

July 10, 1793-Jan. 1794

The following journal is not known to exist in manuscript. It is here copied, with no alteration except to make the spelling conform to modern usage, from the Missionary Magazine (Edinburgh) in which it was printed, November 21 and December 19, 1796, under the following caption:

"Journal of Samuel Kirkland, Missionary from the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge, and Corporation of Harvard College, to the Five Nations of Indians, from July 10, 1793, to January 1794."

To be compared with the Journal, July 16, 1792 to January 16, 1794.

July 10 Received a letter from a newly organized church at Westmorland, about fourteen miles from Oneida, requesting me to meet in ecclesiastical council at that place, with a delegate from the congregation at Oneida and Brothertown, to assist in the ordination of Joel Bradley, their pastor-elect. The fast and preparatory lecture to be on Friday next. Visited by Mr. Speer, a missionary to the frontier of this and the State of Pennsylvania, for a tour of two months, from the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian churches of the United States.

12. Attended the fast above mentioned; the lecture preached by Mr. Speer, and to very great acceptance. Mr. Speer's deportment is exceedingly agreeable. He not only recommends religion, but very much ingratiates himself, by his modest, discreet behavior; his conversation sensible, and adorned by a vein of undissembled piety. He reflects honor upon his instructor, Dr. Nisbet. Am sorry he cannot be prevailed upon to visit Oneida. He is now bound to Fort Stanwix, and its vicinity, which are destitute of any preacher; and has engaged to return, and attend the expected ordination of Mr. Bradley.

This evening arrived Rev. Mr. Robbins, (whose praise is all the churches), who is also a missionary from

the General Association of Connecticut to the frontier of this and Vermont State; and was applied to particularly, to assist in the proposed ordination.

13. Several Indians visited me this day from different villages. Spent most of the day in a conference with them, upon various subjects they proposed; but I was unable to ride out and visit them at their villages, having unfortunately poisoned myself in pitching a load of hay, which was found to have some poisonous weeds in it. Sent word to Oneida and Brothertown.

14. Lord's day. I have been confined to my poison, and wholly useless this day.

17. Wednesday. I am so far recovered from my poison that I have attended the ordination at Westmoreland, though my eyes have suffered considerably. This has been a delightful, though solemn season. The assembly, which was numerous, collected under the trees, the under-brush being cut and cleared away, a stage was erected for the ordaining council. The introductory prayer was made by Mr. Spear. Sermon and ordaining prayer by Rev. Mr. Robbins. The charge, concluding prayer, and an address to the congregation, devolved upon me; the right hand of fellowship was given by Mr. Bradley of N. Hartford.

Captain John Onondigo and Elijah Ampey were my delegates; about forty of the Indians attended, and were

much affected by the solemnity of the transaction, and the objects presented in the course of the day: that this place, which six years ago was in a state of nature, a mere wilderness, should so suddenly appear like the garden of Eden; the fields around us whitening for harvest, or clad with verdure; and, in addition to this, songs of praise and hallelujahs, ascending to God and the Lamb, from this once howling wilderness; that a church of Christ is here planted, and an ascension-gift, a minister of the Gospel, given to it, by the risen and enthroned Saviour!

After the exercises were over, the Rev. Mr. Robbins desired me to assist him in forming a church at Whitesborough, on Friday next; to which I agreed, on condition Mr. Caulkings would attend public worship with the Indians, the ensuing Sabbath. Captain John and others gave their consent. The Indians repaired to my house, after the ordination, where I found a considerable number who had mistaken the place. I gave an exhortation, and made a prayer in the evening.

18. Thursday. Held a conference with the Indians in the forenoon; after which, they took an affectionate leave of me; a number, who are in good standing, agreeing to return to this place, to attend the communion next Sabbath.

19. Rode to Whitesborough, according to appointment, for assisting Mr. Robbins.

20. Nothing effectual done at Whitesborough, owing to a diversity of opinion, and the warm opposition made by a lay separate teacher. A number of the communicants arrive this evening, with a view to partake of the Supper tomorrow.

22. Lord's day. Preached at Brothertown, according to an agreement made at the ordination. Then returned to Clinton, and assisted Mr. Robbins in the administration of the Supper, and gave an exhortation to the Indians present. Blessed be God for this day! The sight of so many, from different parts and different nations, sitting at the table of the Lord, was truly affecting, and gave striking evidence of the power and grace of God. The scene being new, with all its affecting circumstances, almost overcame Mr. Robbins. In the evening held a conference with the Indians at my own house, sung a hymn in the Indian language, and closed with prayer. May the Lord's name be praised! Verily nothing is impossible with him!

23. Tuesday. Having prevailed on Mr. Robbins, the last week, to preach a lecture at Brothertown, accompanied him there this day. The Indians, with some white people from the neighboring settlements, assembled under the shade of some trees. He discoursed from Matth. xvi. 17. "Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona," &c. I, being desired, made the last prayer, with an exhortation to the Indians. All parties

were present, and attended very closely, though apparently from different motives. Some expected that he would so clearly delineate the true religion, that the baptists and Methodists must acknowledge themselves to be in an error, and under the influence of a false spirit. But no one, as I have heard, said ought against him, but generally applauded his sermon, and made some pertinent reflections upon the variety of means God was still using with them, and all tending to the same object, - leading to Christ and his salvation.

28 Lord's day. Kanonwalohale. Discoursed A.M. from Luke x. 16. "He that heareth you," &c. P.M. from Rev. xlii. 17. "The Spirit and the Bride say, Come," &c. - I have spoken in both English and Indian languages this day, for the sake of the Stockbridge Indians who were present. This unavoidably protracted my discourses; and the solemnity which appeared among the Indians was encouraging, especially in the afternoon. After speaking near five hours, rode twelve miles. Scarcely ever more fatigued than this evening.

August 3. Saturday. Kanonwalohale. Accompanied by my youngest daughter and son. Held a conference with several of the principal Indians; married a couple, the one of whom came from Genesee, and is unwilling to have it deferred.

4. Lord's day. Began our exercises early in the morning, upon the parable of the talents, Matth. xxv. more particularly the 24th and 25th verses. "Then he that had received the one

talent came, and said, Lord, I knew thee," &c. At noon, set out for Tuscarora (agreeably to previous engagement), accompanied by near sixty Oneidas, and all the Tuscaroras. Discoursed to the Stockbridge Indians upon the same subject, for one hour and three quarters; but there being such a number of the Oneidas and Tuscarora Indians, who appeared to be more solemn and attentive than ordinary, I was constrained to recapitulate the subject, and address them in the Oneida language.

There has been the largest assembly of Indians, and from various parts, collected this afternoon, that I have known this summer. Blessed be God for his mercies this day! After enumerating the religious privileges and opportunities which the Indians had enjoyed, some for twenty, some for thirty, and others for sixty years, and all without any expense to them, I then particularized many excuses which men make for neglecting to improve their advantages, and applied the subject to the Indians of every tribe; and at last brought up to view their national ingratitude. They appeared very tender, and to be much affected; many wept plentifully.

7. Wednesday. These three days past have spent most of the time in conference with a number of the Indians, particularly some of their chiefs. The present state of the Indians, gloomy appearances respecting them as a nation, their prejudices,

prejudices, and the Indian war, have been the subjects of our conference. One of their chiefs, for near half a day, was quite overwhelmed with a view of the miserable and wretched condition of the Indians, and his fearful apprehension that the war would become general. He would once while enumerate all the evils they had suffered, and the pains which had been taken with them, and then point out the striking contrast betwixt them and the white people; and then ask, "Whether God had not decreed evil to the Indians?" It was their lot by fate, or an almighty decree. He would frequently burst out, and cry like a mere child; and anon, chide himself, and say, "He was an Indian, he felt like an Indian, and spoke like an Indian, and had the prejudices of an Indian; yet after all," he added, "that he could not but feel for his nation, his flesh and blood."— The scene was truly affecting. I endeavored to raise his dejected spirits, and console his disconsolate mind, by holding up to his view "the wise and holy government of God; The Gospel-plan of salvation; in the completion of which all the disposals of God's holy and absolute providence would be adjusted, to the full satisfaction of every people and nation, who loved righteousness and peace." His last reply was to this effect, That he knew he ought to believe, that the great God was right, perfectly right, in everything he did; but his heart would not always feel so. When he looked only on the side of Indians, all seemed dark, and when he looked on the side of white people, they appeared to have light, and to be the Lord's favorites; and sometimes the conduct of a great many of them, and of their great chiefs too, was such, that he considered them no better than mere conjurers, and like magicians of Egypt, of which he had been often told.

18. Lord's Day. Kanonwalohale. Discoursed from Deut. xxxii. 4. "He is a rock; his work is perfect, for all his ways are judgement. A God of truth, and without iniquity; just and right is he!" I only entered upon the subject this day; it seemed to gain the attention of the Indians more than any discourse I have delivered for some time.

24. Saturday. I have had many interruptions, and much company the week past-- some trouble on account of a party of Indians gone to Canada. This evening lodged with Mr. Sergeant of Tuscarora.

25. Kanonwalohale. Lord's day. In the forenoon, finished the discourse of last Sabbath, from Deut. xxxii, 4. "He is a rock, &c. P.M. John xvii. 3. "This is life eternal," &c. The subject of my morning-discourse, as observed last Sabbath, seemed to get access to the minds of the Indians; their attention more than usual.-- I remarked from the words, that their import was this. that God will assuredly be the defence of all that love and serve him; and that ~~his~~ plan and administration of government was absolutely and infinitely perfect; and that he is perfectly just; and that everything he does is wise and right. I endeavored to show, what we are to understand by God's being just and right; mentioned some things, as evidences that he is so; concluded with inferences from the doctrine, and an application.

In the evening, attended a singing meeting and a conference. To my great joy, an Indian, who has been for some time thoughtful, observed to me, "that he now saw, and his whole soul (as he expressed himself) seemed to be enlight-

ened in regard to God's justice; his very heart believed God would do no injustice to the Indians, if he cast them off, and punished them. It was as just and right for God to punish the wicked, and all who would not receive the instruct one of Jesus, as to love the righteous, and prepare a place in heaven for them." An honorable sentiment! May God, for Christ's sake, grant him admission there!

26. Monday. Spent the whole forenoon in visiting and conversing with several families, particularly the young Sachem Hendrick Thaghneghtoles. He has been sick for near fifty days; insensible, or in a delirium, for the most part of the time. The disease is probably of the nervous kind, which settled in his head; in each temple, he would frequently complain of the most excruciating pain. This morning, he appeared composed and rational; at some intervals, he would frequently break out in these words; "Ise sagheon tringien kalonghyageaheds ne ogwaenjegoken," &c. Literally translated thus: "O! thou God Almighty, thou Sovereign! thou hast created all the pains that spread through the world, a sinful world! thou art righteous! thou never didst any wrong! I thank thee for enabling me to bear my pains; dispose of them and me just as thou hast a mind."

N.B. About three years ago, this young chief was under religious exercises of mind, and appeared exceedingly well for a considerable time; till the disputes and divisions in the town took place, and the Roman Catholic religion was adopted by some. He then became unsteady, and for a while shaken in his faith; but before his sickness, he began to be more serious and regular. He is an Indian, who possesses naturally a strong distinguishing mind.

27. Tuesday. Spent some time with a number of Indians and visitors. The Indian war has now become the subject of general attention, and anxious inquiry.

29. Thursday. I have been obliged to devote the whole of my time this day, as well as a small share of property, and domestic comfort, to the Indians; having about twenty to visit me, and entertain at my house; for they came purposely to make me a friendly visit, and enjoy a familiar conference. I believe, however, it would not be charitable to suppose, that many of them came partly for the sake of the leaves. Provisions are very scarce just at this season with the most of them.

September 1. Lord's day. Kannekiahale. Discoursed from John vii. 17. "If any man will do his will; &c. Towards evening, heard that the commissioners from the westward were on their return, and expected in town this evening. The messenger informed, that they were much fatigued with worn-out horses, and Mr. Dean was sick, and just able to travel. I immediately set out to meet them, with a view to conduct them into a new path, about three miles from the village, by which they might escape a miry swamp, where I was apprehensive they might meet with difficulty in passing, on account of the late rains. I had not proceeded half a mile before I met the commissioners, viz. Colonel T. Pickens, and Governor Randolph, accompanied by Mr. Dean, one of their interpreters.

2. Monday. The commissioners this day, in full council of the Onkidas, gave a general account of their western tour; the various offers made to the hostile tribes of Indians; the difficulties they had to encounter; and that, finally, after every effort and device for bringing about a peace, their negotiation proved fruitless.

The terms offered, and agreeably to their instructions from Congress, were very such as even their enemies could not but approve of as generous and fair, and that the Indians were very unwise in not accepting of them. From my con-

versation with the commissioners I do not conceive myself at liberty to give a particular account of their transactions, till they have reported. This I would remark, that the whole Oneida nation (one or two individuals excepted) have publicly expressed their highest approbation of the generosity of Congress, in the offers made to the hostile tribes, and the terms of peace proposed; and reprobate the war as unreasonable and unjust on the part of the Indians. They thanked the commissioners for the patience they had exhibited amidst the difficulties and opposition they had to encounter, and the unwearied pains they had taken to effect, if possible, the much desired object of a general peace. For be the war ever so unjust on the part of the Indians, still they had a feeling for them as Indians.

3. I accompanied the commissioners from Oneida through the woods to my house, where they lodged; and this day, accompanied them about twenty miles, and furnished Colonel Pickering with a horse to Albany, his own having failed. Returned to Whitesborough this evening.

5. Visited a number of Indians, who are anxious to know the fate of the treaty at the westward, and the reasons of the failure of the expected negotiation.

8. Lord's day. Kanonwalchale. Discoursed upon Psal. xcix. 1,2,3: "The Lord reigneth, let the people tremble." &c. The subject, I find, has been rather beyond the reach of my audience, except a few persons, who do profess to have been highly entertained, and appeared very solemn.

14. For the week past have had various avocations, and much company. A number of the Indians are taken with the influenza. Some dangerously sick.

13. Lord's day. Expounded and lectured upon the 91st Psalm. But few hearers (comparatively), by reason of the prevalence of the influenza; but most of them appeared to be very tenderly affected. Gave notice of the proposed ordination of Mr. Norton, next Wednesday, at Clinton, now called Paris, adjoining Brothertown, to which my attendance was requested, with one or two of the principal Indians.

18. This day attended the solemnity of the ordination of Mr. F. Norton, at Paris. Skemandon and Elijah Wapoy, Indian delegates or elders. A large concourse of people, and many Indians, from different villages, attended. I entertained about twenty Indians at my own house, on the occasion. The weather has been very uncomfortable, that probably many have contracted colds, by being exposed to the open air, and raw searching wind, during all the various exercises of the day.

28. Saturday. On Thursday of last week was seized at about midnight, with a violent pain in my head and throat, accompanied with a high fever, and every appearance of the scarlet-rash. Sent an express to Kanonwalshale, to acquaint them with my situation. I have been confined most of the time since; but visited by many of the Indians.

29. Lord's day. Preached at the lower part of Brother-town. I went through the exercises of the day with some difficulty on account of the soreness of my throat. Returned this evening much unwell; and seem at a loss, whether it was my duty to have attempted preaching this day, and must blame myself for imprudence in the length of my discourse.

30. Monday. Kept my room most of this day. Visited by several Indians. Some profitable conversation. O may I be preserved, by infinite mercy, from an useless life.

October 5. Saturday. At Onaida. Through divine mercy I am now in a good measure recovered from my illness, and feel

able to attend to the more important duties of my office, though my eyes are extremely weak.

6. Lord's day. Discoursed from Luke xii. 32. "Fear not, little flock," &c. Most of the Christian Indians seemed to be melted in tears this day, in a view of their ingratitude to the great and kind Shepherd of the flock, and their disbelief of his care and concern for its protection; and how little comfort and joy they had derived from the consideration of the Father's delight and good pleasure, in giving Christ's flock a share in the heavenly inheritance - even to provide a kingdom for them. May his name be praised, with whom all things are possible, and whose grace shall be sufficient for all those who have put their trust in him! In the evening, rode to Tuscarora, and lodged with Mr. Sergeant.

9. Rev. Mr. Kimsee (Missionary from the General Association in Connecticut, to the frontier settlements of this State) came to my house, for a short stand, till he could learn of me the situation of this frontier, and what route he should take, in order to obtain the objects of his mission to the best advantage. Our interview has been very cordial, and revived the social feelings, which have been long in a measure dormant. This gentleman resided with me at Oneida about six months, as a candidate for the Gospel ministry, and a missionary in particular, twenty-six years ago; and we have never met but once since that time, till our present interview. Mr. Kimsee is a

gentleman of undissembled piety, sound in the faith, and hath been blessed in his ministry.

10. The plan being digested for Mr. Kinnee's route, he this day proceeded for Westmoreland and has agreed to preach a lecture at Brothertown the 15th instant.

11. Six Indians came with several chiefs to confer upon the subject of the academy.

12. Lord's day. Unable to preach this day, by reason of a return of the influenza; but attended to private instruction, with a number of Indians, and closed with a short prayer.

13. Monday. The Indians took leave of me.

14. Mr. Kinnee preaches the lecture at Brothertown, agreeably to appointment.

15. Set out for Kanonwalshale. Attended a short lecture, with Mr. Kinnee, and interpreted for him. The meeting with some of his old acquaintance of the Indians was very pleasing.

16. Attended a conference.

17. In conference with most of the chiefs and head warriors, the greatest part of this day. Towards the close of the day, Skemandoa, their second chief, addressed them in a very pathetic manner, upon their present state, both in a religious and secular view; their apparent declension in regard to religion, and their divisions and animosities in respect to their

civil and political interest. He observed that it appeared to him, the great God was about to give them up. He spoke for about three quarters of an hour, and very feelingly; often wept, which is a rare thing for him to do. My eyes are now so extremely weak that I dare not attempt to commit it to writing, with several others I wish to do.

20. Lord's day. Discoursed from Cor. x. ii. "Now all these things happened unto them," &c. The subject naturally brought up to view their national character, their present situation, and exposedness to the judgments of God. This has been the most affectionate and interesting meeting we have had for some time. Towards the close of our afternoon service half the assembly seemed to have been drowned in tears; and for myself, I have seldom had a more affecting and lively view of the judgments against the Indians as a people; the instructions and warnings they have received; the pains which hath been taken with them, and after all but little fruit! How unsearchable are thy judgments, O Lord, and thy ways past finding out! We were near five hours in our meetings this day. In the evening attended a conference.

21. The forenoon attended a long conference; then rode to Tuscarora, and attended a conference there. Late in the

evening married a couple; upon which occasion, near half the town assembled.

22. Tuesday. Returned to my family last evening, where I met with a number of the Brothertown Indians.

26. Saturday. I have had much company through the week, and much fatigued. I had expectation of writing several speeches and addresses, which were made by the Indians in the course of the week, but my eyes have been more than usually painful, and extremely weak; so that I could only make these few minutes in my journal. The affecting subject of last Sabbath too freely provoked the involuntary tear.

27. Lord's day. Kanonwalohale. Discoursed from Psal. cxxxix. 23.24. "Search me, O God," &c. A very full and attentive assembly.

29. Visited my family, my second daughter being sick.

30. Returned as far as Old Oneida; the rain prevented my reaching Kanonwalohale.

1795 November 2. Saturday. Have sat in many councils the week past, endeavoring to reconcile the differences betwixt Christian and Pagan parties but to little effect. The unprincipled white men, who reside in the village, are a nuisance and clog to every good work; particularly one Schuyler and the blacksmith; the latter of whom, the superintendent placed here, as he said, in the room of a better, are worse than the Pagans themselves.¹

1. Mr. Caulkings observed, in his letter to the superintendent, respecting these men, "that instead of civilizing, they would rather infernalise the Indians."

Nov. 3. Attended public worship, and preached this day to a full assembly. Some few of the Indians very attentive. The commissioners from New York, bound to nondago, were present, and gave their attendance.

Nov. 9. Saturday. The week past several attempts have been made, and plans proposed, to unite the whole Oneida nation, that they might become more useful to one another, and be rendered more respectable. The last proposed plan (in substance) was this, viz. to divide their property, or set apart a certain portion of land to each family; and make only two grand settlements, instead of six or seven small insignificant ones. The land so set apart, and becoming the property of individuals, is never to be sold to white people; but may be sold or exchanged one with another. Kanaghsolage to be the westernmost settlement in the reservation. Oriskenee, so called, with all those who did not like to promote agriculture and civilization, and such as could not bear the restraints of the Christian religion, nor love its doctrines, to settle there. Kanonwalohale to remain the capital; and none but such as were desirous of promoting husbandry, and will study for peace, and endeavor to advance the true religion, to remain there after two years. No ardent spirits ever to be brought into the town, unless in case of sickness; and that obtained with the permission of a majority of the chiefs. Drunkenness in the town to be punished. A

meeting house to be built in the center of the plain; and one main street to be laid out, six or eight rods wide, for four or six miles in length; and each family to have a building spot on the road, and a small home lot. The whole to be laid out with uniformity and regularity. The remote lots might be leased to white people for a certain term of years, and the proceeds to be laid out in cultivating the farms of the individual families of the Onoidas, to whom such lots had been appropriated.

The above sketch of the general plan has been the subject of much discussion. But finally could not be carried, but by a bare majority. It was therefore thought best to adjourn.

Skenandea, their second chief, (since good Peter's death), declared in private council, that he was determined, for the sake of peace and good order, to move and begin a new settlement near the line of reservation, and adjacent to the academy; and such of his clan, or any other as were resolutely determined to live like white people, to carry on husbandry, to support good order, and practice the true religion, might come and settle with him, on no other conditions. Their various reasonings upon the subject, and the objections that were raised, would fill a small volume, if all were to be written, and serve as a portrait of their different dispositions, improvements, and prejudices. Those who have approximated most to a state of civil society, strenuously urged the measure with every argument they were masters of, and such as I was able to furnish them. These

two particularly, "That the future happiness and prosperity of their nation depended upon their cultivating their lands, and a majority of them becoming husbandmen. 2dly, That while they held their lands in common, there was no sufficient stimulus to exertion. Property, or the certain enjoyment of the fruits of our labor, was the principal motive to industry; and that their own experience had already taught them this. Some opposed the plan, merely for its being too much like white people, and, in the course of a few years, there would be no trait in the town of the genuine Indian.

I must desist from writing for the present. I have almost ruined my eyes, by the use I have made of them already, and spending several weeks successively in their smoky houses.

9. Saturday. I find myself so unwell this morning, conclude to return to my family. Am to be accompanied by Capt. John Onondiyō, and, if able, to preach at Brothertown to-morrow. The Oneidas conclude to set out on their fall hunt on Monday next.

16. Saturday. I have been much out of health, and confined to my room, most of the week past, in consequence of a violent cold I contracted when at Old Oneida, sleeping with no other covering but my gown. Captain John, and several others, have tarried with me the whole week. He returns this day.

23. Saturday. The weather has been very uncomfortable, and the travelling extremely bad, that I have not so much as ventured out. Several Indians have tarried at my house through

the whole week. Among others, an aged widow, about eighty years old, as she computes her age. She possesses the Christian religion; seems to have acquired much knowledge of the perfections and attributes of the great God, and his government, by reflection. I have been much entertained with her conversation. There is an air of simplicity in all her deportment, with many of the Indian manners; and now and then discovers the possession of a strong mind and lively imagination. One of the Indians tells me, that she has been considered as the most sensible Indian woman they ever knew; but seldom talks. In the course of her conversation, she expressed a willingness and readiness to die; would attribute it to the power of the great God, who had made her to differ from other Indians; that she was by nature no better than the vilest. Several of her expressions I will give in her own dialect, and literal. "The great God had supported the old widow (she said) always! always! from a little child - every day - every night! How good it will be by and by to thank him, to thank him - to thank him a great deal in t'other world! and Jesus too! he dies, and so we become alive."

24. Lord's day. In the providence of God, I am still deprived of attending public service. The inclemency of the weather, with the remains of the influenza hanging about me,

but especially the weakness of my eyes, oblige me to keep my house, and attend only to private instruction.

25. Monday. Visited by a number of Indians, to be informed of my health, and to have some conversation with me. This is peculiarly the season for Indian visitors. Some are going out for a few weeks hunting; others returning; and many, after securing their little crops of corn and beans, if they think their store is scanty, quit their homes till the middle or latter end of winter, and seek a subsistence elsewhere.

26. Visited by six Onondas to tarry over the night. Received a message from an Indian in Brothertown, praying for my assistance in his present distressed situation, having by accident dislocated a bone in his knee. Sent to New Hartford in Whitestown for Dr. Beach, a noted surgeon.

20. I was so well this morning, that I ventured to accompany Dr. Beach to Brothertown, for the assistance of the distressed Indian. After some difficulty, and a second effort, the Doctor restored the bone to its proper place.

December 7. Saturday. The week past exceedingly crowded with Indians of every class. A gloom seems to be depicted on the countenance of every thinking Indian, from an apprehension of a more general Indian war.

8. Lord's day. Preached at Brothertown, Matth.xxiii.
37. "How often would I have gathered thy children," &c. I en-

deavored to illustrate and apply this general proposition, as contained in the words, viz. That the Christian spirit is very tenderly affected, in a view of those evils and calamities which are coming on impenitent sinners. A crowded audience, the house so full that some were obliged to stand out at the windows, and universally appeared solemn; some groanings and sighings among several of the Baptist persuasion; but no disorderly behavior. I continued my discourse too long, although their attention did not seem to abate in the least degree. The eagerness with which they attended was very animating; and my own spirits much revived, after so long a confinement. Oh may a gracious God, of his infinite mercy, give some increase! One of the professed Methodist Indians thanked me with tears of joy for my sermon. Engaged to preach here the next Lord's day, should I not be notified of the Oneidas return from their hunting.

15. Saturday. Nothing new has occurred the week past, but gaining of my health, and my eyes growing a little stronger; and my patience tried with the Indians.

16. Lord's day. In the course of the last week, was told by several of the Brothertown Indians, who were of the steady class, that some of their tribe, of the Baptist separate persuasion, particularly Ashpo and some others, had lately arrived from New England, Stonington, and Mckegan, in Connecticut; that they depended much upon hearing me, in order to judge for themselves, if I was a Gospel preacher; and advised

me to preach without any notes. I accordingly took a subject which I thought might be well adapted to the occasion, which I methodised with a view to the Indians, and discoursed from it in several villages. The subject I made choice of was in Is. li. 16. "And I have put my words into thy mouth," &c. I have abundant reason to bless God for his mercies this day. He hath favored us with the tokens of his presence, by the solemnity and engagedness with which they attended to divine truths. After sermon, I publicly proposed to Elder Ashpo (as they call him) to make the last prayer; but he declined; and after the meeting was over, several of the Indians applied to him for another religious exercise, in which he should improve his gift; as they phrase it. Their object was to have him speak while I was present. He objected to it, on account of the day's being far spent; and the people having been together for near five hours, they must first return to their homes, and he would meet them at such a place in the evening. This was accordingly published before the assembly dispersed. I was so much exhausted I thought it not prudent to tarry in the evening, as there was no convenient place for me to lodge with any degree of comfort, and I expected they would continue their meetings great part of the night.

17. Monday. Visited by several Indians, with a particular account of their religious meeting the last evening. They

had four speakers, or exhorters, the last of whom was a woman. They continued till near midnight; but were all disappointed in Mr. Ashpo, the old gentleman, who, instead of flame and zeal, and an elevated voice, spoke with great deliberation, low voice, and said little more than to repeat over a considerable part of my sermon, and comment on some parts of it; and concluded by speaking highly in favor of learning. After this, young David Fowler rose, and spoke with great vehemence, till he almost foamed at the mouth; but communicated no information or instruction. The whole of his harangue was a mere repetition of some extravagant words and phrases.

N.B. I have again promised to preach the next Sabbath at Brothertown, if not sent to from the Oneidas.

22. Lord's day. A mistake was made the last week in regard to the place appointed for our assembling this day. We met in two different places, the house where we usually assemble for religious worship being too small to contain the people; a number of Indians had proposed another place, though not so central, yet more capacious and convenient. An invitation was given them, after we had begun to assemble, to meet all at the same place. But the Baptist party rather objected to moving from their place of meeting, as it was the last Sabbath their friends from below would be with them, and urged that the house was too small to contain the whole body of

the people. They accordingly divided for this day. It was thought, nevertheless, a premeditated plan to meet by themselves, in order to give a better opportunity for those new Baptist exhorters to display their gifts; for they had several times declined and refused speaking when I was present. - Discoursed from Luke xvi. 8. "For the children of this world are in their generation wiser," &c. We were near three hours in our religious exercises; the Baptists, and some of their separatists, held their meetings till after sunset.

25. The Indians having been accustomed to assemble on this day for religious worship, intended to have preached to them, but the weather was too boisterous and stormy to go out. Spent some time in conference with a number who repaired to my house.

29. Kanonwalchale. Discoursed from Luke ii, 13-14. Some appeared to attend with great eagerness; but all have suffered as to their health, from the disagreeable situation of our place of meeting. The house has not been repaired agreeably to the repeated promises of the Indians. The windows open, and cracks between the logs, that the violent snow storm had filled the house; the floor and seats covered with snow and ice. I stood near three hours upon the ice, and my feet clad with moccasins instead of shoes. I have now contracted an extreme bad cold, which I am afraid will settle in my weak eye. In the evening, attended a conference with a number of their chiefs

and head warriors; then a council till after midnight. I once more gave them a severe reproof for neglecting to repair their meeting house, though the reproof was accomplished with entreaties.

30. Very unwell this day, but have been able to visit several families, particularly Elizabeth, wife of Yank, who has been for some time confined by sickness, and apparently in the last stages of the consumption. She was supposed to have met with a change of mind about five years ago, and since that time has in general conducted herself with propriety. Her amiable disposition, kind, tender, and discreet deportment, had recommended her exceedingly to the esteem of her acquaintance and relations. After some conversation, in which I endeavored to bring up to her view the promises of the Gospel, the fullness and completeness of the covenant of grace to answer all our wants, and the blood of atonement being sufficient for the pardon of all our sins, she appeared to be overcome, and desired to rest a moment. After some time, she replied as follows: "Father, I have heard all these words of the Lord, which you have now spoken. I have heard them with my whole heart; they are life and joy to my soul. You see this body is decayed, and lost its former vigor and strength, and I am sometimes exercised with severe pain in my breast and side. Some of my acquaintance, when they visit me, wonder I don't complain; and I wonder that

any creature should complain when God punishes them for their sins. Jesus was himself pained, when he undertook to redeem us. Pain is distressing, but when I consider what a sinner I have been, I wonder that I should have anything else but pain; and anon I consider how good God is, how perfectly just and right he is; I then almost forget my pain. He can give such a life and joy to my soul, as almost entirely takes away the pain of my body. Father, I thank you for this visit. I can now part with you, with less reluctance, yea, in full peace! See! there stand those little children of mine. I have given them up to God, I am no more anxious about them. The reason is this: that merciful God who has (I hope) shed down his light and peace into my soul, can give them the same, if he thinks best." Here she was obliged to desist, being very faint. After she had a little recovered, I took leave of her, as I had proposed to return the next day. The scene was truly affecting and required an effort to restrain the tender emotions of the soul. How wonderful, how rich, how triumphant, is thy sovereign grace, O thou exalted and enthroned Savior!

31. Last evening sat in council with a number upon the subject of the academy, and the children they were about to send. Some had murmured, and complained that it was not a free school. I endeavored to convince them of the propriety and necessity of selecting the specified number, agreeably to the

original plan for the first trial, and that no persons were better able to do this, than Mr. Dean, Mr. Caulkings, and myself, to whom the trustees had referred the selection; and that the Indians themselves had agreed to this, when the plan was proposed some years ago. I again informed them, that so soon as they could build near the academy, and board their own children, they might send forty or fifty, or even one hundred. But provision was made at present for boarding no more than six or eight; and a proportion of them must be of the Seneca and Cayogo nations. They in general appeared to be well satisfied, and concluded to set out this afternoon.

Jan. 1. Last night came to my house several of the Oneida chiefs, viz. Skenandoa, Capt. John, Laulense Ankeand' yakhon, Kaghghelayen, Atenis, one Tuscarora chief, with their sons, and accompanied by many others, with some women and children. The whole number consisted of nineteen souls. Gave them an exhortation, and closed with singing a psalm, and prayer. This evening addressed by the parents of the children who were to be admitted as members of the school, upon the plan of Indian education, which had been proposed to the Society in Scotland, their Board in Boston, also to the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, with many other individuals, and received their approbation. After

several short addresses, and replies made relative to the subject, Laurence Aukeand'yakhon requested leave to speak on the occasion, in his own behalf, more particularly as he considered his situation to be singular. All were instantly attentive. He began as follows:

"Father, and brothers here present, hear me; open a candid ear. My principal business here was to introduce my son Isaac to this great school. Now, upon the introduction, and giving up of my son, it is proper you should know what my views are. Father, you know it is more than three years since the instruction of my son has been a subject of frequent conversation betwixt us. He is a lad we both love. But soon after you had digested the plan of Indian education and it was agreed upon that my son should be one of the number, the unhappy division took place in our nation, betwixt the Sachems and the warriors. I changed my side, and did for some time think I was right; at other times, I determined, in my own mind, blame lay on both sides; and, for some time past, I have been wholly inactive. I chose to withdraw from each party, and see what would be the issue. I viewed my nation as devoted to ruin, except a few individuals. The great God has seen fit to bring much sickness upon me for this year past. I have been unable to perform much labor, or endure the fatigues and hardships of hunting, with any degree of alertness or success. Many days and some whole weeks

at a time I have lain in my hunting cabin in the woods, in consequence of a weakness and pain in my breast.

"Father, I have not been idle, you know I am not of that cast. During all this weakness of body, I have worked much inwardly. I have taken a retrospective view of my past life, in relation to God, my Maker, Jesus the Saviour, to you, our minister, to my nation, to my family. I have looked over my whole heart and soul. This has been a great work and the work is not yet finished. I say it is a very great work. So soon as I have completed it, you shall hear from me again; and in the town shall I proclaim, and my voice shall be publicly heard by my nation, of all parties. For the present, let me tell you, Father, that for near three years I have been under a cloud. I have walked in midnight darkness! I have many times absented myself from public worship, and when we have occasionally met together, it has been all dark, and no gleam of light. Father, I believe the light will soon break forth. Wherever the person is, of whatever rank, whether Sachem or warrior, whom I have offended, or been the occasion of misleading; I will be the first in giving my hand, without so much as asking him, or waiting for him to extend his own. (Then sprang forward with an extended arm, and said:) Here, Father, I now take you by the hand. Forgive whatever you have seen wrong in me; and may God hear,

for Jesus sake, forgive likewise! I yet live, and I wish to see peace while I live; and to see good come to souls, immortal souls! For what is the peace, or wealth, or pleasures of the world? They are vain and deceitful. I don't mean to blame the world in itself considered, but my use of it, and my designs in it. I only am to blame. I only have impoverished my own soul, and poisoned it by angry and wicked passions. I hope God Almighty will effect a complete deliverance.

"Now, Father, attend, and all here present. I said my business here was the introduction of my son. What are my views? What are my wishes with respect to my son. Do I wish him to become a great man of the world? No. There is not one such wish now existing in my heart, that I am conscious of. The strongest wish of my heart, and the warmest affection of my soul, in regard to my son Isaac, is this, that he may attain the knowledge and love of God, that he may possess true goodness in his heart, that he may get into that path, which will certainly lead him to a happy life in the next world, even to live with the great and holy God, and Jesus Christ his Son, and all good people. This, Father, is my wish concerning my son; here are my views, tho' expressed in few words. Should my son obtain this, I expect he will some day or other lift up his voice to my poor nation. And should I be assured of his attaining to this

knowledge and love of God, and true goodness implanted in his heart, while I yet live, I shall leap for joy, when I come to stand at death's door and take leave of my son, in full assurance that he will do good while he stays behind, and when he has done his work, will overtake me! This is all I have to say at present. I only add, that his mother wishes the lad may visit his family, within the term of one month; if he only tarries one night."

The foregoing address was so lengthy, and delivered with so much pathos, and altogether unexpected, and from a person who had long exempted himself from their public counsels, that it silenced in a great measure all the other speakers, and seemed to absorb all their ideas and wrap them up in a kind of agreeable surprise. Captain John is a much more graceful and eloquent speaker than Aukeand'yakhon, but his modesty forbid him to enlarge upon the subject at this time. He only added, that the education of his son Moses and two other of his sons, had long been deeply impressed upon his heart, from the knowledge he had acquired of a civilized people. He would therefore only add, that the sum of his wish, respecting his son, was to have him fitted for usefulness, in every point of view; and to have him become a good man, in the full extent of the expression. - That the eyes of so many would be upon them continually, to watch over them,

and the expectations of so many raised in regard to the institution; and some of the greatest and best people in the world to patronize it; he had nothing to say, but to give up his son, and be thankful, and pray that he may become wise!

I would just observe, that though Captain John is a much more majestic and graceful speaker than Aukeand'yakhon, the latter is thought by many to be the most sensible Indian in the whole nation, since good Peter's death. His independent spirit and love of domination, with a large share of pride, and deep-rooted prejudices against the white people, render him less popular, even among the Indians, than Captain John is at present. What influence he will gain from his present disposition and professedly new views of things, time will evince. He is unquestionably a person of great abilities, and may be eminently serviceable to his nation, should their divisions and animosities be healed, and he maintain his integrity, with that meek, tender, humble and benevolent spirit, he now exhibits. He constitutionally possesses a strong passion for power, that is quite repugnant to that liberty and equality which is so dear to Indians. He is not a pure Indian, but of French extraction, on his father's side. To this the Indians attribute his high quick feelings, and love of superiority. From the predominant cast of his mind, the old Roman maxim may be applied to him: "Aut Caesar, aut nullus." He must be chief, or nothing at all. His family connections are large, and most of them distinguished for their ingenuity, good sense, or affability. The sick woman,

Elizabeth by name, whom I visited the beginning of the week, is own sister to this Aukeand'yakhon. She is distinguished for her piety, as well as good sense. Our conference this evening broke up a little before midnight. I could write only the above speech.

2. Thursday. I delivered the following address to the chiefs and warriors of the Oneidas, and Tuscaroras presents:

"My children, attend, both Sachems and warriors, open a candid ear.

"Various have been our mutual congratulations, upon the return of another new year. We have sympathized with each other in the recollection of the evils and afflictions which have befallen us the past year; and we have participated in the recapitulation of many mercies we have respectively received from the God of love, and giver of all good things, through the past year more particularly. Many things have been very agreeable, in the conferences we have had together for several days. I expressed last evening my great satisfaction with the address of my son Aukeand'yakhon. It has been like a cordial to me! and it seemed to diffuse joy through every one present. It is my prayer that God may graciously enlighten him, strengthen and confirm him more and more, in the true religion, and make him a blessing to the nation. May he live

to see good come to his favorite son Isaac, who is now become a member of the school. Let the father take courage from the consideration of what God has done for him, amidst all his prejudices, and midnight darkness, in which he has for some time walked (as he himself expresses it); and surely God is able to dart the true light into the heart of the son, and implant the true religion there; and make him prove a great comfort to his father, and excellent mother. I have also expressed my satisfaction with the address and sentiments of Captain John, Skenandoa, Atenis, Lieutenant Cusack, and others. What more shall I say, you know my disposition, and every wish of my heart respecting your children. What lies in my power, I shall do for them. I shall not fail to counsel, advise, reprove, and exhort them, as occasion offers, and their situation requires.

"As we have enjoyed a free, unrestrained, and friendly intercourse, I would take this occasion to animadvert upon several oblique and ungenerous reflections, that were cast upon me by some individuals, while at the village. I don't mean, my children, that it interrupt our present agreeable interview; nor do I wish you to make any formal reply, until I meet you in full council in your own town. Here me, therefore, my children, with patience and candor. To you, indeed,

I may open my mind with the utmost freedom. At one of our conferences in the village, I was indirectly reflected upon as having been negligent in forwarding this school; which has been for a course of years the subject of contemplation and calculated for the good of Indians; and that I had accused you as a people, or nation, of ingratitude.

"Hear me, my children, a few moments, with tenderness and candor.

"The establishment of this school in your vicinity, has been an object of my constant attention since the projecting the plan; it being, in my opinion, the last expedient to be tried, and the last effort to be made, together with agriculture, and the gradual introduction of the civil arts, for your national happiness and prosperity.

"Some of you are well acquainted with the exertions I have made to effect it. Here let me enumerate several instances. In the first place, I have given to the school or academy three hundred acres of land, never to be alienated, but remain the sole property of the academy, and to be improved by the trustees towards the support of an able and skilful instructor. This is one eighth part of all the landed property I possess. In addition to this, I have taken three long and expensive journeys to bring about its establishment; one to Boston, when accompanied by Captain John, and two journeys

to New York, and Philadelphia. These journeys were performed at my own private expense, and without the least charge to you, or any other person. They cost me (exclusive of the losses I unavoidably sustained by my absence from my family) upwards of 170 dollars; for which I never asked, nor do I ever expect any recompense; unless I am rewarded by the promotion of your happiness, and seeing good come to your children. I also undertook the long and most fatiguing tour to the Senecas country, the winter before last, with a principal view to lay a foundation for your rising and future happiness. My sufferings in that journey were almost everything, short of death, which some of you can witness, till I arrived at Philadelphia.

"Since the charter of incorporation of Hamilton Oneida Academy was obtained, and my return from New York, I have been with you, and in your vicinity, viz. Tuscarora and Brothertown, every Sabbath, except two, unless prevented by sickness, or occasionally called away, and with your consent. During the greatest part of this period, I have been able to read but little, and scarcely put pen to paper, by reason of the weakness of my eyes, which has frequently occasioned me great pain till within these few months past. A heavy judgment this! in which you ought to have sympathized with me; especially as I received the first wound in my left eye, while on the tour to the Senecas country.

"In addition to this, Mr. Doan, your old interpreter and friend, has been gone the whole season, in the service of Congress, among the western Indians. He was appointed treasurer to the Board of Trustees, and you all know, by painful experience, the fluctuating and uncertain state of things among almost all the Indian tribes, for the year past. The trustees have been collecting materials for erecting a building, that shall accommodate the number of Indian youth proposed; and more, if desired. This is a work of time. The small house the school now occupies was built by only two persons beside myself, and for your present convenience. I am not one of the trustees of the academy. For various reasons, which I have heretofore mentioned to some of you, I refused to be one of their board. Nevertheless, I shall attend to its interest, and seek its prosperity, with as much engagedness as if I belonged to their board. Where then have I been negligent as to my duty in forwarding this school? Your ungenerous and ungrateful reflections are groundless, and only the fruit of a party-spirit, which even some of your chiefs have acknowledged. I have received in some instances the same treatment, though dressed in a different garb, from envious and unprincipled white people, who have suggested that I have acted from selfish interested motives. Others, and some of the first characters in the State, bring a very

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different charge against me, relative to this matter. They have checked me and kindly reproved me for giving so much as I have. They say that I have given more than I ought to have done, consistent with the duty I owe to my family; that justice has a prior claim to charity. This, my children, is my situation. Am I to be pitied or blamed? After all, be assured, none of these things move me; nor will they direct me from the object upon which originally set out, and in the accomplishment of which I consider your national happiness to be involved. As to the purity of my motives, in regard to this school, I have long since referred to my Maker and merciful Redeemer; and there I endeavor to refer them every day.

"I have also heard that some of the first mentioned class of contracted, mean and envious white people, should have said that I must certainly expect advantage some way or other, or I would not have done so much; that the school would give a greater value to my land; and that I must be influenced from this consideration. If this suggestion proves anything, it proves too much; because there are nearly twenty others whose land would be enhanced in value equally with my own, so far as the school could affect it.

"That the aforementioned objection should be made, my children, chiefs and warriors, is not strange in the present state of things. A mind that is wholly selfish and contracted can have no clear preception of benevolent affection,

and will pervert frequently a benevolent action. Our actions and general conduct afford us sufficient evidence of the disposition of the mind, in almost every case, and we have no other rule to go by.

"Furthermore, some have blamed me that I have preached so much to the Brothertown Indians, the summer past, and neglected the Oneidas. There may be reasons for this conduct which will satisfy every candid mind among you. The Brothertown Indians have been, for a considerable time past, in a distressed, divided, and almost helpless situation. They have been much divided as to their secular affairs, and much more deplorable have been their divisions in religious matters. Some have been greatly exercised about the concerns of their souls, and to have the true religion. They have been rent and torn in pieces by various sectaries and lay teachers, such as we have no reason to believe were commissioned by the Lord and Head of the church. A number of them have renounced their infant baptism and have been plunged into the water; and it is said by a few sober, steady Indians among them, that they are not any more washed from their sins than they formerly were. Sometimes I have been encouraged to hope the Spirit of God was really among them and at work in the hearts of some: they asked for help, they wanted instruction, who should forbid? who could refrain?

"And as to you, Oneidas, how unhappy have been your divisions for a long time? How pernicious their consequences? How little have you done as a nation, to promote the true religion? See the situation of your house of public worship! That speaks, with an intelligible language, what your disposition towards religion is; it tells no lies. More than once have I furnished you with nails and glass to repair it. Many have been the discouragements to any great exertions for promoting your national happiness; and many are the embarrassments, as your divisions and party-spirit have alienated your affections from one another, and destroyed the foundation of mutual confidence. The baneful vice of intemperance, as a nation, still continues (some individuals excepted), and is practiced to your great detriment, both as to your secular and spiritual interests.

"I may add to this, jealousy and ingratitude, which are characteristic of you as a nation. Of these things I have frequently told you, counselled and warned you, and pleaded with you, in the tenderest manner, with tears, and prayers, and cries!"

N.B. The wicked and abandoned white people, whom they harbored among them, were also mentioned.

17. Set out for Boston, to attend the ordination of my son.

SAMUEL KIRKLAND