'—'The grave and dignified figure of Wamenatouka greatly contributed to the majesty of the ceremony, (viz. a treaty,) on this occasion he assumed a sacerdotal kind of air. He consecrated the calmut, turning the tube first horizontally to heaven and earth, to the east and west, thus invoking the Great Spirit.'

* * * * * * *

'The ephod from the Hebrew word *aphael* which signifies to *dress* is a kind of short tunic with large sleeves. It was first confined to the Jewish high priest, who could not perform his sacerdotal

functions without it, and was afterwards in a manner profaned by David, who had the presumption to wear it; after him it was irreverently worn by the whole family of Gideon; and when this nation addicted itself to idolatry, it became a part of the fashionable dress of every woman of rank. It passed from Asia to Greece, thence to Rome, and lastly to these savage countries: for the species of short tunic with large sleeves which comes down to the girdle of the female Saukies, is precisely like the *ephod*.'

'That the female savages should wear necklaces like the Greeks and Romans, is not extraordinary; but, what does surprise one is, that like the women of antiquity they offer them to the departed spirits of their relations, of which I have been an eye witness. The custom of wearing necklaces among the men, reminds us of the Egyptians.'

'Wabischihouwa, though wrapped in a wretched buffalo's skin, had perfectly the air and aspect of *a man of quality*. His countenance, his arched eyebrows, his aquiline nose, the motion of his right hand, which he frequently applied to his forehead and chin,—his thoughtful air—his eyes fixed as if entranced—and his imposing manner of sitting although on the ground, all marked him for a great statesman.'

'As soon as the tribe returns home from holding a conference with the U. S. agent, the

chief distributes the presents.—The chief himself is always the last, whatever be his merits, if nothing remain for him he utters no complaint. The kings among this people, think only of their subjects—they and their families are the poorest among them. If you see a savage simple in his deportment, sober in his habits, and distinguished by a certain Spartan plainness in his attire, you may conclude that he is a king or a king's son.' The king of the Sioux was perfectly astonished and would not believe his ears, when I told him that it was not quite usual among our chiefs to give all to their subjects and leave nothing for themselves: that indeed the very reverse sometimes happened. How, said he to me one day, 'You are then more barbarous than those you call barbarians; if your civilization teaches you to be either stupid slaves, or unjust chiefs! we are right then in thinking you inferior to ourselves.' Though every meeting is attended with pretty nearly the same form, though the Indians always preserve the same taciturnity, the same melancholy and sombre countenance, yet very interesting varieties and incidents sometimes occur. Their faces and attitudes are far beyond the reach of the most picturesque or poetical imagination. I have seen many Hells and Purgatories, Limbos and Paradises, Deluges and Last Judgments. I have seen the *camere*, the *logge*, the *sale* of Raphael and his scholars at the

Vatican, and his cartoons in England. I have seen the frescos of Dominichino, Guido, Reni, Guercino, Giotto, Cimabue, &c. I have seen Salvator Rosa's conspiracy of Cataline, and all the most beautiful or extravagant of the Flemish school; but all that is most sublime, horrible, original, and grotesque in them, united, cannot equal the strange and extraordinary mixture which is found in the faces, the gestures and attitudes of these savages. They would alone, suffice to characterise a new world. Some wrapt in skins, with their faces resting on their hands, remind one of the gravity of the senators and magistrates of Greece and Rome; others, when addressing their father or their children, unfold their *pallium* with such dignity, their attitudes are so imposing, and their gesticulations so energetic and expressive, that they would be really awfully grand if one could *forget* that they are savages.

'I was struck with the resemblance of the Chief, Wamenatouka, to that famous statue of Aristides in the Museum at Naples, which has so often held me captive for hours to see—almost to hear,—him harrangue the corrupt Athenians. In the Chief, Citamwaconami, I beheld that of Cato predicting to the Romans that their vices, their luxury, and their avarice would soon reduce them to slavery. Among those who surround the orator, some listen with signs of approbation, some maintain a haughty and eloquent silence,

others appear to attend very little to what he says; some resting on their right elbow on the ground, and smoking their pipe with an affected *nonchalance*, seemed as if they despised the whole ceremony; others remaining neutral like the deputies of the centre, sleep quietly through the business of the nation, and leave care for the future to those who like it.'

The opinion of this accomplished scholar, respecting the origin of the Indians, shall be given in his own words. 'Different authors have brought them hither from all parts of the world. I was at first induced to join with those who derived them from the Hebrews; for it must be admitted that that nation, ill used and persecuted as it has been by the whole world, has some reason for boasting, as it does, of giving birth to nearly all the nations as well as religions of mankind. It seemed impossible for me to doubt that by so doing I should be building on an impregnable foundation. But this hypothesis is too general and perhaps evasive. It is necessary to specify and detail; I adopted, therefore, the idea of those who deduce the origin of these Indians from Asia. And indeed a variety of circumstances concur to authorise it. Their *resemblance in numerous respects to the Asiatic tribes*; their principal divinity the Sun, worshipped by the Quebres, Tibetians, Indians, Japanese, Chinese, and various others.' It may be necessary

here to break the narrative, in order to insert a preceding remark which does credit to the candour of the author: viz., that possibly they consider the Sun only an emblem of the Great Spirit, which, he says, *all worship*. He continues, 'The facility of passing to this country from the Asiatic territories, by the narrow straits of Behring, while immense oceans roll between it and the other quarters of the globe; all these circumstances, it must be allowed, speak for their Asiatic origin; and a new discovery of the highest interest must be considered as affording evidence nearly amounting to conviction. The skeletons of mammoths which have been found in the states of Kentucky and Missouri, and other parts of America, have been ascertained to resemble precisely those which have been found in Siberia and the Eastern parts of Asia. The pens and brains of many men of science were put in exercise upon the subject, before the Museum of St. Petersburgh had informed the South of Europe that similar remains had been found in Asia. They imagined, at first, that mammoths discovered in America were elephants which had migrated from Africa: but it is now universally admitted that those mammoths are of Asiatic origin. You perceive, therefore, that this very interesting discovery in the animal kingdom, has also been eminently valuable by throwing light on the origin of the tribes of America.

'I availed myself of it with no little eagerness, in order to corroborate my conjecture of their being derived from Asia. I had indeed consulted the genealogists, and nearly fixed on the individual Son of Noah, whom these tribes might look up to as their ancestor.' He then mentions an incident which threw him into obscurity, namely, the recital of a traditionary fragment by an Indian, from which others might perhaps find confirmation. 'When worlds were overwhelmed by a tremendous deluge, their own was spared; and that while a wicked race was totally cut off, they beheld the sun rise every day from the bosom of those waters in which it had sunk.' Those who can only hold intercourse through the medium of interpreters, seldom, in every point, either give or receive a perfect transcript of the mind; and when it is considered this event was orally, throughout so many ages, handed down to this present day, there is little reason to be surprised if even some inaccuracy should slide into the tradition itself. The more intelligent tribes are all assured that they came from an Eastern Land; to which they hope to return, if not before, certainly at death. 'The presumption,' continues the author, 'seems not a little in their favour, when we consider that God bestowed on Noah only three sons, for the re-peopling of Asia, Africa, and Europe: it seems a fair inference that America was not included in the

plans of his vengeance; as in that case he would have given the patriarch four.'* The reasoning is cogent, if the premises were equally sound—for assuredly if that hemisphere participated not in the deluge, it must have been *because it was utterly uninhabited.* "Thus saith the LORD, the *end of all flesh* is come before me; for the earth is filled with violence *through them*, and behold I will destroy them from the earth." Again, "*All* in whose nostrils was the breath of life, and of all that was in the dry land, died. *Noah only remained, and they that were with him in the ark.* I will establish my covenant with you: neither shall *all flesh* be cut off any more by the waters of a flood." The author is then again in possession of his sound argument, more strongly confirmed by revealed truth, than shaken by the tradition of the Indian, who preserving the prominent features correct, has received it imperfectly, as might be supposed from its remote oral transmission. Let us take for granted that the aboriginals are the people of Israel;—it may then be assumed that Shem, of whom they came, became sovereign of the vast western continent, where they pitched their tents for three millenaries. Thus we have, at a single glance of the present aspect of that hemisphere, the *enlargement* of Japhet, whose mingled family have emigrated beyond the European

* 'The Discovery of the Source of the Misissippi,' &c.

continent, together with the *servitude* of Ham, dragged thither to become "a servant of servants." Never, until the discovery of the western world, could this prophecy be said to have been fulfilled on a scale of such comprehensive magnitude.

"Blessed be the LORD God of Shem." "God shall enlarge Japhet, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant. Gen. ix. 26.

Those who find no difficulty in admitting other features of identity, are startled at the idea of these tribes having crossed that narrow channel which separates between Asia and America. Robertson in his history remarks "The possibility of a communication between the two continents in this quarter rests no longer upon mere conjecture, but is established by undoubted * evidence," and thus he reasons, "Some tribes or families of Tartars, from the restlessness of spirit peculiar to their race, might migrate to the nearest islands, &c." The distance between the Marian or Ladrone islands and the nearest land in Asia is greater than that between the part of America which the Russians discovered and the coast of Kamschatka, and yet the inhabitants of these islands are manifestly of Asiatic extract. If notwithstanding their remote situation, we admit that the Marian islands were peopled from our continent, distance

* Muller's Voyages, tom. i. p, 248.

alone is no reason why we should hesitate about admitting that the Americans may derive their original from the same source. It is probable that future navigators in steering farther to the north may find that the continents are still nearer. According to the information of the barbarous people who inhabit the country about the north east promontory of Asia, there lies off the coast a small island to which they can sail in less than a day, and from that they can descry a large continent covered with forests, and possessed by people whose language they do not understand. By them they are supplied with the skins of martins, &c. "What could be offered only as a conjecture when this history was published" continues the historian, "is now known to be certain. The near approach of the two continents to each other has been discovered and traced in a voyage undertaken upon principles so pure and liberal, and conducted with so much professional skill, as reflects lustre upon the reign of the sovereign by whom it was planned, and does honour to the officers to whom was intrusted the execution of it." Though it be possible that America may have received its first inhabitants from our continent either by the north west of Europe or *north east of Asia*, there seems to be good reason for supposing that the progenitors of all the American tribes from Cape Horn to the northern countries of Labrador, migrated *from the latter* rather than

the former." * "It is remarkable that in *every peculiarity, whether in their persons or dispositions,* which characterize the Aborigenes, *they have some resemblance* to the rude *tribes scattered over the north east of Asia,* but almost none to the nations settled in the northern extremities of Europe. We may therefore refer them to the former origin and conclude that *their Asiatic progenitors having* settled in those parts of America, where the Russians have discovered the proximity of the two continents spread gradually over its various regions. This account of the progress of their population coincides with the traditions of the Mexicans concerning their own origin, which imperfect as they are, were preserved with more accuracy, and merit greater credit than those of any benighted people. The Mexicans point out their various stations as they advanced from this into the interior provinces, and it is precisely the same rout which they must have held, if they had been emigrants from Asia.†

What the historian justly observes of the Spanish adventurers in the south may with a few exceptions be equally well applied to the mingled throng who have congregated in the north, 'who are more employed in computing profits and

* Hist. Amer: vol. ii. p. 307.

† Acosta Hist: Nat. et Mor. lib. 7. c. 2. Garcia Origen los Indios, lib. 5. c. 3. Torquenada Monar. Ind. lib. 1. c. 2. Boturim Benaduci Ideu de una Hist. de la Amer: 17 p. 127.

scuffling for gain than in inquiring into the operations of the mind or the customs and institutions of the first inhabitants.' Not only ignorance but *prejudice* has checked inquiry on this interesting subject.

America had been discovered two hundred years before philosophical minds began to inquire into the peculiarities of its first inhabitants, and as they instead of collecting evidence from corresponding facts, gave at once their own speculations as the end of inquiry—we have only a mass of contradictory theories. To their amazement they discovered no negroes, although every temperature of the other parts of the globe are to be found in America, and although the powerful operation of heat appears to produce the striking variety in the human species. The colour of the natives of the torrid zone in America is hardly of a deeper hue than that of the people in the more temperate parts of the continent. Accurate observers who had an opportunity of viewing the Aborigines in very different climates, and in provinces far removed from each other, have been struck with the amazing similarity of their figure and aspect.

Manasse Ben Israel who wrote a work intitled "The Hope of Israel" believed the final and general restoration of the twelve tribes near at hand. He quotes this passage, wherein he observes, Isaiah clearly predicts it. "In that day the LORD shall set his hand the second time

to recover the remnant of his people which shall be left from Assyria, and from Egypt, and from Pathros, and from Cush, (Ethiopia) and from Elam, (Persia) and from Shinar, (Babylon) and from Hameth, (the East) and from the isles of the sea, (the West) and he shall set up an ensign for the nations, and shall assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah, from the four corners of the earth, &c.' 'That noble prophecy' he observes, 'could not be meant of the return of the remnant of Judah from the Caldean captivity, because God did not then call all the dispersed, much less the twelve tribes together from "*all* places of their dispersion." To the east he had not then said "*give up*," and to the west "*keep not back*." 'This promised deliverance is styled a *second* because that of Egypt had preceded it." The first exodus from moral darkness and temporal bondage served well to foreshow the second general and final restoration, the Divine Presence even then being as a wall of fire around, and a glory in the midst of them. 'Whereas that from Caldea was only confined to part of the two tribes of Judah and Levi, and when the Israelites left Assyria to enter into the land of Judea, they did not go over any river, either of Egypt or Ethiopia, as God has declared, they shall do at their second or general and everlasting return. The Rabbi affirms that 'they have been concealed in'

the "land shadowing like wings which is beyond the river of Ethiopia" now called America, and other parts where they have been miraculously preserved by the divine providence against this glorious recall when they shall come forth from their seclusion; and be reunited to their brethren in Assyria, whence they shall take their flight "as doves to their windows" to Jerusalem.' He further remarks 'the Indians of Mexico had a tradition that their magnificent place of worship had been built by a people who wore beards, and were more ancient than their Incas.' * Rabbi Manasses also quotes an inscription found on a tomb in the island of St. Michael, which is one of the Azores, and mentioned by Genetrard,† 'which though somewhat difficult to be decyphered, unless it be by a transposition of letters; yet by the character and words, appears plainly enough to have been done by Hebrews who had come to the island.' ‡ To all which he adds the sentiments of many scripture students, who have helped to confirm him in his conjecture concerning the ten tribes. It is a singular fact that those whose opinions are against the western hemisphere being the appointed place of exile for the excommunicated tribes, have the idea that they being *among* instead of "*afar off*" *from the*

* Esperanga de Israel, p. 114, et seq. † Ibid. p. 44.
‡ Ibid. p. 26 et seq. 116.

nations of the old world, must be altogether blended and lost: but the prophets one and all testify against the notion of losing their national and distinctive existence. Several authors have likewise supposed that the ten tribes are still preserved in China. A synagogue is known to be in Pekin in which province they have been settled five hundred years. In the city of Ham-chew, capital of the province of Che-kyang, they had a great number of synagogues and Israelitish families, for that is the name by which they designate themselves. (3)

Columbus writing to Ferdinand and Isabella, begins thus: 'I swear to your Majesties that there is not a better people in the world than these; more affectionate or mild—they love their neighbour as themselves—their language is the sweetest, the softest, and most cheerful, for they always speak smiling.'—In a letter from a light-hearted military traveller, dated Upper Missouri, July 27, 1825, we have a corresponding testimony.—'Most of the Chyans never saw a white person before; they are the finest and wildest looking Indians we have yet seen; they are the genuine children of nature; they have all the virtues nature can give, without the vices of civilization. These must be the men described by Rosseau, when he gained the Medal from the R. A. of France. They are artless, fearless, and live in

(3) See Appendix.

the constant exercise of moral and christian virtues—though they know it not.' 'We were where many of them fell, and where they were buried. Some parts of this country are beautiful in the extreme.'

Charlevoix, who travelled from Quebec to New Orleans, had great opportunity to learn the native character: he says, they manifest much stability in their engagements, patience in affliction, and submissive acquiescence in what they apprehend the will of Providence. In all this they display a nobleness of soul, and constancy of mind, at which we rarely arrive with all our philosophy and religion.' Du Pratz says, 'I have studied these Indians and never, during many years, could learn that there were disputings and boxing matches either among boys or men. I am convinced *it is wrong* to denominate them savages. They have a greater degree of prudence, faithfulness, and generosity than those who would be offended at a comparison with them. No people are more hospitable and free.'

Bartram (of the Creek nation) says; 'Joy, contentment, love, and friendship, without guile or affectation, seem inherent in them, or predominant in their vital principle, for it leaves them but with breath.' He had lost his way among their woods and huts. He saw an Indian at his door beckoning to him to approach and come in. Of himself and horse the best care was taken.

When he wished to go, the Indian led him on the right track. He adds, 'they are just, honest, liberal, hospitable to strangers, considerate and affectionate to their wives, children, and relations, frugal and persevering, charitable and forbearing.' It must be recollected these testimonies are given of Indians in their unsophisticated state, before the corrupting influence of the lower class of unprincipled white men reached them. The testimony of Las Casas, who spent much time among the natives of New Spain, ought not to be omitted: he says of them—'Did they not receive the Spaniards who first came among them with gentleness and humanity? Did they not show more joy, in proportion, in lavishing treasures upon them than the Spaniards did greediness in receiving them? But our avarice was not yet satisfied—though they gave up to us their riches and their lands, we would also take from them their wives, their children, and their liberties. To blacken the character of this people, their enemies say they are scarce human. But it is *we* who ought to blush for having been *savages* to them.'

The late Earl of Crawford and Lindsay, when a younger brother spent several years in North America, and during that time became thoroughly acquainted with the neighbouring native tribes, published a * work in 1801, in which there are

* Essay on the propagation of the gospel, &c. by C. Crawford Esq.

numerous facts and arguments adduced to prove that the greater part of the Indians in America are descended from the Ten Tribes. 'It is curious and pleasing,' observes the author, 'in reading the travels of those who have been among these people, to find how their customs comport with the Law of Moses. These customs are sometimes faithfully described by men who have no supposition that any of the American Indians are the descendants of the Ten Tribes.'

Mr. S. Hearne, who printed a work in London, in 1795, intitled 'A Journey from Prince of Wales' Island,' remarks, the aboriginal mother, 'after child-birth, is separated from society for a month; during which time she remains in a hut or tent placed at some distance from the community, with only a female acquaintance or two. They,' the author continues, 'who killed the Esquimaux at Copper River, considered themselves in a state of uncleanness, which induced them to practise some very curious ceremonies. In the first place, all who were concerned in the murder, were prohibited from cooking any kind of victuals either for themselves or others.* They refrained also from eating many parts of the deer and other animals, particularly the head, entrails, and blood; and during their pollution their victuals are never sodden in water, but dried in the sun, eaten

* Page 205. Haggai, ii. 12, 13.

quite raw, or broiled, when a fire fit for the purpose can be procured.' 2 Sam. xv. 'Charlevoix,' he adds, 'affirms of the Hurons and Troquois, that the husband, where the wife happens to die first, is obliged to marry her sister—the wife, on her part, is under the same obligation with respect to her husband's relations, provided he dies without having children by her.' Deut. xxv. 'Some customs also well authenticated, appear to be the remains of Mosaic rites: as roasting a fawn and eating it with blankets girded around them, and carefully not breaking a bone of it through religious devotion; which seems clearly the Passover, though they cannot explain it, but say, their forefathers did so, and all good Indians should continue to do it. They have also mourning women for the dead, &c.' Mr. Bartram, in his account of the Southern Indians, says, 'On the Sabbath-day before I set off, I could not help observing the solemnity of the town, the silence and retiredness of its inhabitants; but a very few of them were to be seen; the doors of their dwellings were shut, and if a child chanced to stray out it was quickly drawn in again. I asked the meaning of this, and was told, that it being white peoples' beloved day, they kept it religiously sacred to the Great Spirit.'* Mr. Crawford continues, 'I once had

* See Bartram's Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, p. 457.

an opportunity of seeing the Prince of the Chocktaws, who told me his people were desirous of imitating the white people in building, farming, and in all that was not evil,—he appeared a sensible old man. I frequently conversed with him, and supposed I had gained, in some measure, his esteem. As I sat at breakfast, this Indian came into the room, when some of the visitors were inclined to laugh, which I thought displeased him. I gravely brought him a chair, and procured him the food he wished set before him. Before touching the breakfast, he rose up, and with uplifted hands and eyes, spread himself over the table to ask a blessing. He did this I thought by giving thanks to the Great SPIRIT, in a becoming, solemn, and affecting manner. Some present were nearly laughing at this, to which no prudent person could have felt the least inclination. From this time our acquaintance increased. This turn for ridicule often prevails in the worst persons, in those who are most worthy of ridicule themselves. It sometimes embitters the mind more than the worst injuries. I remember a circumstance which gave me a favourable opinion of the justice of this chief. To divert him we procured a show box, (such as is carried about in England to amuse persons for a penny) with the pictures of Richmond Hill, the Thuilleries, Porto Bello, &c. seen through a magnifying glass. I had shown him several of the pictures—about

twenty I think—when coming from behind the box and making a graceful bow, he said that *justice* must be done, and began deliberately to count the pictures, the sight of which he said must be returned picture for picture. There are those who contend for the utter extirpation of the Indians. The belief that they are descended from the Ten Tribes must have a tendency to soften the minds of mankind towards them. This belief is gaining ground, and *even among some of those who once violently contended against the belief. It is a sound truth that the Indians are descended from the Ten Tribes, and time and investigation will more and more enforce its acknowledgment.* It is not candid or becoming for any to condemn this hastily, who have not a knowledge of the Mosaic Law and the Indian Customs; by which the similarity may be traced. Mr. Hearne, and even David Brainerd, who deserves to be mentioned with great respect for his piety, were ignorant of many points of the Mosaic Law, which they held to be superstitious ceremonies in the Indians. There is a very remarkable passage in favour of this belief, in the Journal of a two months tour in America, by Charles Beatty, A. M. London, printed 1768.'*

A Hebrew friend visited, between the years 1825 and 7, several tribes in order to exercise his

* 'Essay on the Propagation of the Gospel.'

own judgment on the interesting question of their origin. When among the Wyandots, he inquired how numerous they had formerly been. The head Chief, Menoncu, replied, 'We could once count five bark bowls of warriors.' On asking a particular explanation, he said, 'every warrior puts a grain of Indian corn into a bark bowl, which is afterwards offered up to the Great SPIRIT as a burnt-offering by fire.' This custom had, no doubt, its origin in the order which ancient Israel received: not to count by the head, but by each person giving a shekel of gold, which sum was afterwards expended on those lambs, &c. which were to make an atonement for the people. The Chief could give no reason for the observance, but said, 'It is Indian custom—we must mind it.' It will be recollected that David transgressed against this commandment, and thus procured the choice of three terrible calamities. Israel had been constantly admonished, that their success depended on their loyalty and allegiance to their National HEAD, who could save by few against many; and not in any degree on the physical power of their numbers.

Often have people been informed, and smiled at the fact, that an Indian, hurt or frightened, usually cries out *wah!* This is a part of his traditional religion; O Jah! or O Lord!

Doctor Williams observes; "They denominate

the deity the Spirit; the* Great Man above; and seem to have some general ideas of his government and providence, universal power and dominion. The immortality of the soul was every where admitted among the Indian tribes."

An interesting account of the ark, extracted from Major Long's Expedition to the Rocky Mountains, is precious as an evidence in favor of this hypothesis, since that individual has not the most remote idea, or belief on that subject. 'This people do firmly believe in existence after death, but they do not appear to have any definite notions as to the state in which they shall then be. And although they say that many re-appear after death to their relations, yet such visitants communicate no information respecting futurity. The Wah-condah is believed to be the greatest and best of beings, the Creator and Preserver of all things, and the fountain of mystic medicine. Omniscience, omnipotence, and omnipresence, are attributed to Him, and he is supposed to afflict them with sickness poverty and misfortune

* This is an ancient Hebrew expression נתור האדם מעלת literally the MAN above. That the Angel יחוה, Jehovah, took upon him the form of a lowly man, is a tradition among the Rabbies, the word פניאל or face of God is synonimous with the angel of the covenant who wrestled with Jacob as man, and from whom he received the name of ישדאל a man seeing God.'—Hulsean Prize Dissertation of the Rev. M. Mayer.

for their evil deeds. In conversation they will frequently appeal to him as evidence to the truth of their assertion in the words 'Wah-con-da-wa-nah-kong.' '*The Wahcondah hears what I say.*' They have never seen the MASTER OF LIFE, therefore cannot liken him to any thing, but they have heard his voice in the thunder. Various are the forms of suffering which they inflict upon themselves. After describing a variety of the most appaling self-infliction, she concludes thus :—'The Wolf chief, one of the most eminent warriors on one occasion sat five days singing and lamenting without food, on a small insulated and naked rock in the Missouri River, and he did not palliate his urgent wants by tasting a drop of water during his long probation.'

The Omawha branch is divided into two powerful sections, one of which is interdicted from eating the flesh of the male deer or male elk, in consequence of having their great *mystic medicine* enveloped in the prepared skins of these animals. The shell which is regarded as an object of the greatest sanctity and superstitious reverence by the whole nation, has been transmitted from the ancestry of this band, and its origin is unknown. A skin lodge or temple is appropriated for its preservation, in which a person constantly resides, charged with the care of it, and appointed its guard. *It is placed upon a stand, and is never suffered to touch the earth.*

It is concealed from sight by several envelops, which are composed of strands of the proper skin plaited and joined together. The whole constitutes a parcel of considerable size, from which various articles are suspended, such as tobacco, and roots of certain plants. *No person dares to open all the coverings* of the sacred deposit, in order to expose the shell to view. *Tradition* informs them that *curiosity* induced three different persons to examine the mysterious shell, who were *immediately punished for their profanation by instant total blindness;* the shell is taken with the band to national hunts, and is transported by means of a hoppas on the back of a man. Previously to undertaking a national expedition against the enemy, the *sacred shell is consulted as an oracle.* For this purpose the magi of the band seat themselves around the great medicine lodge; the lower part of which is thrown open *like curtains,* and the extreme envelop is carefully removed from the mysterious parcel, that the shell may receive the air. A portion of tobacco consecrated by being long suspended to the skins or covering of the shell, is now taken to distribute to the magi, who fill their pipes with it, to smoke to the great medicine. During this ceremony an individual occasionally inclines his head forward, and *listens attentively, to catch some sound which he expects to issue from the shell.* At length some one imagines he hears a *sound.* This is consi-

dered as a *favourable* omen, and the nation prepares for the projected expedition with *a confidence of success*. They are of opinion that the Wahconda has been more profuse in the distribution of gifts to the white people than to themselves, particularly in imparting to us the knowledge of letters, whereby the result of experience is easily transmitted, so as to seem like the operation of some great mystic medicine. But they claim a superiority in natural intelligence, and readily perceive that they are more active, and have greater patience in undergoing with fortitude the many evils to which they are subject in every situation and season, such as exposure to great heat and cold, hunger, thirst, and pain. They esteem themselves more generous, brave, and hospitable to strangers than the white people, and these beneficent virtues mark with them 'the perfect man.' If a white man or any stranger enters the habitation of an Indian, he is not asked if he has dined, or if he is hungry—but independently of the time of the day or night; the pot is put on the fire, and if there is a single pound of venison in the possession of the family, that pound is cooked and set before him.'

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After waiting a short time, we observed at the distance of a mile before us, a number of mounted Indians emerging suddenly, apparently from the plain itself, for we could not then see the ravine

that had previously concealed them from our view. It is impossible by description to do justice to the scene of savage magnificence that was now displayed. Between three and four hundred mounted Indians, dressed in their richest habiliments of war, were rushing around us in every direction, with streaming feathers, war weapons, and with loud shouts. The few whom we had observed in advance of the main body, and whom as they came near, we recognized to be the chief men, presented a perfect contrast to the others in their slow movements and simplicity. Courtesy obliged us to shake hands with each individual as they came to us in succession for that purpose, nor was a single soldier of our train forgotten on this occasion by any one of them. They expressed great satisfaction on account of our visit, rubbing their breasts in token of the sincerity of their pleasure.

Almost from the beginning of this interesting fete, our attention had been attracted to a young man who seemed the leader or partizan of the warriors. He was about twenty-three years of age, of the finest form, tall, muscular, exceedingly graceful, and of a most prepossessing countenance. His head dress of war—eagles' feathers, descended in a double series upon his back, like wings to his saddle croup; his shield was highly decorated, and his long lance was ornamented by a plated casing of red and blue cloth. On en-

quiring of the interpreter, our admiration was augmented by learning, that he was no other than Petalesharoo, with whose name and character we were already familiar. He is the most intrepid warrior of the nation, eldest son of Latelisha, destined as well by mental and physical qualifications, as by his distinguished birth to be the future leader of his people. Seeing that his Father had taken a place in our cavalcade, he rode up on his right, to the exclusion of a brave officer who had previously occupied that situation, and who now regarded him with an apparently stern aspect, but in which there was perhaps more of admiration than of irritation at this unexpected intrusion. The young chief caught the look, and retorted with an eye that seemed never to have been averted through fear. The name of Petalesharoo is connected with the abolition of a custom prevalent in this nation, at which humanity shudders.

The Pawnee Loups heretofore exhibited the singular anomaly amongst the aborigines, of a people addicted to the inhuman and superstitious rite of making propitiatory offerings of human victims, to the Great Star.

The present mild and humane chief of the nation Latelisha, or Long-knife, had regarded this sacrifice as an unnecessary and cruel exhibition of power, exercised upon unfortunate and defenceless individuals whom they were bound to

protect, and he vainly endeavoured to abolish it by philanthropic admonitions. An Ietian woman who was brought captive into the village was doomed to the Great Star by the warrior whose property she had become by the fate of war. She underwent the usual preparation, and on the appointed day was led to the cross amid a great concourse of people, as eager to witness the horrors of an execution, as their civilized fellow men on the same occasion. The victim was bound to the cross with thongs of skin, and the usual ceremonies being performed, her dread of a more terrible death was about to be terminated by the tomahawk and the arrow. At this critical juncture Petalesharoo, (son of Latelisha) stepped forward into the area, and in a hurried but firm manner declared, that it was his Father's wish to abolish this sacrifice; that for himself, he had presented himself before them, for the purpose of laying down his life upon the spot, or of releasing the victim. He then cut the cords which bound her to the cross, carried her swiftly through the crowd, placed her on a horse, and mounted another himself. When having conveyed her beyond the reach of immediate pursuit, and having supplied her with some food, he admonished her to make the best of her way to her own nation, which was at the distance of at least four hundred miles. The daring deed would almost to a certainty have terminated in an

unsuccessful attempt, under the arm of any other warrior, and Petalesharoo was no doubt indebted for the success of this noble achievement to the distinguished renown which his feats of Chivalry had already gained for him, and which commanded the high respect of all his rival warriors. *

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Notwithstanding the signal success of this interference, another display of the firmness and determination of the young warrior was required to abolish this sacrifice, it is to be hoped for ever. The succeeding spring a warrior who had captured a fine spanish boy vowed to sacrifice him to the great star, and accordingly placed him under the care of the magi for that purpose. The Knife Chief, hearing the determination of the warrior, consulted with his son respecting the best means of preventing a repetition of this horrible ceremony. I will rescue the boy, said Petalesharoo. The Head Chief unwilling that his son should again expose himself to a danger so imminent as that which he had before encountered in this

* The young Ladies of a Boarding School at Philadelphia having heard of the noble and intrepid conduct of this Pawnee Brave, presented him with a Gold Medal, accompanied by an appropriate address, to which he made a feeling and modest reply; he constantly wears the medal, of which he is very proud: his portrait as a frontispiece graces the researches of the late Dr. Morse among the Aborigines.

cause, hoped to induce the warrior to exchange his victim for a large quantity of merchandize, which he would endeavour to obtain with that view. The treasure was laid in a heap together, the Chief armed himself with his war club, and explained the object of his call, commanding the warrior to accept the merchandize and yield up the boy, or prepare for instant death. The warrior refused, and the Chief waved his war club in the air towards the warrior. "Strike" said Petalesharoo, who stood near to support his father, "I will meet the vengeance of his kindred." But the more prudent and politic chief added a few more articles to the mass of merchandize, in order to give the warrior another opportunity of acquiescing without forfeiting his word. This expedient succeeded, and the boy was liberated, &c. The merchandize was sacrificed in place of the boy, the cloth was cut in shreds and suspended by poles at the place of sacrifice, and many of the valuables were consumed by fire.

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Preliminary to a hunting excursion—the head chief proceeds thus, "Friends and relatives, we are assembled here for the purpose of consulting respecting the proper course to pursue in our next hunting excursion, &c. Having disclosed the business of the council, he is succeeded by an old chief who thanks him for his attention to their

wants, and advises the assembly to pay great attention to what he has said, he being a man of truth, of knowledge and of bravery; he further assures them that they have ample cause to return thanks to the great Wah-conda or MASTER OF LIFE for having sent such a man among them:" "The proceedings of the council are uniformly conducted with the most perfect good order and decorum. Each speaker carefully refrains from militating against the sensibility of any of his hearers, uncourteous expressions towards each other on these occasions are never heard. Generally at each pause of the speaker, the audience testify their approbation aloud by the interjection *heh;* and as they believe he has a just right to his own opinions, however absurd they may appear to be, and opposite to their own, the expression of them excites no reprehension, and if they cannot approve, they do not condemn, unless urged by necessity. During the councils the criers remain seated near the fire, listening to the proceedings, and at the same time attending to the culinary apparatus, as neither the squaws nor the children are admitted. When the food is sufficiently cooked, the criers remove the kettles from the fire, and at the proper time, one of them takes up a portion of the soup into a spoon, and after presenting it to each of the cardinal points with the one hand, whilst the other is elevated and the palm extended, he

casts it into the fire; *a small piece of the choice part of the meat is also sacrificed* to the Great Wahcondah with the same formality, and is doubtless intended as an impetratory oblation. Each individual on receiving his portion returns his thanks to the host in such respectful expressions as, thank you father—thank you younger brother and you, uncle, &c. The criers help themselves out of the kettles, but are careful to leave a portion in those that are borrowed, to compensate for their use."

On going out to hunt, "The hunters after making signals for bisons, to induce the people to halt and encamp, return as soon as possible and are received with some ceremony. The chiefs and maji seated in front of their people puffing smoke from their pipes, and thanking the MASTER OF LIFE with such expressions as "How-wa-con-da "Thanks MASTER OF LIFE!"—How-nin-e-set-ta-wa-con-da-a-mah-pan-ne-nah-pa-e-wa-ra-a-cum-ba-ra"—Thank you MASTER OF LIFE, here is fume, I am poor—hungry, and want something to eat." It is then the business of some old man or crier to harangue the people, informing them of the discovery, requesting the squaws to keep a good heart, telling them they have endured many hardships with fortitude, and there is now a termination of their difficulties for the present, &c."—This hunt continues until the close of December, and during the rigours of the season

they experience an alternation of abundance and scarcity of food. The assiduous hunter often returns to his temporary residence in the evening after unsuccessful exertions continued the live-long day: he is hungry, cold and fatigued; with his mockasins perhaps frozen to his feet. His faithful squaw may be unable to relieve his hunger, but she seats herself by his side near the fire, and after having disposed of his hunting apparatus, she rubs his mockasins and leggings and pulls them off that he may be comfortable: she then gives him water to drink and his pipe to smoke. His children assemble about him, and he takes one of them upon his knees, and proceeds to relate to it the events of the day, that his squaw may be informed of them. "I have been active all day, but the MASTER OF LIFE has withheld from me game; but never despond, my children and your mother, I may be more fortunate to-morrow." After some time he retires to rest, but the wife remains to dry his clothing. He often sings until midnight, and on the morrow again sallies forth before the dawn, and may soon return with a superabundance of food.

"On the following morning when they were about to set out for the Osage camp, a chief arose and harangued them, stating that he had had a dream in the night, from the interpretation of which he was confident that the Wahconda was averse to their proposed visit. The infor-

mation deterred all from going except two, who mounted their horses and followed the messenger, saying, that whatever might be the event, the Osages should not be led to believe that every individual of the nation was afraid to rely upon their faith." " After the action some one informed Son-ja-nin-ga, that his son was among the slain. Did he die with his face to the enemy? said the father. " He did so,"—replied the other. " Then he perished nobly " rejoined Son-ja-nin-ga, exultingly, and " I will not lament his fall." This resolution, however was so much at variance with his sensibility that it could not be long maintained. He mounted on the top of his lodge and harangued his people on the martial deeds of his son, who had already become a distinguished warrior: but when he spoke of his final scene, he was absolutely so overpowered by grief, that he precipated himself from his elevated situation to the earth, receiving however but little injury; he immediately assumed the state of mourning with its utmost rigours.

On the death of the husband the squaws shew the sincerity of their grief by giving away to their neighbours every thing they possess. They go out from the village and build for themselves a small shelter of grass or bark, and mortify themselves by cutting off their hair, scarifying their skin, and in their insulated hut they lament incessantly. *If the deceased has left a brother, he*

takes the widow to his lodge, after a proper interval, and considers her as his wife, without any preparatory formality." *

"Maternal fondness seems to be no less exquisite than with civilized mothers. The following anecdote may be cited in favor of this observation. In the year 1814, an English trader married a beautiful squaw of one of the most distinguished families of the Omawha nation. He addressed himself to *her parents agreeably to the Indian custom,* and informed them that he loved their daughter, that he was sorry to see her in the state of poverty common to her nation, and although he possessed a wife among the white people, yet he wished to have one also of the Omawha people. If they would transfer their daughter to him in marriage, he would treat her kindly; and as he had a permanent trading establishment in their country, he would dwell a portion of the year with her, and the remainder with the white people, as the nature of his occupation required. In return he expressed his expectation that the nation would give him the refusal of their peltries in order that he might be enabled to comply with his engagement to them.

* This custom, observes the writer, is the same with that of the Hebrews under the Law, for which we have the authority of St. Luke. "Moses wrote unto us, If any man's brother die, having a wife, and he die without children, that his brother should take his wife, &c."

The parents replied with thanks for his liberal offers, and for his disposition to have pity on them: they would not object to the connection, and hoped that their daughter would accept of him as her husband. The parents then opened the subject to the daughter. They assured her that the proposed husband was a great man, that he could do much for her and for them; and concluded by requesting her to acquiesce in the wishes of the white man. She replied that all they said was without doubt true, and that agreeably to his request she was willing to become his wife. The succeeding spring the trader departed for the settlements, leaving her at his trading house. The ensuing autumn she had the pleasure to see him return. Upon his visit the following season, she presented him with a daughter born during his absence, and whom she had nursed with the fondest attention. With the infant in her arms she daily seated herself on the bank of the river and followed the downward course of the stream with her eye, to gain the earliest notice of his approach. Thus time passed on. The second year the father greeted a son, and obtained the mother's reluctant consent to take the daughter with him on his return-voyage to the country of the white people. But no sooner had he commenced his voyage, and although she had another charge, upon which to lavish her caresses, than her maternal fondness overpowered

her, and she ran crying along the river side in pursuit of the canoe, tearing off her fine hair, and appearing to be almost bereft of reason. On her return home she gave away every thing she possessed, cut off her hair, went into deep mourning, and remained inconsolable. She would often say, that she well knew her child would be better educated than she could be at home, but she could not avoid regarding her own situation to be the same as if the Wahconda had taken away her offspring for ever. One day in company with six other squaws, she was engaged in agricultural labours, her infant boy secured on his cradle-like board, which she had carefully reclined against a tree at a short distance. They were discovered by a war party of Sioux who rushed towards them. An exclamation from her companions directed her attention to the enemy, and in her fright she fled precipitately, but suddenly recollecting her child, she swiftly returned full in the face of the Sioux, snatched her child from the tree, and turned to save its life, more precious than her own. She was closely pursued by one of the enemy, when she arrived at a fence which separated her from the trading house. A moment's hesitation would have been fatal, and exerting all her strength, she threw the child with its board, as far as she could on the opposite side. Four of the squaws were tomahawked, and the others escaped, of which number the mother

was one, having succeeded in bearing off her child uninjured. The trader on his return, learned that his civilized wife had died during his absence, and after a short interval devoted to the formalities of mourning, he united his destiny with another, and highly amiable lady. The second season his wife accompanied him on his annual voyage up the Missouri to the trading house, the abode of his squaw. Previously to his arrival however, he dispatched a messenger to his dependants at the trading house, directing them to prevent his squaw from appearing in the presence of his new wife. She was accordingly sent off to the village of her nation, a distance of sixty or seventy miles. But she could not long remain there, and soon returned with her little boy on her back, and accompanied by some of her relatives, she encamped near her husband's residence. She sent her son to the trader, who treated him affectionately. On the succeeding day the trader sent for his squaw, and after making her some presents he directed her to go back to her relations. About two months afterwards the trader recalled her. But great was her disappointment when her husband demanded the surrender of the child, and renounced for the future any association with herself, directing her to return to her people, and provide for her future well being in any way she might choose. Overpowered by her feelings, on this demand

and repudiation, she ran from the house, and finding a periogue on the river shore, she paddled over to the opposite side, and made her escape into the forest with her child. The night was cold and attended with a fall of snow and hail. Reflecting upon her disconsolate condition, she resolved to return again in the morning, and with the feelings of a wife and a mother, plead her cause before the arbiter of her fate, and endeavour to mitigate the cruel sentence. Agreeably to this determination, she once more approached him, upon whom she believed she had claims paramount to those of any other individual. 'Here is our child' she said, 'I do not question your fondness for him—but he is still more dear to me. You say that you will keep him for yourself, and drive me far from you. But no! I will remain with him; I can find some hole or corner into which I may creep, in order to be near him, and sometimes see him. If you will not give me food, I will nevertheless remain until I starve before your eyes.' The trader then offered her a considerable present, desiring her at the same time to go and leave the child. But she said, 'Is my child a dog, that I should sell him for merchandise?' You cannot drive me away. When you married me, you promised to treat me kindly as long as I should be faithful to you; that I have been so no one can deny. Ours was not a marriage contracted for a

season, it was to terminate only with our lives. I was then a young girl, and might have been united to an Omawha chief; but I am now an old woman having had two children, and what Omawha will regard me? Is not my right paramount to that of your other wife? she had heard of me before she became yours. It is true her skin is whiter than mine, but her heart cannot be more pure towards you, nor her fidelity more rigid. Do not take away the child from my breast, I cannot bear to *hear* it cry, and not be present to relieve it; permit me to retain it until spring, when it shall be able to eat, and then if it must be so, take it from my sight that I may part with it but once.' Seeing her thus inflexible, the trader informed her that she might remain there if she pleased, but that the child should be immediately sent down to the settlements. The affectionate mother had thus far sustained herself during the interview with the firmness of conscious virtue, and successfully resisted the impulse of her feelings; but nature now yielded, the tears coursed rapidly down her cheeks, and clasping her hands, and bowing her head, she burst into an agony of grief, exclaiming, 'Why did the Wahconda hate me so much, as to induce me to put my child again into your power?'

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Hard heart chief of the Tomaws quarrelled with a trader near the Platte and challenged

him to single combat with any weapon he might choose. The trader refusing to fight, *Hard heart* departed, declaring he would come again in the morning and put him to death as a coward! and said he, 'Wahconda himself will not save you.' The trader for security assembled around his lodge several Oto warriors as a guard, so that when the Chief returned agreeably to his promise to execute his threat, he could not gain admittance. After waiting a long time in vain, he at length sent word to the trader that he *had forgiven him, and would not injure* him. The trader on receiving this information, having sufficient *confidence in his good faith,* dismissed his guards; and some time afterwards we observed them riding together, &c.*

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The northern Indians have a current tradition among them, which an old Chickkasah chief related to the traders. That their ancestors wandered eighty years in search of the land to which they were directed, through a strict regard to the commands of the GREAT SPIRIT; who ordered them to go in quest of new lands having such peculiar marks as were made known to them, and they particularly obeyed the divine mandate, and by that means discovered and settled in the fertile region of Mexico. It is said by their

* Major Long's Expedition.

beloved men that they have it handed down from their ancestors that the book which the white people have was once theirs. That while they minded it they prospered exceedingly; but that the white people had bought it of them, and had learnt many things from it; while they for parting with it thus lost their credit, offended the GREAT SPIRIT and suffered bitterly from the neighbouring nations. That the MASTER OF LIFE took pity on them, and directed them to this country. That on their way they came to a great water which they could not pass, when God dried it up, so that they went over dry shod. They also say that some of their ancestors were possessed of an extraordinary divine spirit by which they foretold future events, and controlled the common course of nature, and this they transmitted to those of their offspring who obeyed the sacred laws. That they did by these means bring down showers of blessings on the beloved people. But that this power for a long time past had entirely ceased." * A pious friend who was desirous of seeing Indians who had never had intercourse with the white people, went north west of the Ohio and attended a party of Indians to a treaty, with others from west of the Mississippi. Here he conversed with some of their beloved men through various interpreters. One of their most ancient tradi-

* Star in the West.

tions they informed him was, that a great many ages ago they had a common father who lived towards the rising sun and governed the world, that the white people's heads were under his feet. That he had twelve sons by whom he administered his government. That his authority was derived from the GREAT SPIRIT by virtue of some special gift from him. That the twelve sons tyrannized over the people, abusing their power to such a degree as to offend the GREAT SPIRIT exceedingly. That he being thus angry with them, suffered the white people to introduce spirituous liquors among them, intoxicated them and in that state stole the special gift of the GREAT SPIRIT from them, and by this means usurped the power over them, that ever since their heads have been under the white people's feet. But that they also knew from their tradition that a time would come when the Indians would regain the gift of the GREAT SPIRIT, &c.

The Indians are very far from being idolaters, as the reader is by this time aware, although says Dr. Boudinot even good men from want of knowing their language, and often having communion with the most worthless of them, without making allowance for their local situation and circumstances, have given terrific accounts of these children of nature. And this is not to be wondered at, for many of our over zealous

Europeans and Americans deeply affected with their benighted state, and feeling the importance of the gospel to them, have unwisely gone into the woods to them without proper preparatory education for so important an undertaking:' 'To people so ignorant of what they ought first to have known, and wholly trusting to a heathen interpreter, unable to express the nature of spiritual truths, and having to deal with a most discerning and jealous people, rendered so *by the experience of more than a century,* by *the continued imposition and oppression of the nations to which their visitants belonged*—it is quite a natural thing that they were often at first despised by the Indians, the most worthless of whom were amused by dressing themselves in a terrific manner, making frightful images, with every kind of extravagance to frighten the new comers. We speak of the demoralized Indians in the vicinity of the most worthless class of whites. That as a people they are sensible of propriety, and are careful observers of character, is well known to those who have long been conversant among them. It is a well-attested fact, that before the revolutionary war a preacher went amongst them, and in a sudden discourse began to tell them that there is a God who created all things—that it was exceedingly sinful and offensive in his sight to get intoxicated, &c. The chief answered him—'Go whence you came, you

fool! Do we not know that there is a God as well as you! Go to your own people and preach to them who *make* the intoxicating water, and teach us to cheat and speak falsely.'* An old Caribee Indian at an early period thus addressed one of the white people. 'Our people are become almost as bad as yours. We are so much altered since you came among us, that we hardly know ourselves, and we think it is owing to so melancholy a change that hurricanes are more frequent than formerly. It is the evil spirit who has done all this—and has taken our best lands from us, and has given us up to the dominion of Christians.' Edward's History of the West Indies: vol. i, p. 28.

Sir William Johnston, who had the management of Indian affairs for many years under the British Government, says, when the northern Indians at a conference or treaty gave their assent, they answered Y, O, HAH. The sachems of each nation at the close of their chief's speech called out severally Y, O, HAH. Doctor Boudinot observes, 'The Spanish writers say that when Cortez approached Mexico, Montezuma shut himself up, and continued for the space of eight days in prayer and fasting: but to blacken him, and excuse their own diabolical conduct, they assert that he offered human

* Star in the West.

sacrifices at the same time to frightful idols. Yet these same authors tell us that they found there a Temple called *Teucalli* or House of the GREAT SPIRIT, and a person belonged to it called *Chacaluma,* that is, a minister of holy things. They likewise speak of the hearth of the GREAT SPIRIT—the continual fire of the GREAT SPIRIT —the holy ark, &c. Acosta says that the Peruvians held a very extraordinary feast called *Ytu,* for which they prepared themselves by fasting and purity. That they assembled in one place without allowing any stranger to come near them. That they went silently and sedately in procession *with their heads veiled,* &c. that this continued *one day and night.* But the next day they danced and feasted, and for two days successively their prayers and praises were heard. This can be no other than our northern Indian great festival to atone for sin. That they individually have a constant sense of, and reverence to, the GREAT HEAD of their people is to be gathered from all their speeches, as well as from private acquaintance with them. Dr. Boudinot relates having travelled in a stage coach with an Indian chief on his way to Washington in the year 1789, to establish or renew a peace with the U. S. He was a tall, strong, well-proportioned man, of great gravity of aspect and behaviour. Neither he nor his attendants could speak English. From the extraordinary respect paid him by his attendants,

he was supposed a sachem of high reputation. At dinner although hard pressed by some gentlemen at the table, he could not be persuaded to take more than three glasses of wine, and would not taste ardent spirits. When at Philadelphia he spent the evening in company with several ladies who had been invited to meet him, among them was a Miss P—e who painted miniature pictures very well. She took a strong likeness of the Chief without his perceiving it. When it was finished she gave it to the interpreter who put it into the hands of the Chief. He appeared astonished, asking the interpreter very emphatically where that had come from, and what could be the meaning of it. The interpreter introduced to him the young lady, and told him that she had taken his likeness while he was sitting in the room. He expressed himself much gratified with her attention, offering to return the picture to her, but she desired the interpreter to inform him that she wished to present it to him. He made a graceful acknowledgment for the present, saying, ' I am a poor Indian, and have nothing to give in return, but *I often speak to the Great Spirit in prayer*, and the next time I do, I shall remember you.'

When, says Dr. B. the stage drove up to the Tavern at F. the driver got off to get a dram, the horses took fright, ran off and upset the stage, by which the Chief received a large and very

severe cut on his forehead; Colonel Butler his friend was also wounded. The Chief, jealous that it had been done to injure him, seemed alarmed. But when he observed Col. B. was also hurt, and that it was an accident, he became calm and easy. A surgeon came and sewed up the wound in a manner that must have given the Chief great pain; but he did not discover the least symptom of suffering. As soon as he was dressed, he arose and thus addressed Col. B. by the interpreter. 'Never mind this brother—it will soon be all well. This is the work of the evil spirit—he knows we are going to effect a work of peace—he hates peace and loves war—never mind it—let us go on and accomplish our business—we shall disappoint him.'

Dr. B. continues to relate that two pious young men who were desirous of undertaking a mission to the Indians, a letter was written to the Delawares north west of the Ohio, informing them that we had been favoured with a revelation of the will of God, &c. That enjoying this great privilege we could not but wish to communicate it to our brethren in the wilderness. We had therefore sent them two missionaries who would teach them these great things, and earnestly recommended them to their attention, &c. When they arrived, the Chiefs were called together who answered, that they would take it into consideration, that in the mean time they might instruct the women, but

not as yet speak to the men. They spent fourteen days in council, and then dismissed them very courteously, with a reply to this effect. They expressed their acknowledgment for the favor we had done them. They rejoiced at our happiness in being favored by the GREAT SPIRIT, and felt grateful that we had condescended to remember our brethren in the wilderness. But they could not help reflecting that we had among us a race who because they had differed in colour we had made slaves, and on whom we inflicted great hardships and injustice. Now they could not see any reason if a people, being *black* entitled us thus to deal with them, why a *red* colour would not equally justify the same treatment. They therefore had determined to wait and see, whether all the black people among us should thus become happy and joyful under these 'glad tidings,' before they could put confidence in our promises; for they thought a race which had suffered so much, and so long, by our means, should be entitled to our first attention, wherefore they had sent back the two missionaries with many thanks, promising that when they should see the black people restored to freedom and happiness, they would gladly receive our missionaries. This he adds, is what in any other case would be called close reasoning, and is too mortifying to make any observation upon it.*

* Star in the West.

SPECIMENS OF INDIAN ORATORY.

About the year 1684, the Governor of New York sent an agent to the Onondagos on a dispute that was likely to arise with the French. The agent (Arnold) delivering his commission, behaved very haughtily towards the Indians while delivering his commission. One of the Chiefs replied to him in the following oriental style.

'I have two arms—I extend the one towards Montreal, there to support the tree of peace—and the other to Corlear * who has long been my brother. Ononthis † has been these ten years my father. Corlear has been long my brother with my own good will, but neither the one nor the other is my master. *He who made the world* gave me the land which I possess. *I am free!* I respect them both; but no man has a right to command me, and none ought to take amiss my endeavouring all I can, that this land should not be disturbed. To conclude, I can no longer delay repairing to my father, who has taken the trouble to come to my very gate, and who has no terms to propose but what are reasonable.' ‡ Wynnes History of America: 402, 403.

Father Charlevoix paid more attention to the Indian dialects than others. He says the Algonquin and Huron languages are the parents of the

* Governor of New York. † Governor of Canada.

‡ Great allowance ought to be made for translations, especially by illiterate and ignorant interpreters: the force and beauty of the original style being greatly obscured.

thousand prevailing dialects; of the latter he says, 'it has a copiousness, an energy and sublimity perhaps not to be found in the finest languages we know of; and those whose native tongue it is, though now but a handful of men, have such an elevation of soul, as agrees better with the majesty of their language than with the state to which they are reduced. Some have fancied they found a similarity with the Hebrew, &c. The Algonquin language has not so much force as the Huron; but has more sweetness and elegance. Both have a richness of expression, a variety of turns, a propriety of terms, aud regularity which astonishes—but what is more surprising, is, that among these barbarians, who never study to speak well, and who never had the use of writing, there is never introduced a bad word, an improper term, or a vicious construction. And even the children preserve all the purity of the language in their common discourse. On the other hand, the manner in which they animate all they say, leaves no room to doubt of their comprehending all the force of their expressions, and all the beauty of their language.' Mr. Colden who wrote the History of the Wars of the Five Nations in 1750, says, 'They are very nice in the turn of their expressions, and some of them are so far masters of their language as never to offend the ear of their Indian auditory by an unpolite expression.—They have it seems,

a certain urbanity and attention in their language, of which the common ear is very sensible, though only their orators attain to it.'

A speech made by *Logan*, a famous Indian Chief about the year 1775, was never exceeded by Demosthenes or Cicero. In revenge for a murder committed by some unknown Indian, a party of Americans fired on a canoe loaded with women and children and one man—all of whom happened to belong to the family of Logan, who had been the friend of the Americans, and then at perfect peace with them. A war immediately ensued, and after much blood-shed on both sides, the Indians were beat, and sued for peace. A treaty was held, but Logan disdainfully refused to be reckoned among the suppliants; but to prevent any disadvantage from his absence to his nation, he sent the following address to be delivered to Lord Dunmore, at the treaty.

'I appeal to any white man to say, if he ever entered Logan's lodge hungry, and he gave him not meat—if he ever came cold and naked, and Logan clothed him not. During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained inactive in his lodge, an advocate for peace. Such was his love for the stranger, that his countrymen pointed as they passed, and said, *Logan is the friend of white men.*

'I had thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man. Col. C—p the last spring in cold blood, and unprovoked, murdered all the relations

of *Logan*, not sparing even his wife and children. There runs not a drop of his blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for vengeance. I have sought it. I have killed many. I have fully appeased their manes. For my country, I rejoice at the beams of peace. But do not harbour a 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?* No, not one.'

At a meeting held with General Washington in 1790, to prevail upon him to relax the terms of a treaty made under the old confederation, relative to an unreasonable cession of a large track of territory, which they had been persuaded to make to the United States for the sake of peace, and which they afterwards repented of—*Cornplant* who had been a steady friend to the United States in the most perilous part of the revolutionary war, delivered a long persuasive and able speech, from which Dr. Boudinot made the following extracts.

'Father, when your army entered the country of the six confederate nations, we called you the *town destroyer*, and to this day, when your name is heard, our women look behind them and turn pale; our children cling close to the necks of their mothers; but our counsellors and warriors being brave men, cannot be afraid—but their hearts are grieved by the fears of our wives and children, and desire that it may be buried to sleep, so as to be heard of no more. Father—we will not conceal from you that the GREAT SPIRIT and not man, has preserved *Cornplant* from the hands of his own people.

For they ask continually where is the land on which our children and their children are to lie down upon? You told us, say they, that a line drawn from Pennsylvannia to Lake Ontario, would mark it for ever on the east; and a line running from Beaver Creek to Pennsylvannia would mark it on the west. But we see that it is not so. First one, and then another, comes and takes it away, by order of those persons, who you told us promised to secure it to us for ever. *Cornplant* is silent, for he has nothing to answer. When the sun goes down, Cornplant *opens his heart to the Great Spirit* —and earlier than the sun again appears on the hills, *he gives thanks for his protection during the night*—for he feels, that among men become desperate by the injuries they sustain, it is HE alone who can preserve him. *Cornplant* loves peace—all he had in store, he has given to those Indians who have been robbed by your people, lest they should plunder the innocent, to repay themselves. The whole season which others have employed in providing for their families, *Cornplant* has spent in endeavouring to preserve peace, and at this moment his wife and children are lying on the ground in want of food,—his heart is in pain for them,—but *he perceives, that the Great Spirit will try his firmness in doing what is right.* Father—innocent men of our nation are killed one after another—and of our best families; but none of your people, who have committed these murders, have been punished. We recollect that you did promise to punish those who should kill our people; and we ask was it intended that your people should kill the Senecas, and not only remain unpunished, but *be protected from the next of kin.* Father—those *to us* are great things. We know that you are strong—We have heard that you are wise—but we shall wait to hear your answer to this, that we may know whether you are *just.*'

An old chief in a skirmish during the French war in America, had drawn his bow against a young English officer, and was about to transfix him with an arrow; when he became so struck by his resemblance to his own son, that he suddenly dropped the weapon, and saved him from being destroyed by his countryman, by making him his own prisoner. Having taken him to his hut, he adopted him according to the Indian manner, and treated him with the greatest kindness; he likewise taught him the language and rude arts of his countrymen. This fondness increased to such a degree, that often when gazing on him, he would burst into tears. On the return of spring, the campaign re-commenced, and the old man, who was still vigorous, took the field at the head of a party of Indians. Having, after a long march across the forests, arrived within sight of the British encampment, he pointed out to his prisoner, by the grey light of the morning, the tents of his countrymen at a distance. 'There,' said he, 'is the enemy who wait to give us battle. Remember that I saved thy life, that I have taught thee to conduct a canoe, to arm thyself with the bow and arrow, and to surprise the beaver in the forest. What wast thou when I took thee at first to my hut? thy hands were those of an infant; they could neither procure thee subsistence nor safety. Thy soul was in utter darkness; thou wast in want

of every thing; thou owest all things to me. I perceive it is thy wish to go back to thy nation; but wilt thou take up the hatchet against us? The captive replied that he would rather die than take up arms against his benefactor; on hearing which the Indian covering his face with both his hands, remained silent for some time; and then in a voice choaked by grief and tenderness said—'Thou hast a father!' 'My father'—replied the young officer, 'was alive when I left my native country.' 'Alas!' returned the Indian, 'how wretched must he be!' then pausing for a few moments, he continued; 'Dost thou know that I have been a father! I am a father no more. I saw my son fall in the wars of the English. He fought by my side. I saw him expire: but he died like a man! he was covered with wounds when he fell dead at my feet.—But I avenged him!' These words were pronounced with the utmost vehemence, for the old man would not suffer a sigh to escape him: there was a keen restlessness in his eye, however, and his body shook with an universal tremor; but no tear flowed to his relief. At length, becoming calm by degrees, he turned towards the east, where the sun was just risen, and arrayed in unclouded splendor, had just commenced his daily journey, 'Hast thou pleasure in that sight?' 'I have great pleasure,' replied the young officer 'in beholding so beautiful a sun rise.'

'I have none,' exclaimed the agitated Indian, as tears found their way down his aged cheeks. A few minutes afterwards he pointed to a fine Magnolia in full bloom, and said, 'Behold my son that beautiful tree! Dost thou look upon it with pleasure?' 'Yes' replied the young man. 'It is impossible not to look with pleasure on so fine an object.' 'I have pleasure to look upon it no more,' replied the Indian in agony. 'Go! return back to the tents of *thy father* that he may feel delight when he sees the sun rise in the morning, and the tree blossom in the spring.'

Their words, says Dr. Boudinot, are especially chosen and well disposed, with great care and knowledge of their subject and language, to illustrate the *being, power, and agency* of the GREAT SPIRIT in *all that concerns them.*'*

Mr. Lock well observes, 'that the Commonwealth of Israel differed from all others, being an absolute Theocracy. Their established laws concerning the worship of the One Invisible DEITY, were the civil laws of the people, and a part of their political government, in which GOD himself was the legislator.' In this the Indians possess the same distinction. This is the exact form of their government, which seems unaccountable were it not derived from the same original source, the only reason assignable for so extraordinary a fact.'

* Star in the West.

"In relating the account of his attending a sacrifice at the Ricara villages, where the ceremony was performed on an altar, which none might approach but the officiating priest, Mr. Hunter writes, 'The only thing further connected with this circumstance, and worthy of remark was the dress of the High Priest; his cap was high and made of beaver skins, the tail of which, curiously ornamented with stained porcupine quills, hung down his back. His robe was a buffalo skin, singularly decorated with various coloured feathers and quills, and he wore on his breast, suspended from his neck, a dressed beaver skin stretched on sticks, on which were traced many hieroglyphicks in various colours.' 'They retire to their sacred places to invoke the assistance of the GREAT SPIRIT, and make the most solemn vows to him, which they never fail to perform, should events correspond to their prayers. But at times more momentous, such as the declaration of war, concluding of peace, or prevailing epidemics, &c. they impose on themselves long fastings and severe penance, and take narcotics.—None of the green corn may be used till permission is given by order, and a feast is celebrated—after which they are permitted to gather without restraint whatever their wants require. But they, old and young, look upon it, and their game, as the gift of the GREAT SPIRIT, and never wantonly destroy either.' 'Their mode

of reckoning time is very simple, their year begins about the vernal equinox, their other diurnal reckoning is from sun set, to sun set (this is perfectly Mosaic).' Had Mr. Hunter been an enthusiastic believer in the Hebrew origin of this people, and had he undertaken to force accounts to favor his hypothesis, what could he have said more to the purpose. He had been brought up among them from childhood, and artlessly relates facts from his own knowledge." *

"In a work entitled Universal History, published 1748, the author supposes the Aborigenes descended from the Egyptians, or Phoenicians. One argument in favor of his hypothesis is amusing. 'It clearly appears that several of the primitive American words are deducible from the *Hebrew* or Phoenician, and consequently not remote from the Egyptian. Of this the term nehalite, dead man—hilaali, he is dead, kaniche, a sugar cane, eneka, a collar or chain, from the Hebrew ענק, קנה, חלל, קטל, to omit others that occur, and he adds, 'The Mexicans and other American nations we are told *rend their garments* in order the more effectually to express their grief."

"Since the publication of No. 5. of this journal, the writer has conversed with Mr. Herrick who has been an agent for a Fur Company, and who resided several years with the Indians. He

* Star in the West, p. 244.

describes them as a tall well-made people, brave, honourable, and dignified in their deportment; and that they sit cross-legged and smoke their pipes just like the Turks of Europe, to whom they bear a strong personal likeness. (Since writing the above, the heroic deportment and description of *Redbird,* their wealthy chief, who voluntarily surrendered himself to justice for killing a man, and who died in prison, is a confirmation. Morning Herald, June 2, 1823.) We shall now describe some other Indians. 'The Arcansas gave us guides who conducted us down the Mississippi and to the Taensas, * a people who give place to none in America for their force, or the beauty of their climate. The village is on the side of a lake eight leagues in circumference. The grandeur of the village, the cottages in rows, built of earth and covered with cane surprised us. The prince's palace and the temple were each forty feet square, &c. the roof in form of a cupola, was covered with mat of divers colours. Before the palace stood twelve men armed with half pikes. An old man led me by the hand into a great square, half the floor and sides of which were covered with very fine mat. At the end opposite the entrance, was a very handsome bed, with curtains of fine stuff, woven with the bark of the mulberry tree. The prince

* Near Mobile.

was upon this bed as a throne, encompassed by four handsome women, and sixty old men, armed with bows and arrows. They were clothed in very fine garments; that of the prince was adorned with tufts of different colours, he wore upon his head a diadem curiously woven with rushes, encircled with large pearls and a plume of feathers. I addressed the venerable prince relating to the mission from the French king, who hearkened to the interpreter with great attention, embraced me, and gave me assurance of his respect and veneration for his Majesty. He received the sword, razors, and presents with joy. I gave the ladies some neat scissors, a tortoise-shell knife, and some pins to use in lieu of thorns, with a silver thimble and some needles. The finest of the women seeing me admire her necklace of large pearls, insisted, with abundance of civility, on my acceptance of it.

'The inside of the temple is only a nave, painted at top with all sorts of figures, in the centre is a hearth and three billets upright, *always burning, attended by* two *priests* in *white vestments.* Round this *prayers are said at sun-rise,* noon, and sun-set. There was a *sacred closet* with *a couple of spread* eagles *at the top* looking at the sun. Here were deposited the jewels, gold, and pearls. The prince gave M. de Salle six of his richest robes, and a collar of pearls.'* The Indians

* M. de Salle's last Expedition, 26th March, 1693.

of the Missouri described in Brackenridge, p. 185, are interesting, he says—'A few days after our arrival at the Ancara village, we heard it in great commotion before day light, the chief had arrived after defeating the Sioux. This army, 300, was expected to enter the village in triumph: the horse and foot advanced in regular procession, with a slow step and solemn music, in alternate platoons of twelve a breast, and extended a quarter of a mile with banners. The troops wore cinctures and crowns of feathers; the whole joined in song, and step, with great precision. The scene was truly affecting, fathers, mothers, brothers, wives, sisters, caressing each other without interrupting the solemnity of the song and the step. A youth badly wounded kept himself upon his horse with a calm countenance; his mother threw her arms around him and wept aloud; he shortly expired.' 'The Chickasaw Chocktaws, and Natches, speak the same language, &c. their government is strict, and so civilized, that it seems impossible for them to act out of the common high road of virtue.' (209) 'The manner of conducting their mystical fire is peculiar and solemn; two notes sung by a person as long as he has breath, strike the imagination with religious awe, sounding like *a-lu-yah*. A skin stuffed with tobacco is laid at the king's feet; it is of the animal of the king's tribe or family, &c.' 'The king smokes his pipe, first

ceremoniously blowing some smoke towards the Sun or GREAT SPIRIT, to the four cardinal points, and then to the white people. In a *secluded* place they deposit the *sacred* things, the medicine pot, rattles, chaplets of deer's hoofs, and the imperial standard of the Eagle's tail, which is pure white during peace, but tinged with vermillion when displayed for war. The walls of the houses are decorated with paintings and sculptures of men in variety of attitudes, some with the head of a bear, fox, wolf, &c. and figures of such animals with human heads.' Speaking of the remarkable conical hills and terraces, he remarks, "Perhaps these pyramidal mounts served for look-out towers, or high places for sacrifice. (518) The women are seldom above five feet; they are well formed, have round features, large black eyes, and are modest, subtle, and affectionate. The men are a full size larger than European; they are warlike, merciful, but arrogant. According to their own accounts, which I think are true, after their arrival in Carolina, they allied themselves to the British, and their aged chiefs yet speak of it with tears of satisfaction and joy. They have furious wars with the Spaniards! and as for their morals, they certainly do not stand in need of European civilization. I saw a young Indian, who beholding a scene of mad intemperance and folly, clapped his hands to his heart with a smile, and looked aloft *to the Good and*

Great Spirit as if sensible of his favor to the red men. (482—491.) *They rejoice at the appearance of the new moon,* and suspend silver crescents from the neck.' Of the Chocktaws, Bertram observes, 'they were a hardy, subtle, intrepid, ingenious, and virtuous race. They erect a scaffold twenty feet high in a grove, upon which they lay their dead, and after a sufficient exposure, the bones are placed in a coffin fabricated of bones and splints, and deposited in the bone house. The relations and multitude follow with united voice and alternate *Hallelujah and lamentation.*' (514. Bertram's Travels.) 'The males of the Cherokees, Muscogulqes, Seminoles, Chickasaws and confederate tribes of Creeks, are tall, well-shaped, perfect figures; the countenance open and dignified, and placid; the eye rather small, black, and full of fire; the nose inclining to aquiline; the forehead and brow strike you with heroism, and their air and actions exhibit magnanimity and independence; their complexion is a redish brown. The Shawnee prophet, the brother of Thecumseh, we think was a fanatic who had *seen visions, and dreamed dreams, &c.*' 'The Delaware women follow *exactly the custom of the Jewish, and observe* the first fruit or green corn feast.' Bertram, p. 481. 'The general character of the Indians of the six nations is that of undaunted courage and contempt of death;' 'their assemblages sometimes of eighty sachems

are conducted with order, decorum, and solemnity, surpassing that of feudal barons. The position for their residences were chosen with great judgment, for the purpose of future conquests, which were always the result of unity and with design.' 'They fulfil their engagements with the strictest regard to truth and honor.' 'History, (Colden says,) *cannot* give an instance of a christian king observing a treaty *so strictly* or for *so long* a *time* as these *barbarians* (as they are called) have done.' vol. i. 34. The best acquainted with the Indians are unanimous on this subject. A curious traditionary fragment is given by Clavegero, vol. i. 112. 'Honityon was a person of great authority among *the Aztecs* (in Asia) and who for some reason not known, persuaded his countrymen to change their country. Whilst he was thus meditating, a little bird was singing in a tree *tihui, tihui,* which in their language means, '*let us go.*' Do you hear that Zacpaltyin? said he; it is the warning of some secret divinity to *leave this country and find another.* These respectable persons drew the body of their nation, the other six tribes over to their party, this relates to the Aztecko who arrived with six other tribes by land.' 'It might have been expected that more particulars of the remembrance of the old world could have been traced; but the Indian registers were as far as possible destroyed by the Spaniards; and the

Indians hid the rest. Without an alphabet little can be conveyed to posterity: the Buccaneers in *thirty* years had forgotten all traces of Christianity, (Yates, p. 53.) an author who believed the Indians of Turkish and Mogul extraction, makes a just and beautiful remark, which however by no means weakens the argument in favor of their Israelitish origin.' 'One among the numerous proofs, is the general use of words evidently derived from *Allah* and *Hallelujah*, among the Toltics, Mexicans, Peruvians, and many others in the new world, in their religious ceremonies, as if, maugre their own discords, in one chorus, around this splendid globe in adora- of the GREAT SPIRIT.'

'It is impossible," writes the late American biographer of Columbus, to refrain from dwelling on the picture given by the first discoverers, of the state of manners in this eventful Island before the arrival of the white men. According to their account, 'the people of Hayti existed in that state of primitive and savage simplicity which some philosophers have fondly pictured as the most enviable on earth; surrounded by natural blessings, without even a knowledge of artificial wants. The fertile earth produced the chief part of their food almost without culture, their rivers and sea coasts abounded with fish, utia, and quana, &c. a variety of birds. Hospitality, we are told was with them a law of nature

universally observed; there was no need of being known, to receive its succour, every house was as open to the stranger as his own." Charlevoix. Hist. St. Domingo, l. i. Columbus too, in a letter to Luis de St. Angel, observes, 'True it is that after they felt confidence, and lost their fear of us, they were so liberal with what they possessed, that it would not be believed by those who had not seen it. If any thing was asked of them, they never said no, but rather gave it cheerfully, and showed as much amity as if they gave their very hearts: Letter of Columbus to Luis de St. Angel Navarette, t. i. p. 167. One of the most pleasing descriptions of the inhabitants of this Island is given by old Peter Martyr, who gathered it he says, of the Admiral himself. 'It is certain that the land among these people, is as common as the sun and water; and that mine and thine, the seeds of all mischief, have no place with them. They are content with so little, that in so large a country they have rather superfluity than scarceness, so that they seem to live in a golden world without toil. They deal truly one with another, without laws, without books, and without judges. They take him for an evil and mischievous man who taketh pleasure in doing hurt to another, and albeit they delight not in superfluities, yet make provision for the increase of such roots whereof they make their

bread.* Much of this picture observes the biographer, may be overcoloured by the imagination, but it is generally confirmed by contemporary historians. They all describe the life of this people as approaching to the golden state of poetical felicity; living under the absolute, but patriarchal and easy rule of their caciques, free from pride, with few wants, an abundant country, a happily tempered climate, and a natural disposition to careless and indolent enjoyments."

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Guacangari invited the Admiral to visit his residence. "The generous cacique did every thing in his power to honor his guest, and cheer him under his misfortune, shewing a warmth of sympathy, yet delicacy of attention, which could not have been expected from his savage state. Indeed there was a degree of innate dignity and refinement displayed in his manners, that often surprised the Spaniards. He was remarkably nice and decorous in his mode of eating, which was slow and with moderation, *washing his hands* when he had finished, and rubbing them with sweet and odoriferous herbs. He was served with great deference by his subjects, and conducted himself towards them with a gracious and prince-like majesty. His whole

* Peter Martyr, decad. l. l. 111. Translation of Richard Eden, 1555.

deportment, in the enthusiastic eyes of Columbus, betokened the inborn grace and dignity of lofty lineage." *

" It was a custom with Columbus, in all remarkable places which he visited, to erect crosses in conspicuous situations, to denote the discovery of the country and its subjugation to the Romish faith. He ordered a large cross of wood therefore to be elevated on the bank of this river. This was done on a Sunday morning with great ceremony and the celebration of mass. When Columbus disembarked for this purpose, he was met upon the shore by the Cacique, and his principal favourite, a venerable Indian, four score years of age, of grave and dignified deportment. The old man brought a string of a certain kind of beads, to which the Indians attached a mystic value, and a calabash of a delicate kind of fruit; these he presented to the Admiral in token of amity. He and the Cacique then each took him by the hand, and proceeded with him to the grove, where preparations had been made for the celebration of the mass: a multitude of natives followed. Whilst mass was preparing in this natural temple, the Indians looked on with awe and reverence, perceiving from the tones and gesticulations of the priest,

* Las Cases, l. i, c. 70, M. S. Primer Viage de Colon, Navarrete, 71, p. 114.

the lighted tapers, and the smoking incense, that it must be a ceremony of a sacred and mysterious nature. When the service was ended, the old man of fourscore, who had contemplated it with profound attention, approached Columbus, and made him an oration in the Indian manner.

'That which thou hast been doing,' said he, 'is well, for it appears to be thy manner of giving thanks. I am told that thou hast lately come to these lands with a mighty force, and hast subdued many countries, spreading great fear among the people; but be not therefore vain-glorious. Know that, according to *our belief*, the souls of men have two journeys to perform after they have departed from the body. One to a place, dismal and foul, and covered with darkness, prepared for those who have been *unjust and cruel* to their fellow men; the other pleasant and full of delight for such who have *promoted peace on earth*. If then thou art mortal, and dost expect to die, and dost believe that each one shall be rewarded *according to his deeds*, beware that thou *wrongfully hurt no man, nor do harm to those who have done no harm to thee.*' *

* * * * * *

"The Indians for a time supplied them with provisions, with their wonted hospitality, but the scanty stores of these abstemious yet improvident people, were soon exhausted by the Spaniards; one of them they declared would consume more

* Herrare, decad. l, l. xi, c. 14. Hist. del. Almirante, c. 57. Peter Martyr, decad. l. lib. iii. Cura de los Palacios, cap. 130.

in a day, than would support an Indian for a month. If provisions were withheld, or scantily furnished, they were taken with violence; nor was any compensation given to the natives, nor means taken to soothe their irritation. The avidity for gold also led to a thousand acts of injustice * and oppression; but above all, the Spaniards outraged the dearest feelings of the natives by their licentious conduct. In fact, instead of guests, they soon assumed the tone of imperious masters, instead of enlightened benefactors, they became sordid oppressors." Hist. Colin. vol. ii. "Columbus knew that gold alone would satisfy the avaricious dreams excited in Spain, and ensure the popularity and success of his enterprize. Seeing however the difficulty that many of the Indians had in furnishing the amount of gold dust required of them, he lowered the demand to the measure of one half of a hawk's bill. It is a curious circumstance," continues the biographer, "and might

* Las Casas has charged his countrymen with having massacred above forty millions of this unoffending people: he enumerates millions massacred in Honduras, Venezula, Peru, Mexico, Hispaniola; sixty thousand in Jamaica. 'I take God to witness,' says he, 'of this, and all the hierarchies of angels, and all the saints of the heavenly court, and all men living: I also discharge my conscience by declaring, that if your Majesty should grant the shares of land to the Spaniards, the Indies will be in a short space a desert like Hispaniola.'

furnish some poetical conceits; that the miseries of the poor natives should be thus measured out as it were, by the very baubles which first fascinated them."

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Deep despair fell upon the natives, when they found a perpetual task inflicted upon them, enforced at stated, and frequently recurring periods. They saw no end to this harassing evil, which had so suddenly fallen upon them; no escape from its all-pervading influence; no prospect of return to that roving independence and ample leisure, so dear to the wild inhabitants of the forest. Their pleasant life was at an end." "They were now obliged to grope day by day, with *bending* body and *anxious* eye, along the borders of rivers, sifting the sand for the grains of gold which every day grew more scanty; or to labour in their fields beneath the fervour of a tropical sun, to raise food for their *taskmasters*, or to produce the vegetable tribute imposed upon them. They sunk to sleep weary and exhausted at night, with the certainty that the next day was but to be a repetition of the same toil and suffering. They spoke of the times that were past, before the white men had introduced sorrow, and slavery, and weary labour among them; and they rehearsed pretended prophecies handed down from their ancestors, &c. These ballads *they sang with mournful tunes and doleful voices*,

*bewailing the loss of their liberty, and their painful servitude.**

* * * * * *

Finding how vain was all attempt to deliver themselves by warlike means from these invincible intruders, they now concerted a forlorn and desperate mode of annoyance. They agreed among themselves not to cultivate the fruits, the roots and maize, which formed their chief articles of food, and to destroy those already growing: hoping that thus by producing a famine, they might starve the stranger from the island. This measure did indeed produce much distress among the Spaniards stationed in the various fortresses, who finding that there was not only no hope of tribute, but a danger of famine from this wanton waste and sudden desertion, pursued the natives to their retreats, to compel them to return to labour. The Indians took refuge in the most sterile and dreary heights, flying from one wild retreat to another, the women with their children in their arms or at their backs, and all worn out with fatigue and hunger, and harassed by perpetual alarms. In every noise of the forest or mountain, they fancied they heard the sound of their pursuers; they hid themselves in damp and dismal caverns, or in the rocky banks and margins of the torrents, and not daring to hunt

* Peter Martyr, decad 3, lib. ix.

or fish, or even venture forth in quest of nourishing roots and vegetables, they had to satisfy their hunger with unwholesome food. In this way, many thousands of them perished miserably through famine, fatigue, terror, and various contagious maladies engendered by their sufferings." The Lord had "hid his face" from Israel, banished as they were from his special presence, but it was not until this land of their banishment was *discovered,* that the bitterest ingredients of their predicted cup was poured out to them ; and with this harmonises the order of the prophecy against them, "I will hide my face from them, I will see what *their end* shall be." &c. "They shall be consumed with hunger, and devoured with burning heat, and with *bitter destruction.* I will also send devouring beasts of prey upon them, with the poison of serpents of the dust." A striking picture this of the brutal and sordid nature of the antichristian spoilers, who might truly be *styled, wolves* in sheep's clothing. These instruments of Israel's punishment are well depicted, they say our high hand, and not the LORD, hath done this. Their wine is the poison of *dragons,* and the cruel venom of asps. "Is not this *laid up in* store with me, *and sealed among my treasures.* To ME belongeth vengeance and retribution, *their* foot shall slide in due time, for the day of their calamity is at hand. For the things that shall come upon them make haste."

The Cosmogony of the Mexicans, their tradition of the mother of mankind fallen from her first state of innocence; the idea of a great inundation, in which a single family escaped on a raft; the history of a pyramidical edifice raised by the pride of man, and destroyed by the anger of the Gods; the ceremonies of ablution practised at the birth of children, &c. all these circumstances led the Spanish priests to the belief, that at some distant epoch Christianity had been preached on the new continent. It is no way doubtful that Nestorianism was known on the north east of Asia. Humboldt, vol. i, p. 196. The Peruvians were acquainted with the same allusions to the deluge and Noah, see Vega, b. i, c. 18. Silk was sold in the markets of Mexico—*Cortez's Letter to Charles V.* Pictures are still preserved, done by the ancient Mexicans, upon paper made of silk, * Clav. vol. i, p. 71. Cortez also wrote that from the top of one temple in Cholula, he had counted more than four hundred towers of others. Clav. vol. i, p. 269.

The same tumuli and fortifications are found in North America. Utensils have been discovered different from those in modern use, and must have belonged *to a people acquainted with the Arts.* In some of the mounds have been found a very *curious kind of Porcelain.* The

* This single object is a proof of Asiatic origin..

Indians regard it with as much surprise as we do. There are *inscriptions engraven* on a large stratum of rocks on the south east side of Ohio, &c. There are in other places of the same river, several large masses of rock, on which there are *inscriptions of the same kind.* Captain Carver mentions, that on the shore of the Mississippi, he found an ancient breast work, four feet in height, extending a mile, and capable of containing five thousand men; every angle was distinguishable, and appeared as regular, and fashioned with as much military skill as if planned by Vauban himself. Perhaps, he adds, the hint here given may lead to a more perfect investigation of it, and give us very different ideas of the *ancient* state of realms, that we at present believe to have been, from *the earliest period, only the habitation of savages.* p. 56. Amid the extensive plains of Upper Canada, in Florida, and in the deserts bordered by the Oroonoko, Cassiquair and Quainia dykes of a considerable length, *weapons of brass, and sculptured stones,* are indicatory that those very countries have formerly been inhabited by *industrious nations,* which are now traversed by tribes of savage hunters.'—Humboldt, vol. i, p. 25.

'It is impossible,' says Pennant, 'with the lights we have, to admit that America could receive the bulk of its inhabitants from any country by Asia.' With regard to the number of languages, or rather dialects, of which there

are said to be more than a thousand, a learned author observes—'If an Englishmen of the present day is puzzled to understand the English language of the fourteenth century, where writing or printing has always been used, what stability of language is to be expected among those who have never had an alphabet.' 'Many historical works have fallen into the hands of the Bishop of Chiapa, who was not more zealous, for what he thought the glory of GOD, than mistaken at his interpretations of them. The illustrious prelate could have communicated a much greater portion of information relative to Votan the first native historian, but feeling some scruples on account of the mischievous use the Indians made of their histories, he thought proper to withhold it. Although, says he, in these tracts and papers, there are many other things touching primitive paganism, they are not mentioned in this epitome, lest, by being brought into notice, they should be the means of confirming more strongly an idolatrous superstition. I have made this digression, that it may be observed in the notices of the Indians, (the word idols is here used, which seems to be an error of the press) and the substance of the primitive errors, in which they were instructed by their ancestors.'* 'It is to be regretted, continues Dr. Cabrara, that the place is

* Diocesan Constitution printed at Rome in 1702.

unknown where these precious documents of history are deposited; but still more is it to be lamented, that the *great treasure* should have been destroyed; according to the Indian tradition, it was placed by Votan himself, as a proof of his origin, and a memorial for future ages. He committed this deposit to a distinguished female, and a certain number of Indians appointed annually for the purpose of its safe custody. His mandate was scrupulously obeyed for many ages by the people of Tacaologa, where it was guarded with care, until being discovered by the prelate above mentioned, he obtained and destroyed it. Let me give his own words from his preface. 'This treasure consisted of some large earthen vases of one piece, and closed with covers of the same material, on which were represented in stone, the figures of the Indian pagans, whose names are in the calendar, with some green stones and other superstitious figures. These were publicly burnt in the square, &c.' The memoir in the possession of Don Ramon Ordoney y Aguir, consists of five or six folios of common quarto paper, written in ordinary characters in the Tyendal language, an evident proof of its having been copied from the original in hieroglyphicks. At the top of the first leaf *the two continents* are painted in different colours, in two small squares parallel to each other in the angles: the one representing Europe, Asia and Africa are marked with two large SS

upon the upper arms of two bars drawn from the opposite angles of each square, forming the point of union in the centre. He states that he conducted seven tribes from Valum Votan to this continent, and assigned lands to them: that he is the third of the Votans. Antonio del Rio sent by His Majesty Charles III. to examine the antiquities of the new world, discovered two figures that represent Votan on both continents, and an historical event, the memory of which he was desirous of transmitting to future ages. By comparing Votan's narrative with the duplicate effigies of him, which were found sculptured on stones in one of the temples of the unknown city, we shall have a very conclusive proof of its truth, and this will be corroberated by so many others, that we shall be forced to acknowledge this history of the origin of the aborigines excels those of the Greeks and Romans, and the most celebrated nations of the world, and is even worthy of being compared with that of the Hebrews themselves.* The same Votan makes mention of having visited that land where *the house of God was.* The Spanish priests concluded that this must have alluded to his visiting Rome, and seeing there the church of St. Peter. Their other ancient traditions, the Romanists also believed, must have come to them *through the preaching of the apostle Thomas!!*

* Cabrara, p. 38.

'It is,' said Montezuma to Cortez, 'now many days since our historians have informed us, that neither my ancestors, nor myself, nor any of the people who now inhabit this country are natives of it: we are strangers, and came hither from very distant parts: they also tell us, that a Lord whose servants we were, brought our race to this land and returned to his native place. You say, you come from that part where the sun rises; we believe and hold to be true the things which you tell us of this great Lord or King who sent you hither; that he is our natural Lord, as you say—that it is now *many days* since he has had notice of us. Be therefore sure we will obey you, and take you for our Lord, in the place of the good Lord of whom you tell us. In this there shall be neither failure nor deception; therefore command according to your will in all the country.' In another discourse, Montezuma said to the Chiefs and Caciques, whom he convoked in presence of Cortez, 'My brothers and friends, you already know that your grandfathers, fathers, and yourselves have been and are the vassals of my ancestors and myself; by them and by me you have always been honored and well treated: I believe also, you have heard from your predecessors that we are not natives of this country, that they came from a far distant land; that they were brought hither by a Lord, who left them here and to whom all were subject. You well know we have always expected him, and according to the things which the Captain has told us of the King who sent him to us, and from the part he says he comes from, I think it certain, and you cannot fail to be of the same opinion, that this is no other than the Chief we look for, particularly as he declares that, in the place he comes from, they have been informed about us. *As our predecessors did not do what they ought to have done by their Chief*, let us do it, and let us give thanks to our gods, that in our time has

come to pass the event which *has been so long expected.* As all this is manifest to all of you, much do I entreat you to *obey this great King* henceforward, as you have hitherto obeyed and esteemed me as your lawful sovereign, for *he is your natural Lord,* and in his place I beseech you to obey his great Captain.'

'All this,' says Cortez, 'passed before a notary, who reduced it to the form of a public act, and I required it to be testified as such in the presence of many Spaniards.' Cortez wishing to keep Montezuma in the error which he supposed him to have fallen into, says in his first letter:— 'I replied to all he had to say in the way most suitable to myself, especially by making him believe your Majesty to be *the Chief whom they so long expected.*' Clavigero, speaking of Quetzalcoatl, says, the Mexicans believed this deity had been the chief priest of Tula, the capital of Tulteca, and that he was of a white complexion, tall, and broad, with a high forehead, large eyes, long black hair, and a thick beard; a man of austere and exemplary life, clothed with long garments from a sense of modesty, of a most gentle and prudent disposition, which showed itself in the laws he enacted for the good of the people; added to which, he was very expert in the arts of melting metals and of polishing precious stones, which he taught the Tultecas. Tescatlipoca, or God, being desirous of withdrawing Quetzalcoatl from Tula, appeared to him

under the form of a man, stating it was the will of the gods that he should go to the kingdom of Hapalla to obtain immortality. Passing by Cholula, he was detained by the inhabitants, who conferred the government upon him, which he retained for twenty years; being still resolved upon continuing his journey to Hapalla, and having proceeded as far as the province of Coabzaloalco, he despatched four noble youths who attended him, to acquaint the Cholulans that he would afterward return and render them happy. Huehnet-Capallan is a compound name of two words, Huehne, *old,* and Hapallan. The Tultecas prefixed the adjective, to distinguish it from three other places which they founded in the districts of their new kingdom *to perpetuate their attachment to their ancient country,* and *their grief* at being expelled from the same.

Huitzilopochili is a compound name. Boturini derives this name from Huitziton, the chief of the Mexicans during their peregrination, and supposes this chief to ' represent the deity whom they worshipped as the God of war, *time immemorial before* they commenced their wandering life under the guidance of Huitziton. Some say this divinity was pure spirit, and others represent him embodied as man. This god, having been the protector of the Mexicans, led them, according to their own account, during many years of *their wandering life,* and at last settled them in the

place where they built the city of Mexico. On his head was a beautiful plumage shaped like a bird, on his neck a *breast-plate, composed of ten figures of human hearts,* in his right hand a staff, in the form of a serpent, &c. This description, the human hearts around his neck, the compound name, &c. and the story of his birth being compared with the medal which represents the seven tribes or houses, the withered tree, and the bird perched on a sprout, springing from its root, are in the main, however, obscure and blended with fable, just such fragments of tradition as might have been expected from the descendants of the ten tribes without letters, &c. for so many ages. 'All writers,' observes Dr. Cabrara, 'have been surprized at the ingenious method pursued by the Indians, from a very remote period, without adopting the practice of any of the polished countries of the old Continent, as for example, the division of the months into twenty days. Failing in their efforts to trace an imitation, they have been obliged to confess that this singular system, so far from being inferior to, does actually excel that of the most polished nations in the world.' The author, under the idea that they are Carthaginians, goes on to say what, under that of their being of Israelitish extraction, is wonderfully just. 'The reason, according to my humble judgment, which induced the Mexicans to deviate from the Egyptian practice and form a distinct

system for themselves, could be no other than this, viz. they had constituted themselves a separate people, and independent of the nations of the old Continent; they determined to lay aside the *Egyptian style, which was in common use with the Carthaginians and other nations* of the old hemisphere, and by reserving the original basis, from which, indeed, it was no easy matter to depart, in order to *form a new system,* analogous both to their origin, and to the wandering life of their forefathers, during the hundred and four years, or domiciles, before they came to occupy the western soil.' 'With regard to relics,' the learned author observes, 'without going back or reverting to losses that are now beyond the power of remedy, I will confine myself to some recent important discoveries which may be preserved, should they attract attention, from the superior authorities.' He then mentions that a small jar of fine clay had been found about twelve feet below the surface of the ground, containing two hundred different brass medals. 'Don Ramon Ordonez, and Don Gabriel Chacon y Goday, related to me, that a few years back Don Patricio Chinchilla, a native Indian, had discovered in a cavern many sacred vessels and utensils of silver, and repeatedly intreated him to go and take possession of them: but perceiving the Vicar had not sufficient confidence in him, to credit his report, he brought as a proof of his veracity a

silver chalice: it was very broad at the foot, and the cup shaped like an inverted pyramid, and on being compared with others of a similar make preserved in the church, 'it is,' he adds, 'presumable it may be attributable to the times of the Apostles.' The chalice in question was destined by the Curate for an oratory on an estate of his own called Rossario. The Licentiate Don Francisco Ortiz also informed me, that there is in the possession of the present Curate of Saint Catherine of Yatahnacam, a *little historical book of an Hebrew Indian nation*, 'which,' continues the author, 'may probably be that of Been, mentioned by Nunez de la Vega. In the inner court of the house on the Inciesto estate, there is also a stone tablet, supported upon feet, having hieroglyphics on the four corners of the superfices and on three of its edges. This must have been a table used in sacrifices.'

'Many valuable documents might be found,' continues Dr. Cabrara, 'in the archives of the different bishopricks and in the libraries of convents.'

The Trocali of Mexico was dedicated to Tezcatlipoca, the first of the Aztic or Asiatic divinities after Leoli, who is the supreme and invisible being and to Huitzopochtli, the god of war.

Here we have the remembrance of Moses, of the Invisible One, and of the angel of his presence,

whom Israel celebrated as a god of war after the discomfiture of Pharaoh, &c.

'The Lord is a man of war.'* The writer continues, 'the truncated pyramid, called by Cortez the principle temple, was ninety-seven metres in breadth at its basis, and fifty-four metres high. This was destroyed by the Spaniards. We shall describe the ancient ones. This groupe of pyramids is eight leagues north-east from Mexico, in a plain called Miacoth or *Path of the Dead.* The two greatest dedicated to the sun and moon are surrounded by several hundreds of small pyramids, from north to south, and from east to west. One is fifty-five, and the other forty-four metres in perpendicular height. It is, according to Mr. Oteyza's measurement (made in 1803) higher than the Mycerinus, the third of the great pyramids of Gaza in Egypt; and the length of its base nearly equal to that of the Cephron. The small ones are near ten metres high, and are said to be the burying places of the chiefs of the tribes. The nucleus is composed of clay mixed with small stones, and incased by a thick wall of porous amygdaloid. The construction recalls to mind that one of the pyramids in Egypt which has six stories, and which, according to Pocock, is a mass of pebbles and yellow mortar, covered on the outside with rough stones: the two largest were co-

* Exodus xv. 3.

vered with plates of gold which were stripped off by the soldiers of Cortez. When the Bishop of Zumarago, a Franciscan monk, undertook the destruction of whatever related to the worship, the history, and the antiquity of the natives of America, he ordered also the demolition of these. The pyramid Papantla is on the east of the above group, in the thick forest of Tajin, It was discovered by chance thirty years ago; for the Indians carefully conceal from the Spaniards whatever is the object of veneration. It has six or seven stories, is more tapering than any other, eighteen metres high, and twenty-five at the base. It is built entirely of hewn stones of an extraordinary size, and very beautifully and regularly shaped—three stair-cases lead to the top. The covering of its steps is decorated with hieroglyphical sculpture and small niches. The greatest, the most ancient, and the most celebrated, in Anahnie, is the teocali of Cholula. A square house was discovered in the interior, built of stone, and supported by cypress beams. The bricks were arranged like step work, in the manner of some Egyptian edifices. There was an altar at the top of the pyramid, dedicated to Quetzalcoatl, the most mysterious being of the Mexican mythology. *He was a white bearded man, High Priest of Tula, and also a legislator.* The Indians of Cholula have a remarkable tradition, that the great pyramid was *not originally* destined to serve for the

worship of Quetzalcoatl, which tradition is recorded in a manuscript of Pedro de Los Rios in 1556. Rios to prove the antiquity of this tradition, observes that it was contained *in a hymn, which the Cholulans sang at their festivals,* beginning with Tulaniar Hal-ul-aey, words belonging to no dialect at present known in Mexico.' * 'Every day as the sun was about to rise, several Mexican priests standing on the upper area of the temple, *with their faces toward the east,* each with a *quail* in his hand, saluted the dawn of day with music, and made an offering of the quails after cutting off their heads. This morning sacrifice was succeeded by *burning of incense,* with a loud accompaniment of musical instruments, all daily burnt incense, &c. On the ridge of the Cordilleras of Peru, and on heights almost equal to the Peake of Teneriffe, M. Boupland and myself have seen monuments still more considerable. The whole of these works resemble those in the eastern part of Asia. Human sacrifices became a corruption of later years among the Mexicans, who it appears, till the year 1317, offered only flowers and fruits at the altar of their divinity. The Spaniards would have redeemed many of their excesses, observes Monsieur Chappe Du Terouche, by the abolition of human sacrifices in one shape, had they not introduced the

* Humboldt, vol. i, p. 81 to 97.

same horror in a manner still more cruel. The Annals of England are stained with the same atrocities. It is to be deplored that they existed so lately in Mexico as the year 1769. A few paces off is an inclosure between four walls, filled with ovens, into which are thrown over the walls, the Jews and other unhappy victims of the inquisition, who are condemned to be burnt alive by judges professing a religion whose first precept is charity.'

'In the Asiatic system of astrology, with which that of Mexico appears to have a common origin, the twelve signs of the Zodaic preside not only over the months, but also over the years, the days, the hours, and even over the smallest parts of the hours.' Humboldt. The most valuable of the Mexican records, are to be seen in Purchas, in sixty-six plates, in three parts, vol. i, p. 354, the first contains the history of the Mexican Empire under its ten monarchs; the second is a tribute roll; the third is a code of their institutions. *Things* not *words* are represented. Whatever was the substance employed for the manuscripts, they were always folded in zigzag, and before the painting was unfolded, it had the most complete resemblance with our bound books. Whether they are of skin or magney, they open in a manner perfectly similar to the Siamese manuscripts, preserved in the public library at Paris, which are also folded in zigzag. The first

Bishop of Mexico issued an edict to commit all records of their ancient history to the flames. The successors of the first monks lamented this fanatical zeal, as nothing remained of the history of the Empire, but tradition, and some fragments of their paintings which had escaped the barbarous research of Zumeraga. * 'There, in a square of the market, a mass like a little mountain was reduced to ashes, to the inexpressible affliction of the Indians. From this time forward, they who possessed any, were so jealous, that it was impossible for the Spaniards to make them part with one of them.' Clavegero, vol. i. p. 407.

Boturini, in a work published at Madrid in 1746, founded on manuscripts of Indian authors, lately discovered, says, 'the eclipse of the sun at the death of our Saviour was marked in the Toltic paintings of seven Tolchtli, and that some learned Spaniards, well acquainted with their paintings, having compared their chronology with ours, found that they reckoned from the Creation to the birth of Christ 4,199 years, which is exactly the computation of the Roman Calendar.' I leave the prudent reader to form his own judgment; but it is certain that the Toltees had a distinct knowledge of the Deluge, Babel, &c. Clavegero, vol. i. p. 87.

The Mexicans affirm that one of their chiefs

* Robertson, vol. ii. p. 271.

was *a great legislator: they say that he was a sovereign priest, and further, that he was a renowned captain, who conquered a great number of provinces and kingdoms.*

It is evident that Moses was the subject of this dim and imperfect fragment of traditionary history. The worship of the sun must have been a corruption not originally introduced by the Incas, but a corruption of their primitive worship. Through this sensible medium they worshipped the Great Moral Light* and Life of Man; but it was an idolatry of which their Incas bitterly complained. 'I did not come hither,' said the emperor, 'to deprive you of your lives or your property, but rather to enrich you, and to teach you to live according to the laws of reason and of nature, to *quit your idols,* and adore the great Light as your supreme benefactor and god.' Inca Roca erected schools for the education of the princes. It was a saying of this Inca, that 'If

* A man and woman of majestic form, and clothed in decent garments, all at once appeared on the banks of the Titiaca. They were persons of excellent shape and beauty. They told the people, that their father taking pity on their miserable condition, had sent them, from their savage lives, to give them laws, teach them morality and to worship the Great Light, whose emblem is the sun, who gives life to all creatures; and, in fine, they were sent to rule them for their benefit and happiness, with the same care and goodness with which their great Father ruled the world.' See Garcillipa, book I. chap. vii., Sir William Temple, vol. iii., Robertson, vol. ii. p. 164.

there be any thing in this lower world which we might adore, it is a *wise* and *virtuous* man, who surpasses all other objects in dignity: but *how can we pay divine honours to one who is born in tears, who is in a daily state of change, who arrived but as yesterday, and who is not exempt from death, perhaps to-morrow.*' Vega, vol. i. 388.

The Inca Pacha Cretec made many new laws and regulations: he was severely just and was esteemed a wise monarch. The following were some of his apothegms:—

'He who envies the wise and good, is like the spider, which sucks poison from the finest flowers.'

'Drunkenness and anger admit of reformation, but folly is incurable.'

'He who kills another without just cause, condemns himself to death.'

'A noble and generous heart is known by the patience with which he supports misfortune.'

The walls of the royal temples and chambers at Timipampa were ornamented by the Incas' son with animals, plants, and flowers made to represent nature, of gold, silver, emeralds, turquoises, and other jewels. 'His grateful subjects at his death rewarded his noble actions and benevolent heart with the title of Tupac-Yaya, or Resplendent Father. The deceased emperor's *body was embalmed with solemn ceremonies* and with so much art, that it appeared as if still alive when seen by Vega in the year 1559. Among other maxims of

this Inca, he said, avarice and ambition, like other passions, have no bounds of moderation: the first unfits a man for the government of his own family, or for any public employment; the second renders the understanding not susceptible of the councils of the wise and virtuous.'*

It is said of his successor, that having raised fifty thousand men, 'he visited all the temples of the Sun in those parts, beginning with the temple Pachacamac, called by the Indians *the unknown God.*' '*He there consulted the oracle,* (or, rather, the devil,' *says Vega,*) '*on the probable success of his arms.*' p. 96.

'While Honazna Capac was reposing himself in one of the most magnificent palaces in all Peru, a messenger brought intelligence that some extraordinary men, such as they had never before seen, had landed upon some part of the coast, from a vessel of uncommon appearance, and that they were making active inquiries to know the name of the country.

'An ancient oracle having predicted the destruction of the empire by strangers of such description, the emperor was too much alarmed to think of further conquests, and to add to his uneasiness, three years before this event, during the celebration of the feast of the sun at Cuezco,

* This was Pizarro's first visit. Robertson, vol. ii. p. 156.

a large eagle had been pursued and harassed by five or six small falcons and as many water-fowls, till they tore and disabled him to that degree, that he fell as if for succour, in the great square in the midst of the Incas. They endeavoured to cherish and nourish the eagle, but he died in a few days. The augurs declared unanimously that this was a presage of the ruin of the state, and the extinction of their religion.' * An interesting scene is described between the Inca and Father Vincent Valvarde, who advanced to meet him with a crucifix and a breviary: 'he explained, among other doctrines, the appointment of Saint Peter and the transmission of his power to *the popes, who had made a donation of the new world to the crown of Castile.* He, *therefore,* required Atahualpa to embrace the Roman faith and submit to the king.' These mysteries were badly interpreted, and were incomprehensible to the Inca, who was indignant: he asked where these things had been learned. '*In this book,*' said Valvarde. The Inca opened the volume and put it to his ear, '*it is silent,*' said he, 'it tells me nothing,' and threw it with disdain to the ground. The enraged monk ran to his companions—'To arms, † Chris-

* Vega, vol. ii. p. 293.

† 'The time cometh, that whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service: and these things will they do unto you, because they have not known the Father nor me.' John xvi. 23.

tians, to arms! avenge this insult on these impious dogs.' The martial music struck up, the cannons and muskets were fired, the horse sallied out to the charge and the infantry rushed on sword in hand. Pizarro dragged the Inca to the ground; and the carnage did not cease till the close of day. Four thousand were killed and no Spaniard was even wounded by them. The plunder was immense. Pizarro professed kindness and respect for the miserable Inca. He was forced to submit to a mock trial, and was condemned to be burnt; but on a promise of mitigation, if he would embrace the Romish faith; he consented, and, instead of being consumed in the flames, was strangled at the stake in 1533.*

Garcilisses de Vega descended from the Incas thus writes. 'One day when my uncle was speaking on these subjects, (viz. the former prosperity and present desolation of his Empire) I said to him, Inca! how can all these things be known when you have no books? The Spaniards write down every thing, and therefore are well acquainted with what has happened in the world in all ages. The Inca was extremely pleased with my question. 'My nephew,' said he, 'I shall endeavour to satisfy your curiosity, and beg of you to retain

* Not one of the perpetrators of this infamous act died a natural death. Purchase, vol. v. p. 930.

in your *heart* what I shall relate to you. Our Father, the GREAT LIGHT, said he, (for no one but those born of the royal stock *dare pronounce that sacred name*) seeing this miserable state of things, sent from heaven a son and daughter to instruct the rude inhabitants in the knowledge and adoration of him as their God. These divine children taught them all the arts of civilized life, to build towns, to feed flocks, and cultivate corn, fruits, and flowers.'* These princes are described by their descendants, and by all historians as the most gentle, beneficent, liberal, just, and useful, that have ever governed any country, &c. When a curacu was brought before the Spanish judge at Cuezco, he was presented with a cross, that he might swear to the truth. The Indian replied that he did not imagine that he had been baptized to swear like the christians. The judge then desired him to swear by his own Gods, &c. 'You are mistaken,' said he, 'if you think I will profane those sacred names; *they are never to be mentioned but in adoration.* You ought to be contented with my word; but, if you are not, I will swear by the earth, and wish that it may open and engulph me if I do not tell the truth. The judge said he would be content if the curacu would reply to the questions put to him; but that will not satisfy *me* said the

* Garcillisses de Vega, book 1, chap. 16.

Indian, I will relate to you all I know regarding those murders.'—Vega. book 2. c. iii. The Mexicans also had a scrupulous regard for truth. (4) Clavegero, 1. 329.

'The Incas themselves spoke a language of their own, which the people were not permitted to learn, because it *was esteemed divine.* This tongue was enterely lost soon after the conquest by the Spaniards.' Garcillisses de Vega, vol. 2, p. 150.

'The Temple was founded by Mango Capac, but its chief glory belongs to Inca Yupanqui, who endowed it with riches and splendour surpassing human belief. What we called *the altar, was on the east side of the temple.* There were many doors to the temple, all of which were plated with gold; and the four walls the whole way round were crowned with a rich golden garland, more than an ell in width. Round the temple were five square pavilions, whose tops were in the form of pyramids, the *fifth was lined entirely with gold, and was for the use of the royal High Priest of sacrifices; and in which all the deliberations concerning the temple were held.* Some of the doors led to the schools, where the Incas listened to the debates of the philosophers; sometimes themselves *explained the laws and the ordinances.*' Vega, b. i, c. 16, b. iii, c. 21, b. vii, c. 8. Acosta

(4) See Appendix.

b. v, c. 12. All the vessels, even the cauldrons, vases, &c. were made of gold and silver; and they had a garden, in which the trees, plants, flowers, birds, and other animals, were all curiously made after nature 'of these precious metals.' 'It happened that one virgin of the sun broke her sacred vow; the law was that she should be burnt alive, and that the author of her dishonour, all his relations and domestics, and all the inhabitants of the town where he lived, should be hanged, *and the town be razed, its site strewed with salt, and remain for ever a desert, and be accursed.* *

The certainty that the law would be executed, rendered crimes so uncommon, that a year has passed without a capital punishment being inflicted throughout the whole empire.' Vega, vol. i. p. 165. The poor who were blind, dumb, maimed, aged, or diseased, were fed and clothed out of the public magazines, and to enable them to forget their sufferings, they were permitted occasionally to be present at public festivities. Not any of them, nor even children after five years of age, were permitted to be idle, but were required to be kept in employment suited to their powers. The temples and private dwellings were visited by persons appointed to that duty, to see that household arrangements, cleanliness, and the

* Vega, book v, chap. 3, 4.

proper instruction of children were attended to : praises or stripes were awarded accordingly. By this industry, food and other necessaries of life were always found in the greatest abundance. *But these laws and customs are gone by, and it may be said that the natives are again* in a barbarous condition. Vega, book v, c. xi.

In the portrait of the first Inca there is a representation of the sun, and upon the shoulder of the armour of all of them, the head is obviously that of a lion.' The Indians, (says Garcillisses the Inca) not only adored the sun as a visible GOD, but their kings, the Incas, and the amautas had some idea of our Sovereign LORD, the Creator, whom they called *Pachacamac* (sovereign of the world). The Indians adored Pachacamac as the sovereign Creator and Preserver of all things here below: they adored him in their hearts as the invisible GOD, &c. *Songs of praise were all composed of the word Halli, which signifies triumph in the Peruvian language.* The word Halli was the burden of every verse. Eight youths born of Spanish and Indian parents, my companions, sang the Halli in the processions, accompanied by the whole musical choir.' Vega, b. v, c. 7. ' At one solemn festival, the nobles, governors, the principal and other commanders, all endeavoured to be present, *the greatest* of *four annual festivals.* The Inca attended in

person as the high priest, (they touch not their idols without *white linen,*) the governors were in magnificent dresses of the most fantastic inventions; some were dressed in the skin of a lion, the head of which served them as a helmet, to shew that they imitated that generous animal, *from whom they said they descended.* No fire was permitted for three days previous to the feast, and for that time no nourishment was allowed but maize and water. The night before the feast the royal priests prepared the sheep and lambs, with other provisions and drink *for the sacrifice, according to the number present, for all were to partake,* and the virgins of the sun prepared loaves of bread, the size of an apple, of the purest flower for the whole multitude.' This feast is said to have been in honour of the sun, but it appears from a note by Vega, that they who thought it had no higher import, do them injustice. The Inca Tupac Yuponqui said, 'Many believe the sun is a living body, that he creates whatever exists. If this were the truth, he would not confine himself to the same eternal path. We must consider him to be like an arrow, which *performs the duty intended by the archer who shot it off.*' Vol. ii. p. 293. The great feast before alluded to continues nine days. Naywhualpilli, the Solon of Anahnic, lived eighty years and reigned forty-four. The people were persuaded, that he

was * *translated, in reward for his virtues.* No suit, civil or criminal, could remain undecided more than eighty days: he supported the aged and destitute: he studied the stars, plants, and animals: *he deplored to his son the worship of idols:* he erected, *in honour of the Creator,* a tower, consisting of nine floors, the upper one vaulted and having a cornice of gold. Men resided here to strike plates of fine metal at certain hours, when the *king kneeled and prayed to the Creator of heaven, to whom he composed sixty hymns, and also two odes or songs,* which have been translated into Spanish. The nineteenth Inca, Montezuma, was general and priest: he was grave, religious, and taciturn. When the nobility went to acquaint him that he was elected king, they found him *sweeping the temple.* Being conducted to the palace and seated upon the throne, he was harangued by the king of Acolhuan. His virtues were enumerated, and *the love of the Omnipotent God* was declared to be evinced in so happy a choice. 'Montezuma heard it with

* He shut himself up and was secretly burned! and some of the nobles with the vulgar are persuaded that he is not dead but *has returned to the kingdom of Amagumecan, from whence* his ancestors sprung. He resembled his father in his sentiments regarding religion: it was so severe, that one of his sons was put to death for uttering profane language. Great part of his revenues was expended in acts of charity and benevolence. Clavegero.

much attention, and was so greatly affected that he thrice essayed to reply, being interrupted by tears. At length, checking his emotion, he with great humility expressed his unworthiness of such an exaltation, and offering thanks to the king, he *returned to the temple, to pass four days fasting.* At the end of that period he was conducted in royal state to the palace!' *

* 'Montezuma had many palaces; the one in which he chiefly resided had three courts; in one is a fair fountain, many halls, and one hundred chambers, from twenty-three to thirty feet long, and one hundred baths hot and cold. The walls were of mason's work, of marble, jasper, and black stone with veins of red: the roofs were of wrought timber, cedar, cypress, and pine, *without nails,* and curiously carved. The shield or arms of the king is an eagle seizing a tiger with his talons. There was another palace which had galleries, with pillars of jasper leading to a goodly garden, in which were ten or more ponds of fresh and salt water, full of every kind of lake or river birds, mostly unknown to the Spaniards and admirable to behold. They were carefully attended by three hundred persons.' *Purchas* goes on to state the particulars of the menagerie, and thus concludes, 'the roaring of the lions, the fearful hissings of the snakes and adders, the howling of the wolves, the yelling of the tigers and ounces when they were to be fed, was a strange sight. It seemed a dungeon of hell and dwelling-place of the devil, and so it was indeed, *for near it was a hall one hundred and fifty feet long and thirty broad, where was a chapel with a roof covered with plates of gold and silver, pearls, agates, emeralds, rubies, and other sorts of stones; and this was the oratory where Montezuma prayed in the night season,* and where the devil appeared *unto him* and gave him *answers according to his prayers.*

The tragical sequel of Montezuma's history is well known: after every outrage had been heaped upon him, he was carried to his apartment, and Cortez hastened to comfort him. The unhappy emperor, during his confinement, feeling how low he had sunk, in a transport of rage tore the bandages from his wounds, obstinately refusing nourishment, and rejecting with disdain the solicitations of the Spaniards, to embrace the Romish faith: he died after seven months imprisonment, in the eighteenth year of his reign and the forty-fourth of his age.* Quatimozen, nephew and son-in-law to Montezuma, was elevated to the fatal dignity. After various events, the Spaniards on their return to Mexico were enraged at finding so little treasure. Imagining, without reverence for the virtues or misfortunes of the last monarch, that the present might have concealed some treasures, they ordered him to be tortured. The unhappy king bore the torments with inconceivable fortitude. His principal friend was also a fellow-sufferer upon another rack: overpowered with anguish, he turned a dejected eye toward his master, as if to implore permission to reveal what he knew. His weakness was checked by a look of authority and scorn. 'Am I reposing

* The emperor had a pleasant countenance and good eyes; gravity and good humour were blended when he spoke: he was neat and fine in his attire, and bathed in his warm bath four times each day: he ate always alone, and with solemnity: his

upon a bed of flowers?' said his sovereign; 'which awed him to silence, and he expired. The cruel heart of Cortez is said to have been moved at this scene; the monarch was released from his tortures, and reserved for new indignities and sufferings: he was at last, with his most esteemed friends, ignominiously hanged. Thus ended the Mexican empire. Conq. of Peru and Mexico.

INDIAN SPEECHES.

Like the Hebrews, the Indians convey their ideas in parables; and the Chiefs in their orations constantly observe the Hebraism of speaking of their tribe or family, in the singular number. The following specimens of this peculiarity are

table was either a pillow or a couple of coloured skins: his table cloths, napkins, and towels were of white cotton, very white, and were never used but once. Four hundred pages, sons of nobles, brought in his dinner and placed it upon a table in the great hall; when Montezuma viewed it and pointed out those viands of which he would eat, twenty fair women presented the *basin and ewer*, he then seated himself, a trellis work being drawn before him, the lord steward serving him alone bare-foot in profound silence. At a distance were six ancient noblemen, to whom the king gave such dishes as he knew they liked best, which they received with reverence, and ate of them without looking the lord Montezuma in the face. Gomara, vol. iii. p. 1126.

extracted from the narrative of Heckewelder, the Moravian missionary, who was long among them. Congress had appointed commissioners to explain to the neighbouring tribes the nature of the contest between Britain and America — none of the missionaries attended, and the following account was given by the Chiefs on their return to the settlement of Gnadenhutten.

'Suppose a father had a little son, whom he indulged when young, but growing up to be a youth, began to think of having some help from him, and making up for him a small pack, bid him carry it for him. The boy takes up this pack: the father, finding him submissive, makes the pack larger as the boy grows stronger, who, while he is able, carries it without grumbling. At length, however, the boy having arrived at manhood, in comes a person of an evil disposition, and advises the father to make it heavier, for "surely your son is able to bear it." The father, listening rather to the bad advice, than consulting his own judgment, and the feelings of tenderness, follows the advice of the counsellor, and makes up a heavy load for his son to carry. The son examining the weight of the load, addresses his parent in these words, "dear father, this load is too heavy for me to carry, do pray lighten it: I am willing to do what I can, but am unable to bear this burden." The father's heart having by this time become hardened, and the bad adviser calling to him, "whip him if he disobeys, and refuses to carry the pack," now in a peremptory tone, orders his son to carry the load, or he will whip him; and already raises his arm to threaten him. "Now," says the son, "am I to be served thus for not doing what I am unable to

do! Well, if entreaties avail nothing with you, father, and it is to be decided by blows, whether or not I am able to bear the burden, then I have no other choice left me, but that of resisting your unreasonable demand by my strength; and thus by striking each other, learn who is strongest."'

About this time, while a number of the Senecas were at Pittsburgh, in order to ascertain the disposition of the western Indians, and particularly the Delawares, with regard to the side they should take during the contest, they had an opportunity of hearing the Chief, *Little Turtle,* deliver his sentiments, openly declaring in favour of the Americans and their cause, which so chagrined them that they thought proper to offer a check to his proceedings, by giving him in a haughty tone a hint intended to remind him what the Delawares were in the eyes of the six confederate nations: when *Little Turtle,* tired of this taunting allusion to his tribe as a conquered people, with an air of scorn arose and replied,

'You say you have conquered me—that you had cut off my feet—had put on me a petticoat, giving me a hoe and corn-pounder in my hands, saying, "now squaw, your business henceforth shall be to plant corn and prepare bread." Look at my feet and see them restored; the petticoats I have thrown away, and have assumed my proper dress! the corn hoe and pounder I have exchanged for these arms, and now declare myself a man.' Then waving his hand in the direction of the Alleghanny river, he exclaimed, 'and all the territory on the other side of the river is *mine.*'

'It must be remarked,' says Heckewelder in a note, '*that Indian orators always speak in the singular number, though meaning the tribe or nation.*'

'A body of ninety chosen warriors, headed by the war chief of the Wyandots, being on their way to retaliate on the Americans: he having sent one of his captains into the village, delivered the following message to the Christian Indians and their Missionary :—

'*Cousin*, I am on my way to war with a body of men, but you need not be uneasy, you have nothing to fear from me. My motive for coming among you is to shake hands, and to say something to you, and if you have a meal to spare my men will be thankful for it.'

'The scene of the advance of these heroes,' continues Heckewelder, 'was awful; they moved on with a grave and regular pace, as though they were going to enter a chapel, all following the example of their Chief, they shook hands with each of their Missionaries while pronouncing these words :—

'*Father*, I thank the Great Spirit that he hath preserved our lives to see this happy meeting.' He then addressed them thus, '*Cousin*, although until now I have never come to see you, I am no stranger to you. I knew that you had invited teachers among you to instruct you in good things, of which I highly approve. *Cousin*, I love your teachers the same as you do: it is happy for us that such men as your teachers and our teachers (*Jesuits*) have come among us. Both your

teachers and our teachers possess the great book, in which the will and commandments of God are written. We have also a house in which we meet for prayer. *Cousin*, you may, perhaps, be astonished at hearing such words proceed from my lips, while at the same time you cannot but observe that I am going on a warlike errand! But listen to what I say, unpleasant as it is for me to approach you in the manner you see, yet it is for your good and safety. You, *Cousins*, have many enemies. Frequent councils are held tending to your destruction. I have often thought of you, often wished that I could see you. Cousin, always continue in the same way you now are, and you shall fare well. Do not join in any disputes nor wars, and the GREAT SPIRIT will protect you against all the plots of your adversaries.'

The head Chief in behalf of the Christian Indians then replied,

'*Uncle*, you are welcome to us—your words proceed not from the lips only, but from the heart, therefore, they are precious. *Uncle*, you applaud our living together, for the purpose of being instructed in that which is good, and in laying aside that which is bad—in not having any thing to do with the disputes of others nor with wars. Uncle, you love us; and this being the case, the GREAT SPIRIT sent you to us to speak peace. Uncle, you say you have a teacher the same as we have, and that he likewise tells you what is good and what is bad, and who, like our teachers, is in possession of the great book, wherein the commandments of God are written. I doubt, uncle, whether it be the *same* book, from which our teachers instruct us. In the book which we have, God commands in one place, "*Thou shalt not kill*," and in another place he says, "*forgive your enemies*," nay, even "*pray for*

them." Can it then be supposed, that God who created man should not be offended when they destroy each other? Uncle, at that time, when we were in the wars of the Father over the water, and the long-knives (Americans) were our accomplices, we strove to outdo each other in murdering human beings, but *then we knew no better*—no one *then* had told *it is a sin to kill*, and that *to kill man is forbidden by the Creator of Man.* Uncle, you and I were friends when we both were young, and have remained such to this day, when we both are aged. Let us do alike, and put away from us what is bad and forbidden of God, I mean the killing of men.' After returning to his camp for an hour the war chief returned, saying, 'My Cousin, I have given your words a due consideration, and now I will open my heart to you. Cousin, you have spoken the truth in saying that the Creator of Man cannot be pleased when these kill each other. So the teacher who instructs me says likewise. Cousin, I myself am averse to war, and had declined taking up the hatchet hitherto, although the *father* over the water threatened me, that if I did not receive the hatchet of him to kill the Americans, who had become his enemies, he would withhold from me clothing and every thing necessary for me. He said, he would cause me to suffer for my obstinacy. Cousin, place yourself in my situation, living at the very door of that father's house, (meaning so near, that I am dependant on him) he observes my conduct. When, however, I found that my *father* would compel me to receive the hatchet, when he told me, I must kill all the "longknives" I should meet with, I said to him, "*Father, only men in arms, not women, and children, and old men,*" to which he replied, "*all, all—kill all!*" Cousin, think not that I am now on my way to do what my *father* bid me do—no, indeed not! hear how I shall act. I will march my men within

half a day's journey to the Ohio, and from thence send off a select party to take *one* prisoner, which prisoner shall be taken to my *Father*, with the charge that he be not hurt, and with this I will return him my hatchet again, which he had forced upon me. *Cousin!* not a life shall be lost by my party, and in ten days you shall see me here again, if the GREAT SPIRIT spares my life so long. *Cousin!* were I to follow my own inclination, I should forthwith return home from hence, without even going farther, but on your account I must proceed to do something, lest *you* be charged by my *Father* with having dissuaded me from doing that which he bid me do, and he become enraged against you. No! no, you shall not suffer on my account. *I act for myself. Cousin!* I place the words I have spoken to you deep under ground, (meaning to be kept a profound secret) and on my return shall say more to you.' *

Another similar example of this Hebrew manner of thinking and expression is related by the same respectable individual. 'Arriving within about two hundred yards of the town, and in sight of it, they fired off their pieces. Then raising a melancholy song, they continued singing, until they had reached the council house. Being seated on benches, a dead silence prevailed for about half an hour, and all present cast their eyes on the ground; at length one of the chiefs arose, and with an air of sorrow, and in a low voice, with his eyes cast upwards, spoke as follows.

'One morning after having arisen from my sleep; according to my custom, I stepped out at the door to see

* Heckewelder the Moravian Missionary's Narrative.

the weather; when I observed at one place a dark cloud on the horizon above the trees: and looking stedfastly for its movement or disappearance, found myself mistaken, since it neither disappeared nor moved from the spot, as other clouds do. Seeing the same dark cloud successively every morning, always in the same place, I began to think what could cause this phenomenon: at length it struck me, that as the cloud was lying in the direction that my *Grandfather* (the Delawares) dwelt, something might be the matter with him. I accordingly went, steering a course in the direction where I had observed the cloud. I arrived at my *Grandfather's*, whom I found quite disconsolate, hanging his head, and the tears running down his cheeks. Casting around my eyes, in the hope of discovering the cause of his grief, I observed a dwelling closed up, from which no smoke ascended; looking in another direction, I discovered an elevated spot of fresh earth, (a grave) on which nothing was seen growing, and here I found the cause of my *Grandfather's* grief. No wonder if he was grieved!—No wonder he is weeping and sobbing with his eyes cast towards the ground. Even I cannot help weeping with my *Grandfather*, seeing in what situation he is; I cannot proceed for grief.' * * * * * *

Here after having seated himself about twenty minutes deeply affected, he again arose, and receiving from the head chief, who was seated by his side, a large string of wampum said, '*Grandfather!* lift up your head and hear what your *Grandchildren* have to say to you. They having discovered the cause of your grief, it shall be done away! See *Grandfather!* I level the ground on yonder spot of yellow earth, and put leaves and brushes thereon to make it invisible! I also sow seeds on that spot, so that both grass and trees may grow thereon!' (handing a string to the Delaware Chiefs in

succession) 'and taking up another, he continued. *Grandfather*, the seed which I had sown has already taken root; nay, the grass has already covered the ground and the trees are growing!' handing this string likewise to the Delaware Chief, and taking up a third string of wampun, he added: 'Now *my Grandfather*, the cause of your grief being removed, let me dry up your tears! I wipe them from your eyes. I place your body, which by the weight of grief and a heavy heart, is bearing to one side, in its proper posture! Your eyes shall be henceforth clear, and your ears shall hear as formerly! The work is now finished.' Handing this string likewise to the Delaware Chief, he now stepped forward to where the Chiefs and their Counsellors were seated, and having first shaken hands with them, and next with all present, the embassy was concluded. The reply by the Delaware Chief was, '*Grandchildren*, you did right to come here—it was not in vain—you have performed a good work, in which the GREAT SPIRIT assisted you! Your *Grandfather* makes you welcome to him.'

The contest between Great Britain and America, gave occasion to the following, which is no less illustrative than the former.

'Friends and kindred, listen to what I say! You see a great and powerful multitude divided, father against son, and son against father! The father has called on his Indian children, to assist him in punishing his refractory children. I took time to consider what I should do—whether or not I would receive the hatchet of my *father* to assist him! At first I looked upon it as a family quarrel, in which I was not interested. However at length it appeared to me, that the father was in the right; and his children deserved to be punished a

little! That this must be the case I concluded, from the many cruel acts his offspring had committed from time to time, on his Indian children; encroaching on their lands, stealing their property, shooting at, and murdering *without cause*, men, women, and children! Yes! even murdering *those who at all times had been friendly to them*. Friends and kindred! often has the father been obliged to settle, and to make amends for the wrongs and mischiefs done to us, by his refractory children, yet they do not grow better. No! nor will they, so long as we have any land left for them to covet. Look back at the cruel murders committed by these Long Knives on many of our relations, who lived peaceably near them on the Ohio! Did they not kill them without the least provocation? And do you think they are better now than they were then? No! indeed not; and many days are not elapsed since you had a number of these very men near your doors, who panted to kill you, and were fortunately prevented by one *Great Sun*, (Colonel D. Brodhead) who had at that time by the GREAT SPIRIT been ordained to protect you! Friends and relations! you love that which is good, and wish to live in peace with all mankind, and at a place where you may not be disturbed when praying! You are right in this—I do not reproach you for having made the choice! But my friends and relations! does the place in which you at present are settled answer that purpose? Do you not live in the very road which the contending parties must pass, when they go to fight against each other? Should not this be a sufficient warning to you; and lead you to consult your own safety! We have long since turned our faces toward your habitation, in the expectation of seeing you come to us, to be out of danger, but you were so engaged in praying, that you did not discover our anxiety for your sakes! Friends and relatives! now listen to me, hear what I have to

say to you.—I am myself come to bid you rise and go with me to secure a place! Do not my friends desire to hold the land which you have now under cultivation. I will conduct you to a country equally good, where you will live in peace and safety, where no Long Knife shall molest you.—Nay! I will live between you and them, and not even suffer them to frighten your children. There you can worship your God without fear! Here you cannot do this! Think of what I have now said to you, and believe that if you stay where you now are, one day or other, the Long Knives in their usual way will speak smooth words, and at the same time murder you.'

On arriving opposite the chapel and missionary dwelling, Paganchilias ordered a halt, and having drawn up his men addressed them as follows.

'Friends, my warriors! you who on this day enter with me the town of believing Indians, hearken to my speech. Warriors! ye young men and ye aged! your behaviour whilst at Gnadenhutten merits my approbation as good and brave men; you insulted not, nor disturbed a people who wish to be at peace with all mankind, and who have devoted themselves to the service of the MASTER OF LIFE! Look around you, my warriors, and you will discover in these your friends and relatives the same inoffensive and hospitable people. Their devotion *requires* that they should he so. The great book *from which they are taught contains only good.** You my warriors will now proceed to yonder

* True philosophy and magnanimity! for here he implicates not anti-christian actions, with the enlightening and purifying Word of God. How superior to Voltaire and other sophists, who make no such liberal and enlightened distinction.

grove of maple trees, where the friends in this place will serve you with victuals, after which you can visit the village; but my young warriors, do not carry your arms when you do so, lest the women and children who are not accustomed to such visits, become frightened. Guard the camp in turn, lest the hogs and cattle that run about destroy something, you see what a stock of cows and hogs our friends have. They will serve you with all you need to allay hunger, therefore destroy nothing, no, not even a chicken belonging to our friends.

'On entering the Missionary House,' continues Heckewelder, 'he by way of introduction passed a compliment on me, referring to our former acquaintance at Tuscorora, nineteen years before, which compliment was intended to be considered as conveying a wish to form an acquaintance between his war captains and myself. The following conversation took place.

'The believing Indians are a happy people, I will not trouble them on account of their not joining in the war. Indeed they could not with propriety join in wars, without first renouncing praying (meaning Christianity), and every Indian and body of Indians have a right to choose whom they will serve! For me, I have engaged myself to my father, the King of England, for the purpose of fighting against his refractory children, the Long Knives: whilst my friends and relations, the Christian Indians have engaged themselves to serve the Master of Life, solely for the purpose of performing prayers (meaning attending to religious duties). Both of us are right in our way, though both employments cannot be connected together! And only yesterday I

was told at Gnadenhutten that *Christians* must forgive and *pray* for their *enemies*.' These words are written in the Great Book, which contains the word and commandments of the GREAT SPIRIT. Now, how would it appear, were we to compel our friends here, who love and pray for their enemies, to fight against them —compel them to act contrary to what they believe to be right! force them to do that by which they would incur the displeasure of the GREAT SPIRIT, and bring His wrath upon them! It would be as wrong in me to compel the Christian Indians to quit praying, and turn out to fight and kill enemies, as it would be in them to compel me to lay fighting aside, and turn to praying only;' I have often heard that my believing friends here were slaves to their teacher, and *must* do what these commanded them, however disagreeable. Now how can this be true, when every Indian is a free man, and can go where he pleases! Can the teacher stop him from going away? No, he cannot!—well! how can he then be made a slave to the teacher? continue my friends in loving your teachers, and in doing all good things that the book tells you; and when your friends and relations come to see you, satisfy their hunger the same as you have done this day.'

From the venerable Moravian Missionary we learn, that not only the untutored Indians, but those who were living under the blessed influence of the gospel of peace and good will, were constantly harassed, plundered, and massacred by unprincipled usurpers of the christian name.

'The language of the white people,' he continues, 'being the same at Salem as it had been at Gnadenhutten, the brethren and sisters were

easily persuaded to go with them, especially as many of them professed to be very religious; admiring their spacious places of worship, and discoursing constantly on religion, frequently saying to the believing Indians, " You are indeed good christians, &c." They set fire to the church and houses, which was disapproved of by the Indians. They however pretended that they meant no harm, but did it merely to deprive the enemy of a harbouring place.

Being taken over to where they would have them go, O how the prospect was changed! the language now held to them was the reverse of what it had been at Salem and on the road. The Gnadenhutten brethren and sisters were confined for the purpose of being put to death; they were now no longer esteemed christians but warriors. All they had was declared stolen property, every thing they possessed was said to have been taken from the white people, and to this they sware. How must these poor people have felt, being sensible of their innocence! Finding that all entreaties to save their lives were to no purpose, and that the more bloodthirsty were anxious to begin, they united in begging a short delay, that they might prepare themselves for death, which request was reluctantly granted. Then asking pardon for whatever offence they had given, or grief they had occasioned to each other, they knelt down

offering fervent prayers to God their Saviour, and kissing each other under a flood of tears; fully resigned—they sang praises unto him in joyful hope, that they would soon be relieved from all suffering, and join their Saviour in everlasting blessedness.' The feelings of the reader shall be spared the soul-sickening detail of the massacre of these lambs. The piousMissionary continues, "the number of Christian Indians murdered by these miscreants exceeded ninety, all of whom except four, were killed in the slaughter houses, of that number sixty-two were grown persons, one third of whom were women, the remaining thirty-six were children."

'Here they were now murdered, together with the children, the lovely children, who so harmoniously raised their voices in the chapel at their schools, and in their parent's houses, in singing the praises of their Heavenly Father—those whose tender years, innocent looks, and tears, made no impression on these pretended white christians, were butchered with the rest.'

"The wild Indians according to their law, now sought to avenge the murder, and appease the manes of their injured brethren. In the pursuit of the white people many were killed, and poor Colonel Crawford, together with a Dr. Mc Night, had the misfortune to be taken prisoners. 'Where is Williamson the chief murderer?' was the call of the Indians from every quarter. On being told that he had been one of the first who

fled from the ground, they cried out, revenge! revenge! on those whites who are in our power, for the merciless murder of our believing brethren on the Muskingum, and our friends at Pittsburg!' They are all alike, they want to possess our country, and know of no better way of obtaining it, than by killing those to whom the GREAT SPIRIT gave it. For this reason they killed our believing Indian brethren, and our kindred at Pittsburg!' They then called aloud for the believing Indians present, to avenge the blood of their relations; but these declining the office, which they said *belonged to God*, their wild kinsmen stepped forward in their stead; the fire was kindled, and poor Crawford tied to the stake. He had one particular Indian friend, called Wingemund—'Where is my friend Wingemund?' he called out, 'I wish to see him.' This Chief being sent for, an interesting and affectionate conversation took place, without that effect however on which the Colonel had faintly calculated. For at this time, and as the case then stood, it was not in the power of any man, or even body of men, to save the life of one who had been of the party, and doomed therefore to suffer in Williamson's stead who had escaped. He was told that he was found in company with such murderers as the Indians had not amongst them. 'We,' said the Chief, 'kill our enemies only, *not our friends!*'

'When we once reach out our hand to a prisoner and call him *friend,* we do not afterwards kill him. But how did your associates to the believing Indians at Muskingum? Did you not always assure them that you were their firm friends, and did you not hail and welcome them as such? You told them they need never fear any harm from you! and what did you afterwards do? Did you not accuse them of being warriors, *knowing* at the same time they were not such? Did they run from you, when they saw you approach? Did they fire a single shot at you? Did you ever hear warriors *pray* to God, and sing *praises* to him as they did? Could not the shrieks and cries of the innocent little children excite you to pity, and save their lives? and if you must needs remove them, take them as your prisoners? No! it did not! You who would have the Indians think you are believers, because you have the Great Good Book, but you are in your hearts *the worst* of murderers! Never would the *believing* Indians have done what you did, though the GREAT SPIRIT did not put this Good Book in their hands, as he did in yours: and further taught you to *read all he wanted you to do*—and *what was forbid by him that you should not do!* These slaughtered Indians *believed what was written in the book,* and *believing it strove to act accordingly!* It was on account of this Great Book you have, that the Indians trusted so much to what you told them! We know you better than they did! We often warned them to beware of you, and your pretended friendship, but they would not believe us! They would only believe good of you, and for this they paid with their lives!'

'Colonel Crawford pled that he was not an accomplice in that atrocious act. His being taken in company with the very men who led on

the party, was so much against him, that no one would listen to an apology. He was told that no one could save his life—not even the King of England, were he present with all his treasure —that the blood of these innocents *cried for vengeance*, and that their manes *must* be appeased.' —Heckewelder's Narrative, p. 340.

In order to afford the reader an opportunity of judging of the causes assigned by the Indian tribes for their dissatisfaction, and hostile dispositions towards the United States,

'I will,' continues Heckewelder, 'follow up their own way of reasoning, and the subjects which they bring to view. They complained that the American people at treaties, charge them with injuries done to them; while those (the Americans) neither said a word, nor would hear anything about injuries they had done to the Indians! That they took their country from them, alleging against them crimes which had been caused by, or committed by themselves. We, said they, were addressed by those who spoke to us, as if we had been a conquered people, and who *must*, whether willing or not, *submit* to the dictation of a *foreign* authority. We were told, that because we had embraced the cause of our *Father* the British, we had forfeited our own land! that they had a right to take the whole of our lands at once, but, out of *compassion* they would *suffer us* to hunt on a part of it, for *a while longer*.'

Here they observe, that in their situation, they could not do otherwise than join their *father*, since for all their clothing, ammunition, &c. they had to look to the British alone—the Americans

having nothing to give in exchange for their peltries, and besides this, their father the British, had compelled them to espouse their cause, saying that—

'If they did not, they would look upon them as enemies, and withhold every thing from them.' They further add, 'those puffed up men, who foretold what would be done to those who joined the British against them, at the same time made a fair, smooth promise to all those Indians who did not join in the war, but sat quiet at home, saying, That all such they would make a *happy and great people.*' Here, (putting the question to one another, and the believing Indians particularly) they asked: 'Did they speak the truth, or did they deceive us?' They *did* deceive us, for those were the very people they sought to kill! They did kill about a hundred of our people, who never took up a single weapon against them, but remained quiet at home, planting corn, &c. and praying: then not satisfied with what they had done at Muskingum and Pittsburg to them who had befriended them, they even ventured into our Sandusky, for the purpose of killing those who had done what we were all bid to do—*sit still.* 'These very people since the peace has been concluded, have been scouring our country, deadening trees and laying cross poles to mark tracts of choice land. Now does not this denote, that they mean to take this very land from us? Besides this, what have they done to our persons since they told us that all was peace—inviting us to come and trade with their stores, which were open for us. Did they not fall upon those of our people who had taken their furs and peltry to the latter place, while they were trading with them, killing our people. Did we not receive an account the other day, of some of the Shawano tribe being murdered on the Sciota? Are they

not at this present time scattered throughout our reservation, either stealing our horses, or robbing our hunting camps — taking the skins away from our scaffolds while we are absent! And shall we suffer such thieves and murderers to be always our neighbours? Let them go on in this way until they extirpate us and possess the whole of our land. Did not the Master of Life create us as well as them? *Did he not place us on this land,* and give us strength and ability to defend ourselves from any invader? Does he not expect of us that we shall exert ourselves in preserving that which he gave to our forefathers, for themselves and their offspring? What kind of Indians are they who will tamely submit to be hunted off their lands by foreigners? We, our forefathers, received the white people with kindness; they gave them land to live on and plant. We afterwards showed them the same kindness: we knew they must live as well as ourselves. But this did not satisfy them! When we part with large tracts of territory to them, they do not begin at one end, and continue settling one adjoining the other farm or village. No, they scatter, like the deer, over the whole tract—one here and another there, leaving vast bodies of land unoccupied and waste, and then say to us, that they must have more land, and if we are not quick in giving it to them, they take it, saying, "*we will have it:*" and what are they doing now? have they not out surveyors almost in every direction?'

After such specimens, it cannot be wondered at that the Christian name has been a reproach and a sad stumbling-block in the way of their receiving the revealed Word of God. We can easily find an apology for Tecumseh, brother

of the celebrated prophet, in resisting their encroachment, and that, together with that Book which the conduct of nominal Christians had rendered odious. Heckewelder, viewing as an heathenish superstition that which was the faded remains of the distinctive observances of Israel, writes of one of the most noble, disinterested, and patriotic of men as follows: 'The Chief called Tecumseh, during his administration, had by some art raised himself into such importance that he became the oracle of the day. His discourses, like those of many of his predecessors, who had also taken to preaching and prophesying, were intended to instigate the tribes against the Americans, by causing them to reflect on the past happy days their forefathers enjoyed previous to the arrival of the white people in their country —pointing out the wretched state into which they had fallen, in suffering themselves to be misled and deceived, by those who sought nothing short of their extirpation, in order to possess the whole territory, which they coveted. Hence, his advice was, that they must withdraw entirely their confidence from those strangers, leave them to their way of worship, while his people must return to their ancient ways and customs, and worship the GREAT SPIRIT, as their forefathers had done.' He added, 'that while the white people, on the one hand, were busied in their destruction, they were

destroying one another by witchcraft, and, therefore, he thought it high time for a stop to be put to the evil.'

The worthy Moravian missionary further observes, 'Three years had scarcely elapsed from the commencement of the Mission, before the baptised pagans began to trouble and even to persecute us. In the beginning, these self-interested persons had represented the Indians as a race of sagages, incapable of embracing the Christian religion, and that it would be next to madness to attempt to dwell among them—now that it was manifest that a number had embraced Christianity and *led a Christian life*, they would not permit them to enjoy Christian privileges—every device was resorted to, in order to banish them; the loss these persons sustained (not being able as formerly to take advantage of their honest simplicity, by defrauding them of their dues for peltry or labour; and by imposing on them ardent spirits for gain) was considered by them a serious evil; added to this, the Indian believers would frequently detect and reprimand offenders, which these white men did not relish.'

Let the inquirer before he concludes that some other kind of evidence is necessary, in order to believe that this people are the descendants of the long lost tribes, reflect that the divine manner of imparting evidence is not what human wisdom

might dictate or require. The Jews had strong objections against that kind of evidence which God vouchsafed, to prove the divinity of the Incarnate Word, the Messiah, in his character of Prophet; his being "cut off, but not for himself," his resurrection and ascension, were not deemed sufficiently conclusive confirmations of his Divine character—something *more* and of *another* kind was required, in order to establish his claim to their belief. "What sign showest thou that we may believe? How long dost thou make us to doubt? tell us plainly," &c. Many things may be fancied, relative to the kind and degree of evidence which shall discover and identify the ten missing tribes, while Divine wisdom may take such a method as may baffle the prejudiced and inform only the sincere enquirer. 'If,' says the Rev. E. Smith, 'these tribes are the children of Israel, a new field of evidence of the truth of the holy Scriptures is opened from a race of men 'outcast from civilized society for three millenaries. For impressed on these tenants of the forest are striking characters of the truth of revelation. The intelligent vindicator of revealed truth cannot fear to meet the infidel on fair ground, his triumph is not less certain than that of David against Goliah. But the believer will find additional arguments in which to triumph; he will find more than five smooth stones

taken from the brook, each of which is sufficient to sink into the forehead of an impious challenger of the God of Israel.'*

The discovery of the Western hemisphere, where the features of nature are on their sublimest scale, has been inadequately deemed of, in limiting what was therein contained and discovered to gold mines and fair territory. He who, when a great work is to be achieved and a mighty design unfolded, stirred not up the spirit of Columbus to surmount opposition, peril, and persecution, only to open a new field for the sordid and covetous: His patient endurance, zeal, and self-denial were not put in requisition only to aggravate the guilt and condemnation of those who 'slew and took possession:' this was only the *consequence;* the design had another aim. The lot of the outcasts of Israel and the dispersed of Judah, however different in one respect, have in another corresponded with wonderful exactness. The latter, scattered among the nations, (at the mercy of the powers under which they vegetated in unbelief, as cumberers of the ground), were spoiled and oppressed evermore. Proscription and death, in their most appaling forms, haunted, and drove them for many ages from land to land; and even when a lawless zeal for the glory of God became the

* Smith's View of the Hebrews.

fashion, the Jews were compelled, by robbery, to furnish the means of carrying into effect that most impious of wars the (5) Crusades. The former, outcasts from the nations of the earth, have endured for three millenaries a famine of the written word. But when the time came that they should be brought to light, the representatives of the Roman earth and nations, congregated on their soil, to "help forward their affliction," and "serve themselves of them."

The sovereigns of the soil are literally hunted down and prospectively exterminated by the politicians of a country which boasts of having as its motto, '*Equal rights to all men.*' Penn stands forth as a solitary exception to the dark picture of injustice and fraud which has tracked the path of those whose high privileges aggravate their guilt. In two little extracts from public prints we find even the very language of identity used by editors who never harboured a thought of such coincidence.*

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(5) See Appendix.

* 'The truth is, the Indians have the just right to complain: we feel they are injured, and with the single exception of the African race, no other human beings on earth would have been so much oppressed with impunity. Had Georgia raised her clamour against the rights of any civilized race, or any other race *whose rights we have not learned to dispise*, she would have been silenced, and the aggrieved nation would never have been worried into a compliance to leave their cultivated reservations

General M'Intosh, whose mother was a native, had been bribed by Governor Troup, of Georgia, to extinguish the claims of his nation, the Creeks, to their fertile reservation, which had begun to blossom under their agricultural labours. The Governor of the United States ratified the Treaty without, it is presumed, suspecting the fraud which had been practised. Long prior to that treaty, the Creeks had held a great council, entering into a solemn agreement, that any individual alienating their land should be considered a traitor, and forthwith be shot as such. General M'Intosh was present at this council, and yet, in an evil hour, was tempted to betray the interests of the Creeks into the hands of Georgia. His death instantly followed the discovery of his treachery; meanwhile aware that the Governor of Georgia would prosecute his fraudulently acquired claim, the Creeks solemnly protested, that they should never leave their reservation alive. They would on this trying occasion, first, '*do no violence to any white man, however provoked,*' secondly, would '*not receive*

and betake themselves again to the precarious provision of the wilderness. The plea, that Indians can be best civilized in such a place is both dishonest and nugatory.' Western Recorder.

'We think it a matter of congratulation, that *the old and pernicious prejudices against the red men are breaking down;* that they are to be thus acknowledged to have *claims to something better than hereditary contempt and oppression,*' &c. New York Advertiser.

a single dollar as payment of the land' and thirdly, '*rather die beside their fences than be removed.*' A speech was delivered on the death of Mc Intosh, Oct. 6, 1824, by the Head Chief of the Creeks, an extract of which is given as a specimen of the Hebraism of their thoughts and style.

Brothers, Mc Intosh is dead—he broke the law of the nation—the law which he himself made. His face was turned toward the white men who rob us; his back was to our people. His ears were shut against the cries of our women and children. His heart was estranged from us. The words of his mouth were deceitful—they came to us like the sickly breeze that flies over the stagnate marsh, and blights the blossoms of spring.

Brethren—Mc Intosh was brave, the deeds of his youth were valiant, but his heart became changed; he spoke the words of deceitfulness, he walked in crooked paths which his brethren knew not—paths which lead down to death: he deceived us, and we slew him. The land is red with his blood—our vengeance is satisfied, we bury the hatchet of revenge. *Let us obey the* GREAT SPIRIT *that he may lead his children in the paths of their wanderings.*' *&c. &c. &c.*

A piece published in a Boston paper, breathes so much the spirit of the christian, that an extract from it seems justifiable in the midst of the dark cloud which self-interest and political expediency spreads over the history of the poor Indians. '*We have no doubt the time is at hand, when there will be a better and deeper-toned feeling,*

pervading the whole American community on the subject of Indian civilization, than has ever yet been exhibited, and we should be loath to believe the 'American Society' will have no agency in producing this better state of feeling.

* * * * * *

It is not its magnitude which renders it unwieldy, but it has we fear, *in its origination, the principles of weakness and decay,* * * * * * it needs a vital spirit—a bold, daring, resolved spirit, that can live and grow under the pressure of scorn and contempt." He continues, "The object of the Society is a great one, and ought to be considered such by the whole nation. *We are in debt* to the aboriginal inhabitants of this country, ten thousand talents; and to millions of them who are already gone to the tribunal of God to wait our coming; we have nothing to pay—but to the half million now living—and to the hundreds and thousands who will succeed them, we may render something like an equivalent for what we have received from them and their fathers; we may teach them the arts of civilized life, and we may give them the Holy Scriptures to conduct their wandering feet in the way to heaven. And to do this is a *national* duty. *We have spilled the blood of thousands, and ruined the happiness of thousands more:* the least we can do, is to repair the injury by confessing our fault, and making those that

remain, partakers of the social and religious privileges bestowed on us by a gracious and long-suffering God. But the question is, how is this nation to be aroused to a sense of duty? We answer confidently, *by the humble unostentatious and persevering efforts of individuals who shall deeply feel their responsibility to God, and rely on him alone for success.* The very *nature* of Christianity and the *Apostolic* propagation of it at *first* justify this opinion. 'We have seized the Indians' land, and placed in our public coffers the enormous sum of forty-two millions of dollars, exclusive of what the states have individually received.' To this amount our nation has been *enriched at their expense*,—nay, all our wealth and importance are owing to the *forbearance and kindness that our ancestors received from the Indians.* And yet it is to be questioned, whether we are under *obligation* to impart to them those blessings, without which they must unavoidably soon become extinct. The cause of the Indians must commend itself to every mind which is not corroded by *covetousness*, and to every heart which is not made of *adamant*.'

The great and immutable principle of justice, which forbids the godless popular doctrine, that civilization confers a right to exterminate the Indians, or expel them by force from their property, has not yet been recognized: justice has been disregarded, and expediency erected, instead

of that law which hath said—"*Thou shalt not covet*," and of that precept which enjoins us to "*do unto our neighbour even as we wish they should do unto us.*" The Indians, whether in the wild or christianized state severely feel, and bitterly complain of this injustice. The following effusions of untutored Indians, as well as those who have had greater advantage, will illustrate one part of this remark. General Knox gave a dinner in the city of New York, to a deputation of Indian Sachems; a short time before dinner was served up, two or three of them, with the Head Chief, went into the balcony in front of the house, the drawing room being upstairs. From this they had a magnificent view of the city, Long Island, the fine bay, river, &c. After remaining there a few minutes they returned, apparently dejected; the Chief more so than the others. General Knox said to him—

'Brother, what has happened to you? you look grieved! Is there anything to distress you?' He answered, 'I'll tell you brother. I have been looking at your beautiful city—the great water full of ships—the fine country, and see how prosperous you all are. But then I could not help thinking that this fine country *was ours*. Our ancestors lived here. They enjoyed it as their own in peace. *It was the gift of the Great Spirit to them and their children.* At last white men came in a great canoe. They asked only to let them tie it to a tree, lest the water should carry it away.

We consented. They then said some of their people were sick, and they asked permission to land them, and put them under the shade of the trees. The ice then came, and they could not go away. They then begged a piece of land to build wigwams for the winter. We granted it to them, they then asked corn to keep them from starving. We furnished it out of our own scanty supply. They promised to go away when the ice melted. When this happened, they, instead of going, pointed to the big guns round their wigwams, and said, "we shall stay here." Afterwards came more: they brought intoxicating drinks, of which the Indians became fond. They persuaded them to sell land, and, finally, have driven us back from time to time to the wilderness, far from the water, the fish, and the oysters. They have scared away our game—my people are wasting away. We live in the want of all things, while you are enjoying abundance in our fine and beautiful country. This makes me sorry, brother, and I cannot help it.'

The following address is by Sagnyn Wathah, or Red-jacket, in reply to a proffer from a Missionary Society in 1825, of the Presbyterian denomination. The agent he addressed thus:

'Friend and Brother! It was the will of the GREAT SPIRIT that we should meet this day: he orders all things; and has given us a fine day for our Council. He has taken his garment from before the sun, and has caused him to shine with brightness upon us. Our eyes are opened, that we see clearly, and our ears are unstopped, that we should be able to hear distinctly the words you have spoken. For all these favours we thank the GREAT SPIRIT, and him only. Brother, listen to what we say. There was a time when our forefathers

owned this great island; their seats extended from the rising to the setting sun: the GREAT SPIRIT *prepared it for the use of Indians.* He had created the buffalo, the deer, and other animals for food: he had made the beaver and the bear: their skins served us for clothing. He had scattered them over the country, and taught us how to take them. He had caused the earth to produce corn for bread—all this he had done for his red children, because he loved them. If we had disputes about our hunting ground, they were generally settled without shedding much blood. But an evil day came upon us, your forefathers crossed the great waters, and landed on this wilderness: their numbers were small, they found us friends and not enemies. They told us, they had fled from their own country through fear of wicked men, and had come to enjoy their religion. They asked for a small seat; we took pity on them and granted them their request, and they sat down among us. We gave them corn and meat, and in return they gave us *poison.* The white people now liking our country, tidings were sent back, and more came amongst us, yet we did not fear them. We took them to be friends: they called us *brothers,* we believed them, and gave them a larger seat. At length, their numbers evermore increased, and evermore they demanded more land—*they wanted our country.* Our eyes were opened, and we became uneasy. Wars took place; Indians were hired to fight against Indians, and many of our people were destroyed: they also distributed mad water amongst us, which has slain many thousands. Brother, once our estates were large and yours were small: you have now become a great people, and we have scarcely a place left to spread our blankets. You have got our country, and not satisfied with that, you want to force your religion upon us. Brother, continue to listen—you say you are sent to instruct us how to worship the

GREAT SPIRIT agreeably to his mind, which he has made known to you. We understand that your religion is contained in a written book—if it is intended for us as well as you, why has not the Father of us all given to us the knowledge of that book, with the means of rightly understanding it? We only know what you tell us about what you know of it, and having been often deceived by the white people, how shall we believe what they say? Brother, you say there is but one way to worship and serve the GREAT SPIRIT. If the Book contains one religion from the GREAT SPIRIT, why do you white people differ and quarrel so much about it? Why not all *agree, since you can all read the Book?*

'Brother, we do not understand these things: we are told that your religion was given to your forefathers, and was handed down from father to son. We also have a religion which was given to *our* forefathers, and has been handed down from father to son, teaching us to *be thankful for all favours received, to love each other, and to be united—we never quarrel about our religion.* Brother, the GREAT SPIRIT made us all; but he has made a great difference between his white and red children: he has given us different complexions and different principles and customs. To you he has given the arts, and to these he has not opened our eyes. Since he has made so great a difference between us in other things, why may he not have given us a different religion? The GREAT SPIRIT does right. He knows what is best for his children.

'Brother, we do not want to destroy your religion, or to take it from you; we only want to enjoy our own. Brother, we are told that you have been preaching to the white people in this place. These people are our neighbours: we will wait a while and see what effect your preaching has had on them. If we find it makes them honest and less disposed to cheat and prey on

Indians, we will then consider again of what you have said. Brother, you have now heard our answer, and this is all we have to say at present. As we are about to part we will come and take you by the hand, and we hope the GREAT SPIRIT will protect you on your journey, and return you safe to your friends.'

The speech of Gayashuta, an ancient Chief of the Seneca nation on the borders of Pennsylvania, as given in a charge by him to one of the sachems of that nation in the year 1790, to be delivered to the Friends of Philadelphia. It may be necessary to notice, that they called 'Penn' (Onas), which is the Indian word for a quill.

'Brothers, the sons of my beloved brother Onas, when I was young and strong, our country was full of game, which the GOOD SPIRIT sent for us to live upon. The lands which belonged to us were extended far beyond where we hunted. I and my people had enough to eat, and always something to give to our friends when they entered our lodges, and we rejoiced when they received it from us: hunting was then not tiresome, it was a diversion, it was a pleasure. Brothers, when your fathers asked land from my nation, we gave it to them, for we had more than enough: Gayashuta was amongst the first of the people to say, "give land to our brother Onas, for he wants it," and he has always been the friend of Onas and his children. Brothers, your fathers saw Gayashuta when he was young, when he had not even thought of old age and weakness; but you are too far off to see him now he is grown old. He is very old and feeble, and he wonders at his own shadow, it has become so bent. He has no children to take care of him, and the game is scared away by the white people,

so that the young men must hunt all day long to find game for themselves to eat and for Gayashuta.

'And it is not Gayashuta only who is become old and feeble; there yet remain about thirty men of your old friends, who, unable to provide for themselves or to help one another, *are become poor, and are hungry and naked.* Brothers, Gayashuta sends you a belt which he received long ago from your fathers, and a writing which he received but as yesterday from one of you. By these you will remember him and the old friends of your fathers, consider their *former friendship* and their *present distress;* and if the GOOD SPIRIT shall put it in your hearts to comfort them in their old age, *do not disregard His counsel.* We are men, and therefore, need only tell you, *that we are old and feeble, and hungry and naked,* and that we have *no other friends but you, the children of our beloved brother Onas.*'

From the Chief Black Hoof, in answer to Governor St. Clair's letter.

'As we wish to live in love and peace with all our brothers, we hope the GREAT SPIRIT will direct us to take our brother's advice. And now, brothers, we have concluded to speak our minds about your kindness in sending your letter and friends to tell us good things about the GREAT SPIRIT above.

'Now, brothers, we have come to a conclusion among ourselves, that we are glad that our white brothers have thought of us at last: you have distressed your red brothers in times past, by driving us from place to place, but we hope the GREAT SPIRIT hath taught you peace and other good things. We tell you, that we gladly receive the brothers that you sent, and we hope the GREAT SPIRIT is bringing the time when the red and white brothers will be as one, in knowing those great things that our brothers

tell us about, and we hope that our white brothers will continue their love to their red brothers, and send us the book you have from the GREAT SPIRIT. We are glad, very glad for the things you have told us, our brother you have sent, told us yesterday good things about loving the GREAT SPIRIT, and loving our brothers; that we are all sure to die, and that all people must know the *love of* the GREAT SPIRIT, and Jesus his Son, whom he has sent, and *love their brothers*, or they cannot go to the MASTER OF LIFE, and that happy place he has for his just people.

'The brother told us, that the GOOD SPIRIT made us all of the same flesh; and that he did not wish our white brothers to covet our land and sell it for money. He says, all he wants is the happiness of our souls when we die—for us to know the love of our Saviour. He tells us he will come once or twice a year to tell us the good things of the other world; and we thank him for coming and bringing one friend to be his mouth. As you know these things brothers, we wish you to think about your red brothers, and try to teach us the singing or gospel, and the good things our brother has told us yesterday.'

The following letter written by a Cherokee Indian, who had been sent by some benevolent friends to school for three years, exhibits that native energy and dignity which is characteristic of the Indians, improved by education and christian principles. The occasion which called it forth, was an insinuation, or rather assertion, that an address which the Cherokees sent to Government, was too well-written to be the production of an Indian. The same prejudice was circulated by some individuals in New York, after hearing

a very eloquent appeal from David Brown, also a Cherokee, which obliged the gentlemen in whose house the address was written, to come forward and declare that no one was in the room with David Brown when he composed the oration, which was so much and deservedly admired as a composition.

The following letter is copied from the National Intelligencer.

Washington City, 1826.

Messrs Gales and Seaton,

'Gentlemen, we have read in the Georgia Journal of the 6th instant, a letter from the Georgia Delegation in Congress, to His Excellency Governor Troup, Governor of Georgia, and also some remarks of the editor of that paper.

However great our surprise has heretofore been at the proceedings of the Delegation as set forth in their letter to the President of the United States, and which the Georgia Delegation consider '*respectful*' but which if it be, is different in its style and temper from what we are accustomed to observe in our intercourse with *our* chiefs—yet this surprise has been heightened at a new attempt to deprive us of another portion of our blessings. Not satisfied with wishing the executive Government of the United States violently to rupture the solemn bond of our rights to our land, to put at defiance the pledges which existing treaties contain, guaranteeing to us our lands, it is attempted to take from us the intellect, which has directed us in conducting the several negotiations with commissioners appointed to treat with us for lands, and with the executive government, by the unfounded charge that 'the last letter of the Cherokees to the Secretary of War,

contains internal evidence that it was never written or dictated by an Indian.' Whilst we profess to be complimented on the one hand by this blow at our intelligence, we cannot in justice allow it to pass on the other, *without* a *flat* contradiction. That letter and every other letter was not only written, but dictated by an Indian. We are not so fortunate as to have help. The white man seldom comes forth in our defence. Our rights are in our own keeping, and the proofs of our loneliness, and the *prejudiced eye with which every thing is looked upon which relates to us*, has put us upon our resources; and we do thank God sincerely, and our white brothers, for *there are some christian hearts which regard us*, who seeing our bereaved and helpless state, come to our help with letters, and the lights of christianity and civilization; we felt the necessity of our case, and have endeavoured to improve it. Our letters are our own, and if they are thought too refined for 'Savages' let the white man take it for a proof, that with some assistance, Indians may think, act, and write for themselves. We refer the Georgia delegation, and the Editor of the Journal to our correspondence, with their own commissioners in our own country; they can tell whether the head of the white man conceived, or his pen dictated the negotiations on our part; or whether they were the lonely and unassisted efforts of the poor Indian, whose home, now that it begins to blossom, and the seed time and the harvest are greeted, and the chase abandoned, and the churches are rising, and the GREAT SPIRIT is felt in his influence upon our hearts, and our gratitude, and our little ones are learning to read his blessed Word, and sing songs of praise for the gift of the Saviour; yes! they can tell whether they, from whom it is attempted to force all these blessings, and drive them into barbarity and savagism, more cruel, and as dark as ever, did or did not conduct their

own correspondence. We say we did, *and we love the Truth.*

It is not for us to vindicate our Great Father, the President of the United States, he does not need an Indian's aid nor an Indian's eulogy, but however we are bound to pay him honor, yet it is due to justice to state that we have been often pained, especially of late, at the *earnestness* with which *he has pressed upon us* the subject of ceding our lands. Why he should act thus, we are at a loss to conceive. We are not ignorant of the convention of 1802. *We know every one of its promises.*

If however these are to be violated, and the fell war whoop should be raised against us, to dispossess us of our lands, we shall gratify the Georgia Delegation in their present earnestness to see us removed or destroyed, by adding additional fertility to our land, by a deposit of our bodies and bones—for we are *resolved never* to leave it but by parting with it and our lives together.

How the christians of America and of Europe will view this attempt upon our rights, and this effort to force our father the President to *violate the faith of treaties and dip his finger in our blood,* is not for us Indians to say.

But the cause is with God and good men, and there we are willing to leave it. We mean nothing disrespectful to any one, but justice and truth require that we should say this much on the occasion to which we have referred.

We are, Sirs, respectfully your obedient Servants,

Signed, JOHN ROSS.
GEORGE ROWLEY.
MAJOR RIDGE.
ELIJAH HICKS.

The Aboriginal Editor of a Cherokee paper called 'the Phœnix,' introduces a long review

of grievances thus:—'The field of argument is always entered by the Aborigines encumbered with peculiar disadvantages, when compared with our white neighbours, who have power and means to sustain them. But *Truth is able to penetrate the gloom which sometimes surrounds it, and justice will follow after* to disperse the dark clouds that hang in threatening volumes over the habitations of peace and innocence.

Mr. Hodgson a British subject who had lately travelled in North America, thus takes leave of the subject of the Indians. 'I now bade adieu to Indian territory, and as I pursued my solitary ride through the woods, I insensibly fell into a train of melancholy reflection on the *eventful history of this much injured race.* Sovereigns for time immemorial of the interminable forests which overshadow this vast continent, they have gradually been driven by the usurpers of their soil, within the limits of their precarious possessions. One after another of their favorite rivers have been reluctantly abandoned, until the range of the hunter is bounded by lines prescribed by his invader, and the independence of the warrior is gone.

'Even their present territory is partitioned out in reversion, and intersected with prospective boundaries of surrounding states which appear on the map, *as if Indian titles were actually extinguished,* and these ancient warriors were already

driven from the land of their fathers. Of the innumerable tribes which a few centuries since roamed fearless and independent in their native forests, how many have been swept into oblivion, and are with the generation before the flood. Of others not a trace remains but of tradition or in the person of some solitary wanderer, the last of his family, who hovers like a ghost among the sepulchres of his fathers, a spark still faintly glimmering in the ashes of a *nearly extinguished race.** It is not in our naval, military, or commercial character, that we have as yet appeared as a blessing to benighted nations. It is not when we press into the wars of christians, the tomahawk, and the scalping knife of the Indians. It is not when deluging his country with ardent spirits in the prosecution of an unequal traffic, we send forth a moral pestilence, before which the frail virtues of the Indian wither and fall like the dry leaves of his forests in the blasts of autumn. The men who fertilize the moral wilderness, and enlighten the benighted nations, are animated by a higher spirit than the desire of conquest, or the spirit of gain.'

* And *they shall come who were ready to perish,* to worship the Lord in the holy mountain at Jerusalem.

APPENDIX.

Pages 26 and 188, Note (1). (3).

Alvarez, a jew who had lived in China some time, affirms that they had been settled there about 600 years, and had obtained several privileges, on account of their services and fidelity to King Hun. That they were numerous in some provinces, and have synagogues in many of the great cities, especially in that of Ho-nan, and in its metropolis Kai-tong-fu, where they have a splendid place of worship, and a repository for the Holy Volume, adorned with richly embroidered curtains, in which they preserve an ancient Hebrew manuscript roll, but refuse to show it to any one. These Jews are unacquainted with the Holy language, and only mention the names of David, Abraham, Isaiah, and Jacob. They are very ignorant and remiss in the law; in many instances to the neglecting of circumcision, because the Chinese have upbraided them with cruelty toward their innocent babes in the infliction of that seal of the Abrahamic covenant.'* The latter description may apply equally well to the Jews nearer home; and therefore is no argument for concluding that they are of the more ancient branch of the captivity. Neither does the splendid synagogne and written word agree with the prediction of the prophet respecting this branch, viz. that they should experience, in their *outcast*

* Alvarez's History of China. Part I.

state, a famine of the written word, when they should in vain wander from sea to sea in search of what should then be out of their power to obtain. It is argued that they must have been there long before the suffering advent of the Messiah, since they never had heard of him. But when it is considered that the Chinese are idolaters, equally anxious to withhold and exclude information, the wonder would have been greater if they had heard. Of these inhabitants of the City of Ho-nan he observes, 'they had a synagogue with diverse apartments, in the centre of which was a high altar on which they placed the roll of the law on festival days.' In a letter written in Hebrew, which the Jews of Cochin sent to the synagogue of Amsterdam, they state that 'they had retired into the Indies, when the Romans conquered the Holy Land.' Scripture students are agreed that the Roman world, or Christendom, which supplanted the Holy Land in privilege, is to be *visited* with retributive judgments at the restoration of the people of Israel to Jerusalem, who is then invited to Arise, and shine! for the glory of Jehovah has returned to her. If our conviction is well-founded, the transplanted inhabitants of the Roman world have blindly met the same ordeal in the '*outcasts*' with the indigenous posterity of Japhet have had in the '*dispersion*;' and here we perceive a wondrous balance which would be wanting, if the Aborigines were another people, since there has been, and is, *one* ordeal for *all nations*. The privileges which *Christendom* has derived through the posterity of Abraham, constitutes no *new* ground of judgment; but greatly aggravates the guilt, and deepens the condemnation of Israel's spiritual debtors, if the crimes which condemned Egypt, Ammon, Moab, Tyrus, Edom, Amalek, and ancient Babylon, are those for which Christendom is answerable. * * *

They (the Jews) dispatched some of their own nation

into those lately discovered countries, with proper orders and directions for that purpose; but with as little success; (their search was for some portion of the people having the sceptre of Judah:) and it was not till Cromwell's time, that they received intelligence that Israelites were settled there. This at first came by a letter to the Rabbi Menasse Ben Israel, from Aaron Levi Montesinos, then travelling in those parts, and through the province of Quif, under the conduct of an Indian as he thought him, but whom he afterwards found to be an Israelite; and who assured him, that vast numbers of them lived concealed behind the long ridge of mountains called *Las Cordilleras*. He added, that his curiosity inducing him to pursue his journey towards them, he came at length to the banks of a river, where, upon a signal given by his guide, they perceived a great number of them on the other side, and heard them distinctly pronounce these words in the Hebrew tongue, Hear, O Israel, *Jehovah thy Gods is one Jehovah*.

The farther account they gave of themselves was, that they were brought thither by a kind of miraculous providence. They added, that they were descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and of the tribe of Reuben. Thus far the letter;* wherein there is not a word about the other tribes, much less of *Judah*, which one might have expected would have been preferably mentioned before that of Reuben, if the relation had been a forgery; as some learned men have suspected it; though others have taken pains to vindicate and back it.† However that may be, the Rabbi Menasse Ben Israel laid such stress upon it, that it induced him to publish his *Esperanza de Israel*, wherein he not only attempts to prove the vast number and

* Vide Petachiah ann. 1644.

† Acosta exemp. vit. hum. vol. i, c. 16, et al.

power of the Israelitish nation, from those found in *America ;* but hath been at pains to find out a new, and until then unthought-of route, to bring them out of Asia into that new part of the globe, by affirming that these two were anciently joined, and made but one continent; but were parted asunder by a miraculous providence at the straits, &c. *Manasse* was not the only person who had attempted to prove this early settlement of the *Israelites* in *America :* many others have done the same, though without tacking a miracle to it. And *it must be owned,* that one finds in that spacious continent so many apparent traces of Hebrew customs, as might incline one to believe that they might have been some, if not the very first inhabitants of it.* The historian adds, ' with regard to the tribe of *Judah,* to whom that sceptre was promised, it seems to have been preserved by a particular providence, &c. Manasse Ben Israel affirms, that the Roman power sent the most considerable Chiefs of that tribe into Spain † as captives, and it is not unlikely that that power did it with the same view, which he is said to have had in destroying all he could find of the house of David, ‡ namely, to prevent their too great distance from Rome's encouraging them to re-unite themselves into one government under some enterprising chief of their tribe, or be nearer at hand to suppress it, if any such thing were attempted. Even the famed Isaac Abarbanel, when in the height of his prosperity aud high favor with the Kings of Spain and Portugal, reckoned it one of the three calamities that attended their exile, that they had now neither king, nor kingdom, dominion, sceptre, nor judiciary power.' §—Universal History, p. 501.

* Sir William Penn's letter of the present state of the Amer. Colon : p. 143, 156, et seq.

† Esperanza D' Israel, fol. 40, col. 2. ‡ Joseph Ball, Judaic ad fin.

§ Abarbanel, Comment on Isaiah iii. 8.

Page 198, Note (2).

The Cabala was, previous to the first temple, orally transmitted. The reflective among the expatriated tribes could not fail to remember those various occasions connected with their history, in which the Word who proceeded from the Father, and by whom He created all things, had befriended them. It was the Word who spake out of the burning bush, and on whom Moses looked when he addressed him as Jehovah. It was the Word who as a pillar of cloud and fire, as a rock, and as heavenly bread, ministered to them in the wilderness. It was the Word *as man* with whom Jacob wrestled for a blessing, and who bestowed on him the Divine Name, from his having seen GOD-MAN. It was the Word who appeared *as man* to Abraham, when announcing to him the birth of his son, and whom Abraham addressed as Jehovah. It was the Word who appeared to Joshua, and to the saints in general under the title of the Angel of the LORD—of the Covenant, &c. It was the Word who met Balaam, and opened his eyes to see Israel's latter end of rest and peace.

Page 271, Note (4).

The following anecdotes are given in illustration of that regard to truth which distinguishes the Indians.

A chief from beyond the Missouri, during an interview with the land agent of the United States' Government, related a fact, the truth of which the agent appeared to doubt. 'You may believe,' said the Chief, 'my son (who was present) told me, and he never saw a white man.'

The other is from the National Intelligencer, subscribed John Adlum, and Dated Oct. 24, 1825.

'*He once told a lie,*'—was the emphatic language of an Indian in the year 1794, when I was surveying a large tract of land west of the Allegany River. One day while I was in Cornplanter's village, the news shout, as it is called, was heard; all the Indians immediately retired to their lodges, even their dogs went with them, when an old man went out to meet the news-bringer, and take him to the Council-house, where a fire was lighted, and refreshments carried, and time given him to dress and paint, in order to make a decent appearance. The Chiefs then went to the house, and as the young men followed, I asked an Indian who spoke English, and to whom (as he professed to be a priest, physician, and prophet,) I gave the title of doctor, whether there could be impropriety in my going to hear the news. He replied, No, 'that as I had been received as a friend and visitor, all the houses were open to me, and if I did not go without ceremony, it would appear as if I doubted their hospitality, the greatest affront that could be put upon an Indian. If there should be any secret business, they would inform me of it, in a friendly manner.' The narrator then proceeds to state, that after being seated, no one (contrary to the usual custom) asked for the news. I was at a loss to account for their conduct. Eventually, the Indian himself, after prefacing the business, told them he had no doubt, as they knew he had been to the west, that they would be gratified in hearing his news —to which no one in the company appeared to assent, or to negative.

He then gave an account of an affair between a convoy of Americans, (who were carrying reinforcements and provisions to one of our frontier posts,) and the Indians, who had killed the commanding officer and a number of our men—and after he had related all he had to say, no one asked him for any particulars of the

action, or for any corroborating circumstance, which appeared to me very unaccountable, as I had formerly observed, they were particularly polite to strangers and visitors, and were very cautious not to do or say any thing to hurt their feelings—and soon after the Chiefs and the other Indians began to leave the house.

I left the house with the Doctor, and as soon as we had passed the door, I expressed my surprise to him at the manner they treated the man who brought the news, as it was so very different from any treatment I had before seen, when visited by strangers; and that I would thank him to inform me of the cause of it. When he, without hesitation, emphatically answered, '*He once told a lie*,' and continued, 'what that man said, may be so true, may be so not—we always listen to what a news-man has to say, even when we know him to be a liar. But whether we believe him or not, it is not our custom to let him know, or to say any thing on the subject—for if we had asked him any questions about the fight, it would have been a great gratification to him, as he would have concluded some of the company did believe him, which is a thing in which we do not indulge any person who has once been guilty of telling a lie;'—and he concluded by saying—'*he is all one as dead.*'

Page 302, Note (5).

Address delivered at the Sanhedrim by a Jew.

'Soon after the establishment of Christianity, the Jewish nation dispersed after the second destruction of its temple. By the light of the flames, which devoured the monuments of its ancient splendour, the conquerors beheld a million of victims dead, or expiring on their ruins.

'The hatred of the enemies of that unfortunate nation raged longer than the fire which had consumed its temple: active and relentless, it still pursues and oppresses them in every part of the globe over which they are scattered. Their persecutors delight in their torments too much to seal their doom by a general decree of proscription, which at once would put an end to their burdensome and painful existence. It seems as if they were allowed to survive the destruction of their country, only to see the most odious and calumnious imputations laid to their charge, to stand as the constant object of the grossest and most shocking injustice, as a mark for the insulting finger of scorn, as a sport to the most inveterate hatred; it seems as if their doom was incessantly to suit all the dark and bloody purposes which can be suggested by human malignity, supported by ignorance and fanaticism. Weighed down by taxes, and forced to contribute more than Christians, for the support of society, they had hardly any of the rights that it gives. If a destructive scourge happened to spread havock among the inhabitants of a country, the Jews had poisoned the springs; or these men, cursed by heaven, had, nevertheless, incensed it by their prayers against the nation which they were supposed to hate. Did sovereigns want pecuniary assistance to carry on their wars, the Jews were compelled to give up those riches, in which they sought some consolation against the oppressing sense of their abject condition: as a reward for their sacrifices, they were expelled from the state which they had supported, and were afterwards recalled to be stript again. Compelled to wear exteriorly the badges of their abject state, they were every where exposed to the insults of the vilest populace.

'When, from his solitary retreat, an enthusiastic hermit preached the crusades to the nations of Europe, and a part of its inhabitants left their country to

moisten with their blood the plains of Palestine, the knell of promiscuous massacre tolled before the alarm-bell of war. Millions of Jews were then murdered, to glut the pious rage of the Crusaders. It was by tearing the entrails of their brethren, that these warriors sought to deserve the protection of heaven. Skulls of men, and bleeding hearts were offered as holocausts on the altars of that God, who has no pleasure even in the blood of the innocent lamb; and *ministers* of peace* were thrown into an holy enthusiasm by these bloody sacrifices. It is thus that Basil, Treves, Coblentz, and Cologn became human shambles. It is thus that upwards of four hundred thousand victims, of all ages, and of both sexes, lost their lives at Alexandria and Cesarea. And is it, after having experienced such treatment, that they are reproached with *their* vices? Is it, after being for eighteen centuries the sport of contempt, that they are reproached with being no longer alive to it? Is it, after having so often glutted with their blood the thirst of their persecutors, that they are held out as enemies to other nations? Is it, that when they have been bereft of all means to mollify the hearts of their tyrants, that indignation is roused, if now and then they cast *a mournful look towards the ruins of their temple, towards their country, where formerly happiness crowned their peaceful days, free from the cares of ambition and riches?*

By what crimes have we, then, deserved this furious intolerance? What is our guilt? Is it in that generous constancy which we have manifested in defending the laws of our fathers? But this constancy ought to have entitled us to the admiration of all nations, and it has only sharpened against us the daggers of persecution. Braving all kinds of torments, the pangs of death, the

* Acts xx. 29: Matt. vii. 15: John xvi. 1. 2.

still more terrible pangs of life, we alone have withstood the impetuous torrent of time, sweeping indiscriminately in its course nations, religions, and countries. What is become of those celebrated empires, whose very name still excites our admiration by the ideas of splendid greatness attached to them, and whose power embraced the whole surface of the known globe? They are only remembered as monuments of the vanity of human greatness. Rome and Greece are no more; their descendants, *mixed with other nations, have lost even the traces of their origin:* while a population of a few millions of men, so often subjugated, stands the test of thirty revolving centuries, and the fiery ordeal of fifteen centuries of persecution! We still preserve laws, which were given to us in the first days of the world, in the infancy of nature! The last followers of a religion which had embraced the universe, have disappeared these fifteen centuries, and *our temples are still standing!* We alone have been spared by the indiscriminating hand of time, like a column left standing amidst the wreck of worlds, and the ruin of nature.

* Had the Indians a faithful historian to write in their behalf, might they not refer to the facts set forth in the few foregoing pages, point to them as a contrast to their conduct, and say, 'Behold, these were your civilized nations?'

THE END.

