tained not indeed the original Indian dress, but that nearly which prevailed ten or twenty years before; but when those who were now in the decline of life should pass away, the dress of the Cherokees, it was probable, would scarcely distinguish them from the White people. The improvement in dress had extended even to the children. Formerly, most of the children of both sexes went entirely naked during most of the year. Now, there were few or no families in which they were not habitually clothed. A Cherokee girl especially without decent clothing was rarely seen. There yet remained room for improvement in dress, but that improvement was going on with surprising rapidity.

Except in the arts of spinning and weaving, but little progress had been made by the Cherokees in manufactures. A few, however, were mechanics.

The houses of the Cherokees were of all sorts, from an elegant painted, or brick mansion, down to a very mean log cabin. Of the mass of the people, it may be stated, that they lived in comfortable log houses—generally one, but frequently two storeys high—sometimes of hewn, sometimes of unhewn logs—commonly with a wooden chimney and a floor of puncheons, or what in New England is called slabs, conveniences which were unknown to them in former times.

In the furniture of their houses, perhaps, the mass of the Cherokees suffered more than in almost any other respect, by comparison with their White neighbours. Many of their houses were furnished decently, and a few even elegantly; but they were not generally well furnished; numbers had scarcely any furniture. Improvement in this respect, however, was making rapid progress.

In no respect, perhaps, was the progress of the Cherokees in civilization more evident than in the station assigned to woman. Though there was here room for improvement, yet in general they were allowed to hold their proper place.

Polygamy, which had prevailed to some extent, was becoming rare. It was forbidden by law; but the law, being as yet without any penalty annexed to it, had probably less influence than public opinion, which considered the practice as highly disreputable. A few were still living in a state of polygamy; but almost no one entered into it.

Superstition still bore considerable sway among them; but its influence was rapidly declining. Customs which it was once infamous to violate were fast disappearing. Most of the young men appeared to be entirely ignorant of a large portion of their former superstitions. Ancient traditions were fading from memory, and could scarcely be collected if any one wished to commit them to paper. Conjuring, however, was still practised to a considerable extent by the old, and believed in by the less enlightened among the young.

As to education, the number who could read and write the English language was considerable, though it bore but a small proportion to the whole population. The number who could read their own language was much greater; not less, it was supposed, than a majority of those between childhood and middle age could read it with more or less facility. The progress of education, however, could scarcely be called rapid; but an increasing desire for the education of their children was apparent among them.[1]

The Cherokees had even established among themselves a well organized system of government, consisting of three branches, the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial, with the safeguard of written laws and trial by jury.[2]

To these interesting statements, we have to add the singular fact of the invention of an alphabet for the Cherokee language, syllabical in its form and remarkably easy of acquisition, by a Cherokee of the name of George Guess, a circumstance which was at once a striking indication of the progress of the Cherokee mind, and a powerful instrument of its further improvement. He had seen books, and it was said he had an English spelling-book in his house; but he had no knowledge of any language except the Cherokee. Having, however, become acquainted with the principle of the alphabet, that written marks could be made the symbol of sounds, he conceived the idea that all the syllables in the Cherokee language might be represented by distinct marks or characters. In collecting all the syllables in it which he could remember, he found they amounted to eighty-two, which were afterwards increased to eighty-five. In order to express these, he took the letters of the English alphabet for part of them, par-

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxiii. p. 116; vol. xxvi. p. 154; vol. xxvii. p. 80.
[2] Miss. Her. vol. xxiv. pp. 193, 390.

ticularly the capitals, though not employing them to express the same sounds as in English; others of our letters he modified, while some appear to have been purely of his own invention. With these symbols he set about writing letters; others of the Indians learned the use of them, and a correspondence was very soon begun between some of the Cherokees east of the Mississippi, and those in the west, at a distance of 500 miles. The invention excited great interest among the Cherokees, and young men would travel great distances to be taught the new alphabet, and on returning to their native villages would teach it to others. So easy was the acquisition that an active Cherokee boy could learn to read his own language in a day, and not more than two or three days were ordinarily required for this purpose. He would not, indeed, at first read fluently; but he would soon do so by practice. Within two or three years after the alphabet was invented, a very large portion of the Cherokees learned to read by means of it, though it was not known that there had been such a thing as a school in which it had been taught; and while as yet there were no printed books in it, there was no part of the nation, it is said, where it was not understood. Mr Worcester, one of the missionaries, gave a decided preference to Guess's alphabet over such an alphabet as the English, even though it were to be constructed on philosophically perfect principles. In respect of simplicity it was greatly superior; and in no language, probably, could the art of reading be acquired with nearly the same facility. For writing, the characters were less adapted in point of form; but it might be hoped they would be so improved as to get over this disadvantage, while they possessed a great advantage in the small number that were required: they were in fact a kind of short hand. The Cherokees became quite enthusiastic in favour of their own alphabet. In their national council they rejected a proposal for substituting the English alphabet; they gave a medal to the inventor of so wonderful a method of writing their language; and in order that the nation might enjoy the full benefit of it, the government ordered at its own expense a fount of types in it, and also a fount of English types, a printing press, and the entire furniture of a printing office. A prospectus was issued for a newspaper, under the title of the *Cherokee Phœnix*, to be printed partly in Cherokee, partly in English; and the proposal

was immediately carried into effect. Elias Boudinot, a Cherokee young man, who had received a good education, was appointed editor, with a salary of 300 dollars. The government also hired a printer to superintend the printing office, to whom they gave 400 dollars a year, and another printer who received 300.

We thus see among the Cherokees the first printing press ever owned and employed by any tribe of Indians in North America; the first effort at writing and printing in characters of their own; the first newspaper printed among them, and for their own special benefit; the first editor of their own nation; the commencement, in short, of an organised system for diffusing useful knowledge among them.[1]

We have entered into these details in regard to the progress of the

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxii. p. 47; vol. xxiii. pp. 212, 382; vol. xxiv. pp. 162, 331.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1828, p. 71.

In March 1828, Mr Evarts was introduced at Washington to Graves, John Rogers, James Rogers, Black Fox, and George Guess, who formed part of a delegation from the Arkansas Cherokees to the United States government. "In Guess," says he, "I felt a particular interest. He is very modest in appearance, a man about fifty years old, dressed in the costume of the country; that is, a hunting frock, pantaloons, moccasins, and a handkerchief tied round the head. *The others were dressed as well, and appeared in every respect as well, as members of Congress generally.* The Rogerses speak good English; but Graves, Black Fox, and Guess spoke in Cherokee only. I asked Guess, by David Brown as an interpreter, to tell me what induced him to form an alphabet, and how he proceeded in doing it.

"Guess replied, that he had observed that many things were found out by men and known in the world; but that this knowledge escaped, and was lost for want of some one to preserve it; that he had observed White people write things on paper, and he had seen books, and he knew that what was written down remained and was not forgotten; that he attempted therefore to fix certain marks for sounds; that he thought if he could make things fast on the paper, it would be like catching a wild animal and taming it; that he found great difficulty in proceeding with his alphabet, as he forgot the sounds which he had assigned to marks; that he was much puzzled about a character for the hissing sound; that when this point was settled, he proceeded easily and rapidly; that his alphabet cost him a month's study; and that he afterwards made an alphabet for the pen, that is, for speedy writing, the characters of which he wrote under the corresponding characters of the other. The two alphabets have no great resemblance to each other."—Evarts's *Memoirs*, p. 305.

In an early number of the *Cherokee Phœnix*, there is a curious and more detailed account of the process by which Guess formed his alphabet, but we do not know on what authority it rests:—"Mr Guess," says the writer, "is in appearance and habits a full Cherokee, though his grandfather, on his mother's side, was a White man. He has no knowledge of any language but the Cherokee, consequently in his invention of the alphabet he had to depend entirely on his own native resources." "He at first thought of no way but to make a character for each word. He pursued this plan for about a year, in which time he had made several thousand characters. He was then convinced that the object was not attainable in that way; but he was not discouraged.

Cherokees, because they are the most remarkable example of improvement known among the Indians, and thus afford an interesting passage in the history of the human family, particularly in the New World. After the attainments which the Cherokees had made, there is no reason to question their capability of improvement; and had they been allowed to go on unmolested, there is no ground for doubting that they might yet have attained, in their descendants, as high a stage of civilization as the most civilized nations of the world; and what was realised in the Cherokees, there is every reason to believe might have been effected as to other Indian tribes.[1]

But interesting as was the progress of the Cherokees, a dark cloud now came over their prospects. Though the proposal which

He firmly believed that there was some way in which the Cherokee language could be expressed on paper as well as the English; and after trying several other methods, he at length conceived the idea of dividing the words into parts. He had not proceeded far on this plan before he found, to his great satisfaction, that the same characters would apply in different words, and the number of characters would be comparatively few." "In forming his characters, he made some use of the English letters as he found them in a spelling-book which he had in his possession. After commencing on the last-mentioned plan, I believe he completed his system in about a month."—*Miss. Her.* vol. xxiv. p. 330.

To persons contemplating the formation of a syllabic alphabet for other languages, the following observations by Mr Worcester may not be without their use:—"The applicability of the syllabic method of writing to any particular language may always, as it appears to me, be decided by the answer to a single inquiry, Does every syllable, or nearly every syllable in the language, terminate with a vowel sound? This is true of the Cherokee language. No syllable ends with a consonant." "If the syllables of any language are all open, that is, all end in a vowel sound, then the syllabic method is practicable; if not, it is out of the question." "But here, I may remark, that if I found *most* of the syllables open, the analogy of the Cherokee language would lead me to suspect that the exceptions were only apparent. A White man would not unfrequently write a Cherokee word with a consonant terminating a syllable; but let him get a good Cherokee scholar to divide the word for him distinctly into syllables, and he would find a vowel after the consonant which he had not perceived. Thus the word for the number *seven*, a White man would write *gul-quo-gi*; but a Cherokee would write it *ga-le-quo-gi*, or *ga-lu-quo-gi*, the *e*, or, as a minority would have it, *u*, being scarcely perceptible to an unpractised ear."—*Church Missionary Intelligencer*, vol. iv. pp. 66, 67.

Of late years a syllabic alphabet has been formed by the Rev. James Evans, one of the Methodist missionaries in the Hudson's Bay Company's territory, for the language of the Cree Indians; a fount has been cast of the characters, and a translation of the Gospel of John printed with them.—*Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 68.

[1] Most of the improvements of the Cherokees which we have detailed they had made since 1796, and particularly since 1803.—*Panoplist*, vol. ii. (N. S.) p. 475. They were the result partly of missionary influence, but still more of other causes.—*Miss. Her.* vol. xxvii. pp. 80, 82.

was made some years before to remove them from their ancient seats had been given up at the time by the United States government, it had been evident for several years past that the affairs of the Southern Indians, including the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws, were drawing to a crisis.

The State of Georgia originally claimed, under a charter from the King of England, the whole country between its present western boundary and the river Mississippi. Large tracts of land in the western part of this territory had been sold under a law of that State. The law was then repealed on pretence of some fraud in its enactment, the records of the State relating to it destroyed, and all titles under it were declared void and null. By this "Yazoo fraud," as it was commonly called, many who had purchased land on the faith of the State were reduced to poverty. Others took legal measures to defend their rights, and, in the end, the Supreme Court of the United States decided that Georgia could not, by repealing her own law, deprive the purchasers of their right to what they had honestly bought, and that their claims were valid against the State. To procure the means of meeting these claims, Georgia ceded to the United States all her right, title, and claim to the jurisdiction and soil of the lands now comprising the States of Alabama and Mississippi. The United States agreed to pay to Georgia the sum of 1,250,000 dollars from the first net proceeds of said lands, as a consideration for the expenses incurred by it in relation to said territory, and also to extinguish at their own expense, for the use of Georgia, as soon as the same could be obtained "peaceably, and on reasonable terms," the Indian title to all lands then occupied by the Indians within the present lands of Georgia. This agreement was usually called the "Compact of 1802," and was "ratified and confirmed" by the legislature of Georgia "in all its parts," and declared "to be binding and conclusive on the said State, her government, and citizens, for ever." In pursuance of this compact, the United States had acquired for Georgia, by several treaties with the Cherokee nation, by far the greater and more valuable part of their lands within the present lands of Georgia. But for several years past, the Cherokees had refused to sell any more of their country, and they had even enacted a law for punishing with death any chief who should attempt to do so. Georgia did not need the

lands, for her population was not more than seven inhabitants to a square mile; but she was afraid, that as the Cherokees were advancing so much in knowledge and civilization, they would soon so understand their own rights and interests that it would become impossible to get them to sell or exchange their country; and the avaricious part of her citizens coveted it, for money could be made by trading in its lands, and some parts of it contained gold mines. It was proposed that the State should take possession of it, divide the whole into small lots, and distribute them among her citizens by lottery. This plan appealed directly to the avarice of every voter, for it promised him the chance of drawing an excellent farm, or perhaps a mine of gold. Scarcely a politician in the State, therefore, dared do otherwise than be in favour of the measure, lest he should lose his place at the next election. The State clamorously urged the General Government to remove the Cherokees, reproached it with bad faith for not having done it sooner, and threatened to take the work into her own hands.[1]

In December 1827, the legislature of Georgia accordingly did proceed to assert the claim of that State to the Cherokee country in a different way, and on different grounds, from any which had been previously attempted. It was now discovered that the Cherokees had no title to their lands, that they were mere tenants-at-will, and that Georgia might take possession of them by force whenever she pleased! A long report containing these doctrines was adopted by both branches of the legislature, approved by the governor, and by him officially communicated to the President of the United States.

In December 1828, the legislature of Georgia, proceeding on these principles, passed an act dividing that part of the Cherokee country which lay within the chartered limits of the State into five portions, and attaching each of these portions to a contiguous county of the State, extending the laws of Georgia over the Whites resident within the limits now mentioned, and declaring, that after the 1st of June 1830, all Indians "residing in said territory, and within any one of the counties aforesaid, shall be liable and subject to such laws and regulations as the legislature may hereafter prescribe." It further declared, "that all laws, usages, and customs, made, established, and in force, in the said

[1] Tracy's Hist. p. 228.

territory by the said Cherokee Indians, be, and the same are hereby, on and after the 1st day of June of 1830, declared null and void;" and "that no Indian, or descendant of Indian, residing within the Creek or Cherokee nations of Indians, shall be deemed a competent witness, or a party to any suit, in any court created by the constitution or laws of the State to which a White man may be a party."

This was injustice and oppression with a witness;—to rob the Indians of their country; to overturn their government and annul their laws; to subject them to laws to be made by their enemies; and yet to place them, in a great measure, beyond the protection of all law!

Such proceedings were not confined to Georgia. After she had passed this iniquitous act, the States of Alabama and Mississippi adopted the same principles, and with a view to the same ends, namely, to make the condition of the Indians in their own country so intolerable, as to compel them to give up their lands, and remove to the west.

Hitherto the Indians had usually found a protector in the General Government, and they had been accustomed to speak of the president as their Father. But General Jackson, who had lately entered upon the office of president, early shewed that he was ready to carry out the views of their enemies. On the passing of the act of Georgia, a deputation of the Cherokees, then in Washington, addressed a remonstrance to him against it; but they were officially informed in reply that Indian nations residing within the chartered limits of any State, were subject to the legislation of that State, and that the president had no power to protect them from it. This was an entirely new doctrine to the Cherokees, and was utterly at variance with the whole intercourse which they had held with the United States government during a period of more than half a century.[1]

The four south-western tribes of Indians, the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws, now resided upon lands which came down to them from their forefathers through immemorial ages. These lands had never been in the possession of the Whites, nor had the title of the original possessors ever been abandoned by them, or in any way transferred to others. The

[1] Evarts's Memoir, pp. 338, 342.—Tracy's Hist. p. 229.

simple statement of these facts is enough to shew that the law of nations, and the fundamental principles of morality, forbid that these original possessors of the soil should be deprived of their inheritance without their own consent.

Besides, numerous treaties were made between the United States and the Cherokees, by which their national character was acknowledged, and various reciprocal engagements entered into. The Cherokees placed themselves under the protection of the United States, implicitly reserving to themselves all their rights and interests not expressly surrendered. A definite national boundary was fixed; they were left under their own government; an express and solemn guarantee was given them of all their lands not ceded to the United States; and in one treaty this guarantee was declared to be FOR EVER. Among other things, the Cherokees engaged not to form compacts with any foreign power, *with any separate State of the Union*, or with individuals. They agreed that citizens of the United States should have a right of way, but only in one direction, through their country; and that if an Indian should do injury to a citizen of the United States, he should be delivered up to be tried and punished. On the other hand, the United States offered them protection; engaged to punish citizens of the United States who should do any injury to them; abandoned White settlers on Cherokee lands to the discretion of the Cherokees; stipulated that White men should not hunt on their lands, nor even enter their country without a passport. These treaties with the Indians were uniformly ratified with the same solemnity as treaties between the United States and the great powers of Europe; and at the commencement of General Washington's administration, the great principles which were to be adopted in negotiating with the Indians received the deliberate sanction of the senate before they were embodied in treaties with them. Among these principles were an inviolable guarantee, and the free consent of the Indians to terms fairly proposed and fully understood.

Thus the matter stood on the basis of treaties; and with these the laws of the United States were in strict conformity. While intruders into the Cherokee territory were subjected to heavy penalties; and this territory was described in the intercourse laws as not being within the jurisdiction of the United States, or

within the jurisdiction of any territorial district of the United States, and of course not within the jurisdiction of any State. Intruders were repeatedly expelled from the Cherokee territory, in pursuance of treaties and the Intercourse law, by the armed force of the United States, facts which shew undeniably the independence of the Cherokees as a nation, and that no White man had any right to settle on, much less to take possession of, their lands.

In this manner were the United States bound to the Indians; and by the constitution of the national government, whenever the United States were bound as a whole, each State belonging to the Union was bound as a part. It was not denied, even by those who took part against them, that, according to the plain meaning of the treaties with the Cherokees, and of the intercourse law, they were to be protected by the whole power of the United States against the laws of Georgia; and all this was plain, even if Georgia had never consented to these treaties, but had uniformly protested against them. The fact, however, is, that Georgia had in numerous instances approved of the whole system of treating with the Indians, and had bound herself to that system as strongly as it was possible for a community to bind itself by the most solemn acts.

Alabama and Mississippi were equally under such engagements. It was stipulated, in the Compact of 1802, between the United States and Georgia, that whenever the territory between the west line of Georgia and the river Mississippi should be formed into a new State, it should not be admitted into the Union, unless it formally agreed to be received upon the basis of the ordinance of 1787 in all respects, except in regard to the article forbidding slavery. When Mississippi, so late as 1816, and Alabama, in 1819, applied to be admitted into the Union, congress prescribed, among other things, that these States should expressly agree to be received upon that ordinance; and the acts admitting them severally declared that they had expressly agreed to be received on the basis of that ordinance. Now, in that ordinance there is a provision that the States thus admitted should never encroach upon or invade the lands, customs, rights, property, or liberty of the Indians, unless in a just and lawful war, which could of course be declared only by the United States government.

It may here be proper to add, that the right of extinguishing the Indian title to territory, or what was usually called the right of pre-emption, belonged, by the constitution of the United States, to the General Government only. The very Compact of 1802, on which Georgia so much insisted, and which, by a solemn legislative act, she declared to be binding on all her citizens for ever, debarred her from claiming the extinguishment of the title of the Cherokees to their country in any other way than by means of treaties, to be negotiated with them by the United States.[1] These circumstances rendered it necessary, or at least made it be considered as advisable, in the further prosecution of the object in view, to have some regard to constitutional forms.

In May 1830, an act was passed by the Congress of the United States, providing for an exchange of lands with the Indians residing in any of the States, and for their removal west of the Mississippi. It placed in the hands of the executive half a million of dollars, to commence the work of removing them, according to a plan very imperfectly sketched in the act itself, but nowhere else described by the laws of the land, and never before sanctioned by the legislative and executive branches of the government. The words of the act professedly contemplated the voluntary removal of the Indians, but it was perfectly well known that they were utterly opposed to removing, and it was certain they would never remove with their free consent. This was well understood by their enemies, and they could have no hope of effecting their purpose unless by bribery and fraud, by false promises and unmanly threatenings, by oppressive laws and cruel deeds, and similar base and dishonourable means; but they were prepared to stick at nothing by which they might accomplish their base and perfidious ends.[2]

Mr Evarts, the Secretary of the Board, watched the proceedings in reference to the Indians, with the deepest interest, and exerted himself most strenuously in their behalf; he threw his whole soul into their cause. By his writings, by his counsels, by his correspondence, by his influence, he excited considerable interest in their behalf throughout the country, and among the better-principled members of congress. To General Jackson and his party, and the whole tribe of the supporters of Georgia, his ex-

[1] Evarts's Memoir, pp. 333, 360, 434, 445. [2] Ibid. p. 423.

posures of the injustice, the oppression, the baseness, the rapacity, the perfidy, the political depravity of their measures, must have been most galling. Seldom have the oppressed found such a friend; but this able and noble-minded man sunk under his exertions. His health had often been feeble, it now broke down, and after a few months more, he died.[1]

Georgia, finding herself supported by both the Executive government and the Congress of the United States, lost no time in carrying out her unprincipled plans. The Cherokee government was nearly prostrated; their council was forbidden to assemble; their laws declared null and void; their magistrates prohibited, under severe penalties, from enforcing them; intoxicating drinks were introduced without restraint; their country was traversed by armed troops; their property plundered; their persons arrested and imprisoned; their land claimed by others and surveyed, and they themselves threatened with immediate ejectment. The Cherokees bore their wrongs with much more patience and resolution than could have been expected, yet great anxiety and despondency prevailed among them. All enterprise and improvement were for the present at an end. They were careless about enlarging and cultivating their fields, or building themselves more comfortable houses, when they knew not but some of the Georgians might reap the fields which they had sown, and occupy the houses which they had built. Some abandoned themselves to idleness and intemperance. Their uncertainty and insecurity as to the future greatly aggravated their present sufferings. If they could not hold the country which had come down to them from their forefathers, and which had been secured to them by solemn treaties and established laws, where could they hope to obtain a permanent dwelling-place? If they could not trust the pledges already given them, what pledges could they trust? They found themselves to be under the control of a power which they could not resist, and in which they could not confide. Yet, amidst all their distresses they were still firm in their resolution never to abandon their homes, a striking proof of their attachment to their country, and of their unwillingness to exchange it for any other. To meet this state of feeling, Georgia had enacted a law that any Cherokee who should endeavour to prevent the selling of his

[1] Evarts's Memoir, pp. 269, 319, 324, 328, 336, 357, 374, 409, 417.

country, should be imprisoned in her penitentiary not less than four years.[1]

In March 1831, Mr Worcester, missionary at New Echota, Mr Wheeler, the printer of the *Cherokee Phœnix*, and Mr Gann, another White man residing at that place, Mr Thompson, missionary at Hightower, and Mr Proctor, teacher at Carmel, were arrested by a party of the Georgia military guard, and conducted to Laurenceville, a place more than a hundred miles distant, where the court for the county of Gwinnet was then sitting. These arrests were made without a warrant from any magistrate, or any civil precept whatever: the whole proceedings were entirely of a military character. That part of the Cherokee country in which the missionary stations were situated, had been lately declared by the authorities of the State of Georgia to be within its limits and under its jurisdiction, and it was enacted, among other things, by the legislature, that all White persons residing within the limits of the Cherokee nation without a licence from the governor, or such agent as he might appoint, and who should not have taken an oath to support the constitution and laws of the State, and to demean themselves uprightly as citizens thereof, should be punished by confinement in the penitentiary, and employed in hard labour for a term of not less than four years.[2] This law, which was recently enacted, was made, there was ground to believe, with the special view of getting rid of the missionaries under the false idea that they endeavoured to persuade the Cherokees not to leave the country. The fact is they had abstained from all political interference with the Cherokees in the way of counselling or influencing their proceedings; but yet they had, with great propriety, made known to the people of the United States their views of the injustice and cruelty of compelling them either to give up their country and remove to the west of the Mississippi, or to submit to the laws of the State, under which they would in no long time inevitably perish; and they also exposed the false statements which were put forth by their enemies for the purpose

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1831, p. 63.—Miss. Her. vol. xxvii. p. 247.—Evarts's Memoir, p. 444.

[2] This oath was understood as not only *including*, but as *particularly intending*, an obligation to support the jurisdiction of Georgia over the Cherokees; the recognition of this jurisdiction being the immediate design of the requirement.—*Miss. Her.* vol. xxix. p. 183.

of justifying their own iniquitous measures. But this was not the only ground of quarrel with the missionaries. The authorities of the State of Georgia had charged it upon the government of the United States as a violation of the compact with it, that they had encouraged and aided efforts for the instruction and civilization of the Cherokees, inasmuch as the progress of knowledge among them had the effect of attaching them to their country and rendering them unwilling to part with their lands, which the government was conditionally bound to purchase for the benefit of that State! The authorities of Georgia therefore wished to expel the missionaries from the country, because they were employed in communicating instruction to the Indians.

On the missionaries and their fellow-prisoners being brought before the court, which was presided over by Judge Clayton, their counsel applied for a writ of *habeas corpus* on the ground that the new law of Georgia was inconsistent with the constitution of the United States. The judge set aside this defence; but he declared that as Mr Worcester held the office of a postmaster, and as all the missionaries had been employed in expending appropriations of money by the United States for civilizing the Indians, they were in some sense agents of the general government, and that consequently they did not come under the new law, the agents of the United States government being expressly exempted from the operation of the act. He denied the right of the General Government to appoint such agents within the State of Georgia; yet the legislature had shewn so much complaisance to it as to make an exception in their favour. Messrs Worcester, Thompson, and Proctor, were accordingly discharged, while the others who were arrested with them were bound over to the next term of the court.

With this decision the executive government and the legislature of Georgia were dissatisfied. One member of the legislature stated, that so far from its having been their intention to exempt the missionaries from the operation of the law, the very object of it was to compel them to leave the country. It was, therefore, not to be expected that the matter would be allowed to remain where it was. Inquiry was now made at the Secretary of War, whether that department considered the missionaries as its agents; and though he evaded giving a direct answer, he stated circum-

stances from which he intimated a negative conclusion might be drawn. Mr Worcester was also removed from the office of post-master, so as to destroy the special plea in regard to him. The difficulties in the way of applying to them the laws of Georgia being thus removed, the governor of that State addressed letters to them, intimating, that unless they left the country without delay, they would be again arrested.

The Rev. Mr Worcester and Dr Butler were accordingly arrested shortly after, as were also the Rev. Messrs Trott and M'Leod, two Methodist ministers. It might have been supposed that they would be treated with all the civility and humanity which were compatible with their situation as prisoners; but instead of this, the grossest indignities were heaped upon them. After travelling three or four days, the last of which was the Sabbath, they reached Camp Gilmer, the head-quarters of the Georgia guard; and though it was the day of holy rest, they were marched into it with sound of fife and drum. Here they were thrown into jail; but Mr M'Leod, whose arrest had been incidental, was dismissed two days after, and Messrs Worcester, Butler, and Trott, were, after near a fortnight's imprisonment, liberated, on giving bail for their appearance at the next term of the Superior Court.

Having, according to their engagement, appeared in court at Laurenceville, Mr Worcester and Dr Butler were brought to trial, as were also Mr Trott, the Methodist missionary, and other eight persons, on a similar charge. The jury soon brought in a verdict of *guilty* against them all, and they were sentenced to four years' imprisonment and hard labour in the penitentiary at Milledgeville. On their arrival at the penitentiary, the governor offered to pardon them all on condition that they would not again violate the laws of Georgia; that is, that they would either take the new oath involving an obligation to support the jurisdiction of Georgia over the Cherokees, or leave the country. Mr Trott and the other prisoners promised to comply with this condition, and were released; but Mr Worcester and Dr Butler nobly refused to give any such promise, and were shut up in prison to be treated as felons, associated with felons, and worked as felons for four years, their only crime, as stated in the bill of indictment, consisting in being found where they had been expressly authorized by the

government of the United States to be, quietly prosecuting those labours for the improvement of the Cherokees which they were authorized by it to pursue, and their progress in which they had annually reported to it, and received from it, from time to time, expressions of its approbation, and, till within the last year, its pecuniary aid.

In the penitentiary there were about a hundred other prisoners. Mr Worcester and Dr Butler were confined at night in separate rooms, in which there were twenty-eight or thirty other prisoners; they were clad in a shirt and trowsers of coarse cotton, with the initials of their names and the term of their imprisonment painted on the breast in large characters; a blanket was furnished to them for a bed and covering at night; their food was coarse, but wholesome and sufficient in quantity. Mr Worcester was employed chiefly in a shop as a mechanic, and Dr Butler in turning a lathe wheel; but their work was not severe, and it is only due to the keeper of the penitentiary to state that he shewed them, during their confinement, great and unvaried kindness, and allowed them every indulgence which could be expected in their circumstances. Notwithstanding their confinement, they were cheerful and happy, supported by the testimony of a good conscience, and by the consolations which the gospel affords to those "who are persecuted for righteousness' sake."[1]

The Board of Missions now addressed a memorial to General Jackson, the President of the United States, shewing that the mission among the Cherokees had been originally established with the sanction of the United States government, and had all along been carried on with aid received from it; stating the circumstances of the arrest and imprisonment of the missionaries; and exposing the fallacy of the grounds alleged in vindication of these acts, by a reference to the treaties with the Indians, and other official documents, and even to the late Indian bill, in which it was provided, that no part of it should be so construed as to authorize measures in violation of any of the treaties existing between the United States and any of the Indian tribes; complaining of the invasion of their property by soldiers under the authority of the State of Georgia, laying claim to the buildings, improvements, and other

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxvii. pp. 79, 165, 243, 251, 283, 299, 363, 395; vol. xxviii. p. 19; vol. xxix. pp. 113, 184.

property at the missionary stations, and ejecting, or threatening to eject, the mission families; and praying that the arm of the Executive may be interposed for the protection and deliverance of the missionaries, and that they may be secured in the peaceful prosecution of their labours among the Cherokees; and further, that the Attorney-General may be directed to commence a suit in the courts of the United States against the offending officers of the State of Georgia, for the false imprisonment and other injurious treatment of the missionaries in violation of the treaties and laws of the Union, and of their rights as citizens of the same.

To this memorial, the President directed the following answer to be returned:—"That having, on mature consideration, satisfied himself that the legislatures of the respective States have power to extend their laws over all persons living within their boundaries, and that, when thus extended, the various Acts of Congress providing a mode of proceeding in cases of Indian intercourse inconsistent with these laws, become inoperative, he has no authority to interfere under the circumstances stated in the memorial." [1]

There was yet another tribunal in the United States to which an appeal might be made, the Supreme Court of Law. The case of Messrs Worcester and Butler was accordingly brought before it, by a writ of error, and, upon consideration thereof, the Chief-Justice Marshal, who presided over this court, issued a mandate declaring the lately enacted law of the legislature of Georgia, under which they were imprisoned, to be contrary to the constitution, treaties, and laws of the United States, and reversing and annulling the sentence passed upon them, and requiring that they should be immediately set at liberty.

This mandate was immediately laid before the court in Georgia by which they had been tried and condemned, and a motion was made by the counsel of the missionaries that the court reverse its former decision. But after the case had been argued at length, the motion was rejected. The court even refused to permit the motion or its own decision regarding it, or anything by which it might appear that such a motion had ever been made, to be entered on its records.

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1832, pp. 169, 174.

Immediately upon the refusal of the court in Georgia to obey the mandate of the Supreme Court of the United States, the counsel for the missionaries presented a memorial in their behalf to his Excellency, W. Lumpkin, the governor of that State, shewing in what manner the mandate of the supreme court had been rejected by the State court, and praying him to use the executive power entrusted to him, and discharge the prisoners. To this he refused to give any written reply, but he stated verbally that the prayer of the memorialists would not be complied with.

Measures were now adopted for bringing before the Supreme Court of the United States the refusal of the court in Georgia to obey its mandate. The missionaries had previously been visited by a number of highly respectable gentlemen (among others, by the late Attorney-General of the United States), and pressed not to appeal to the supreme court; and they were now again urged from various influential quarters to withdraw their suit, and it was intimated to them that in that case they would immediately be set at liberty. The governor of Georgia himself appears to have felt much anxiety on the subject, and though he made no direct or official communication to them, they were often and earnestly solicited by persons in his confidence, and who came from him, to desist from the prosecution of their suit, and assured that if they did so, they would not long remain in prison. This was a course which they were long unwilling to take; but it would seem as if serious apprehensions were entertained, that in the then perplexed state of national affairs, their perseverance in their suit might be attended with hazard to the public interests of the country, and that, in particular, the authority of the Supreme Court of law would in all likelihood be prostrated, whereas if they yielded, it would be only not tested, and that if this was to be put to the test, it ought to be at a more favourable juncture. Considerable good had already accrued from the stand which they had made; little good, probably much evil, would arise from the further prosecution of their cause. They had gained a decision in the supreme court which might be of much importance to the Cherokees; the law under which they had been imprisoned had lately been repealed, and if released, they would now be at liberty to return to their stations and resume their labours. Having taken all these circumstances into account, Messrs Worcester and

Butler agreed to withdraw their suit, and having made intimation of this to the governor, they were set at liberty after an imprisonment of sixteen months, and returned to the scenes of their former labours among the Cherokees.[1]

It is impossible to contemplate these proceedings of Georgia and of the United States government toward the Indians and the missionaries, without mingled feelings of indignation, and grief, and shame. We blush for the land of the "Pilgrim Fathers," for the country of Penn and Washington, with its much-boasted republican institutions,—the vaunted asylum of Liberty, whither she was thought to have fled, when persecuted and proscribed in the Old World, but where, when her place was now sought, she was not to be found. We know of nothing equal to these proceedings in the United States, except some of the worst doings of the worst governments in the worst times. They deeply implicate the character of the country throughout the civilized world, and not of the country only, but of republican institutions, of which she is the great representative and model in modern times. America should know, that whatever may be the extent of her territory, whatever the number of her population, whatever the amount of her power, whatever the magnitude of her trade and commerce, whatever the amplitude of her wealth, she will never be a great

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1832, pp. 93, 176.—Ibid. 1833, pp. 96, 99.—Miss. Her. vol. xxviii. p. 129; vol. xxix. p. 109.—Tracy's Hist. pp. 250, 280.

We cannot but here notice the humiliating position to which the government of the United States, and also that of Georgia, were brought by their procedure regarding the Indians and the missionaries. We have already seen their acts pronounced by the Supreme Court of law of the United States to be "contrary to the constitution, laws, and treaties" of the republic. We now find both of them *suppliants* to the Prudential Committee of the Board of Foreign Missions. Shortly before the missionaries had agreed to withdraw their suit, a letter was written, offering, on "informal authority, in behalf of the government of Georgia," that if the committee will station the missionaries anywhere beyond the limits of Georgia, they shall be immediately discharged, "in a manner which shall not attach to them the reproach of pardoned criminals;" and, "in behalf of the government of the United States, that the relief which the consent of the Prudential Committee to the foregoing proposition will give to the constituted authorities of Georgia, by enabling her, in the most efficient manner, to come to the support of the government and laws of the United States, *will be gratefully acknowledged*, and that the Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions *will possess the confidence, and will largely partake of the appropriations of the general government for the amelioration of the condition of the Indians.*"

To explain the above reference to Georgia being enabled "to come to the support of the government and laws of the United States," it may be necessary to state, that the doctrine of *nullification*, that is, of the right of a State to declare a law of the United

country unless her greatness is founded on truth and righteousness, on integrity, justice, and benevolence. She has already done much to stain her honour by her treatment of the Indian and the Negro races. That stain can never be wiped away; but she may yet redeem her character by a future course of just and honourable conduct toward her hitherto oppressed and miserable victims. If this, however, is ever to be effected, it must be chiefly through the instrumentality of the people themselves, individually and collectively. In no country, perhaps, is the government so much a reflection of the character of the population as in the United States. It is a concentration of their features—their picture in miniature. Every man has thus something to do with the character of the government; every man, therefore, should do his duty and exert himself to the utmost not to support party or party interests, but to choose wise, intelligent, just, benevolent, honourable men to make their laws and rule over them.

Meanwhile, the work of taking possession of the Cherokee country went on. The whole of the Cherokee territory lying within the chartered limits of Georgia was surveyed and divided into lots of 140 acres each, and distributed by lottery among certain citizens of that State; the law, however, forbidding the person drawing any lot on which there was the house or field of

States unconstitutional, and to prevent its execution within her limits, had become predominant in South Carolina. A convention, called by the legislature of that State, had published an ordinance nullifying the existing revenue law of the United States, forbidding the courts of the United States, their officers, and all other persons, to attempt to enforce that law in South Carolina; and declaring, that if the general government should attempt to enforce it, that State would withdraw from the Union; and it had drafted men, and provided military stores, to sustain its ordinance by force. If the missionaries should persevere in their suit, and the Supreme Court of the United States should attempt to enforce its decision in their favour, it was feared that Georgia, and also Alabama and Mississippi, would join the *nullifiers;* and then there would be four contiguous States leagued together to resist the general government by force. If the president should sustain the supreme court, all these States would turn against him; if he should permit Georgia to triumph over the court, this would strengthen the cause of South Carolina. Georgia wished to support him against the *nullifiers*, but she did not dare to do so while it was so likely that she herself would soon find it expedient to join them.—Tracy's *Hist.* pp. 280, 282.

Such were the difficult and perplexing circumstances—such the dilemma—in which the government of the United States now found itself. General Jackson, his cabinet, and Congress, had pursued a course "contrary to the constitution, treaties, and laws of the United States;" and it was not long before they found others following the example which they had themselves set. Such is the consequence of political depravity!

a Cherokee, to take possession of it, until his claim should be extinguished. This prohibition, however, it was said, was in many instances disregarded. The laws of Georgia were also to some extent established. Counties were organized, courts held, and magistrates and other civil officers appointed.

Hitherto the Cherokees, though they had been so much harassed and distressed, were almost unanimous in their resolution not to remove from their country, unless they were driven away by force. When an agent of the government recently appeared in their council, and proposed to them to meet commissioners from the United States government, for the purpose of making a treaty for ceding their country, they unanimously rejected the proposal without even a debate. But, after a time, much division of opinion arose among them on the question, whether it was expedient for them to make a treaty with the United States, and remove from their country. The parties who advocated and who opposed a treaty were both numerous, and manifested much warmth of feeling on the subject. Tempting offers had been made to induce the nation to cede their country, but without effect. Enrolling agents had been sent among them to induce as many as possible to enrol as emigrants; and through their efforts considerable numbers were led to remove to the west of the Mississippi. Others, after having their wrongs and sufferings laid before the tribunals of the United States, without obtaining redress, and despairing of being reinstated in their rights, came to the conclusion, that ultimate removal would be unavoidable, and that it was expedient for them to make the best terms they could, without protracting a wasting and unsuccessful opposition. The White settlers on the Cherokee lands were said already to outnumber the Cherokees themselves. The most corrupting examples were continually set before them, and no art was left untried to draw them into intemperance, and every kind of debauchery. The continuance of this unsettled and distracting state of things for several successive years, and the great and increasing temptations to which they were constantly exposed, were destroying more and more all motives to industry, undermining their morals, rendering them familiar with scenes of iniquity, and augmenting among them the amount of poverty, vice, and wretchedness.

In the winter of 1834 two delegations were sent by the Cherokees to Washington, with a view to make some arrangements with the government of the United States for the protection and preservation of their rights as a people. The one was appointed by the council of the nation, and represented that portion of it which was opposed to removing from their present country, and which was understood to embrace a large majority of the whole. Their object was to obtain some stipulation from the United States, by which, if they could not be reinstated in all their former rights and privileges as an independent people, they might secure a guarantee of the lands which they still had in their possession, and relief from various evils under which they suffered. The other delegation was appointed by that portion of the tribe which, though opposed to removal, if they could be restored to their former state, thought that, under existing circumstances, this was not to be expected, and that it was therefore expedient for them to remove to the west of the Mississippi rather than remain in their present country, under the laws of Georgia. The object of this delegation was therefore to secure for themselves, and those in whose behalf they acted, suitable remuneration for the property which they must leave behind them, adequate provision for their comfortable removal, a good title to a sufficient quantity of land in their new country, &c. Nothing was accomplished by the former delegation; but with the latter, outlines of a treaty were agreed upon, the Rev. J. F. Schermerhorn acting as commissioner on the part of the United States government. When, however, it was laid before the Cherokee nation, they refused to accede to it, and so it was broken off.

There appears now to have been some kind of reconciliation between the two parties, and delegates belonging to both, including Mr Ross, the principal man in the party opposed to removal, proceeded to Washington, to carry on negotiations directly with the Secretary of War.

In December 1835, after the departure of this deputation, another council was called by the Rev. J. F. Schermerhorn, the commissioner of the United States, which was attended by a portion of the Cherokees who were in favour of removal. With these the outlines of a treaty were agreed upon, and another delegation was appointed to proceed to Washington, where, after

some modifications, it was approved by the president, and ratified by the senate, though Mr Ross, and the delegates associated with him, protested against it at every stage of its progress, as being unsatisfactory in its provisions, made contrary to the will of the nation, and with persons wholly unauthorized to transact such a business, circumstances which ought surely to have invalidated it with just and honourable men.

By this treaty the Cherokees ceded the whole of their country to the United States, and they were to be removed within two years to a territory west of the Mississippi. For their lands, improvements, buildings, &c. they were to receive 5,000,000 dollars, and 650,000 dollars to defray the expenses of their removal, and of sustaining them one year after arriving at their new homes. The buildings and improvements at the missionary stations were to be valued, and paid for in the same manner as the property of the Cherokees; and such missionaries and assistants as a committee of the Cherokees should designate, were to be allowed the same sum each from the public funds, as was allowed to the Cherokees.

The great majority of the Cherokees were still decidedly opposed to the treaty, and expressed their determination never to submit to it. Efforts were repeatedly made by them to negotiate a new treaty, or to have some modifications of those features of the one already made which were most obnoxious to the great body of the people. A new delegation repaired for this purpose to Washington at the opening of congress; but though their cause was represented by them in a most able and lucid manner, and though their endeavours were seconded by a remonstrance signed by almost the entire population of the tribe, and by numerous remonstrances from various portions of the citizens of the United States, no important alteration in the treaty complained of was obtained.[1]

It will be recollected that the act of congress on which the

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1832, p. 96.—Ibid. 1833, p. 95.—Ibid. 1834, p. 106.—Ibid. 1835, p. 90.—Ibid. 1836, p. 88.—Ibid. 1837, 104.—Ibid. 1838, p. 120.—Miss. Her. vol. xxxi. p. 201; vol. xxxiv. p. 136.

In the memorial which the delegation presented to both houses of congress, praying for an investigation of the facts relative to the treaty which they alleged was negotiated with persons wholly unauthorized by the Cherokees to act in their behalf, and which, they asserted, had ever been, and still was, disapproved by nine-tenths of their people, they say, "Under our present impression, we feel it due to ourselves frankly to state

whole of these proceedings were founded, professed to contemplate the *voluntary* removal of the Indians.[1] What a commentary is the whole of this history on the words of the act!

Early in the winter of 1837 preparations began to be made for the removal of the whole of the Cherokees from their father-land; and as apprehensions were entertained that they would not submit without resistance, numerous fortifications were erected in different parts of their country, and large bodies of troops were collected and stationed in them. Still the Cherokees could not be persuaded but that some event would occur which would prevent the execution of a treaty which in their eyes appeared so iniquitous and oppressive. They therefore remained quietly at their homes, making no preparations for their removal. They were, it was said, even more prompt and industrious than usual in planting their grounds and preparing for a crop the ensuing harvest. General Scott was sent to command the troops and remove the Cherokees, and on arriving in the country he issued a proclamation entreating them to yield without resistance, and spare him the painful necessity of shedding blood. The day fixed by the treaty for their removal (May 23, 1838) arrived, and the troops immediately commenced their operations. Families were taken from their houses and farms, leaving their furniture, fields, and stock as they were, unprotected, to be possessed by they knew not whom, and were marched under strong guards to camps, which were to be their starting-places for a distant and a strange land. In the course of the following month nearly the whole of the tribe were gathered into camps, and some thousands set out by land or water on their way to the Arkansas country.

Owing to the severe heat of the season, the emigration of the others was then suspended till the autumn. Meanwhile Mr Ross and other principal men returned from Washington, and arrangements were understood to be made between them and the agents commissioned by the government of the United States to carry

that the Cherokee people do not and will not recognize the obligation of the instrument of December 1835. We reject all its terms; we will receive none of its benefits. If it is to be enforced upon us, it will be by your superior strength. We shall offer no resistance; but our *voluntary* assent never will be yielded. We are aware of the consequences; but while suffering them in all their bitterness, we shall submit our cause to an all-wise and just God, in whose providence it is to maintain the cause of suffering innocence and unprotected feebleness."—*Miss. Her.* vol. xxxiv. p. 137.

[1] Evarts's Mem. p. 433.

the treaty into effect, by which the removal of the remainder would be accomplished in a manner more satisfactory to the Cherokees. Companies consisting of about a thousand each, were to follow one another, after intervals of a few days, till all were on their way. Each company was to be attended by a physician, with waggons or boats for carrying supplies, and also the young, the aged, and the sick. Individuals selected by themselves were to provide supplies for them, and to have the chief direction of their movements. They were about 16,000 in number, and were divided into fourteen companies. The distance they had to travel was six or seven hundred miles; and the several companies were from three months and a half to five and a half on the way. When it is considered that they embraced all classes of the people, male and female, old and young, the sick and the healthy; that they had been detained within the narrow limits of their encampment four months before starting, meanwhile living on a diet to which they were unaccustomed, inactive, and exposed in various ways; that their journey was performed during the severest part of winter; that in the course of it they were sheltered only by tents; that many of them were without adequate clothing, and sometimes in want of suitable and sufficient food, it will not appear wonderful that great distress and mortality were the result. In the ten months which elapsed, from the day when they began to be gathered into camps to the time when the last company arrived in the Arkansas country, it is stated that there died no fewer than 4000 or 4500, being, on an average, from thirteen to fifteen deaths a day, out of a population of 16,000, or more than one-fourth of the whole. Nor does it appear that this dreadful sickness and mortality were owing to any negligence or bad treatment, or unnecessary exposure on the part of those who were engaged in carrying their removal into effect. All the arrangements were perhaps made and executed in as humane, careful, and efficient a manner as the nature of the measure admitted; and the Indians received not a few acts of Christian kindness and hospitality from portions of the people in the States through which they passed on their way to their new quarters. The sickness and mortality which prevailed among them were probably the natural consequence of the measure itself, and could not have been avoided by any precautions that might have been taken. Their sufferings,

however, were greatly aggravated by lawless Georgians, who rushed ravenously into the country, seized their property as soon as they were arrested, appropriated it to their own use, or sold it for a trifle to each other, before the eyes of its owner; thus reducing even the rich to absolute indigence, and depriving families of comforts which they were about to need in their long and melancholy march.[1]

During the long period of agitation and anxiety which preceded the removal of the Cherokees to the Arkansas, it could not be expected that the mission should make progress. All its operations were greatly deranged and embarrassed by the state of the political affairs of the Indians, and by the arrest and imprisonment of the missionaries. Several of the stations it even became necessary to relinquish. The mission premises at Haweis, whither Dr Butler had returned after his release from prison, were taken possession of, partly by force, partly by fraud, by the person claiming, under the lottery system, the land on which they stood. Mr Worcester was compelled, in like manner, to give up those at New Echota. The Cherokees, considering themselves to be oppressed and spoiled of their most valued rights by a Christian nation, extensively imbibed a deep prejudice against Americans and their religion, and against the missionaries as citizens of the United States, and as, therefore, in some degree, accessory to the injuries done to themselves. Instead of advancing as a nation in civilization, as they had been doing in former years, they appeared to go backward. Idleness, gambling, intemperance, and lewdness prevailed among them to an alarming degree. The members of the churches, as yet but partially instructed, and many of them living remote from their teachers, were daily exposed to numerous and powerful temptations; and a number of them fell before them, particularly through partaking of intoxicating drinks, to which they were artfully allured. Indeed, almost the whole nation were so much engrossed with their political troubles and prospects, that they were unable to give a profitable attention to any other subject. Most of the church members, however, held fast their integrity, and not a few "adorned the doctrine of God our Saviour by a life and con-

[1] Rep. Board, 1837, p. 104.—Ibid. 1838, p. 120.—Ibid. 1839, p. 135.—Tracy's Hist. p. 371.

versation becoming the gospel." The schools also were carried on, and the desire of the people to have their children educated was obviously increasing. Besides the schools previously in existence, circulating schools were now established, under native teachers, in different parts of the country. Each teacher had under his care a number of schools, which he taught on successive days of the week. In this way, many, both old and young, learned to read their own language. The plan was peculiarly applicable to the teaching of the Cherokee language, which was of so easy acquisition by means of its Syllabic Alphabet.[1]

Some of the missionaries and teachers followed the Cherokees to their new country,[2] and of the mission in that quarter we shall proceed shortly to give an account; but before closing the history of that in the east of the Mississippi, we must relate a very tragical event, though it took place in the country to the west.

In June 1839, shortly after the close of a council, in which much party heat had been manifested, Major Ridge, his son John Ridge, and Mr Elias Boudinot, the editor of the *Cherokee Phœnix*, were assassinated. The first was waylaid on the road, forty or fifty miles from home, and shot. His son was taken from his bed early in the morning, and nearly cut in pieces with knives. Mr Boudinot was decoyed away from a house which he was erecting a short distance from his residence, and then set upon with knives and hatchets; he survived his wounds just long enough for his wife and friends to reach him, but he was then speechless and insensible to surrounding objects. All these murders were committed on the same day, so that they were probably the result of combination, and were the deeds of different actors. The treaty of December 1835 had been made in violation of a law of the Cherokees, forbidding any chief, on penalty of death, to treat for the cession of their lands. The three individuals now mentioned took an active part in negotiating the treaty with the United States government, and in carrying it into effect, in opposition to the views of the Cherokee government, and a large majority of the people. Threats against their lives had often been uttered, and now they were treacherously

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1832, pp. 89-92.—Ibid. 1833, p. 95.—Ibid. 1834, pp. 102, 106.—Ibid. 1835, p. 88.—Ibid. 1836, p. 87.—Miss. Her. vol. xxx. p. 193.

[2] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1839, p. 137.

executed. The troops of the United States patrolled the Cherokee country for many months, for the purpose of apprehending the murderers, but without success.[1]

II.—*West of the Mississippi.*

In July 1820, the Rev. A. Finney and C. Washburn, and Messrs J. Hitchcock and J. Orr, after a long and toilsome journey, arrived in the Arkansas territory, among a portion of the Cherokee nation, about 6000 in number, who, within the last four years, in consequence of an exchange of lands with the government of the United States, had emigrated to the west of the Mississippi. Here they commenced a station, which they called Dwight; but the circumstances attending a settlement in a new country, presented for some years serious obstacles to the successful establishment of schools, and to the progress of Christianity among the people.[2]

In May 1828 a new treaty was entered into on behalf of the Cherokees of the Arkansas with the United States government, for an exchange of the country then occupied by them for other lands lying to the west. During the preceding winter nine of their principal men had proceeded to Washington as a delegation from the nation, chiefly for the purpose of obtaining a survey of their territory, and a definite settlement of its limits; but the United States government had already formed the scheme of removing the various tribes of Indians, whose country lay east of the Mississippi, to a territory west of that river; and though the delegates had no authority to make any new treaty of this kind, they were induced at Washington to agree to it. The news of it, when first received by the people, created great dissatisfaction among them, as the delegates were not authorized to sell or exchange their land, but, on the contrary, were prohibited from doing so by a standing law of the nation. Afterwards, however, when matters were more fully considered by them, the exchange

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxxv. p. 361.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1839, p. 139.—Ibid. 1840, p. 171.—Tracy's Hist. p. 400.

[2] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1820, p. 57.—Ibid. 1821, p. 71.—Miss. Her. vol. xxiii. p. 382.

was generally thought to be advantageous, and they became reconciled to it. Besides various grants of money to the Cherokees, to the amount of nearly 70,000 dollars, the United States government agreed to pay 2000 dollars annually for ten years, to be expended, under the direction of the president, in the education of their children in letters and the mechanic arts, and 1000 dollars towards the purchase of a printing press and types, and also 500 dollars to George Guess, for the benefit he had conferred on the nation by the invention of an alphabet for their language; and it promised to remove from the new territory all Whites, and every other description of persons who might be unacceptable to the Cherokees, and to prevent them intruding upon them ever after.[1]

Though the Cherokees had to remove to no great distance, and the difficulties of the journey were inconsiderable, yet the consequences of their removal were most disastrous. Many of them died in consequence of exposure and fatigue, want of suitable food and clothing, and comfortable dwellings. Nor did the evils end with their journey. No sooner had the poor Indians taken possession of their new territory, where they were to enjoy protection from White men, than a host of traders, understanding that they were shortly to receive a considerable sum of money from the United States government for the lands they had lately given up, came into the neighbourhood with large quantities of whisky, in the hope of robbing them of it in exchange for their "fire water." In this they were but too successful. The engagement of the government not being fulfilled at the time expected, and no provision being made by law for fulfilling it hereafter, the Indians sold their claims for what they could get, and expended most of the avails in the purchase of whisky. There was more drunkenness in six months than in the whole six years before. Men, women, and children, were daily to be seen in a state of brutal intoxication. Gambling, fighting, debauchery, murder, and every evil work, were among the sad results. Happily, however, the agent of the United States interposed, and enforced the laws against the introduction of spirituous liquors, and succeeded, to a great extent, in checking their sale.[2]

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxiv. p. 291.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1828, p. 88.

[2] Miss. Her. vol. xxvi. pp. 254, 299.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1830, p. 86.—Ibid. 1831, pp. 84, 86.

Several stations were established in the new territory, and meetings for religious worship were held regularly at each of them on the Sabbath, and occasionally at other times. The congregations were respectable as to numbers, and the attention was very encouraging. Great seriousness prevailed among the people, and a number, it was hoped, became partakers of divine grace. Some of these were men of much intelligence and firmness of character; they possessed the respect and confidence of their nation, and promised to exert a salutary influence upon the intellectual and religious condition of their countrymen. Improvement in the social and moral habits of the people was everywhere visible. They were enlarging their farms, building more comfortable dwellings, and beginning to enjoy most of the conveniences of life. Of the pupils educated in the school at Dwight, a number were employed by merchants as clerks; one was a physician; one the national secretary; one a district judge; and two clerks of the two houses of the national legislature.[1] These names may convey to our minds higher ideas than the reality; yet still they do indicate a very considerable improvement in the character and condition of a tribe of Indians.

In 1838 and the year following, a great accession was made to the Cherokee tribe west of the Mississippi by the immigration of the great body of the nation from their country east of that river. The jealousies and animosities which had of late years prevailed so much in the old country were brought to the new territory, and other causes of disagreement now arose between the old and the new settlers as to how they should be governed; but after some time their political divisions appeared to be healed. A general government was organized, the constitution and laws in force in the old country having been revised and adopted by all parties. Still, however, the Indians were in a very distracted state. A propensity to outrage and regardlessness of law extensively prevailed; neither life nor property was safe; assaults and murder were acts of frequent occurrence. Fresh animosities broke out among them, particularly on the part of the old settlers against the new; they alleged they had been wrongfully dealt with by the introduction of the whole body of the nation into the

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1831, p. 84.—Ibid. 1832, pp. 105, 108.—Ibid. 1833, p. 102—Ibid. 1834, 109.

territory which rightfully belonged to them; but though these dissensions threatened at times the dismemberment of the tribe, and the division of the country, matters were at length settled on principles which appeared to be satisfactory to the several parties. Such dissensions, however, added to all the hindrances growing out of a new settlement in an uncultivated country, could not fail to exercise a very unfavourable influence on the mission, and check its progress. The number of missionaries and other labourers in the mission was also greatly reduced from what it was in former years, and though two or three other stations were occupied, it was never afterwards placed on the same efficient footing it was before.[1]

Though the mission among the Cherokees has not fulfilled the hopes inspired by its early promise, yet the disappointment which has been experienced in regard to it, is to be attributed much more to the White people, and their iniquitous acts, than to the Indians themselves. Had they been allowed to remain undisturbed in their own country, or had they even removed, cordially and harmoniously, to the territory which they now occupy, we might not improbably have witnessed one of the most interesting examples of the progress of the gospel and of civilization which the world has ever seen. But when we turn to the scenes through which they passed; when we call to mind the wrongs which they suffered; when we think of the dissensions, and animosities, and deadly strifes which were sown among them; when we take all these circumstances into account, the wonder is, not that so little has been accomplished, but that all has not been lost.

We are not even yet without the hope that, provided they are not disturbed by the United States government, or by the intrusion of unprincipled White people, a foundation has already been laid for their future and permanent improvement. The Cherokees are still a numerous tribe, being estimated at about 18,000 souls, and they are in advance of all other Indians in intelligence and civilization. Their government is before that of any other tribe, and it is said to be in the main well administered. Justice is meted out to criminals with a good deal of promptness and energy. The progress made by the nation in temperance was

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1839, p. 139.—Ibid. 1840, p. 171.—Ibid. 1841, pp. 175, 177.—Ibid. 1846, p. 206.—Ibid. 1847, p. 190.—Tracy's Hist. p. 400.

very encouraging. There were about 3000 members of the Cherokee Temperance Society, who had pledged themselves to entire abstinence from all intoxicating drinks; and the general sentiment of the people was against the sale of intoxicating liquors within their territory. Indeed, the introduction of such liquors was rigorously prohibited by law; and though legal enactments were, as in other countries, sometimes evaded, the chief blame of this lay at the door of their White neighbours. Schools were established and maintained among them at the expense of the nation. In ability to read and write, there were not many portions of the civilized world which will bear comparison with them. The structure of their alphabet furnished great facilities for taking the first steps in acquiring knowledge. By means of it, reading and writing were learned at the same time. Some of the more wealthy Indians sent their children to schools of a higher order in the United States. A number of works had been printed in the Cherokee language, among which were various books of the New Testament, and a small portion of the Old. Many of the people were fond of reading, and some were able to read English as well as their own language.[1]

In 1852 the members of the churches in the Cherokee nation, five in number, amounted to 231. The progress of religion among them was less satisfactory than the state of education and civilization.[2]

Art. II.—Choctaw Country.

In May 1818, the Rev. Mr Kingsbury and Mr L. S. Williams left the settlement of Brainerd, in the Cherokee territory, east of the Mississippi, and proceeded to the Choctaw country, about 400 miles to the south-west, with the view of forming a similar establishment among the Indians in that quarter, a measure to which the United States government had promised its aid and encouragement. To this station they gave the name of Eliot, in memory of the venerable "Apostle of the Indians." Here, after much anxiety and toil in clearing the land, and in erecting houses, they

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1844, p. 219.—Ibid. 1845, p. 58.—Ibid. 1848, pp. 255, 287.—Ibid. 1850, p. 189.—Ibid. 1852, p. 149.—Miss. Her. vol. xlvii. p. 337.

[2] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1850, p. 189.—Ibid. 1852, p. 148.

opened a school for the children of the Choctaw Indians. In this department of the mission, the Indians themselves manifested the deepest interest, and of this they gave such unequivocal proofs as are perhaps without a parallel among unenlightened and uncivilized tribes. Three or four years before, the Choctaws had sold a tract of country to the United States, for which they were to receive 6000 dollars annually for seventeen years. The nation was divided into three districts, called the Upper, the Lower, and the Six towns; and each of these districts voted the sum of 2000 dollars, the proportion due to it, for the establishment of a school similar to that at Brainerd, only it was provided by the Six towns' district, that the half of its annuity should be appropriated to the erection and support of a blacksmith's shop, with iron, and the necessary utensils, for the accommodation of the Indians. Besides these sums, the Choctaws appropriated other considerable contributions to the schools. According to these resolutions, they were to contribute about 100,000 dollars to the education of their children. It was the endeavour of the missionaries to impress on their minds the advantages of instruction, and the propriety of their contributing towards the education of their own children, as they considered it as in every point of view of great importance that they should learn to help themselves. By commencing on a liberal and extensive scale for their improvement, they drew forth a spirit of liberality on their part, as unexpected as it was encouraging.[1]

In conformity with the grant of the Choctaws, a new settlement was begun in the district of the Lower towns, at a place about 100 miles south-east from Eliot. To this station was assigned the appropriate name of Mayhew; and another was afterwards formed in the district of the Six towns. The Choctaws, of the Upper and Lower towns, or as they are otherwise called, the western and north-eastern districts, made great advances, in the course of a few years, in civilization and good morals. It may fairly be questioned whether there has ever been witnessed, in any part of the uncivilized world, a greater improvement than was effected in the civil and moral condition of the Choctaws in these two districts. Their fields were never before cultivated with so

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1818, p. 23.—Ibid. 1819, pp. 41, 45.—Ibid. 1820, p. 52.—Panoplist, vol. xiv. p. 389.—Miss. Her. vol. xvi. p. 188.—Evarts's Memoir, p. 128.

much industry, or kept in so good order. They now possessed great numbers of cattle, horses, hogs, and other animals. They had also among them blacksmiths, carpenters, and coopers' shops; ploughs, spinning-wheels, and looms. At councils and other large meetings, they appeared comfortably, and some of them richly, dressed. A great desire was manifested by them to obtain furniture for their houses, and some were already supplied in a manner not inferior to new settlers in other parts of the country. They had organized a regular civil government, and enacted a code of laws, embracing, among other points, murder, infanticide, theft, marriage, polygamy, trespass, false testimony, enclosures of fields, making of wells, and settling of estates. They also abolished some old and injurious customs, though interwoven with their strongest prejudices and superstitions. Formerly intemperance was general among them. Not only money, but when that was wanting, clothes, blankets, guns, in short, every kind of property, would be freely given in exchange for whisky. Now intoxication was scarcely to be seen among them, except on the borders of the White Settlements; not that they had all lost their appetite for whisky, or that a majority of them were restrained from intemperance by the force of moral principle; but so sensible were the General Councils of the nation of the evils of the "fire waters," as they were not inappropriately called, that they passed laws strictly prohibiting the introduction of them into the country as an article of traffic. It must not indeed be supposed that all these improvements were the direct results of missionary labours. Enlightened chiefs took the lead in the work of reformation, and it was through their influence and exertions that some of the most important of these changes were effected. Yet it must also be admitted, that whatever of good these chiefs did for their people was owing, in a considerable degree, to the enlightening and sanctifying influences of the gospel.[1]

But though the Choctaws, in the western and north-eastern districts of the nation, made great advances in civilization, they for many years manifested in general much indifference to religious instruction. After ten years, however, of comparatively fruitless labour, there was the appearance of a richer harvest.

In August 1828 there commenced a remarkable awakening on

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxv. p. 121.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1823, p. 160.

the subject of religion among the Choctaws in different parts of the country; it extended even to the south-eastern district, where the gospel had hitherto excited little attention. They now manifested great desire for instruction; no listlessness nor indifference was to be seen among them. Some who before were violent opposers of the gospel, now became its zealous friends. Old men, whom once it was thought nothing could move, were among the first who were affected. Warriors, who had never before been known to weep, were now dissolved in tears. Many anxiously inquired what they should do to be saved. They laid aside, not only their vices, but their amusements. Instead of assembling for ball-plays and dances as formerly, they now met for prayer and praise, and to converse on subjects connected with their moral and religious improvement. It was delightful to hear the fervent prayers which were poured out from hearts so lately the seat of folly and every vice. In their meetings there was a solemn stillness, broken only by a deep sob or sigh. Parental influence was now exerted, to a considerable degree, to encourage and sustain those principles and habits which were inculcated on the children at school, one of the last things which ordinarily takes place in the process of improvement among a savage or half-civilized tribe. In the course of about two years from the commencement of this awakening, there were 332 of the Indians received into the church.[1]

In September 1829, a proposal was made by the United States government to the Choctaw nation, that they should remove from their present country to the west of the Mississippi, in accordance with the policy which it had of late adopted of removing the Indians generally from the Eastern States to the western parts of the American continent. Though the government of the United States had equally, as in the case of the Cherokees, acknowledged by the most solemn treaties with the Choctaws, and also by its own laws, that the property and the sovereignty of their country belonged to them, and that they should not be brought under the laws of the United States unless with their own consent, yet with the view of compelling them to remove to the west of the Mississippi, they were now officially informed that General Jackson, the president, did not consider himself as having power to protect

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxv. pp. 121, 187; vol. xxvi. pp. 21, 49, 113, 156, 252, 350.

them, or to prevent the State of Mississippi extending its laws over them; though there can be no question that the general government did possess such a power, and that it was bound to exercise it in behalf of the Indians. To the proposal of removing, the Choctaws manifested the utmost aversion; the chiefs and the people were equally opposed to it. But opposed as they were to removal, they early yielded in the struggle. A council was called to consider the proposal: the general feeling seemed to be that resistance was vain. A proposal for a treaty was then produced with all the articles written out. It was in the handwriting of Dr Tally, the most prominent of the Methodist missionaries, who with one exception were all present. This document, which contained the basis of a treaty, having been read to the people, was afterwards copied, and then approved and signed by a large number of individuals. The terms of the proposed treaty were not published; but it was sent to the President of the United States, and was transmitted by him to the senate, and was to be obligatory on the Choctaws if ratified by the American government.

Soon after the proceedings of the council became known, a chief, named Mooshoolatubbe, who had been obliged to resign his office a few years before on account of his dissoluteness and incompetency, together with a party who adhered to him, made loud complaints in regard to them, and, it must be admitted, not without very good reasons.

As the measure had been brought forward by the aid of the Methodist missionaries, all those who had been opposed to the progress of the gospel and to the restraints of intemperance, had a new and very popular topic to dwell upon. They said that the treaty, which was so framed as to favour a few chiefs, was the genuine fruit of the new religion; that Mooshoolatubbe and his adherents had always maintained that the Choctaws would be ruined by the introduction of Christianity; and that every friend of his country and of its rights ought now to set his face against the missionaries and their followers. Thus, by setting patriotism, which they could all feel and understand, against religion, of which many were entirely ignorant, the enemies of the gospel obtained a great advantage. In the south-eastern district, where Christianity had only of late obtained some footing,

the re-action was most lamentable. At a council held in that district, nine captains were removed from office on the ground that they were friendly to religion, and it was resolved that no professor of religion should be eligible to any office whatsoever. A law made only some months before for the observance of the Sabbath was annulled, and a resolution was taken that, instead of attendance on public-worship, ball-plays, dances, and all kinds of sports should be encouraged.

There can be no doubt that the Choctaws consented to the proposal for a treaty under the compulsion of necessity; the terror of being trodden down by unknown and oppressive laws, enacted and to be enacted by men who had little sympathy and no interests in common with the Indians. The legislature of Mississippi did, in fact, extend its laws over the Choctaws, with the view, there is little doubt, of forcing them to give up their country, well knowing how averse they were to live under laws made by White men.[1]

The late treaty was not ratified by the United States government, but it lost no time in renewing negotiations with the Choctaws, with the view of obtaining their lands on more favourable terms. Commissioners on the part of the United States visited them shortly after, for the purpose of inducing them to sell their country and remove to the west of the Mississippi. The Choctaws, when the proposals were made to them in council, appointed a committee of sixty, twenty from each district, to consider the subject and make a reply. They reported almost unanimously against making any treaty. Their report was approved by the whole body of the Choctaws assembled, and an answer was returned to the commissioners accordingly. Supposing the negotiation to be concluded, a large portion of the people returned home. The commissioners, however, assembled the remainder the following day, and after threatening to withdraw the government agent, to make them pay the expenses of the treaty, to take the land which they owned west of the Mississippi, and leave them to the operation of the laws of that State, they produced a treaty of a modified character, in which large quantities of land were promised to the chiefs and their relatives, with salaries in their new country. The Choctaws knew not what to do. They were told and believed

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxv. p. 377; vol. xxvi. pp. 82, 253, 384.

that the treaties existing between them and the United States would not avail for their protection. They were certain that they would be ruined if the laws of the State of Mississippi were extended over them; and they feared that this was the last overture which the United States would ever make to them. Some probably were also influenced by the salaries and the large reservations of land which were offered them. The treaty was finally signed.

Though the mission had been undertaken in accordance with the wishes, and had been carried on with the aid of the United States government, yet no provision was made in the treaty for refunding any part of the moneys expended by the Board in establishing and sustaining it, amounting, since its commencement, to upwards of 60,000 dollars. The mission property was now of very considerable value.[1] The missionaries of the Board were, much to their honour, expressly forbidden by the commissioners, in writing, to be present at the treaty ground, though the presence of all other persons was allowed.

When it was known to the people that their country was sold, it produced a general feeling of indignation. A large majority of the captains and warriors were decidedly opposed to it. The chiefs who were instrumental in forming it were deserted, except by a small number, and others were elected in their places. It is impossible to describe the distraction and despondency which prevailed among them at the view of being compelled to leave the land of their fathers, and to seek a new home in the western wilds of Arkansas, of which they knew nothing. They felt, as well they might, that great injustice had been done them. They said their land had been taken from them without their consent. In the Six towns, which contained a population of 2600, only one individual voted for the treaty. He was the principal captain of the Six towns; and afterwards succeeded, by his intrigues, in bringing over three or four of the other captains to his opinion. In the Chickesahe, which contained a population of at least 1000, only one captain and a very few of the common people were in favour of it. The country had been sold by a few individuals not only without the consent, but contrary to the will of the nation.

[1] The government afterwards ordered the property to be appraised; but all that was received for it was 4611 dollars.—*Rep. Board For. Miss.* 1833, p. 111.—Ibid. 1836, p. 94.

Multitudes were so distressed that they sat down in a kind of sullen despair. They knew not what to do. Some said, "We will not go to the west: we may as well die here as there." Some were for going soon, whose motives, it was feared, were no other than to become savages and hunters. Hundreds wandered away, some to their new country, some into the Spanish dominions, and some to other places. Many gave themselves up to intemperance, and were fast plunging themselves in ruin. Fraudulent speculators were overrunning the country. The laws of the Choctaws, excluding intoxicating liquors from their territory, having been abolished by the extension of the laws of the State of Mississippi over them, these unprincipled men introduced them in great quantities, and employed them, with too much success, in effecting their own base and nefarious ends. It was painful to witness the decline of religious feeling among the people. There was a very great falling off even of the church members. Little had the missionaries looked for so many spurious cases among those who once appeared to run well. This, under the circumstances, need scarcely excite our wonder. As that part of the nation which was opposed to Christianity attributed the loss of their country, and all their present calamities, to the introduction of the gospel among them, and the change of their customs, those who professed themselves Christians were on this account subjected to much reproach and persecution, which to young converts must have proved a severe trial of their sincerity and steadfastness.[1]

In 1831, and the two following years, the great body of the Choctaws, amounting, it was estimated, to about 15,000 persons, removed from their own country to the new territory assigned to them west of the Mississippi. The agents who were employed in removing them, it is stated, were generally faithful and kind; but when the Indian population of a whole district had to be gleaned up, including the men and the women, the old and the young, the healthy and the sick, the naked and the well-clad, and removed to another land, there could scarcely fail to be much suffering among them. The journey was long; a great part of the way was through an uninhabited wilderness, and large bodies of them travelled in the depth of winter. Some parties, scantily

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1831, p. 82.—Miss. Her. vol. xxvi. p. 385; vol. xxvii. pp. 18, 186, 285.

provided with food, barefooted and poorly clad, without shelter by day or by night, were overtaken by snow storms in the wide forests; others, in crossing the swamps of the Mississippi, were with their horses surrounded by the rising waters, from which there were no means of escape. The captain of a steamboat who took off one company, which had been six days in this perilous condition, and were nearly starved, said that he saw at least a hundred horses standing frozen dead in the mud. Many were attacked with sickness and died, a considerable portion of whom were young children and aged and infirm persons, who were not able to stand the fatigue and exposure of the journey; a number also died of cholera, which was then ravaging the country.[1]

In March 1832, the Rev. Mr Williams arrived among the Choctaws in their new country, and commenced a station among them, which he called Bethabara, and, in the course of a few years, a considerable number of stations were formed in various parts of the country. The people appeared to be generally satisfied with their new country, and laboured with a good degree of industry in preparing for themselves fields and comfortable habitations, and manifested generally considerable public spirit, though they had obviously suffered in their habits and moral character by their exposures to temptation while preparing to remove, and while on their long and perilous journey.[2]

The expectation had been held out to them, that by removing to this distant country they would escape from the society and influence of bad White men; but it was astonishing to see how many of these vultures flocked about them, getting either among or as near them as possible, in order to make a prey of them and of their little all. Intemperance, as a consequence of this, made sad havoc among them. Sometimes the nation seemed to yield to this the great enemy of their race, and deaths occurred

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxviii. p. 117; vol. xxix. pp. 133, 206.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1832, p. 100.—Ibid. 1834, p. 112.

After the migration of the great body of the Choctaw nation to the Arkansas, there still remained about three or four thousand in the southern part of their former country, and others were scattered over various parts of it. These, as they had no tract of land reserved to them, were in a very poor and wretched condition, and were exposed to many and powerful temptations.—*Rep. Board For. Miss.* 1834, p. 112. But after about twelve or fourteen years the remnant of the tribe emigrated to the westward, and joined their brethren.—*Ibid.* 1846, p. 205.

[2] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1832, p. 109.—Ibid. 1833, p. 114.

on every hand from violence, or the casualties which it occasioned. Again public sentiment was roused, and strenuous and successful efforts were made to suppress the use of all intoxicating drinks. The temptations, however, were great, and nothing but the most energetic and unremitting exertions were likely to prevent this scourge from desolating their country.[1]

In November 1842, a bill was passed by the National Council for establishing three boarding academies for boys, and four for girls, and appropriating for the support of the three boys' academies the sum of 18,500 dollars annually, and of the four girls' academies 7800 dollars yearly, making together the sum of 26,300 dollars as a public annual appropriation for the education of the young. In the academies for boys, agriculture and the mechanic arts were to be taught; in those for girls, household and domestic economy. The general supervision of all these academies was to be with the National Council, and one of those for boys was by law to be under its immediate management. The others were placed under the management of the missionaries of the Board, and of other missionary bodies. The system of education pursued in these schools, was in the English language; the pupils were not allowed to use their own language unless in a very few excepted cases. The Choctaws also set apart a fund for the collegiate education of a number of their sons, the interest of which they proposed, after it should have accumulated for a few years, to apply annually to this purpose. The pupils were expected to pursue their preparatory studies at their own schools, and to be subsequently sent to colleges in the United States. The Choctaws thus set an example of enlarged views, and of liberal provisions for the education of their youth of both sexes, which is nearly without a parallel among a people who, less than thirty years before, were reckoned as savages, having no schools, and incapable of appreciating their value.[2]

For some years after the removal of the Choctaws to their new country, the progress of religion among them appeared to be checked. The state of agitation into which they were thrown by the proposals made for their removal, the engagements arising out of their settlement in an uncultivated wilderness, and the

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1832, p. 110.—Ibid. 1839, p. 141.
[2] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1843, p. 166.—Ibid. 1846, p. 199.—Ibid. 1848, p. 251.

various temptations to which they were exposed, could scarcely fail to have an injurious influence in regard to their spiritual interests. But, of late years, religion made great advances among them; at times there appeared to be seasons "of refreshing from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power." Many were added to the churches, of such as, it is hoped, "will be saved."[1]

Besides school-books and numerous other works, the whole of the New Testament, and some books of the Old, were printed in the Choctaw language; and as the number of readers is constantly increasing, the call for books may be expected to increase in proportion.[2]

In 1852, the members of the churches in the Choctaw nation, ten in number, amounted to 1290. They appeared to be becoming every year more perfectly "grounded and settled," and "established in the faith" as they had been taught. "The Bible," Mr Hotchkin, one of the missionaries, says, "is producing a wonderful change in the character of the people." "I do not know a single individual among professors of religion where family prayer is neglected." "There is more of system," says Mr Stark, "in attending to Christian duties. There is more of it in the religion of the closet, and of the family, and of the sanctuary; more of it in the training of children and in benevolent efforts; more of it on the farm, and in providing for the household; more of it, in fact, in everything."

Of the same pleasing character is the testimony in regard to the industry of the Choctaws. Their natural aversion to labour, which they share in common with all Red men, is constantly diminishing, and it is fast becoming a disgrace to be idle. Not only are agricultural pursuits greatly on the increase, but the spinning-wheel and the loom may often be seen in active operation. These results appear in different districts just in proportion to the progress which the gospel has made. Some neighbourhoods are almost entirely transformed from an indolent, ignorant, thriftless people, into an industrious, intelligent, thriv-

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1846, p. 201.—Ibid. 1848, p. 246.—Ibid. 1849, p. 204.—Ibid. 1850, p. 182.

[2] Rep. Board 1848, p. 288.—Ibid. 1849, p. 208.—Ibid. 1850, p. 185.—Ibid. 1852, p. 145.

ing population. The laws are enforced with increasing strictness and impartiality; and intemperance, the great bane of the Indian tribes, is in a manner put down by the law and by public opinion.[1]

Art. III.—Osage Country.[2]

In April 1820, the Rev. W. F. Vaill and E. Chapman, Dr Palmer, physician, four farmers, one carpenter, one blacksmith, several females, and some children, in all twenty-one persons, set off from New York on a mission to the Little Osage Indians in the Arkansas territory. The Osages had been previously visited by a deputation from the Society, and had very cordially agreed to the establishment of a mission among them, the object of which was to promote among them not only the knowledge of Christianity, but the arts of civilized life. Besides the ordinary branches of learning taught at school, it was intended that the boys should be instructed in agriculture and the mechanical arts, and the girls in spinning, weaving, sewing, knitting, and domestic economy.[3]

The journey, or rather the voyage (for they sailed the greater part of the way) on the Ohio, the Mississippi, and the Arkansas, was upwards of 2000 miles. In the course of it, most of them were attacked by fever, and two of the females died; but after encountering these and many other difficulties, they reached the place fixed on for the missionary station, which, in allusion to the name of the Board, was called *Union*. A war, which soon after broke out between the Osages and the Cherokees, proved a serious obstacle to the progress of the infant settlement; but after some time the United States government interfered, and required

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1851.—Ibid. 1852, p. 142, 145.

[2] This mission, and that at Mackinaw, the subject of the next Article, were originally established by the United Foreign Missionary Society, which was instituted at New York in July 1817, and consisted chiefly of members of the different Presbyterian bodies in America. The missions of the New York Missionary Society, and of the Western Missionary Society, among the Indians, were afterwards transferred to that Society, which, with all its missions, was merged in the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in June 1826.—*Rep. Board For. Miss.* 1827, p. 126.

[3] Third Report of the Unit. For. Miss. Soc. pp. 13, 16, 18.—New York Christ. Her. vol. vi. p. 757; vol. vii. pp. 24, 407.

them to lay down the hatchet, though the Osages, not being satisfied with the terms of the treaty, acceded to it with great reluctance.[1]

In March 1821, the Rev. N. B. Dodge, B. Pixley, and W. B. Montgomery, Dr Belcher, physician, several persons as teachers, mechanics, and farmers, who with their wives and children amounted to forty-one individuals, set off from New York with the view of establishing a similar mission among the Great Osage Indians of the Missouri. The principal chiefs of that branch of the Osages had visited Washington the preceding summer, and had expressed an anxious wish that the same privileges might be conferred on them as were about to be communicated to the Osages of the Arkansas. After a voyage of about five months, they reached the place of their destination, about 150 miles north from Union, and commenced a settlement which they called Harmony. Immediately on their arrival, a council of about seventy chiefs and warriors was held, and presented them with a tract of land consisting, it was supposed, of about 15,000 acres. But sickness soon arrested the labours of the settlers. Heavy and incessant rains coming on before a single building could be erected, the tents in which they lived were found insufficient to prevent them from being continually wet, and frequently drenched by the rain. Almost all of them were attacked by fever: no fewer than eight of the men, and twelve of the females, were ill at one time; six died, including four infants. The confidence of the tribe, however, appeared to be secured beyond expectation; many of them manifested a strong disposition to cultivate the soil, and to live as White men.[2]

The following table will shew the stations which were established among the Osage Indians:—

Begun.	Little Osages.	Begun.	Great Osages.
1820.	Union.	1821.	Harmony.
1823.	Hopefield.	1824.	Neosho.

[1] New York Christ. Her. vol. vii. pp. 434, 632.—Miss. Reg. vol. ix. p. 165; vol. xi. p. 77.—Miss. Her. vol. xx. p. 257.

[2] Miss. Reg. vol. x. p. 110; vol. xi. p. 77.—Miss. Her. vol. xvii. p. 26.—Morse's Report on Indian Affairs, pp. 218, 222, 230.

This mission was carried on with much labour and patience, amidst many cares and interruptions, much sickness, and many deaths. The Osages were a people whom it was not easy to bring under the influences of either religion or civilization. Their wandering and predatory habits rendered it exceedingly difficult for missionaries to have much intercourse with them; and what little instruction was communicated to them was soon forgotten on their periodical hunting and war expeditions. It was with great difficulty that even a few of them could be got to meet for religious instruction. When spoken to on the subject of religion, they manifested utter indifference to it. Even the idea of happiness after death appeared offensive to some, and trifling and visionary to others. The schools opened by the missionaries were in like manner attended by few of the children; their parents had no desire to have them educated, but trained them up, both by precept and example, to follow their own wandering and predatory habits as the only honourable course of life. The whole of their conduct to the missionaries seemed to be contrived to throw as many obstacles in the way of their labours as could consist with keeping up friendly appearances toward them.[1]

In 1836 the mission among the Osage Indians was given up. It had long been carried on under many difficulties and discouragements, and these were now much increased, in consequence of treaties with the United States government for removing them from their lands. When the mission among them was begun, they had had comparatively little intercourse with White men; and though some of the vices and diseases of civilized nations had been introduced among them, yet intemperance, the great inlet of all evil and the barrier against all good among the Indians, was entirely unknown among them. But within the last few years White men had been settling in their country, and intoxicating liquors were introduced in great quantities, and the Osages, like other Indian tribes, contracted a fondness for them. The traders, who had great influence with them, employed it to prevent them adopting the habits of settled agricultural life, and to lead them to give themselves up more entirely to hunting, and to wandering further and further west, as the game retired in that direc-

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1827, p. 127.—Miss. Her. vol. xxvi. p. 285; vol. xxviii. p. 257; vol. xxix. p. 134.

tion. In consequence of these circumstances they were more idle and vicious in their habits, more poor and wretched than ever, and more hopeless as regarded both their evangelization and civilization.[1]

Art. IV.—Mackinaw.

In October 1823, the Rev. W. M. Ferry proceeded to Mackinaw, an island situated in the straits which connect Lake Huron with Lake Michigan, for the purpose of commencing an establishment, with a view to the civilization and evangelization of the surrounding Indian tribes. Mackinaw was the centre of the operations of the American Fur Trade Company. The principal agent of the company resided here; and here were congregated every summer not only numerous White traders, but great numbers of Indians of various tribes from around Lake Huron, Lake Michigan, and Lake Superior, and from beyond them, north and west, to Hudson's Bay and to the head waters of the Missouri, giving to the village a very crowded and bustling appearance. Sometimes no fewer than 1500 or 2000 of these children of the wilderness might be seen encamped on the island; some of them sheltered by their canoes turned upside down, and others by tents of mats or skins; all of them nearly destitute of clothing, except their blankets, and exhibiting almost every indication of poverty and wretchedness, as well as of the lowest degradation, intellectual and moral. Here might be seen the Indian in his native character, dress, and manners, as much as on the Rocky Mountains, wholly unchanged by any meliorating influence of Christianity or civilization, engaging in his dances and songs with all the wild and savage airs which characterized the inhabitants of these forests three centuries ago.

In consequence of Mackinaw being a place for the annual rendezvous of such numbers of the Indian tribes, children could be obtained almost as easily from a distance of many hundred miles as from the immediate neighbourhood. It was therefore selected for a central missionary station, at which there should be established a large boarding-school, consisting of children collected from all the north-western tribes who, it was designed, should re-

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1831, p. 30.—Ibid. 1836, p. 95.

main in it such a length of time as would be sufficient for their acquiring a knowledge not only of the branches of a common school education, but also of the various kinds of manual labour which appeared to be appropriate to their situation and circumstances. With this view, mechanics' shops were erected and furnished, and land was obtained for cultivation, which the boys were to labour a portion of their time; while the girls were to be instructed in the various household employments suited to their sex.

In connexion with the central school at Mackinaw, it was proposed to form small stations among the several bands of Indians in the interior, at which should reside a preacher, a teacher, and a farmer and mechanic, with a view to the improvement of the particular tribes among which they were placed. Around these stations, it was hoped, the youths who might leave the Mackinaw school would be induced to settle, and that, while they were watched over and preserved from relapsing into their former habits, they would aid by their example in introducing a knowledge of the arts of civilized life, and also of Christianity among their benighted countrymen.

Immediately after his arrival, Mr Ferry opened a school with twelve Indian children; and the number afterwards greatly increased. Children were brought to it from the shores of Lake Huron, Lake Michigan, and Lake Superior, from the head waters of the Mississippi, and even from the Red River, Lake Athabasco, and Hudson's Bay. Some were brought from tribes not less than 2500 miles distant, including the Ottawas, Ojibwas, Putowatomies, Winnebagoes, Menominies, Kinnestenas, Sacs and Foxes, and Sioux. The number of pupils rose sometimes as high as 170 or 180, of whom about 120 were clothed, fed, and lodged by the mission family. The others were day-scholars, and were provided for by their parents, or other friends who resided on the island. Some of them were full-blooded Indians, but the greater number were of mixed blood, the progeny of Indian mothers and men of English or French descent. This class of children were no less in need of instruction than the pure Indian, and their being well educated was of great importance; for the Indians of mixed blood never fail, as a body, to have more influence with their own people than the pure aborigines. As a matter of course,

they get more knowledge, and aspire to a higher style of living; and, as regards the extension of civilization and Christianity among the Indians, they are likely to exert a very important influence. Most of the children from a distance came in a very destitute state, covered with filth and rags, ignorant of the English language, and untutored in their manners. They were generally, however, easily subdued, became docile and amiable, and made good proficiency in their studies, and in the various kinds of labour which were assigned to them. The whole number of pupils educated in the school was about 300, of whom three-fifths were boys. More or less knowledge of agriculture was imparted to all the boys, and a considerable number of them were also taught some mechanical trade. All the girls were employed in household labours, in which the older ones exhibited a good degree of skill. Some of both sexes were well qualified to act as teachers, and were successfully employed to some extent in this way.

Previous to the arrival of Mr Ferry at Mackinaw, there was no Protestant worship on the island; and the Sabbath was entirely disregarded, being devoted wholly to business or to pleasure. But now a commodious place of worship was erected, chiefly at the expense of the residents and the traders, where from two to three hundred assembled for Divine worship. The Sabbath was as strictly observed as in almost any village in the land; a number both of the Whites and of the Indians were hopefully pious; vice and immorality were generally discountenanced; the Christian form of marriage was extensively introduced among those connected with Indian women; and the use of ardent spirits, as a drink and as an article of barter with the Indians, was almost wholly abandoned.[1]

In 1837, the establishment at Mackinaw was given up. The number of boarders in the school had previously been greatly reduced, the scheme being found to be very expensive, and to involve many difficulties, without accomplishing to the extent that was expected the chief ends in view. The business of the American Fur Company having been removed from the island, it was now no longer the resort of the traders and the Indians; and the

[1] Monthly Papers of Board For. Miss., No. 20, p. 78.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1827, p. 138.—Ibid. 1829, p. 82.

opportunities of exerting an extensive influence over the tribes, far and near, were thus at an end. Even the Indians who were scattered over the neighbouring country had lately ceded their lands to the United States; and, until their removal, the government, with a view to their instruction and benefit, was to furnish them with farmers, mechanics, and teachers, who were to be supported out of the funds due to them for their lands, so that in this way they were provided with schools; while the resort of great numbers of White people to the island of Mackinaw, particularly during the summer months, broke in upon the quiet and retirement of the place, and rendered it an unsuitable location for the mission-school.[1]

Art. V.—Oregon.

In March 1836, the Rev. Henry H. Spalding, Dr M. Whitman, and Mr H. Gray, set off for the Oregon territory, and after travelling, partly by water, partly by land, about 3600 miles, the greater part of the way through a country barren and desolate beyond description, they reached Fort Walla-walla, on the Columbia river, about 300 miles from the Pacific Ocean. Here, at a place named Waiilatpu, about 25 miles from the fort, Dr Whitman began a station among a small tribe of Indians, called Kayuses; and Mr Spalding began another station, named Clear Water, among the Nez Perces Indians, about 100 miles to the east of Dr Whitman's. A third station was afterwards established by Messrs Eells and Walker among the Flathead Indians, at a place about 70 miles from Fort Colville.[2]

Seldom have missionaries been made more welcome or met at at first with more encouragement than these to the western Indians of North America. "We might as well hold back the sun in his course," says Mr Spalding, "as hold back the mind of this people from religious inquiry. When they return from their tents, after the services of the Sabbath, they sometimes spend the whole night in perfecting what they but partly understood.

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1833, p. 123.—Ibid. 1835, p. 105.—Ibid. 1836, p. 103.—Ibid. 1837, p. 120.

[2] Miss. Her. vol. xxxii. p. 162; vol. xxxiii. pp. 123, 349, 423, 476.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1840, p. 177.—Ibid. 1848, p. 289.

I am sometimes astonished at the correctness and rapidity with which several will go through many of the events recorded in the Scriptures; but no history is listened to with such profound attention as the story of the cross of Christ. A paper with His name upon it, is clasped to the bosom with all the apparent affection of a mother embracing her darling child.

"Nothing but actual observation can give an idea of the indefatigable application of all classes, old and young, to the instruction of the school. From morning to night they are assembled in clusters, with one teaching a number of others. Their progress is surprising. Usually about 100 attend school. A number are now able to read a little with us at morning prayers.

"They appear very handy at every kind of work in which they have yet engaged, are remarkably kind, possess industrious habits, with scarcely the appearance of the savage or heathen about them. We consider them perfectly honest, and do not fear to trust them with any article we possess. If the least thing is found out of place, it is immediately returned."

When Dr Whitman and Mr Spalding made excursions through the country, they were often followed for days by hundreds of Indians, eager to see the missionary, and to hear him discourse to them on the truths of the Bible, when he encamped at night.[1]

It is truly remarked by Mr Eells that a missionary, on his first acquaintance with the Indians, is apt to judge much too favourably of them, and to give an extravagant account of their readiness to receive the gospel.[2] Of this we suspect the statements now given are an example. Indeed, we have little faith in extraordinary accounts of missions; and we have rarely found that our incredulity was ill-founded. If the friends of religion would look more to the constitution of human nature, to the character and condition of the heathen, to the nature of the Christian revelation, and to the ordinary course of the Holy Spirit's operations, and would exercise a little more of common sense in forming their opinions, they would be preserved from much error in judging of the progress and the prospects of Christianity among the nations. The love of the marvellous has been very injurious to the cause of missions, both at home and abroad.

There is little doubt that much of the desire which was mani-

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1838, p. 126. [2] Miss. Her. vol. xxxvi. p. 438.

fested by the Indians for missionaries arose out of mere selfishness. It was not usually the common people who expressed much desire for them; it was principally the chiefs, who expected, through their means, to increase their influence, and sustain their dignity among the people. Many were also actuated by a hope of temporal gain. Some of the Indians had come into contact with Americans in the mountains, and had received more from them for their beaver skins than they did from the Hudson's Bay Company; and this had raised a hope among them of gain from missionaries.[1]

In 1839 a small printing press was set up at the station of Clear Water, and an elementary school-book printed for the use of the Nez Perces Indians. This was the first book printed in the Nez Perces language, and the first printing known to have been executed on the western side of the Rocky Mountains. Though this will probably come to be an interesting circumstance in the history of Oregon, yet the establishment of a printing press is so common an occurrence in the annals of missions, that we would scarcely have thought of noticing the fact, were it not that in the present instance the printing press, with the types, paper, ink, and binding apparatus was the gift of the first native church at Honolulu, in Oahu, one of the Sandwich Islands, which twenty years before were involved in all the darkness and pollution of heathenism. The value of the whole was estimated at about 450 dollars, or nearly £100.[2]

The Kayuses and the Nez Perces Indians continued for some years to attend on the instructions of the missionaries, and to manifest more or less interest in them, and also in the schools, and in agricultural and other improvements; but they never realized the hopes which were originally formed of them. At times, indeed, the aspect of things was so discouraging, that it was even in contemplation to give up the stations. The Flathead Indians were never very promising. Some of the chiefs manifested not a little opposition to the gospel, and after some years the people cared less and less about instruction. The population of all the three tribes was very inconsiderable, and they lived

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxxvi. pp. 327, 441.

[2] Miss. Her. vol. xxxv. p. 446; vol. xxxvi. p. 230.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1840, p. 178.

much scattered, circumstances which were very unfavourable to their instruction either in religion or in the arts of civilized life.[1] Such was the aspect of the mission, when it was suddenly brought to a close by one of those sad catastrophes of which we are not without examples in the history of missions.

In November 1847, Dr Whitman, Mrs Whitman, and Mr Rogers, an assistant in the mission, were massacred at Waiilatpu by the Indians, under circumstances of great atrocity. The causes of this terrible outbreak of savage violence have never, so far as we know, been satisfactorily explained. Dr Whitman had just returned from burying an Indian child, and was engaged in reading. An Indian, to divert his attention, was in the act of soliciting medicine, while another came behind him and with a tomahawk struck him on the back of his head. A second blow on the top of his head laid him lifeless on the floor. Tilaukait, a principal chief, who had received unnumbered favours from the doctor, and who was about to be received into the church, then fell upon the dead body and mangled it horribly, cutting the face and head, taking out the heart, &c., and scattering them on the road. Mrs Whitman fled up stairs, where she received a wound in the breast through the window. Mr Rogers joined her, but they were persuaded to come down, the Indians promising not to kill them. They were, however, immediately taken to the door and shot. Five other Americans fell the same day, two of whom left each a widow and five children. On the following day, another, who had a wife and three sons, was killed. Eight days later, two others were dragged from their sickbeds, butchered and cut to pieces in the most brutal manner. One who fled, leaving behind him a wife and five children, was supposed to have been killed by another band of Indians.

Two adopted children of Dr Whitman were in the room where he was lying horribly cut and mangled, but still breathing. With their guns in their hands, the Indians stood around them ready to shoot them. A daughter of Mr Spalding was also in the room, and understood every word which they spoke. At length an order was given to spare them.

A large number of women and children were held as captives

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1840, p. 177.—Ibid. 1842, p. 193.—Ibid. 1848, p. 239.—Miss. Her. vol. xxxxvi. pp. 437, 441.; vol. xxxix. pp. 358, 367, 382, 384.

by the Indians for nearly a month, during which time three of them died. By the efforts of Mr Ogden, chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Vancouver, the survivors were at length redeemed, after they had suffered almost every wrong and indignity at the hands of the savages. He also sent an order to the Nez Perces Indians to deliver up Mr Spalding and his family, together with the other Americans at Clear Water.

Mr Spalding, at the time of the massacre, was at a place twenty miles west of Waiilatpu, visiting the sick and preaching to the Indians, and two days after, he was on his way to that station, and had come within two or three miles of it when he met a Romish priest, his interpreter, and a Kayuse Indian. The priest told him of the massacre, that he had camped at the neighbouring Indian village the night before, and had there baptized the children of the murderers; that he afterwards went to see the women and children, and had assisted two friendly Indians in burying the dead. He also informed Mr Spalding that his daughter was alive; that the chief had assured him the women and children would not be killed; that all Frenchmen, Hudson's Bay Company's men, and Roman Catholics, would be safe; that only Protestants or Americans would be killed. Mr Spalding's meeting with the priest was very providential. Had he not met him, he might in a little while have fallen into the hands of Dr Whitman's murderers, and shared his fate. Even as it was, his danger was great. The priest told him, that the Kayuse Indian who accompanied him had come with a design to shoot him; meanwhile he had gone back to reload his pistol, which had gone off accidentally, and would wait till Mr Spalding came up, and then execute his purpose; but our missionary having received some provisions from the priest, made his escape, and though followed by the Indian, he escaped by the coming on of the darkness of the night. He continued to travel by night, but lay still during the day, and at length on the sixth night he entered an Indian lodge near his own house, which had been left that day by Mrs Spalding through fear of the Indians. The Nez Perces, however, manifested generally a friendly spirit to Mr Spalding and his family in their present trying circumstances.

Besides Mr Spalding's family, there were other four Americans and two Frenchmen at Clear Water. Through the kind inter-

position of Mr Ogden of the Hudson's Bay Company, they were soon enabled to remove from that place to Fort Walla-walla, where they found the captives from Waiilatpu, who with them made in all sixty persons. Thence they afterwards proceeded to what was called Oregon City; there they received a cordial welcome from the inhabitants, who deeply sympathized with them under their sufferings, and generously relieved their immediate wants.

Messrs Walker and Eels, the missionaries at Tshimakain among the Flathead Indians, experienced much sympathy and kindness from them after the destruction of Waiilatpu. From other tribes, however, who were arraying themselves against the Whites, they did not deem themselves secure; they therefore at length removed to Fort Colville, and afterwards to Oregon city. Thus terminated the mission among the Indians west of the Rocky Mountains.[1]

Art. VI.—General Statements.

Besides these missions, the Board established many others among various tribes of the Indians. Some of them, namely, those among the Chickasaws, the Creeks, the Pawnees, the Ottawas, and the Stockbridge Indians, were afterwards given up. But there are still stations among the Abenaquis, at St Francis, in Lower Canada; among the Tuscaroras and Senecas, near Lake Erie, on reserved lands in the State of New York; among the Ojibwas, chiefly to the westward of Lake Superior; and among the Sioux or Dakotas, chiefly on or near the River St Peter's, west of the Mississippi. We do not, however, think it necessary to give any particular account of these missions, as they furnish few details of special interest; but we shall make a few general statements regarding the missions of the Board among the various tribes of Indians.

The number of Indians at or within reach of most of the missionary stations was generally not considerable, seldom more than a few hundreds, often not nearly so many; and even of these but a small portion commonly attended on the instructions of the missionaries.

In many of the missions, not much instruction was or could be

[1] Rep. Board For. Miss. 1848, p. 241.—Miss. Her. vol. xliv. p. 237; vol. xlv. pp. 68, 405.

communicated to the Indians; what was given was chiefly in the schools. The languages of the Indians were generally of very difficult acquisition, and there were few helps for acquiring them. It was long before a missionary or teacher attained a knowledge of them, and many never acquired a knowledge of them at all. Much of the instruction which was given to the Indians was, consequently, through the medium of interpreters, which is a very imperfect mode of communicating knowledge of any kind, but especially a knowledge of Divine truth. While those who were engaged in communicating religious instruction were often so imperfectly qualified for imparting it, those whom they sought to teach were scarcely more fitted for receiving it. The minds of the Indians were so darkened by ignorance, superstition, and prejudice, and were so little capable of comprehending moral and religious truth, that the words spoken to them fell on their ears as empty, unmeaning sounds, and conveyed no ideas to them.

Though the Indians generally gave the missionaries at first a friendly reception, yet, when they came better to understand their object, they often stood aloof from them, and shewed little disposition to attend to their instructions. They appeared to have no idea of any higher good than the gratification of their animal desires; and when they found that religion did not supply their bodily wants without their own exertions, but required them to repent of their sins and abandon their lusts, it lost all its attractions for them. Many were even greatly opposed to Christianity, and to all who embraced it. It has often been remarked, that, in Christian countries, females show a greater disposition to receive the gospel than the other sex; but, among the Indians, the women were generally more bitter and unyielding in their opposition than the men. When a heathen husband embraced Christianity, he had commonly to encounter greater hostility from his wife than when the case was reversed. Probably this opposition on the part of the women might arise from their greater ignorance and superstition.[1]

The migratory habits of many of the Indian tribes was a great obstacle to the progress of Christianity and civilization among them. Part of the year they were scattered on their hunting

[1] Miss. Her. vol. xxix. pp. 61, 311; vol. xxx. pp. 299, 301; vol. xxxix. p. 177; vol. xli. p. 58; vol. xliii. p. 161; vol. xlv. pp. 212, 326.