

Journal of Samuel Kirkland

Missionary from the Society in Scotland and Corporation of

Harvard College to the Oneida Indians and others of the Six Nations. From March 6th 1789 to Jan'y 1st 1790.

Soon after my return from Boston, before I had time to settle my domestic affairs, I was sent for to Albany, at the request of the Cayoga tribe of Indians, who were there on public business, accompanied with a deputation from the Onondagos and Oneidas, with one Seneca Chief. There I was detained for near three weeks. They settled their business to their entire satisfaction, and set out for their home in good spirits, tho' we parted with reluctance. The Cayoga Chief, called Kalistaje, alias Steel-trap, was very anxious, and pleaded with tears, that I should accompany him back as far as Oneida or Onondago, without returning to Stockbridge to see my family. He urged that my family were not to be compared to the concerns of his Nation, and that he wanted my assistance in forming some speeches for them at his return, as I was the only person acquainted with the state of things among the western tribes of the six Nations, I could afford him the very help he wanted. Good Peter on this occasion observed that it was the duty of Ministers to love their natural children as well as their adopted ones; and altho' my own children were few compared with my children of the six Nations, yet, if I did not sometimes attend to them, and especially since they were deprived of their Mother, I should offend the Great Spirit; and that the Cayoga Chief should be more thankful that I had attended so many days upon the concerns of his nation.

March 11. Set out from Stockbridge for the Indian country. The bad weather, with my poor state of health, prevented my making that progress I could have wished and expected. This week has brought me no farther than the German Flatts.

15 Lord's Day. At the German Flatts, but not in sufficient health to perform any public service.

17. Arrived near New Stockbridge, or Old Oneida, where I purpose to make my principal residence, the ensuing season, and prepare accomodations for my family if God shall spare my life to move them into this quarter. This place is situated near the Oriskene Creek, where the Indians gave a small tract of land to my two oldest sons, whom they had adopted, and also assigned three hundred and twenty acres as a parsonage lot, and a tract of twelve hundred acres to myself. It is about eight miles from old Oriskene, northward; and on the southward joining Brothertown (so-called) which is settled by various Tribes of Indians from the seacoasts in New England and Long Island; and has on the west New Stockbridge and a part of what is called Old Oneida, where four or five families of the Oneidas reside.

18. This day had a conference with several of the Chiefs, and wrote to the Chiefs to visit me, as I find myself too much fatigued to travel any more at present, and my condition daily continues but seems to become more obstinate.

19. Received word from Oneida that the Chiefs were gone to Fort Stanwix on business, and the warriors were almost universally on the hunt, from an apprehension that the extreme scarcity of provisions in this quarter would reduce to absolute want in the course of the season.

22. Lord's Day. Preached near my own quarters. Some of the Brothertown Indians attended. This is the first time I have been able to perform the various parts of public worship for more than three weeks.

25. Wednesday. I felt so well this day, I concluded to set out with an intention to visit several Indian villages, and from some encouragements I had given to keep Sabbath at Tuscarora and Oneida. I made but a short march this day; find the travelling to be extremely bad.

26. Lodged with Mr Sergeant at New Stockbridge, and spent an agreeable evening with him and some of his people. I find all alarmed on account of the uncommon scarcity of provisions, which is not in one single place, but almost universally thro' the territory of the Six Nations, and down the Mohawk River till we reach Albany.

27. Proceeded to Tuscarora, accompanied by an Indian to carry my pack. Arrived here about noon and received a most cordial welcome. This Tuscarora is the centre of the tract of land granted by the Oneidas to the Stockbridge Indians, and where a majority of the Tribe have settled and built the winter past. The intervals on each side the River were occupied about forty years ago by the Tribe of Indians called Tuscaroras, and is still retained by the six Nations. It joins Kanadesco on the north, and now settled by the remnant of that Tribe which remains in these parts. This place borders on Kanonwalchare or New Oneida.

28. Last evening attended a lecture and conference meeting till near midnight, and spent a great part of this day in conferring with Cap^t Hendrick, their Chief, and several others upon the concerns of their Nation, both civil and religious. After many conversations upon the methods to be pursued for their prosperity, they closed with the following address to me, delivered by Cap^t Hendrick, which I believe I can write from minutes in short hand almost verbatim:

"Father, we are glad to see your face once more. We all thank God that he has preserved you as well as us. We are sorry you are not so strong and in good health as when you left us beginning of last winter. But we know you endured a great deal of fatigue attending on the Cayoga in Albany. We see you wear yourself out for poor Indians."

"Now, Father, we have endeavored to say to you. We want to thank you for your friendship to our Nation. You have helped us from the beginning about getting our land for us, and then to have them properly secured for us and our children for ever. You have done a great deal for our spiritual good, and you have attended to our temporal good too, because if that was not secured to us and our posterity we should not enjoy the Gospel as a Nation. You have been a true friend to our Nation from the beginning! We never did find such a true friend of white men. Now we thank you. You have killed all our prejudices by love. Now, Father, we are glad God has given us a good inheritance, and for our children. We are glad too the same God has provided a place for your children just by us. Here we hope you will live and so by and by die with us in the wilderness.

"Now, Father, be of good courage. Preach with us tomorrow in the forenoon; then we will accompany you to New Oneida and so attend meeting there together; and some of them have told us they will come here tomorrow morning.

"Father, this is all we have to say; only that we hope God will reward you for all your love to poor Indians."

I write this speech principally to shew the understanding and ingenuity of some of the Indians, and how sensibly they can touch the feelings of humanity and move the tenderest springs of benevolence, notwithstanding the savage character so universally given them.

29. Lord's Day. Discoursed from Rev. 3.4: "Nevertheless, I have somewhat against thee, because thou hast left thy first love." This appeared to be a word in season to a considerable number, and a very tender and affecting season. They thanked me for my labor of love, as they stiled it, and requested a copy of my sermon, or at least so much of it as I had committed to writing.

In the afternoon travelled to Kanonwalohale, the distance of about three miles to the center of the town. Attended a m meeting there. Towards evening discoursed from Gal. 4.16: Am I therefore become your enemy because I tell you the truth?" The eldest Sachem, called the Beech-tree, lodged with me, and entertained me with a long and affecting narrative of the conduct of the French party.

30. Monday. Attended at the Beech-tree's and had another conference with him. Visited a sick person, and was visited by a number who have always been particularly friendly to me during their disputes, and were of the best characters in the Nation. I returned part of the way to my quarters on the Oriske, accompanied by the Beech-tree and several others; but the snow and rain obliged us to put up near New Stockbridge. I was so much fatigued and unwell that I could not commit to writing several of their speeches which discovered much ingenuity, and friendship without disguise.

31. Returned to my quarters on the Onike.

April 14. ^{Wed.} Monday. Visited by a number of New England and Long Island Indians. They agreed to attend divine service at my quarters the next Lord's Day; and the Sabbath after appointed to go to their village.

5. Lord's Day. My cough still continues with so much severity that I have been able to preach but once this day.

3. Wednesday. I have been visited this day by a number of The Oneidas and Tuscaroras, and had a long conversation with them. All full of their complaints of the extreme scarcity of provisions, and express a dread of coming to absolute distress. They tell me of several families who are already reduced to half a peck of corn. Received a message from the settlements of Tuscarora, requesting me to come and assist them in keeping a day of fasting and prayer, particularly on account of the scarcity of provisions. That God may be entreated by prayer and supplications in the name of Jesus to save their Nation, and not cut them off in his anger.

12. Preached at Brothertown agreeably to appointment. I discoursed (A.M.) from Rev. 3.4. P.M. they assembled again. Our exercises were but short. Towards evening married a couple, Thomas Flehaka and Elisha, with an exhortation and prayers on the occasion. A serious wedding it was. They returned me thanks for the seasonable discourse I had delivered to them this day, and said they could not but acknowledge it and receive it as the Lord's message, for many of them had fallen away and lost their first love. They agreed to attend religious worship at my quarters the next Lord's Day.

14. Visited by three Indians from Long Island, who were a deputation from that Tribe to view the tract of land lately granted by the Oneidas and confirmed by the State of New York. They informed me that their whole Nation have it in contemplation to move into this wilderness if they like the situation and their friends here think that they can make a living of it and a probability that God may build up that Nation. They wished for my advice upon the subject. They informed me that Mr Occum, the Indian Minister, had given it as his opinion that it would be best for them to dispose of all their property on the Island at once and move up and collect the scattered remnant of their Tribes to one place and become a people. But they were afraid Indians would not work like white people. And it might be that they would all suffer and come to poverty if they should move as a body into this part of the world, where there were no oysters and clams. They also told me, some gentlemen of the Island would furnish them with a year's provisions, on condition they should move into the vicinity of Oneida. They farther observed ~~observed~~ that if they thought they could all be united with regard to religion they would move up and make one effort to live like white people, and leave the issue with that God who governed all the Nations of the earth.

19. Lord's Day. Discoursed from 1 Tim. 6.6: "But godliness etc." Indians of several tribes attended, with some of their

neighbors in an adjacent settlement of white people. This has been the most agreeable, instructive and solemn Sabbath I have enjoyed for several weeks. But I have by some means or other renewed my cold, and my cough grows still more severe, attended with a constant fever, especially on Sunday evenings, and some pleuratic symptoms, that I am almost unfit for any service.

20. The last night and most of this day, have been quite laid up; but again visited by the aforementioned Committee from Long Island. Was obliged to attend to them, and provide them with supplies for their return.

21. Another message came from the Tuscaroras, acquainting me they had agreed upon a certain day for humiliation, fasting and prayer, and earnestly requesting my attendance: informing me that a number of the Tuscaroras and Oneidas would attend with them. Also proposed my spending the ensuing Sabbath at their new settlement.

23. I set out this day with an intention to reach Tuscarora. Travelled about three miles and was so unwell that I was obliged to put up.

25. Proceeded on my way, and called at New Stockbridge, and was visited by a few families remaining in that settlement. After an agreeable interview they concluded to attend public worship on Lord's Day at Tuscarora. Towards evening arrived here, and have been kindly received.

26. Lord's Day. Discussed from Daniel 2.17,18: "Then Daniel went into his house and made the thing known to Hananiah, etf..... his companions that they would desire mercy of the God of Heaven concerning this secret," P. M. from Jerem. 31.31: "And they shall be my people and I will be their God." My hearers on this occasion were composed of the Stockbridge Indians, Oneidas, Tuscaroras, and some others. Speaking in two languages, with other concurring circumstances, lengthened out the afternoon service to near four hours. The attention and apparent solemnity of this day has exceeded any Sabbath since my return. There are several persons who manifest a considerable degree of concern and a great degree of tenderness. Whether ever good is to come to them as a Nation is uncertain, but there is great encouragement to believe that a number of individuals will be gathered into the kingdom of the divine Redeemer, bear his image and partake of his spirit.

In the evening a number of persons came into my lodgings and conversed till midnight. One of the Tuscaroras gave me the following account of the unusual exercises of his mind: "That it appeared to him that he was two persons, or had two souls in his body, the one good, the other, bad. That there was a constant struggle within sometimes the bad mind or soul (as he expressed it) would get the victory over the good mind; and then he had the most fearful apprehensions of death, and seeing his Maker God. And he had no kind of comfort or pleasure in any present enjoyment or future prospect. At another time the good soul would rise and get the better of the bad one, and pursue it, as a person determined on the destruction of an enemy, and follow it in its windings and crooked paths, and at length all would seem to be melted and little

or no life remaining. And that had been the general course of his life for some months past, whether he was possessed of two minds or not. The bad mind would sometimes tell him that he had nothing to do with the Gospel of Jesus Christ; that Jesus had no concern with Indians; and that if he attended to his instructions he would be most certainly lost. And at other times the good mind would be disposed to risque all with Jesus Christ., let the issue be what it would. He prayed for help and advice, that if possible he might be fixed immovably upon Jesus Christ."

After this, had a long conversation with one of the Oneidas, who apprehended that he had for some days past new discoveries of the Gospel plan of salvation. His relation of his views and declaration of his purposes of future amendment were so lengthy that I could not commit any part of them to writing with any kind of connection.

27. A number of Indians convened this morning to take leave of me. After conversation upon a variety of subjects, they made the following address in a formal manner:

"Father, we have now to thank you once more for your love to us. God is so wise in his providence, and knows all things. We were very sorry to hear you were sick on your way to us last week to assist us in the solemn work of fasting and prayer on the day appointed. But the disappointment made us look more to God, and now you have come to us, we were better prepared to receive your message. By this disappointment we became more hungry for God's word; and this has been a good season with us. Our souls have fed upon the good word of God, which you delivered to us as tho' you knew our state. We will now tell you what made us keep a fast and pray. 1st We find a great deal of sin remaining in our hearts. It may justly make God angry with us, and we desire that God would make us a holy people, so that we may enjoy his protection. 2^{ndly} There are unhappy divisions among us, which we are afraid will hurt our nation. We are very sorry for this. We prayed to God that he would make us see who has done wrong, and give us repentance, and unite us together as brothers, stronger than ever we were before; that we may love one another so well, that our Pagan Brethern in the wilderness may have a good example from us, and so learn what the religion of Jesus Christ can do with Indians. 3^{rdly} The scarcity of provisions in our Nation, and everywhere around us, and among the white people too! We are afraid we can't keep together, and our Nation will be broken up and dispersed for the year. We see God is angry with us, and he can easily kill us for our sins. If he gives us no bread, we can't live; we must die. We therefore prayed to God that he would spare us a little while, and see how we should do one year more if he gives us bread. We prayed to God that he would send us warm weather, and give us a good spring for corn, and there might be a great harvest next fall. Then we prayed that God would look upon us and consider us in our present poverty; it may be he would open the hearts of some good people somewhere to help us a little, that we don't quite starve. 4^{thly} We pray, then, that God would give us his spirit in our hearts, and make us trust in him. Father, these were the reasons why we kept fast and prayed one day. And now we thank you for coming to us. We hope you will pray for us and help us all you can.

N. B. A part of the preceding address they had committed to writing; the remainder I took down nearly verbatim. About noon took an affectionate farewell, after singing a Psalm and praying together.

28. Returned last evening, and this day was visited by a number of the Indians from several villages. The burden of their song is their poverty and the present extreme scarcity of provisions. Their pressing, importunate applications to me for relief are too much, for the feelings of humanity to remain unmoved, even to the injury of one's property. They come with their intreaties and apply to me as their father and only friend, who will compassionate them in their distresses, and I cannot turn a deaf ear to their cries. I have been constrained to distribute to the necessities of some families, lest they should suffer.

30. The spirit of religion exhibited in the settlement at Tuscarora and others in that vicinity has roused the minds of many in this quarter, and particularly among the Brothertown Indians, to propose a day of fasting and prayer, and request my assistance. I accordingly preached this day to them, from these words of the prophet Egi. "For my name's sake I will defer mine anger etc."

May 3. Lord's Day. At Brothertown, discoursed one part of the day from Daniel 2. 17, 18.

9. Saturday. The most of this week I have been thronged with Indians from several villages and of different Tribes. The relief I afforded to a number of distressed families some time past has encouraged others to make application, and with such importunity as will not be denied, so that I do not expect my year's store of provisions for myself, servant, and hired man, will last more than three or four months. The new adjacent settlements of white people are in circumstances similar to the Indians, which adds much to the gloomy prospect that lies before us in this quarter.

I have just now received an affecting letter from one of the Seneca chiefs, whose son I was to have taken for instruction this season, but the extreme scarcity of provisions will make impracticable. He represents their situation on the Genesee as distressing and almost hopeless. He tells me they have made application in the most pressing manner to the Superintendent of Indian affairs in the vicinity of Niagara for supplies, but can get no relief as the inhabitants in that quarter are in the same distressed situation. He therefore entreats me to apply in their behalf somewhere towards the East, if it be possible to procure them some assistance.

10. Lord's Day. Preached near my own quarters both parts of the day to a considerable assembly, who appeared very attentive. But few Indians present, by reason of the bad travelling.

16. I have had visitants from Oneida, New Stockbridge, and Tuscarora almost every day thro' the whole of this week; some on religious accounts, some for an adjustment of domestic quarrels; but all plead, and some with tears, their distressed situation for want of provisions.

I was to have set out this day for New Stockbridge and Tuscarora, at which places am to preach tomorrow by appointment; but the weather being so uncomfortable, I concluded to defer it till tomorrow morning, having one of the Oneidas to accompany me thro' the woods.

17. Lord's Day. I set out early this morning with my Indian companion and guide to travel a direct course thro' the woods which was judged to be several miles nearer than the old Indian foot-path and sly-road in which the streams were high and the path very muddy by reason of the late plentiful fall of rain. My Indian guide, having just returned from a long hunt, was so glad to have the opportunity of free conversation with me, in which he was instantly engaged, that neither of us attended to the course we travelled till we found ourselves on the borders of Brothertown, nearly three miles out of our way, that when we had reached New Stockbridge we had travelled near ten, instead of six, miles, and it was 10 o'clock A. M. before we arrived. After resting about half an hour, preached from Isai 48.9: "For my name's sake will I defer mine anger, and for my praises will I refrain for thee, that I cut thee not off." Immediately after divine service was over, proceeded to Tuscarora on horseback; rested there a few moments and took some refreshment; then preached to the Indians of several Tribes who were convened in expectation of my arrival. Some of the Oneidas tarried till evening, when a considerable number collected with a view to have a couple joined in marriage. They tarried till near midnight for the sake of singing a Psalm, and an exhortation.

19. This evening returned by way of Brothertown, and feel myself much unwell. I was so fatigued and my spirits so much exhausted on Lord's Day evening that I had scarce any rest even in the small part of the night. I hired a horse to bring me home.

26. Soon after my return from Tuscarora I was taken with a pain in my side, with other pleuratic symptoms, which gradually increased for several days, when they became more violent. I immediately bled myself, there being no physician near at hand, and drank plentifully of a decoction of such of febrifuges as the woods afforded, that I am now able thro' a kind Providence to walk about. Some of the Indians, not hearing of my illness, came a considerable distance on Lord's Day to hear me preach, but were obliged to submit to the disappointment.

May 31. Lord's Day. I am so far recovered as to be able to preach a short sermon this day. Appointed to preach at Jigaghowete next Lord's Day for the sake of the Indians at Old Oriske.

June 2. Tuesday. Was applied to by the Oneidas and Onondagos to meet them at Fort Stanwix, about eight miles west of Oriske.

3. I this day rode to Fort Stanwix, and there met with most of the Oneidas, but the Onondagos were not yet arrived. The Oriskanes assembled the next day. Tarried with these in various conferences till Friday, and then returned to Jigaghowete, and made a short visit at Oriske.

7. Lord's Day. Preached at Jigaghqweto both parts of the day. The weather threatening a storm, but few of the Oriskane Indians came, and none of the Oneidas, who had agreed to attend there with their Brethern of Oriske.

19. Last evening I returned from Fort Stanwix, where I have attended upon the Oneidas, Onondagos, and Cayogas for near two weeks at their request. Preached on Lord's Day, but with little apparent attention to the things of religion. I find that I can administer instruction to the Cayogas and Onondagos no way so profitable as in a free conference and exhortation, after answering their questions. ✓ The Onondagos have invited me to make them a visit, partly in my clerical character and partly as their friend. Those pagans among them (after all > their pretensions) evidently appear to be afraid of the Christian doctrines as opposed to their ideas of the happiness of Indians. Several of this Nation, who lately came from the northward (since the war) are tinged with the Roman Catholic tenets, and exceedingly bigotted. Their two oldest Sachems have for several years given a preference to Christianity as taught by the Presbyterians, and occasionally attended them. The present extreme scarcity of provisions makes it very difficult to attend to these Indians in any place to advantage.

*elaboratory
diet of herbs*
Towards evening was visited by a number of the Brothertown Indians, but with the old story, praying for some relief to their hunger. One woman particularly, who suckles a young child, told me that she had for a considerable time lived on boiled herbs, seasoned only with a little salt. Her very appearance was truly affecting.

21. Lord's Day. Discoursed from Luke 10.40, and returned late in the evening from old Oneida.

22. Visited by three Oneidas, and spent some time with them, both upon their temporal and spiritual concerns to their great satisfaction. Towards evening was visited by three Indians on their return from the settlements below in quest of provisions. One of the company had been ✓ as far as the city of Albany to purchase corn, and from thence had brought on his back about one bushel and a peck, the distance of near one hundred and twenty miles.

24. Wednesday. I was beset this day with such importunity by several Indian families who were sick with the measles and utterly destitute of every kind of provisions, that I could not withhold, from the small remains of my own store, altho' I have not allowed myself two meals a day for some time past, and frequently but one, when I have travelled among them.

25. Thursday. Again visited by Indians, and particularly an aged Indian who has five in his family. He addressed me in the most tender manner, while every feature of his meagre aspect called for commiseration. "Father", said he, "I am almost discouraged. I am afraid God is angry with us Indians. We are now reduced to extremity. Never was such a time with us Indians. We are very hungry, and almost starved. I sometimes almost believe the great God has put his curse upon us. It may be for the sins of our forefathers; and that is the reason we can't live like white people. But I am not angry with the great God, We Indians are poor creatures. We don't conduct wisely. My family have not tasted any bread or meat for many days; nothing but herbs

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hoe my corn. I have been travelling all day among white people, but they can't give me anything. I have two shillings in money, but they won't look at it. I did not like to come to you, because you help so many; but I can't go home to my poor children unless I carry them something. You will help us if you can, because you pity Indians."

I mention this instance among many which have occurred of a similar nature, partly to shew the trying situation which a person of feeling may be subjected to in this wilderness, who is connected with the Indians; and partly to justify my own conduct. I have been censured by some for giving too much to Indians and thereby encouraging their idleness, when nothing but the mere dint of necessity will drive them to industry. But in their present distressed circumstances the common feelings of humanity, aside from the nobler principles of benevolence, would extend relief. It is true that I have injured my own interest and embarrassed my circumstances. In less than four months I have nearly expended my whole year's store of provisions, in consequence of which I have been obliged to purchase more at an extravagant price. I have given eight dollars for a barrel of corn, and sixteen for a barrel of pork, exclusive of two dollars for freight.

27. Having received a message from Kanonwalohale, particularly from the French party (so-called), I was advised to keep Sabbath there. Accordingly arrived here this evening.

28. Lord's Day. In the morning discoursed from Acts: 10.29: "I ask, therefore, for what intent ye have sent for me." P. M. Gal. 3.1. In the evening from Matth. 24.44: "Be ye therefore also ready."

29. Spent the whole day in Council, at the request of the Chiefs. Three French Traders were present, who produced a letter from the French Ambassador to the Oneida Nation, relating to the French priest who was at the lake, and as they said had been sent up to their Nation in consequence of their applications to the Ambassador. The letter was interpreted in full Council. The Indians in general appeared to be much surprised, and some of them not a little displeased. The French Ambassador, in his letter, had grounded the mission of the Romish priest to their country upon their application to him by letter, and had therefore enjoined them to receive him kindly, and give him a glebe of three hundred acres, clear a field, build a house for him, etc. etc.

Upon this a warm debate ensued, which lasted for several hours. All the Indians, except two, denied in public Council that they had ever desired a Roman priest, or sent for one, or knew anything of his coming till he had actually arrived at the Oneida Lake. The Indians alledged that if any such letter had ever been wrote to the French Ambassador, Mr. Penet, the French trader, and some of his party must have fabricated it. I decline any remarks upon the subject as it does not come directly under the duties of my mission, and an authentic copy of one of the letters has been transmitted to his Excellency the Governor of New York.

30. This morning a Chief of the French junto, called Akeandiyakhen, alias Coulence, came to visit me. In the course of his conversation he declared that from this day he would utterly renounce the French party, as they were called, and never more have anything to do with them; that he had been deceived and misled by them, and hoped he might be forgiven both by God and man.

July 1. Wednesday. Returned by Tuscarora, Old Oneida, and Brothertown, to my quarters on the Oriske.

2. This day was taken with a severe diarrhea.

9. I have been confined for these seven days past; greatly exercised with pain for some days, and a high fever. The physician I employed considered my disorder to be a dysentery, brought on by fatigue and want of suitable food, with the extreme heat of the season. He advised me immediately to take a journey, so soon as I could bear moderate riding upon a horse. I accordingly complied.

15. Arrived at Cambridge, and find myself much recruited, although I prosecuted my journey with too much dispatch, having a desire, since I had set out, if practicable to be at the Commencement.

August 15. Took leave of my family in Stockbridge and again set out for the Indian Country. The suffering condition of my domestic and secular affairs, partly owing to my long absence, called for my attention, and detained me longer than I expected when I left Boston. Of this I acquainted the Secretary of the Hon^{ble} Board by letter.

16. Lord's Day. At Green Bush, near Albany, and preached for the Rev^d. M^r Romaine.

20. Thursday. At the upper end of the German Flatts, where I met with some of my people, who were overjoyed to see me, as they had heard that my recovery was despaired of, and never more expected my return. With these I spent some time. Agreed to preach next Lord's Day at Old Oneida.

23. Lord's Day. Preached at Old Oneida from Luke 10.42 and Heb. 2.3. Many of the Stockbridge Indians being present, I was requested for their sakes to deliver my discourse in the English as well as the Indian language, which circumstance protracted our meeting till late in the day. Towards evening was solicited to visit a boy in the neighboring settlement, on the east side of Oriskene Creek, who had the misfortune to break his thigh. There being no surgeon in these parts, I was applied to for what relief I might afford, and as I had several times officiated in such cases among the Indians, no denial would be taken. Soon after I entered the woods, my horse lost the footpath, and it presently grew dark in the thick woods, partly hemlock, that I could not discover a single star to direct my course, nor could I determine by the bark of the trees any certain point of the compass. There I wandered alone, having parted with my guide to go another way to procure some herbs, in a dreary wood till near midnight before I found my house. I was so much fatigued and sweaty that I dare not venture to encamp without fire for fear of taking cold.

29. The week past have felt myself unable to do much; have spent most of the time in receiving visits from the Indians of several villages.

30. Lord's Day. Preached at Oriske from John 17th "That they all may be one etc."

September 4. The beginning of this week was applied to by the Oneida chiefs to assist them in settling and adjusting a difficulty that had taken place between them and some of their neighbors. Have spent near three days with them upon the subject, before a complete adjustment and reconciliation could be effected.

5. Saturday. I have this day attended to free but close conversation with several chiefs upon the character and state of the Indians. Among ~~Among~~ other subjects, was finally requested, as a friend to Indians and a minister of the Gospel, to answer or give my opinion to several questions, viz:

1st Whether I did not think in my mind that the displeasure of Heaven in a singular manner rested upon the Indian Nations?

2nd Whether this displeasure of Heaven or curse of God was not inflicted upon them for some great sin committed by their forefathers? And if this was denied,

3^{rdly} What did the great God mean by what is said in the second commandment, that he would visit the iniquities of the Fathers upon the Children unto the third and fourth generation?

This conference gave me great anxiety, not only from the delicacy and intricate nature of the subject, but the disposition of some of the Indians who were present. I knew some of them had imbibed great jealousies of the white people and a deep-rooted prejudice against them, however, they might conceal it in their general deportment. I also knew that some of the Indians of late years had imbibed and endeavoured to propagate this sentiment, viz. That the Indians are punished for the sins of the forefathers, and the displeasure of the Great Spirit is fixed upon them; in consequence of which they cannot reform and become a prosperous Nation like the white people, untill such time as this curse or punishment should be removed. Let them exert themselves ever so much, all attempts would be utterly fruitless. This sentiment has been adopted and cultivated by some Indians of very considerable abilities, who have become most acquainted with divine revelation, and apparently with a view to check the remonstrances and quiet the clamours of conscience, and to justify themselves in their general course of idleness, intemperance, stupidity, and ingratitude.

I find a very great differences in the natural disposition of the Indians, as well as in their feelings towards white people. Some appear constitutionally to possess a larger share of humanity than others, and are much more docile and liberal in their sentiments towards white people.

I have sometimes conversed with a number of the Indians upon their present state and character as a people, and have endeavoured to assign the natural and moral cause of the rise and prosperity of nations, and the probable reasons of the difference betwixt them and the English, in point of strength, affluence, accomodations, arts, etc., and while descending on this subject altho' with tenderness and prudence, the breasts of some would rise and swell, till their resentment could scarcely brook restraint. At the same time others would converse with great freedom and

and impartiality, and in the most feeling manner. I have known them mourn and sigh and weep like children, in the view of their present miserable state, compared with the white people. They would observe that the harbours and rivers which once received a few canoes only from the former, were now crowded and occupied with great ships, The production of the latter; and where the Indians had a few smoaks (as they express it) i.e., wigwags, great cities and lofty houses were now built by the white people. Fields and meadows which their forefathers sold for the value of a penny, could not now be purchased for an hundred or a thousand. I have known some Indians while expatiating upon these subjects in the most affecting manner, justify the Deity as the great Governor of the world in making a difference among the nations of the earth. While blessings of every kind flowed down like a river upon the white people, as tho' God begrudged them nothing, calamity, wretchedness and poverty were the lot of the Indians. And what was worse than all, the poor Indians would not believe it!

But to return to the subject of our conference, which was very long. I can only mention some of the general arguments I made use of, and such as I conceived to be most likely to take hold of an Indian's mind.

The first question I ascended to, and answered in the affirmative, viz. "Whether I did not think in my mind that the displeasure of Heaven in a singular manner rested upon the Indian nations. Or whether there were not more expressions of divine displeasure and fewer tokens of approbations in God's conduct towards them than towards the English Nation, as I afterwards stated the question. I endeavoured to adduce evidences of this divine anger. This I conceived among other things of importance to be held up to the view of the Indians and inculcated, in order to get hold of their minds and fasten this conviction upon them, viz., that many of their practices were highly displeasing to God. I also endeavoured to assign the natural cause of the outward prosperity and happiness of a people; and at the same time observed to them that temporal prosperity and external grandeur was nowhere promised to any people in the Gospel as a reward for their embracing it. Christ's kingdom was not of this world.

Their second question I answered in the negative, utterly rejecting the sentiment as contrary to the word of God, that the Children should be punished for the sins of their Fathers, and urged that it must be their own ways and their own doings for which they would be punished, and not for any supposed transgression of their forefathers. That the general rule of the divine conduct towards a people in a national capacity was agreeably to what was written by his Prophet Jeremiah, Chap. 18.7,10: "At what instant I shall speak concerning a Nation etc.", and that according to our different behaviour and temper we should become the objects either of his favour or displeasure. That there was nothing in the way of their becoming a religious and happy people but their own wicked, unbelieving hearts and ungodly practices. I also observed that similar objections had heretofore been made even by the Jews themselves, and so long ago as the days of the prophets, against God's ways, and it was displeasing to him. The Deity himself had answered them by his prophet Ezekiel, Chap. 18.3, 5: "The soul that sinneth, it shall die." Observed that death was the proper and natural wages of sin, without any regard to the faults of their ancestors. And where God had expressly threatened to visit the sins of the Fathers upon the Child-

ren, it had respect to temporal and not to eternal punishments. But it might extend to eternal punishments in cases where the children inherited the vices and imitated the examples of their wicked forefathers. And where it is said, "to the third and fourth generation of them that hate him", it means those who continue to manifest and express their contempt and hatred of him by persisting in the wicked doctrines and practices they received by tradition from their fathers.

That there is a difference between the crime and the punishment. It was no punishment to a wicked, infidel Father to have a son of the same stamp. But when they came into the place of punishment, the wickedness of the son and the father would be an aggravation to their torments. And that temporal calamities were frequently brought upon children by the follies and vices of their forefathers. You Indians sometimes complain of the injustice of the white people, and sometimes you severely censure your ancestors. You say they were very unwise, that they loved rum, and that in some instances they sold their lands for the small pittance of a blanket and a bottle of rum. And you suffer for their follies. This you all acknowledge. And now let me go a little further and observe that if you possess the vices of your forefathers, if you are as unwise as they were, and deaf to all counsel, and if you love the intoxicating draught, and will sell your lands for a song, it is not just that you should be punished for your own follies also, over and above what you suffer in consequence of the imprudence or wickedness of your forefathers?

The general voice was "Togeske, togeske" (very true, very true). One of them further observed that the Indians were poor miserable creatures, and were in his opinion to be pitied as well as blamed, both by God and man. For he understood it had become a proverb among the white people to say "as dirty as an Indian;" "as lazy as an Indian;" "as drunk as an Indian;" "lie like an Indian." And we Indians can only say "cheat like white man." And now poor Indians must bear it!

Another animadverted upon the subject and said: "Indians are very proud and very obstinate; have great darkness upon their minds for they do not love peace, but love war too much. He almost believed they were the descendants of the Jews, for they greatly resembled each other. The Jews were very proud, they loved war, and did not love to worship the true God. Therefore the great God had put a cloth or blanket (as he expressed it) over their eyes. He almost believed it was so with Indians, and that they would not see as white people see, and understand the holy book, till such time as the great God should take away this blanket from their eyes."

Another remarked on this occasion that the most wonderful thing of all was this, that the great God could make Indians become Christians! For some Indians did love God and Jesus Christ so much that they get drunk no more, and walk in strait paths. That he believed that God did all things right, and never once missed it or did wrong. The great God knew best where to give his good things!"

This conference was not only very affecting but very entertaining. I

I wish the whole might have been written, but I was too much overdone and fatigued myself to commit it all to writing.

6. Lord's Day. Preached at Tuscarora from John 17, 20, 21; Ezek. 18, 4: "All souls are mine etc." Issi. 26: 4. The Indians from four villages assembled yesterday, and having no house sufficiently large to contain the one half, was obliged to preach abroad, and speaking in both languages kept me on duty almost the whole day. In the evening married a couple, baptized two children, and attended a conference till near midnight. Great seriousness and some affection was discoverable in our various religious exercises. Towards evening returned to my quarters on the Oriske, very much fatigued.

9. Tuesday. Visited by a number of the Indians from Kanonwasohale.

13. Lord's Day. Preached at Old Oneida. John 11. 25, 26: "Jesus said unto her, I am the resurrection and the life, etc." Spoke in two languages.

20. Preached again at Old Oneida. Hebr. 6. 8: "But that which beareth thorns and briars etc." This discourse seemed to be well understood by the Indians in general and had considerable effect upon them. It is needless for me to particularize the method in which I treated the subject.

27. Lord's Day. At Oriske, discoursed in the forenoon from Psalm 102. 16: "When the Lord shall build up Zion, he shall appear in his glory." P.M. 2 Peter 1. 10: Wherefore the rather, brethren, give diligence etc."

Oct. 1. Having proposed a visit to the Indians in several villages this week, I accordingly set out on Monday for Old Oriske, and by way of ✓ Fort Stanwix to Kanonwalohale, Tuscarora, Old Oneida, and Brothertown, and this evening returned to my quarters on the Oriske, having travelled about sixty miles, and had many agreeable conferences with the Indians; but nothing worthy of particular notice has occurred in the route.

3. Saturday. Agreeably to appointment set out for Old Oneida and Tuscarora, at which places I am to preach the ensuing Sabbath and the next week have appointed to make a visit to the Onondagoes. Arrived a little before night.

4. Lord's Day. Discoursed largely and particularly from 2 Peter 1. 10: "Therefore the rather, brethren, give diligence, etc." I began the exercise early in the morning, that I might reach Tuscarora seasonably for the afternoon meeting, which is about three miles from this place. About 11 o'clock I dismissed them and immediately proceeded to the next village. A considerable number of the Indians accompanied me, although I told them that I should discourse on the same subject in the afternoon. Upon my arrival at Tuscarora found them all assembled, of various tribes, and several of the Oneida Sacheme and Warriors from Kanonwalohale. They insisted upon my speaking in the English and Indian languages, that both might be equally advantaged. I consented, after telling them that I feared it would take up too much time, as the subject could not be made intelligible and profitable if not sufficiently

explained. The chief replied that it was the Lord's Day, and they had nothing to do on that day but attend to God's counsel and the instructions of Jesus Christ. They were not afraid of being weary. That in former times, when their fathers celebrated what they called a religious feast and dance in the pagan stile, they frequently followed it without intermission for three days and nights successively; and it would be a reproach to Jesus Christ if they could not attend one whole day in seven to his spiritual feast, on the food which he had brought down from Heaven to make glad the heart of man. Upon this observation of the chief, I immediately began public worship. I endeavoured to explain to them in the clearest manner I could the nature of the Christian calling and election. Observed, that election was God's choosing and calling, bringing the mind actually to comply with that to which chosen. But chosen and called, one and the same thing. How we were to make sure; and urged the importance of the Deity, with some inferences by way of improvement. We continued our various exercises till near sunset. And after an intermission of about an hour, and taking some refreshment, attended a conference, with singing of Psalms and prayers, till near midnight. The Indians were very attentive; some appeared to be affected. They loaded me with their thanks for these discourses.

5. Monday. Set out with my companion and guide for Onondago, to go a direct course thro' the woods to Kanaghserage, about eighteen miles from Tuscarora and nearly half way to Onondago. It was judged that this route would be a saving of five or six miles. But I felt much out of tune the whole day, having had a high fever and very little rest the last night. About eight o'clock in the evening reached five miles on this side the Onondago Old Village. There lodged.

6. This day came to the Old Village. Found only two families there. I therefore proceeded immediately to the new settlement three miles up the river. Was very cordially received by my old friend the Black-Cap, who has been frequently mentioned in my former Journals. The whole village soon assembled and in form welcomed my arrival. After a long conversation upon a variety of subjects, more particularly respecting their temporal happiness and the means of promoting and securing that. The Chief called Captain Peter, alias Kaghneyeande, addressed me in the following manner: "Father, attend and open your ears to hear. I have a matter to relate to you of an extraordinary nature, although you know I seldom deal much in the marvellous. What I have to tell is this: that some of your Oneida Children in the Gospel have strangely altered their minds in regard to the Gospel of the Saviour Christ. Two of them told us lately to embrace the French religion; that they had now a minister who came directly from the King of France, and that he had the true religion, for he knew the whole mind of the Great Spirit and the particular purposes for which Jesus came into the world. He knew all about it. They then exhorted us by all means to embrace this religion, and with many strong words they assured us that we should be lost, inevitably lost, if we did not embrace it."

"To this, after a short council, we replied and thanked them for their concern for our happiness. We told them that we did not think it best for them nor for the Five Nations, to change their religion. It would tend more to their peace and harmony to adhere to the religious instructions which they had generally received from their father, M^r Kirkland, who had been among them a great many years. We also told them that the Onondagos were not anxious about being lost on account of the religion that had been taught them by the English, if they did but practice it. And if they should be finally lost on account of this religion, they would not be alone. There were Congress, and their American Brethren, and a great many of their Fathers, the Ministers beyond the great waters, who would be of their company if the religion they teach and profess be not the true religion of Jesus."

I received many thanks from the Onondagos for my visit, with a request for another and longer visit whenever it should be convenient. Several of their speeches would have been entertaining, could I have found leisure to have written them with any degree of accuracy.

10. Saturday. Returned to my quarters on the Oriske, having in my way from Onondago by a different route made a short visit to Kanonwalchale and Tuscarora. But I find myself much unwell, aside of mere fatigue. Was obliged to ride part of one day and night in the rain. Lamed my horse passing a miry swamp, and left him behind and hired one to ride home, which proved to be wholly unfit for the business and unsafe to ride upon in a bad way. This fatigued me much more than to have travelled on foot, had it not been for carrying my blanket and a small pack, having dismissed my fellow traveller.

13. Tuesday. I have been confined and kept my bed for most of the time since my tour to Onondago, till this morning. And I am now importuned by particular request to visit Kanonwalchale.

15. Thursday. (Kanonwalchale) Since my arrival here, have been continually in council with the Indians upon the unhappy divisions which have for some time subsisted between the French traders' interest or party (as they are here called) and the American or Presbyterian. I have carefully avoided interfering in their disputes from prudential considerations and on the advice of some of the most judicious Indians. Their spirit of jealousy and animosity at length arose to such a pitch that the peace of the village and whole tribe was really endangered. Each party wrote to Governour Clinton of New York upon the subject. And having received his answer, the Presbyterian party insisted upon my being present for an accurate translation of this letter. I will here transcribe the Governour's letter to the Warriors, who are also joined by two of their Sachems:

"New York Sept. 12th 1789.

"Brothers,

I have received your letter and shall now give you an answer. M^r Pennet is only to be considered among you as an adventuring merchant, pursuing his own interest. He holds no office, nor does he sustain any public character in this country. He attempts to deceive you. therefore.

when he says he is sent by the King of France and the Marquis La Fayette to transact business with you, you ought not to listen to his speeches nor pay any regard to his dreams. The King of France is our good ally, and he has an Ambassador here, whom you saw with me at Fort Stanwix last fall, to transact business and maintain friendship with the United States. But he has nothing to do with any particular state or the Indians residing in it. You must not therefore believe Mr. Pennet when he says he is sent among you by the Ambassador. I presume the priest now among you came at the request of Mr Pennet and his friends. They have a right to worship God in a manner most agreeable to them. But I approve of your determination to adhere to your old minister, for I fear the preaching of different doctrines among you will only serve to perplex and puzzle your understandings; and divisions with respect either to your temporal or spiritual concerns may prove dangerous to your welfare and prosperity.

"Brothers, I am happy to hear you are firmly united as to our late agreement, and you may rest assured that it will be faithfully adhered to on the part of the State. Let me exhort you to sobriety and industry, for it alone, by the blessing of the Great Spirit, that can secure to you comfort and happiness.

"I am your Friend and Brother

"George Clinton"

To Col. Konyery and others,
Chief Warriors of the Oneida Nation."

Of this Peter Pennet, the French trader, I made mention in my Journal the last year. A history of his speeches, artifices, and intrigues with the Indians would complete a small folio. Nor do I wish it to have any place in the Journal of my mission to the Indians. Some consider him as a person of fine address, great shrewdness and insinuation, well versed in the art of legerdemain, and capable of much duplicity, and with a proper education would have made a complete Jesuit. I fear he has, by his imprudence, to say no more, laid a foundation for permanent division and great animosities among the Oneidas.

17. Saturday. Since yesterday evening till late this morning I have constantly received visits from the Warriors and two of the Sachems, and attending to their stories and complaints; all in their turn giving a history of their troubles and divisions occasioned by the arts and intrigues which Mr Pennet had practiced among them. By sly insinuation he obtained, the say, a deed of gift of near one half a million acres of land from four Oneidas, by the help of a Canadian Indian who understood French. When this was disapproved and rejected by the State of New York, for peace' sake they gave him ten miles square, i.e. one hundred square miles, which, he told his particular friends, should be settled by ten thousand Frenchmen in a short time. And then he would take them into his bosom and under his protection, and promised them unbounded presents, which were to come from the King of France. This ten miles square, altho' confirmed by the State of New York, did not satisfy him, nor was equal to his wants. He dreamed that they gave him five miles square in another place, which is the best land in all their territory, and by the help and artifice of his junto has actually obtained a deed of the tract dreamed for, and signed, as they in-

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form me, by nearly one third of the Tribe. They also declare to me that two pieces more have gone or are going the same way. There are three or four Indians, among whom is one of their Sachems, a very shrewd Indian, who appears to be perfectly infatuated by the man.

I have expected nothing but that some insurrections would have taken place among them, for many months past. They seem now to be much quieted. Governour Clinton's letter has fixed M^r Pennet's character, and confirmed the wavering among them, although, his particular adherents remain unmoved, and appear to give full faith to all the ridiculous and vile insinuations of M^r Pennet, some of which are beneath contempt; that there would be another war in a year or two, that the King of France would take possession of all the western garrisons and take all the Indians under his protection, that they should no more be deceived by the Americans nor any English people; that Congress owed so much to the King of France, they would never be able to discharge the debt; that he must take land for it, etc., etc. These and such like reports have been industriously propagated among the poor credulous Indians for these two years past, and fathered upon M^r Pennet. But 'tis possible some of his employers have misrepresented his real design and abilities, particularly in his ships being cast away several times that were loaded with presents for the Indians; and that he was to be appointed their Agent General.

18. Lord's Day. Discoursed from Mark 9.29: "This kind come forth by nothing but by prayer and fasting." P.M. Chap. 10.27: "With men it is impossible but not with God." Our meeting was truly affecting and solemn. In the evening rode five miles to Old Oneida and preached a lecture there by particular agreement. Had a very attentive assembly.

19. Monday. Returned to my quarters on the Oriske.

21 and 22. Visited by a number of the Oneidas and others, but am considerably troubled with a bad cold, and keep pretty much indoors.

25 Preached at Old Oneida. Attended but one public service by reason of indisposition. 'Tis an uncommon season of colds among all the Indians, and hear it prevails thro' a great part of the New England and Southern States.

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27. Tuesday. By an Indian from the westward am informed that the Onondagoes and Cayogas are very desirous of seeing me before I go to the eastward, and the Senekas wish to let me know they have heard that I am removed from the poor state of health which I enjoyed the last summer. And altho the summer is past, they have not forgotten my promise of making them a visit. Upon this I have sent them word that at present I am exercised with a cold, but so soon as my health will permit I will endeavour to make them a short visit before the winter sets in, at least as far as Cayoga.

29 Oct. Revd. a letter from the Honbl. Board of Commissioners in Boston with some extracts from a letter from the Society in Scotland in regard to setting up a school in the Genesee country agreeable to the encouragement I had heretofore given them. This determined me to undertake the jour-

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ney, as I know this information would be highly acceptable to some of them.

2 Nov. Monday. My cold was so violent that I was not able to attend public worship yesterday. Have now sent another message to the Onondagoes, from thence to be forwarded to Cayoga, that they may expect a short visit from me before the winter sets in.

18 Nov. Set out for the western tribes. Have spent most of these two weeks past in visiting the Indians in several villages, and making necessary preparation for my journey, particularly in furnishing myself with a horse. The one I lamed in my tour to Onondago is not yet recovered so as to be equal to the journey. Also a suitable Indian to be my companion in my tour.

*caution from
Kpfo*

22. L. D. The Indians assembled and I discoursed from 1 Tim. 6.6. Spent the remainder of the day in conference with the Indians. In the evening had a long conference with the young chief called Capt. Peter, alias Hagn'yende. He appears exceedingly anxious for the welfare of his nation. I saw a number of Indians who I knew had resided at Buffaloe Creek. Upon enquiry, Peter told me they all came with a determination to reside at their old settlement; that they have had the accession of more than 50 the summer past. I had a long talk with Peter upon the means that were best adapted to promote their temporal prosperity, order, and happiness. He returned me hearty thanks and said he would suggest the ideas to the old Chief - but he felt different, from a conviction of their strong attachment to their customs and manner of life. I would have observed concerning this Capt. Peter that he is an Indian of very considerable abilities and supports the best character of anyone in the nation, and is by far the most impartial in his sentiments of white people. From long acquaintance and intimate friendship, I can use the utmost freedom in conversation with him. He will sometimes weep like a child (Although a man of great natural firmness) in view of the miserable condition of the Indians and the obstinacy and darkness of mind they seem to possess. He tells me that when he has endeavored to inculcate some of the customs of the white people and some of the doctrines of Christianity, and proposes an alteration in some of their manners, they have frequently retorted with the question: "Art you becoming a white man?" He then farther remarked that Indians could never be reformed by Indians without the help of white people. He then gave me the character of every principal Indian in the village. They have two bigoted papists and several staunch pagans. My old friend Black Cap's influence in the village was much lessened (altho the oldest sachem) by being so much dependent on and in dread of his nephew, a head warrior who was most violent for the tradition of the

Fathers and professed a great contempt of white people. His Indian name I will mention as Peter observed to me he had often thought it expressive of the man - Onagsateges, which signifies "a burning or flaming arrow" This Onagsateges returned from Buffaloe Creek about two years ago. He is a person of a manly, good appearance and fine address, but peremptory, positive, full of assurance and haughtiness, savage in his disposition, and of late years has become a great drinker and at particular seasons will have a drunken frolick. But what is very singular in the man, with all his ferocity, he

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he is kind to his wife and exceedingly fond of her, treats her with the highest respect, never presumes to drink to excess in her presence, and ever when drinking will quit his cups at her entreaties. She is a squaw or woman of uncommon abilities and address.

23 I spent some time this day very agreeably with Capt. Peter, and the Black Cap. They wished that two or three of their children might be instructed in the manners and ways of white people.

24. Tues. The Indians again met on secular affairs. On this occasion I harangued them not merely as a clergyman but as a friend and civilian, upon the nature and importance of industry, agriculture, sobriety, and the usefulness of learning, and what commonly gave wealth, numbers, and respectability to a nation. For this speech I received thanks, with loud applause, much beyond what my sermon occasioned. Altho I did not expect that more than half a dozen would have much relish for the doctrines of the Gospel, notwithstanding many of their supposed pagans attended out of respect to me as their friend, I proposed to have proceeded this day on my journey, but my Indian guide went into the woods to fetch some venison and has not returned.

25. Wed. Set out for Cayoga; travelled about 12 miles, and encamped.

26. Proceeded in company with a white man who was going about ten miles in a new marked road which would cross the outlets of the two lakes, Skangades and Wasken, about 4 or 5 miles below the lakes, where where it was supposed a horse might ford without swimming. The next day left my Indian companion. I hired a white man whom I met on the road going to Onondago to accompany me about 16 miles, till I should cross the outlet of the Wasker. I paid him one dollar and his provision for a day and a half for his service; but to save himself the travel of only two miles he took me another course than we agreed upon which led me near to milestill farther down the outlet, and by the winding of the river might come to it so much the sooner. Having received his pay, he left me here. I had then about two miles in a direct course to travel alone and through some hideous swamps, sometimes obliged to dismount, strip and swim, and get my horse along as best I could. In many places I expected he would get mired and drowned. One swamp was so large that after I had entered I could see no way out to high land and expected to spend the day and night there. I was so concerned lest I should lose my way, it being cloudy, and not reach the Cayoga Lake, that I never halted but once through the day, just to light my pipe. Through a kind Providence, just before sunset I reached the Cayoga Lake, at the sight of which I confess I wept for joy. Here I lodged, met with but one Cayoga Indian, who informed me they were all on the hunt, and that the noted Steel Trap and others were very desirous to see me, and wished that they might be collected by my return, and that it was probable I might meet with some of them at Kanadasegea.

28. Crossed the Cayoga Lake, and with much difficulty and after swimming my horse several times, arrived at Kanadasegea a little before sunset. Exceedingly fatigued but in good spirits.

29. L. D. Preached at Kanadiasegea from Ezek. 44.3.

30. Mon. Tarried at Kanadiasegea and conversed with a number of Indians, both Cayogas and Senekas. The weather being very comfortable, concluded to tarry the next day.

2 Dec. Proceeded on my journey, having procured a companion, not choosing to travel any more alone. The rivers and swamps being so full of water, it has become dangerous as well as difficult. About sunset arrived at Kanadaique.

4. I tarried yesterday to rest my poor horse, which is almost worn out with the journey; and there but a few places where I can get anything for him to eat, except grazing o' nights in the woods, which at this season of the year affords very little sustenance. I proceeded this day for Genesee, having procured another person to accompany me. Reached the Honyayers Lake a little before sunset. Finding no shelter at this place, turned out of the path about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile in quest of an Indian hunting cabin, which I was told by some Indians I met in the day was on the right side of the lake. In the depth of the evening found the cabin. I was kindly welcomed by two of my old Seneka friends. They regaled me with a piece of boiled porcupine, after which we sang several Psalms and prayed together, then laid ourselves down on a good bearskin and conversed till near midnight.

5. This evening arrived at Genesee on the way from Honyayers. Met with several squads going out on their winter hunt, and told me they had given over all expectation of my coming to see them this season. Two of the chiefs in one squad proposed to return and keep Sabbath with me tomorrow. Before dark, one of them arrived in the village where I had put up. Our mutual joy was so great at our meeting with each other in this wilderness that notwithstanding my fatigue we spent most of the night in conversation with one another, with some others.

6. L.D. Discoursed from Mark 10.26. Spent the day and night in the most friendly and agreeable conferences with the Indians. I think I was never more kindly treated and more cordially welcomed by any people in the course of my life. Were it not for the duty I owe to my poor motherless children, I believe they would easily prevail on me to spend the winter with them at all hazards. Even the little children come to me and enquire if I am about to leave them soon; and express their desires in the tenderest manner that their father would tarry with them while the warriors are gone out on the hunt.

7. Monday morning. Delivered the following speech (having it previously prepared) to the Seneka chief called Big Tree and several others present, particularly Capt. Isaac and some of the chief women: "My Children, attend. I know that you have long expected a visit from me, upon the encouragement I gave you the last time I was in your country. You very well know, what is the acknowledged maxim of your forefathers, that no man has the absolute command of his health nor the number of his days. My sickness the last summer prevented my visiting you at the time I wished. Bread was also very scarce in all our country. But I have nevertheless borne you on my mind

every day and remembered you when I have prayed to the Great Spirit in the name of his Son Jesus.

"My Children, it gives me great pleasure to see you in peace once more; that the Great Spirit, our common Parent, hath preserved you; that you are alive and in health. My journey has been attended with some difficulty and fatigue owing to the high waters and extreme bad travelling. The Great Spirit has been kind to me, and watched over me every day. I thank him for his protection.

"My Children, I had almost relinquished my intention of visiting you this season, but upon receiving some information from the Commissioness in Boston and your Fathers, the Society in Scotland, that respected your good, I resolved to undertake the journey and make a short visit at the various settlements of Indians on the way.

"My Children, now open your ears. The good news I have to communicate to you is this; that in consequence of the representations I made of your situation and disposition about a year ago, the Society in Scotland, in conjunction with their Board in Boston, have determined to set up a school in your country the next spring to instruct some of your youth. They wish to do something that will be productive of good to your posterity. They know there are many difficulties to be encountered, and these may gradually be removed in the instruction of Indians. Your wandering manner of life, your strong attachment to the customs of the Fathers, and your prejudices against the white people in general, arising chiefly from the wicked policies of individuals with whom you have been most conversant - these and some other things are great discouragements in all the attempts that have been made for the civilization of the Indians. My Children, you will allow me to speak freely on this subject, for I have had long acquaintance with Indians and they consider me as their friend. I can tell you that some wise Indians, whose minds are enlarged, have themselves observed those things to me, and asked me why it is so, that Indians cannot become all one white people. Many wise and good men, here in America and on the other side of the great water, think much about you. They can devise no other method for the good of Indians but the instruction of some of your youth in the arts of civilized life, which in time may prepare the way for the knowledge of the true religion. They don't mean to crowd the religion of the white people upon you. When you come to know the mind of the Great Spirit, then you will be able to make a wise choice for yourselves. I know that some of your people even now wish for a minister to teach them the new way which Jesus has marked out for worshipping the true God, who is the great God over all nations; but others among you, who don't understand these things are afraid it will not be for the good of Indians.

"Now, my Children, I wish to know your minds upon the subject, and where you think it will be most convenient for the schoolmaster to take up his residence, and in what place it will be best to set up the school."

To the foregoing speech the Bigtree with Capt. Isaac and some others made the following reply: "Brothers, attend. We have heard your speech and we bid you a hearty welcome to our village on the Genesee. We thank the Great Spirit that he has preserved you thro' all the dangers of the way etc. Many unseen dangers lie in the path of every man from which the Great Spirit alone can give safety. We also thank the Great Spirit that you have recovered from your sickness the summer past. Father, we thank you that you think of us when you are at a great distance from us. This is right. We suppose that ministers are more conversant with the Great Spirit and good things which tend to peace, than sachems and warriors.

Father, we will now reply to the governing part of your speech. (They here repeated almost verbatim a considerable part I had spoken.) This is good news; it is good news without any mixture, that the ministers and wise men at the seashore and at a great distance on the other side of the great water should think of us with compassion and seek our good. Father we are unable to make a suitable reply to this good news. You see there are only a few of us at home. All comparatively are on the hunt. But we think we may, in the name of all the settlement on the River thank our Fathers for the good minds they have towards us, manifested in their design to instruct some of our youth. Father, you have spoken right. You know the mind and disposition of the Indians. You know what their prejudices are against the manners and ways of white people; but we believe that if our children are taught in the right way when they are young, some of them at least will become wise. You also know there is a great difference among Indians toward white people. Some Indians upon a short acquaintance very easily love and respect white people. Others have different minds, they seem to dislike white people. Father, possess your mind in peace. We believe it is pretty much so with respect to the disposition of white people towards Indians. We see there is great difference in their treatment of us Indians. We hope you will find a man for a schoolmaster who loves Indians, and can be patient with them and can bear with their failings. Father, as the place where the school shall be fixed, we submit wholly to you, because you know the situation of our village, and where the Indians live who are most desirous of having their children instructed. This is all we have to say. We send our respectful salutations to the ministers and great men to the east and over the great water.

Kalondowanea, alias Bigtree
Tolagndowane alias Capt. Isaac.

A short answer:

My Children, your words I have heard. They give me great pleasure. I need not repeat them, although they have taken hold of my mind. The pains some of you have taken to see me, in returning from your hunting cabins on hearing of my being near your village and the kind reception I have met with, seems to erase from my mind the fatigues and hazards of the journey, and encourage me to hope that good will come to you and your children. Notwithstanding the season is so far advanced, were your people generally at home, I would spend several weeks with you. But as things are now, I think to take my leave of you in a few days."

10. This evening arrived at Kanadasagea from Genesee, accompanied by

Bigtree and another chief. We lodged by the way one night in the woods under the cover of a few barks. It being too cold for sleeping comfortably, we kept a good fire, and after a hearty supper upon a piece of bear's meat and an Indian cake and a drinking of tea, boiled in the same kettle after the bear's flesh, we spent most of the night very agreeably in conversation upon the state of the Indians and the customs of the nations; also singing some Psalms, with which they seemed highly entertained.

11. Friday. The Bigtree and several others took leave of me, I having furnished them with provisions for their return, and fortunately for me at another's expense, for whom I did a little business. They very affectionately wished me a good journey.

12. Visited by a number of Indians this day at my quarters. I have met with several of the Cayogas and conversed with them upon the present divided state of their tribe, which gives them great concern. Towards evening the two Indians arrived from Genesee, whom I had engaged to accompany me as far as Oneida, and several others who are on the ground will go as far as Cayoga to see me over the Lake. The Indians think it expedient to leave this place by tomorrow noon, so as to cross the Lake before the ice closes fast if the present boisterous weather should abate. The inhabitants of this settlement, with a number of Indians who came to this place for trading, have requested me to preach a lecture this evening.

13. L. D. I preached a lecture last evening and this morning attend prayers with singing a Psalm and a word of exhortation with my friends and the Indians present. Then set out about noon in hopes of being able to cross the Cayoga Lake on Monday morning. But are now encamped in the woods betwixt the two lakes and overtaken by a violent snowstorm.

14. Mon. A little afternoon arrived at Cayoga Lake where we are now encamped. And to our surprise and great disappointment find the Lake frozen over, but not strong enough to bear a person, much less a horse. Our situation is gloomy. Turn which way we will, to the right or the left, we cannot go. And to look back towards Kanadasegea is distressing. And to tarry here by the lakeside, without any covering, and half frozen is alarming. Patience to bear our lot is the only remedy we can devise.

15. Tuesday. The wind rose last night and blew like a hurricane and threw the Lake into such a tumult as broke the ice and drove it all to the southward of the lake and cleared a passage for us. A little before sunset we ventured over, but thot it not safe to risk the horses.

16. This morning the wind had entirely ceased blowing, and still water gave us a fine opportunity for getting our horses ferried over the Lake, which we effected by noon, when it set in raining and continued till night. Here parted with the Cayoga Indians.

17. Set out very early this morning, travelled all day in a new-marked path, and encamped in the woods near Wascou outlet.

18. Friday. Set out early this morning, being nearly out of provisions. We travelled the whole day without taking any refreshment and in the evening to our great joy reached Onondago. After resting awhile and taking some refreshment, attended a conference with the Indians. Agreed to attend prayers, with a word of exhortation, and baptize Capt. Peter's child, early tomorrow morning, being very desirous to get to Oneida tomorrow. This Capt. Peter I have mentioned before. He has for many years attended to religious instruction while he resided at Oneida, where he married his wife, who sustains an unblemished character.

19. Saturday evening. Having fulfilled my engagements at Onondago, we proceeded on our way. Have now arrived at Shawasleagh a small village about 4 miles west of Kanonwalohale. The travelling has been extreme bad and I have had a most fatiguing day; but a kind Providence gives me health.

20. L. D. The few families in this village assembled early this morning. At their earnest desire I preached a short sermon and baptized a child of Loulus, who formerly belonged to the church at Onohoghpage. Then proceeded to Kanonwalohale and preached in the afternoon from Mark 13.31. In the evening from the same words.

21. Mon. Spent most of this day in conference with the Indians. I find their divisions are by no means healed, altho the French traders' party are much weakened. Some of them, however, I am told, are so obstinate in their attachment to Mr. Penet and have such pretended confidence in him after all his duplicity, that they will give no credit to Gov. Clinton's declarations concerning him, and design to make farther enquiries of the French ambassador in New York concerning the matter.

22. Last night I was agreeably entertained with the conversation of one of the Oneidas, who has been (as he tells me) for several months under great exercise of mind and dare not let it be known till this time. He designed to accompany me to the westward for the very purpose of opening to me the concerns of his soul in some retired place in the wilderness. For he had done a great many bad things in the sight of men; but the thousands of wicked thoughts towards God and Jesus Christ were not fit to be known to the Indians, or they would immediately conclude that he never could be saved. The burden of his complaint seemed to be this: that his heart should rise up against Jesus and his holy path of obedience, when his mind kept telling him continually that it was right to love God and repent and do everything that God had bidden him. As we lay together in the same cabin, we conversed a great part of the night. I am so much worn out with my journey that I can't commit to writing the relation he gave of the various exercises of his mind and views of the Indians. I consider him as under the operation of a strong conviction of the truth. It is possible that he has met with that which will be saving....

Two of the Oneida chiefs informed me that the party among them who have been so unaccountably led astray by the French Traders and obstinately attached to their interest, design to go to New York to see the French Ambassador; which they are to effect under pretence of going no farther than Schenectady to visit some of the French traders there; and that this plan has been suggested to them by these traders, that the nation might not be apprized of their real design.

Should this take place, the English (or Presbyterian) interest, which is now become a great majority, have determined in private council to send a delegation in their behalf., lest the others by misrepresentation of facts should obtain a confirmation of the partial conveyance of two tracts of land to Penet & Company. They were also apprehensive the before-mentioned party would make application for the return of the French priest, of whom they had now happily got rid, and wished to see no more. They earnestly desired my attendance, on condition the parties should send a delegation to the Governor of New York, as there was no person they could depend upon for a

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just interpretation of their speeches but my self.

23. Last evening returned to my quarters on the Oriske, after an absence of 34 days. O may I suitably acknowledge the protection of heaven through all my late arduous and perilous journey.

Monday. The weather being stormy yesterday, and I so sensibly feel the effects of my journey, that I was unable to attend public worship.

26. Saturday. The week past have done little more than writing letters and petitions for Indians.

27. Preached once this day.

1790 Jan. 2. I have visited one Indian village and made some preparations for a visit to my family at Stockbridge.

3 Jan. Discoursed from the parable of the unjust steward, Luke 16.

4 Mon. Set out for Stockbridge. Soon after setting out, was informed that a delegation of six or eight Indians will soon be on their way for New York. Agreeably to my promise, I engaged to be there the week after next.

11. Arrived in Stockbridge. Found my dear family in health and peace.

18. Set out for New York in the stage from Kinderhook. Arrived at New York the 20th about midnight, and after waiting about 2 weeks for the Indians, set out on my return; but rode no farther than Kingsbridge, 15 miles, when I met with an advance party, upon which I was prevailed upon to return immediately to N. York, where I was detained by their slow and formal way of doing business with a variety of avocations till the 15th of February.

Their disputes, I would hope, are amicably settled. The Presbyterian interest have obtained their wishes, and the others appear satisfied, except two persons who cannot brook the mortification; particularly Lewis Cook, the half-negro from Canada. 'Tis nevertheless Governor Clinton's opinion that the Oneidas will never enjoy peace, but be kept in a continual broil, so long as he continues with them. And the Oneidas despair of ever getting clear of him, as he has married into one of their principle families, which always had a fondness for the French.

23 (Feb.) Tues. Returned to my family in Stockbridge. My being so unexpectedly and for so long a time detained in N. York by the delay of the Indians has utterly frustrated my design of getting back to the Indian country before the sledding season should be over for the sake of transporting my provisions.

Stockbridge, 3rd May 1790. Since my return from Boston, have had a severe turn of the influenza, which has confined me to my house till last Saturday, when I ventured abroad; and now feel myself so far recovered, & the open air is so salutary in this disorder, that I have concluded to set out for the Indian country.

8th Saturday. I am now safe arrived at Kanonwalchale or New Oneida, after a most fatiguing journey. The travelling has been bad beyond what I ever knew it at this season of the year especially on this side Schenectady. Have had an agreeable meeting with a number of my Indians this evening, who welcomed my safe arrival in a very affectionate manner.

L. D. 9th. Discoursed in the morning from John 3.2. P.M. from John 5.12 "He that hath the Son et c. Attended a conference until near midnight.

10th. Monday. Most of this day has been spent in receiving visits and congratulations. Counsell'd with the person whom I left last winter under some serious impressions, found him very tender and attentive.