

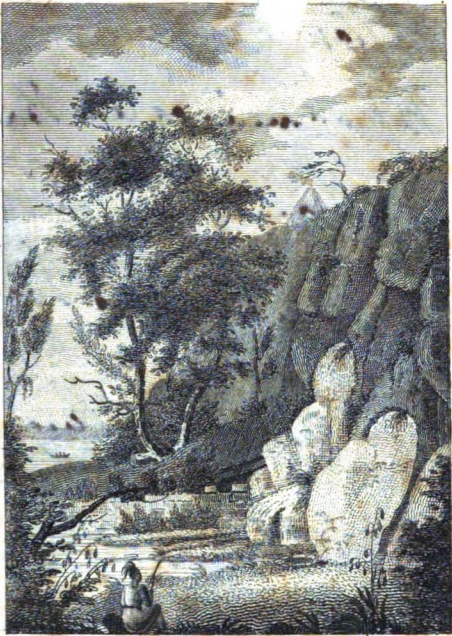
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To Mrs. [unclear]

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from his student

J. B. Brown

Boston Aug. 18.
1830,



SEAT OF KING PHILIP

THE

FIRST SETTLERS

OF NEW-ENGLAND:

OR,

CONQUEST OF THE PEQUODS,

NARRAGANSETS AND POKANOKETS.

AS RELATED BY

A MOTHER TO HER CHILDREN.

BY A LADY OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Mrs. Lydia Maria Child

BOSTON:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR,

BY

MUNROE AND FRANCIS.

1829.

INTRODUCTION.

I HAVE been induced to compile this brief narrative of the first settlement of New-England, with a view to exhibit the character of the native inhabitants in their courteous reception and treatment of our pilgrim fathers, unmixed with the civil and religious dissensions which then prevailed. It appeared to me that but little attention had been given to this portion of history, and that there had been a general misapprehension in reference to the conduct of the Indians, (from the vague and partial manner in which it is written,) in their intercourse and in the wars which ended in their entire discomfiture and subversion of their empire. It has also been my design to exhibit some of the most striking traits of Indian manners, and to prove, from the most authentic records, that the treatment they have met with from the usurpers of their soil has been, and continues to be, in direct

violation of the religious and civil institutions which we have heretofore so nobly defended, and by which we profess to be governed; thus subjecting ourselves to have the finger of scorn pointed at us, for having so grossly violated the principles which form the basis of our government. This crooked and narrow-minded policy, which we have adopted in reference to the Indians, will assuredly subject us to the calamitous reverses which have fallen on other nations, whose path to empire has been marked by the blood and ruin of their fellow-men.

I have also endeavoured to show, by familiar instances, that, by the indulgence of a disposition to tyrannize over the weak, we deprive ourselves of all those social and best affections, which were bestowed on us by the gracious Fountain of all good to promote the present and everlasting felicity of his creatures. I ardently hope that this unvarnished tale, which I have offered to view, will impress our youth with the conviction of their obligation to alleviate, as much as is in their power, the sufferings of the generous and interesting race of men whom we have so unjustly supplanted. I am moreover cheered by the hope, that men of talents and integrity, when they find that no hostile design was projected against the white men, until every pacific

overture had failed of success, will be aroused from the torpid indifference with which they have hitherto witnessed the unexampled fate of the Indians, and nobly and fearlessly stand forward in their defence.

The other subjects here discussed have all a reference to the main object I had in view; as it appeared to me highly important to demonstrate, (from their entire opposite tendency,) that the conduct and sanguinary institutions of the Jews, from which we have derived our crude and unworthy notions respecting the Deity, can have no connection with the pure and heavenly religion of Jesus.

The Cherokees have been publishing the speeches of Washington, 'their venerated father, to his beloved children of that nation, wherein he urges them to quit the chase, and practise the arts of agriculture, and become herdsmen and artisans; with the assurance that, should they accede to the proposal, the United States would take them under their protection, and guarantee to them their land within specific limits. With a view to encourage them to become herdsmen and cultivators of the soil, the United States agreed to furnish them gratuitously with domestic animals and implements of husbandry.' The Cherokees have in pursuance

of this advice become a civilized community, and have moreover parted with much land for the accommodation of the United States. Nevertheless, they are now urged to quit their territory, with all their improvements, and retire to the western wilds, where they must ere long miserably perish, to gratify the insatiable cupidity of the Georgians. If the craving rapacity of this state cannot otherwise be satisfied, it would assuredly be preferable to pay them an equivalent for their claims, which, setting aside all higher considerations, would require a sum less exorbitant than would be expended in their removal. These remarks are peculiarly applicable to all the Indians who border on the southern states. 'What are state rights,' exclaims an indignant Cherokee chief, 'in comparison to original possession, and inheritance from the King of kings?'

CONQUEST
OF
THE PEQUODS.

Mother. HAVING concluded what I had to relate of our Southern Indians, I will now give you some account of those who inhabited this part of the country when it was first visited by our ancestors.

The Pequods, a powerful and intelligent people, who dwelt on the river Thames in Connecticut, had declined all intercourse with the English, as they were engaged in commerce with the Dutch, by whose instigation it was supposed the Pequods were forbidden to bring any of the English into their territory. These people were all destroyed in revenge of the death of captains Stone and Norton. Stone, the principal, had been guilty of the most atrocious offences, he had been imprisoned and ordered to leave the

colony ; nor is it probable that Norton was superior to Stone, or he would not have been his associate. It cannot be doubted that these men were the aggressors, from their subsequent conduct : we must therefore admit the testimony of the Pequods, in reference to the cause and manner of their disaster and death. The Pequods sent messengers of peace, with gifts, to the Massachusetts, explaining the cause of Stone's death, and alleged that he had been justly slain for having seized some of their men, and compelled them to show him the way up their river ; and that the Pequods slew Stone and two others, who had come on shore, to rescue their own men. They also stated, that afterward the bark had been suddenly blown up by the explosion of gunpowder, which had been set in an open vessel to be more ready for use. This account does not appear to have been credited readily by the English, though it could not be denied, as none of the company belonging to the bark escaped the conflagration.* After a conference, which lasted many days, the governor and council concluded a peace with the Pequods, and agreed to trade with them as friends, which we

* This was related with such confidence and gravity, as, having no means to contradict it, we inclined to believe it.—*Winthrop's Journal*, Vol. i. Page 220.

are told they greatly desired. 'The English of Massachusetts, after their peace with the Pequods, sent a bark thither for trade ; but we are told they found them treacherous and false, and that no advantage was to be had by any commerce with them, insomuch as they took up a resolution never more to have to do with them.' The next year John Oldham, a contentious, turbulent man, who had for some time traded with the Indians, and had been treated not only with kindness but with great liberality, was found dead in his vessel, with many Indians on board, who were all destroyed, except two who escaped. No cause has been assigned for the death of Oldham ; but, from the temper of the man, it must be supposed he had done some great injury to those who had heretofore been his friends and benefactors. The Indians who committed this murder were supposed to be inhabitants of Block Island, which was subject to the Narragansets. Shortly after, messengers came from Canonicus, chief sachem of Narraganset, with a letter from Mr. Roger Williams to the governor, to certify what had befallen Mr. Oldham, and how grievously they were afflicted, and that Miantonimo was gone, with seventeen canoes and two hundred men, to take revenge, &c. A few days after, two boys belonging to Oldham were sent

home by Miantonimo, with the goods found in the vessel; he likewise sent one of the Indians who escaped, the other being dead. The English, not being satisfied with all which had been done by the Narragansets, sent three of their principal men, with Cutshamekin, the sachem of Massachusetts, to Canonicus, to treat with him about the murder of Oldham. They returned, being very well accepted, and with good success. They observed in the sachem much state, great command over his men, and marvellous wisdom in his answers, and the carriage of the whole treaty; clearing himself and neighbours of the murder, and offering assistance for revenge of it, yet upon very safe and wary conditions.

Caroline. Had the Narragansets more than one king or sachem, mother?

Mother. We learn from Rev. Roger Williams that Canonicus was uncle and guardian to the young king Miantonimo, and that he resigned the government to his nephew, on his coming of age. Miantonimo nevertheless consulted Canonicus on all occasions, and shared with him the honours of royalty. 'They were,' says Mr. Williams, 'the best friends and kindest benefactors the colony ever had; they kindly received, fed, and protected the first settlers, when

they were in distress and were strangers and exiles, and all mankind else were their enemies.' There were also many inferior chiefs who presided over separate districts, somewhat similar perhaps to our state governors. We find the names of six sachems subscribed to articles of peace between the Narragansets and the colonies, among whom is mentioned the old queen Quaiapen.

Eliza. You say, mother, that the English were not satisfied with having the property of Oldham returned, and the only Indian who had escaped death put into their hands to be punished as they thought right; what more did they require?

Mother. It appears that toward the end of the month after the embassy to the Narragansets, and two years after the death of Oldham, 'the governor and council assembled the rest of the magistrates to advise with them about doing justice for the death of J. Oldham, and all agreeing that it should be attempted with expedition, sent forth ninety men, under four commanders, and over all, as general, one of the assistants was sent. They were embarked in three pinnaces, and carried two shallops and two Indians with them. They had commission to put to death the men

of Block Island, but to spare the women and children, and bring them away, and take possession of the island.'

Caroline. But, mother, was not this order extremely cruel and unjust, and was it in reality put in execution ?

Mother. It was so, as far as possible. 'This armament set sail August 24, 1636, and arrived at Block Island, the last of the same month. The wind blowing hard, they had much difficulty in landing; about forty Indians were ready with their arrows, which they shot often at the men, who, being armed with corslets, were not much hurt. As soon as one man leaped on shore, they all fled. The island is about ten miles long, and four broad; there were two plantations three miles asunder, and about sixty wigwams, some very large and fair, and above two hundred acres of corn, some gathered and laid on heaps, and the rest standing. When they had spent two days in searching the island, and could not find the Indians, they burnt their wigwams and all their mats, and some corn, and staved seven canoes, and departed. They could not tell what men they killed, but some were wounded and carried away by their fellows.'

Eliza. Of what use were the mats, which appear to be so abundant?

Mother. They were used to hang on the inside walls of their habitations, and they were also used as doors and windows; in summer, the natives slept on them in the room of skins, some of these were curiously wrought, and made of very flexible materials, they served for a great variety of purposes, and much skill and ingenuity were displayed in their structure.

Caroline. Is it not generally believed, mother, that the Indians are a vagrant, idle race, who have no settled place of abode, 'here to-day, and there to-morrow,' wherever they can find subsistence? whenever I speak of the Indians, and compassionate their condition, I am asked how I can feel so much for these miserable hordes?

Mother. The Indians have been strangely misrepresented, either through ignorance or design, or both; and men have given themselves little trouble to investigate the subject. People seldom forgive those whom they have wronged, and the first settlers appear to have fostered a mortal aversion to the Indians, whom they had barbarously destroyed. However strong were their convictions of the jus-

tice of their cause, however plausible were their arguments in defence of their usurpations, they were unable to silence the voice of conscience ; and they vainly attempted to escape from the remorse, which, with all its terrors, seizes on the hearts of the guilty, by redoubling their superstitious observances. They fasted and prayed, and the austerities, they imposed on themselves and others, destroyed in a great degree all social enjoyment ; and, whilst they were systematically planning the destruction of the Indians, they were sharply engaged in discussing with each other points of faith altogether unimportant or incomprehensible.

Caroline. Did you not say, mother, that the Pequods were found to be false and treacherous, and that no advantage was to be gained by a commerce with them ?

Mother. I simply repeated to you the words of the historians ; in what manner they discovered the treachery is not related, but it is stated the Pequods were very desirous of having the English for their friends, as they were at war with the Dutch, and, a great rivalship subsisting between them and the Narragansets, they wished to strengthen themselves by a treaty with the English. By this

treaty it was agreed that the Pequods should allow the English to settle in Connecticut, if they desired to plant there, to give them four hundred fathom of Wampumpeag, Indian money, and forty beaver, and thirty otter skins, and deliver up the men who were guilty of Stone's death, when they should send for them, though the Indians insisted that he was slain in a just cause. By this it is apparent that they were willing to do much to secure the friendship of the English, who on their part agreed to trade with them as friends, and mediate a peace between them and the Narragansets. After the English of Massachusetts had sent a bark to trade with the Pequods, and found them, according to their own accounts, treacherous, &c. we hear of no other offence committed by them; nevertheless the forces sent to destroy Block Island, were ordered to go from thence to the Pequods, and demand the murderers of Stone and others, and one thousand fathom of wampum for damages, &c. and some of their children as hostages, which, if they refused, should be obtained by force.

Eliza. What damage had the Pequods done to the people of Massachusetts? had

they refused to give up the murderers, previous to this demand ?

Mother. There is no record, to my knowledge, of any damage done by the Pequods, or of any demand previously made of the murderers ; but as they were to be surrendered on condition of having the trade and friendship of the Massachusetts, which they had not obtained, they doubtless felt released on their part from a condition which they unwillingly subscribed to ; nevertheless their presents had doubtless been received, and no opposition was made to the settlement of Connecticut by the Pequods, which rapidly advanced, previous to the assault here related, which I will read to you as recorded in Winthrop's Journal ;—After having received a reinforcement of twenty men and two shallops, they sailed to Pequod harbour, where an Indian came to them in a canoe, and demanded who they were, and what they would have. The general told him he came from the governor of Massachusetts, to speak with their sachems. He told him, Sassacus was gone to Long Island. Then he bade him go and tell the other sachems, &c. ; so he departed, and in the mean time our men landed, but with much danger, if the Indians had made use of their

advantage, for all the shore was high, rugged rocks, &c. Then the messenger returned, and the Indians began to gather about our men, till there were about three hundred of them ; and some four hours passed while the messenger went to and fro, bringing still excuses for the sachem's not coming. At last the general told the messenger, and the rest of the Indians near, the particulars of his commission, and sent him to tell the sachem, that if he would not come to him, nor yield to these demands, he would fight with them. The messenger told him that the sachem would meet him, if our men would lay down their arms, as his men should do their bows, &c. When the general saw they did but dally to gain time, he bade them begone and shift for themselves ; for they had dared the English to come fight with them, and now they were come for that purpose. Thereupon they all withdrew. Some of our men would have made a shot at them, but the general would not suffer them ; but when they were gone out of musket shot, he marched after them, supposing they would have stood to it awhile, as they did to the Dutch ; but they all fled, and shot at our men from the thickets and rocks, but did us no harm. Two of them

our men killed, and hurt others; so they marched up to the town, and burnt all their wigwams and mats, but their corn, being standing, they could not spoil it. At night they returned to their vessels, and the next day they went ashore on the west side of the river, and burnt all their wigwams and spoiled their canoes, and set sail and came to Narraganset, where they landed their men, and on the 14th of October, 1636, they came all safe to Boston, which was esteemed a marvellous providence of God.'

Eliza. Is it possible, mother, that the people of Massachusetts should have acted thus? I can scarcely believe that the Pequods had not given them greater provocation.

Mother. It is certainly very pleasing to find no crime specified, or hostile disposition manifested by the Pequods, which would provoke this outrage, though it would have afforded some relief to our feelings had any excuse been alleged by the perpetrators of these barbarities; but on the contrary various acts are recorded of kindness shown to white people by the Indians, who rescued them from perishing with cold and hunger, and conveyed them in safety to their friends. Moreover, as a free intercourse was kept up between Con-

necticut and Massachusetts, the Pequods would have found many opportunities of injuring the whites, had they been so inclined; even after this hostile incursion, no reprisal was made, except in self defence, and they are bitterly reproached by Hubbard for forcibly endeavouring to prevent the whites from stealing their corn, burning their meadows, &c. He also states, as a great grievance, that some people who had been sent from England to build a fort at the mouth of Connecticut river, and placed a convenient number of soldiers to secure the place, intending to plant in the spring, were, all the winter following, during the end of the year 1636, but little better than besieged by the said savages, not daring to stir out of the fort, but they were ready to be seized by these barbarous enemies.

Caroline. Why did not the Pequods endeavour by force, to prevent the people from Massachusetts from destroying their towns, when they found they would not lay aside their arms, and confer with their chief in peace?

Mother. The Indians soon perceived they had no chance for victory in the open field, against the arms and discipline of their experienced invaders; they could not approach

near enough to do execution with their simple instruments of war, without the most imminent hazard. When the settlers had come to the determination to extirpate the Pequods, they deemed it essential to the success of the enterprise to enter into a treaty of alliance with the Narragansets, and thus secure their aid to subdue their ancient foe. While this was in contemplation, the Pequods, who were sensible of their danger, endeavoured to avert their impending fate, by representing to the Narragansets, the necessity of laying aside their mutual animosities, and joining in defence of their common country. 'They represented the English as strangers, who began to overspread the country, which would soon be possessed by them, to the depriving the ancient inhabitants of their right, if they were not timely prevented; and that the Narragansets would but make way for their own ruin, by helping to destroy the Pequods; for after themselves were subdued, it would not be long ere the Narragansets themselves would be rooted out; whereas if they would but join together against the English, they could demonstrate how they might easily be destroyed, or forced to leave the country, and that without any danger to themselves; telling them

also that they never need come to any open battles, they might destroy them by firing their houses, and killing their cattle, and lying in wait for them as they were about their ordinary occupations.' Hubbard, from whom I have taken this, exclaims, 'Machiavel himself, if he had sat in council, could not have insinuated stronger reasons to have persuaded them to a peace.' It thus appears that the Indians early perceived the designs of the English, and that they themselves were wholly unequal to contend with them in open combat.

Eliza. What reply did the Narragansets make the Pequods, mother? I should like to know.

Mother. We hear of no direct reply; but are told that so much reason was apprehended in these motives, that the Narragansets were once wavering, and were almost persuaded to have granted an ear to their advice, and joined against the English, but that the desire of avenging themselves on their ancient enemies overcame all other considerations. Nevertheless we are assured by R. Williams, whose testimony cannot be doubted, that the Narragansets joined the English in consequence of his persuasions, as he greatly feared, had they joined the Pequods, the settlers would have

been obliged to quit the country ; be this as it may, it appears the only weakness of which Miantonimo can be accused.

‘ Soon after Miantonimo came to Boston, being sent for by the governor, with two sons of Canonicus, and another sachem, and near twenty of their men, whom they call sannaps. The governor sent twenty musketeers to meet him at Roxbury. They came to Boston about noon, where the governor had called together all the magistrates and ministers to give countenance to their proceedings. After dinner, the sachem of Narraganset declared what he had to say to them, and a firm peace was concluded between them and their friends on either part, which was to continue to the posterity of both, and they agreed mutually to assist each other in the war against the Pequods. Cutshamakin also, the sachem of Massachusetts, subscribed those articles with the English.’

Eliza. I should suppose that having done so much to injure the Pequods, the English would have desisted, and allowed them to remain unmolested ; why did they wish to exterminate them ?

Mother. A strong desire to possess the land, and drive out the heathen inhabitants,

as they styled the Indians, is manifested from the earliest records ; no sooner had they gained strength for the enterprise, than they determined to accomplish their object. This disposition has been transmitted to their descendants, who appear to think themselves justified in following the example of men who have been so much extolled and venerated. The Georgians possessed large tracts of unsettled land, before they seized on the territory of the Creeks. This pernicious example cannot be too strongly reprobated, nor can we as christians defend our unjust and cruel usurpations. That the colonists were influenced by the motives I have mentioned, cannot, I think, be doubted, as the demand of a thousand fathoms of wampum, which it was scarcely possible the Pequods could procure, as the process of making it must of course be slow, and requires much ingenuity, and the proposal of sending their children as hostages, which would have entirely subjected them to the will of their adversaries, they must have been sensible would not be granted whilst the Pequods had power to resist oppression. It must also be remembered that these extravagant demands were made after the colonists had refused to comply with the engagements

made on their part, and that no act of hostility had been committed by the Pequods after the treaty, till the violent assault was made on them by the colonists, and even then only in self defence. Had the Pequods quietly submitted to have their country ravaged, and fortresses built in their immediate vicinity to awe them into subjection, they must have been less than men. But it is alleged that some of the captives taken by the Pequods were cruelly tortured; the name of one only is mentioned who suffered this treatment, which may have been done to terrify the whites from committing depredations on their territory. Reprisals were however made by the English, for we learn that the Indians in alliance with them 'captured seven Pequods, five they killed, one they took alive, whom the English put to torture; and set all their heads upon the fort.' As the English thought it proper and right to follow this horrible example, it should have silenced their invectives against barbarians.

I shall not enter into all the dreadful details of the war against the Pequods, suffice it to say that they were suddenly attacked by surprise at break of day, in a fortress erected on the top of a hill, whilst many of their men

were engaged in fishing. 'I will briefly relate the* assaulting and surprising of this Indian fort, as was delivered in writing by that valiant and prudent commander, Capt. Mason.'—'We told the Indians their best course would be to flank the fort on both sides, and having no time longer to confer, we proceeded,—Capt. Underhill to the western entrance with one division, myself with the other to the eastern as silently as possible; so it pleased God we came up within two rods of the palisado before we were discovered, at which time a dog began to bark, and an Indian cried out; so I suddenly hastened to the palisado, and putting in the muzzle of my piece, discharged upon them, and so did the rest with all celerity. The Indians cried out in a most hideous manner, issuing out of the wigwams, and shooting at us desperately, so divers of them were slain, and some of our men were wounded; so entering one of their wigwams, I took a fire brand and suddenly kindled a fire on the mats where-with they were covered, and fell to a retreat, and surrounded the fort; the fire increasing violently inasmuch as they were constrained to climb to the palisado, from whence they

* Hubbard's Narrative of the Indian Wars, p. 39.

were soon fetched down, I suppose, to the number of an hundred and forty; many of them issuing forth were suddenly slain by the English or Indians, who were in a ring without us; all being despatched and ended in the space of an hour, having two of our men slain, and sixteen wounded.'

'Not long after, Capt. Stoughton, with the forces sent from Massachusetts, arrived there, who found a great part of the work done to their hands, in the surprisal of the Pequods' fort, which was as yet but the breaking of the nest, and unkennelling these savage wolves; for the body of them, with Sassacus, the chief sachem, were dispersed abroad and scattered over the country, yet so far were the rest dismayed, that they never durst make any assault upon the English, who in several parties were scattered about in pursuit of them.'—'It was not long after Capt. Stoughton's soldiers came up, before news was brought of a great number of the enemy that were discovered by the side of a river up the country, being hemmed in by the Narragansets, though at a distance, yet so as they could not, or durst not, stir from the place, by which means our forces of the Massachusetts had an easy conquest of some hundreds of them, who were cooped up as in

a pound, not daring to fight, nor able to fly away, and so were all taken without opposition. The men among them, to the number of thirty, were turned presently into Charon's ferry-boat, under the command of skipper Gallop, who despatched them a little without the harbour; the females and children were disposed of according to the will of the conquerors. The rest of the enemy being first fired out of their strong hold, were taken and destroyed, a great number of them being seized in the place where they intended to have hid themselves! the rest fled out of their own country, over Connecticut river, toward the Dutch plantations.'—'Our soldiers being resolved, by God's assistance, to make a final destruction of them, were mindful to pursue them, which way soever they should think to make their escape; to which end our soldiers went by water towards New Haven, whither they heard they bent their course. In their march they met with sundry of them, all of whom they slew or took prisoners, amongst whom were two sachems, whom they presently beheaded.'—'The rest of the Pequods, from whom Sassacus had escaped, shifted every one for himself; but our soldiers, ranging up and down as providence guided them, at last

lighted upon a great number of them near a hideous swamp, into which they all slipt before our men could make a shot at them. An interpreter was sent in to offer them their lives on condition of their yielding themselves up to the English, but they were possessed with such a spirit of stupidity and sullenness that they resolved rather to sell their lives for what they could get there; and for that end began to let fly their arrows thick against him. Orders were now given to cut through the swamp, that they might hem them round, which was presently done, and so they were begirt in all night, the English in the circumference plying them with shot all the time, by which means many of them were killed and buried in the mire; but a little before the break of day, twenty or thirty of the enemy broke through the beseigers and escaped into the woods, the rest were left to the mercy of the conquerors, of which many were killed in the swamp like sullen dogs, that would rather in their self-willedness and madness sit still and be shot or cut in pieces, than receive their lives for asking at the hand of those into whose power they were now fallen. The soldiers in the morning entering the swamp, saw several heaps of them sitting close togeth-

er, upon whom they discharged their pieces laden with ten or twelve pistol bullets at a time, putting the muzzles of their pieces under the boughs within a few yards of them; so as besides these that were found dead, (near twenty it was judged,) many more were killed and sunk in the mire, and never were minded more. Of those who were not so desperate and sullen as to sell their lives for nothing, but yielded in time, the male children were sent to Bermudas; of the females, some were distributed to the English, and some were disposed of among the other Indians, to whom they were deadly enemies, as well as to ourselves.'

Caroline. Oh, mother! I have scarcely been able to preserve silence, whilst you were giving this account of the destruction of the Pequods. How could they be accused of sullenness and obstinacy, in not yielding to the settlers, when they, who did yield, met with a fate greatly more to be dreaded than death? What can exceed the distress of those mothers, who, after witnessing the destruction of their fathers and husbands and brothers, saw their young sons forced from them, and sent to a foreign land, there to be sold for slaves. I picture to myself my little brother among these

captives, in vain calling for help, and stretching his eager arms towards his unhappy mother, who is herself a slave, and unable to give him any relief.

Mother. Your feelings, Caroline, are very natural ; we cannot be too deeply impressed with the sufferings of those who are doomed to wear out their lives in a severe and hopeless bondage. The miseries, which were endured by these female captives, was apparent in their frequent attempts to escape, though they were not ignorant of the small chance they had to elude the vigilance of their oppressors. All the Indians were forbidden to receive the fugitives, and strictly required to seize and bring them back whithersoever they had fled ; and, to prevent any excuse, they were branded on the shoulder, as a mark by which they could be distinguished, and a badge of perpetual slavery which could not be effaced.

Eliza. I cannot think it possible that the settlers believed they were acting in conformity with the will of God in destroying the Indians, and inflicting such cruelties on them ; and it appears to me very wicked and profane to say, that they did so by God's assistance, and His grace, &c.

Mother. Yet we may in truth imagine, that

a sect,—who ascribe to God passions highly vindictive and unjust,—who represent this universal Parent as having formed rational creatures for the express purpose of inflicting on them torments the most excruciating and endless, without allowing them any chance or power to escape,—and who also believe, that the small number, whom he has ordained to be happy, have been redeemed by the sufferings and blood of a benevolent and perfect being, who has given himself a willing victim to satisfy divine vengeance,—may have believed themselves authorized to inflict all the evil in their power on wretches who are born to suffer.

Caroline. Is it possible that a belief so monstrous can be embraced by rational beings? These, assuredly, are not Christian doctrines.

Mother. I wonder not at your incredulity or surprise; but I can assure you, that, notwithstanding many metaphysical subtleties are resorted to by this sect to explain or modify their dogmas, they can only be resolved into these fundamental principles: The first settlers of this country had been bred up in the school of controversy, and their feelings were of course adverse to the doctrines of peace and mercy which form the basis of Christianity, from having been accustomed to defend the

crude notions with which they were infected by a constant reference to some detached passages or expressions of scripture, (without any regard to their connection,) which favoured their opinions, and frequently by obscure and spurious texts ; but an evil of still greater magnitude was the vain belief of their being a chosen people, and, like the Israelites, authorized by God to destroy or drive out the heathen, as they styled the Indians, which I have previously noticed. The vindictive and hostile feelings, with which the colonists regarded the natives, is fully manifested in the tone of exultation in which the Reverend historian, from whose narrative I have copied this account of the destruction of the Pequods, relates the cruel sufferings inflicted on them, in the progress of this desolating war. No sympathy is expressed, and they are deprived of life, and all its blessings, with as little compassion or compunction, as are the wild beasts of the forests. There is, however, one exception, which I with pleasure relate :—‘ The wife of a noted Indian chief, Mononotto, who with her children submitted herself to the English, by whose mediation two English maids were saved from death, had in requital the life of herself and her children granted to her, and

was recommended to the care of Governor Winthrop, who, taking notice of her modest countenance and behaviour, as well as of her only request not to suffer any dishonourable treatment, gave special charge concerning her, according to his noble and christian disposition.' 'The two maids, spoken of, had been well used by the Pequods, and no violence offered them.'

Eliza. I rejoice to find that kindness was shown to this noble Indian woman, and that the precepts of Christianity were not entirely forgotten.

Mother. Every instance of this kind is highly gratifying, and we have the pleasure of knowing that there were some highly estimable men, who, though they were infected with the puerile conceits and inexplicable dogmas, which prevailed at this period, yet were not insensible to the ties of humanity and justice, and strove to protect the natives, and to mollify the feelings of their countrymen toward these unfortunate people. Roger Williams, who should ever claim the respect of the good and enlightened, was banished for maintaining heretical opinions, and asserting that liberty of conscience ought to be allowed without restriction to all, in matters of religion, and he drew

upon himself the dislike and reprobation of the colonists, for insisting that the king of England had no right to take the lands in America from the Indians, and bestow them on his own subjects. The prejudice against the Indians was doubtless augmented by perceiving that they had lost their confidence in the promises and professions of the whites, and that they held a religion in contempt which had no power to restrain the evil passions. Canonicus, one of the Narraganset chieftains, spoke to Roger Williams in manly and indignant terms of the injuries received by his people from the whites, in opposition to their plighted faith. When Mr. Williams endeavoured to excuse his people, Canonicus, looking at him with mingled pity and disdain, exclaimed, You Englishmen, you believe in God, and you lie !

The feelings of this chief must have been unusually excited to have induced him to utter such invectives, as the native urbanity of the Indians forbade them to indulge in harsh language. This is, however, accounted for by a reference to the entire neglect of good faith in the colonists, and to the artifices they had employed to subjugate and subvert a brave and generous people, who had cherished and assisted them in an unwonted degree.

But, to return to the Pequods ; their final overthrow was an event which caused much exultation to the colonies ; and we are gravely told it happened the day after a general fast. Truly, the reproof of the Prophet had been well applied : ‘ Behold, ye fast for strife and debate, and to smite with the fist of wickedness ; ye shall not fast, as ye do this day, to make your voice be-heard on high. Is it such a fast that I have chosen ? a day for a man to afflict his soul ? is it to bow down his head as a bulrush, and to spread sackcloth and ashes under him ? wilt thou call this a fast, and an acceptable day to the Lord ? Is not this the fast that I have chosen, to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke ?’ The Prophet proceeds in lofty and sublime strains to describe what blessings shall attend the performance of good works, and it appears truly wonderful that so little attention has been given to sentiments like these of the Prophet, which are in perfect accord with the whole current of revelation.

Caroline. Was there no sympathy or kindness shown for the Pequods ? It would, I think, have been highly becoming in our sex to have succoured this unfortunate race ; in an espe-

cial manner, they should have treated with kindness the women and children.

Mother. It would indeed have been highly honourable, and congenial with those impressions which are supposed in a peculiar manner to influence the actions of women, and will, I trust, ever distinguish them; had they at this time acted in conformity with the spirit of peace, and christian charity and forgiveness, which they should have maintained, and thus have softened and subdued the asperity of the men, our early history would have assumed a different character from what it now exhibits. It appears, however, that at this period the women were, like the other sex, much addicted to questions engendering strife and division, and were, without doubt, also engaged with those weighty matters, so often discussed by persons in authority, respecting the manner in which women should be allowed to adorn themselves—whether they should appear at church unveiled, or have any part of their persons exposed to view which might have a tendency to withdraw the attention of the men from their devotions. Thus employed, the weightier matters of the law were forgotten. To regard agreeable objects with complacency appeared to many sinful, and all innocent

amusements were forbidden. The Indians were not alone objects of hatred and vengeance ; the severity, with which those of their people were punished who varied from the established faith in points the most trivial and perplexing, indicated a hard and merciless disposition, truly unnatural and deplorable.

Contrasted with this debasing and gloomy superstition, how sublime and beautiful appears pure and undefiled christianity, as taught and exemplified by our divine Master ! which is so truly congenial with all our best and holiest affections, that no doubt can exist of its truth. Christianity does not require us to be insensible to those gifts, so good and perfect, which have been graciously bestowed by the Father of lights ; it does not bid us close our eyes on the beauties of creation, or suppress the sympathies of the heart ; neither does it enjoin to sacrifice our innocent enjoyments at the shrine of superstition. On the contrary, this religion invites us to repose on the goodness of God ; to take shelter under the paternal wings of that gracious parent, who hath spread out the heavens to our view in all their magnificence and beauty, to win us from the frail and perishing things here below, and from every unworthy pursuit, and to exalt

our conceptions of Him who hath formed us for immortal life and happiness.—‘By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another.’

Elizabeth. But, mother, I cannot love bad people, especially such as are always disposed to injure others.

• *Mother.* We are not required to feel those vivid emotions of love (for the sordid and vicious) which constitute our highest enjoyment in this life, and by being improved and purified, are doubtless intended to afford that exalted happiness, unmingled with pain or sorrow, which we are promised in a better world. Nevertheless you should feel for every one sympathy and compassion, and desire to relieve them from guilt and misery. By the habit of contemplating the divine display of power, wisdom, and goodness, exhibited throughout the creation, we shall be preserved from those corroding passions of hatred and envy, and pride and self-conceit, which poison the springs of enjoyment, and estrange us from our fellow-sojourners here, and cause us vainly to imagine they have no part or inheritance with us.

Elizabeth. I cannot perceive that the settlers of this country were at all influenced by

the principles of the religion they professed, in their treatment of the Pequods, in whom we find much justice and generosity. When Stone was slain, the latter did not attempt to exculpate themselves by any mean evasion, but sent messengers of peace, with gifts, to allay resentment, and atone for a deed which they alleged had been committed to rescue their own men whom Stone had forcibly seized and detained ; nor do I think that any doubt can arise of the truth of their statement, the character of this man authorizes us to conclude that he was guilty.

Mother. I am pleased to find that you have a just conception of the beginning of this disastrous contest, and I confess that I have been unable to detect any hostility on the part of the Pequods, but what was justifiable in self-defence. Though they were accused of being false and treacherous, nothing is specified, except that no advantage was to be had by trading with them. The Pequods were perhaps better acquainted with the value of the articles they wished to purchase, as they had for some time had commerce with the Dutch, and therefore were less liberal in their payments, than the English had found other natives to have been ; but as it is acknowl-

edged that the Pequods greatly desired to trade as friends with the English, being then at war with the Dutch, who had killed many of their people, there is little probability that any offence was in reality given by them to interrupt an intercourse they had earnestly sought to obtain. The Pequods had complied with the terms of the treaty in allowing the English to have a settlement in Connecticut, and people were constantly passing to and from thence to Massachusetts by land, without any molestation; many who suffered greatly by the severity of the season would have perished, had they not been relieved by the Indians, and kindly returned to their friends. This is a strong proof that the Pequods were disposed to conciliation, even after the assault made on them by the forces from Massachusetts, though they could not comply with their humiliating demands which would have completely subjected them to the power of the colonists.

Caroline. I think, mother, it is somewhat extraordinary, that the colonists should complain with so much bitterness of the Pequods having punished with severity those who stole their corn, and burnt their hay or grass, and shot their game; after they themselves had so

inhumanly destroyed the dwellings, killed the people, and refused to comply with the request of the Pequods to lay aside arms, and hear what their chief had to propose.

Mother. You are certainly right, Caroline, neither should the Pequods alone be stigmatized for having subjected their prisoners to torture; since it was practised by the colonists, who frequently used this horrid invention to compel their Indian captives to give them such information as they desired.

Eliza. I have heard that the Indian chiefs, when they had the misfortune to be made prisoners, willingly submitted to the most cruel torments to prove their undaunted heroism; and that, amidst excruciating sufferings, they would preserve the most unshaken fortitude, and to the last defy their persecutors, and meet death with exultation, in the firm hope of being admitted to a brighter and better world, and of being received by his renowned fathers with acclamations of joy.

Mother. We can have no doubt that what you have heard is true; and this deed, however odious, is far less deserving of reprobation in the Indians, as they in this instance departed not from the golden rule; and the firmness displayed by them exhibits a spectacle in a high

degree sublime and interesting; it is the triumph of the soul over bodily pain and weakness, and we are thus assured that the vital spark of heavenly flame depends not on its frail and perishing tenement.

Caroline. I shall ever think of the Pequods with compassion and regret, nor can I ever allow that their oppressors were deserving the appellation of Christians.

Mother. It is highly derogatory to the character of our divine master, to call by his name those who have acted in direct opposition to his precepts and example; it is this which has rendered odious and disgraceful a religion calculated to exalt and perfect the human mind, and, by calling into action every virtuous impression, prepare us for an heavenly inheritance. The indulgence shown to such as have called on the name of Christ, while indulging the most sinful propensities, has encouraged others to continue like destructive measures so early begun, by the perpetration of the most frightful enormities, and the natives of this country are fast disappearing before the scourge of oppression, goaded on by avarice, and will in all probability be soon blotted from the face of the earth. Whatever allowance is made for the darkness and superstition which prevailed

at the period when this country was first settled, I can find no excuse for the indifference which at this time prevails in regard to our unfortunate red brethren, whose fate appears rapidly approaching should no generous and decided effort be made to preserve the sad remnant of this once powerful and noble race of men. Nevertheless, as there are some highly distinguished men who have powerfully pleaded the cause of the oppressed with truly disinterested benevolence, and fearlessly detected their persecutors, we may yet hope that the wretched remains of a people who were once the sole possessors of this goodly land, which we have forcibly wrested from them, will be protected, and suffered to enjoy in peace the small portion they now occupy, and thus the foul stain on our nation and character will in some measure be effaced or blotted out.

From the sketches I have given you of the sufferings of the Pequods, (which all the other tribes in this country were successively made to endure, till by continual persecution they were utterly destroyed;) you will, I trust, my dear children, be impressed with strong compassion, and take a lively interest in the fate of those unhappy ones who have survived the ruin of their race; nor must you imagine that

your exertions will be unavailing. Should you be able to incite a general interest in their favour in the breasts of your young friends, we may confidently expect that the rising generation will strive to meliorate their condition, as it is an axiom which admits not of dispute, that, in governments essentially popular, the voice of the people must prevail.

Eliza. As Caroline and myself have so deeply felt for the suffering aborigines of our country, we shall feel it to be our duty to engage the sympathy of others, by relating the wrongs they have sustained ; but you promised to give us some account of the other neighbouring tribes, who so soon shared the fate of the Pequods.

Mother. The next opportunity, I will perform that promise, but at present it must be deferred.

CONQUEST
OF
THE NARRAGANSETS.

Mother. I WILL now, my dear girls, if all your tasks are completed, give you some account of the other Indian nations who dwelt on the shores of the Atlantic, from Connecticut to the bay of Massachusetts, and who so early fell victims to those they had so courteously received and entertained; it may remind you of the fabled serpent, that stung to death the generous friend who restored its vital heat by fostering it in his bosom. I have spoken to you of the treaty made by the settlers with the Narragansets, by whose assistance they subdued the Pequods. It was not long after this event that Miantonimo was made sensible of the fault he had committed in joining the invaders of his country. Previous to this he

had been treated with much attention, and when at the request of the governor he came to Boston, attended by many great chieftains, to settle the terms of the treaty, he was received by a body of musketeers at Roxbury, and conducted in state to the governor, who had called together all the magistrates and ministers to give countenance to their proceedings.

The English were now sensible of their own power, and they wanted not the aid of Miantonimo ; and he who had been treated with the respect and attention due to a sovereign and powerful prince, whose alliance was of the utmost importance, was now made to feel that he was considered as a dependent on the English, and subject to their control. The troops sent against the Pequods had witnessed the fertility of the land, and a rupture with the Narragansets appears early to have been contemplated. Capt. Stoughton, who commanded some of the forces sent from Massachusetts, writes thus to the governor and council :—“After returning from Block Island, we shall fall upon destroying corn. The Narragansets do gather beans in abundance, and we found divers people in Pequod corn, and we are silent at it, yet if they should turn enemy, it would be to our great damage. But my opinion is, that

they will be twice advised before they will fall out with us.' In conclusion, he speaks in quaint terms, 'of providing for the poor servants of Christ, by the enlargement of his kingdom, as it seems that God hath much people to bring hither, and the place is too strait.'

The most unworthy artifices were used to humble and exasperate the Narragansets. In the division of the spoil after the overthrow of the Pequods, Uncas, (or Onkus, as he is more frequently styled) who was much inferior in point of rank and importance to Miantonimo, was allowed the preference, and it appears that any expression of dissatisfaction was construed as indicative of a hostile intention. Through the instrumentality of Onkus, Miantonimo was cited to appear in Boston, on suspicion of having endeavoured to draw all the Indians into a general conspiracy against the English, who, by his readiness to appear, satisfied them that he was innocent. Miantonimo, when he came before the court, peremptorily demanded that his accusers should be brought before him face to face, and if they failed to prove it, then to be made to suffer what himself, if he had been found guilty, had deserved, i. e. death; his reasons for which were very plausible. He urged very much the prosecuting such a law

against his accusers; alleging that if the English did not believe it, why did they disarm the Indians round about; and if they did believe it, equity required that they who accused him should be punished according to the offence. He offered also to make it good against Onkus, sachem of the Mohegins, that the report was raised either by him or some of his people.

Elizabeth. How could the English avoid sending for those who had raised the report against Miantonimo, without acknowledging themselves to be the abettors.

Mother. It appears that the English were not disposed to grant the equitable demand of Miantonimo, and allow him to prove his innocence, by criminating his accusers; they however endeavoured to appease him for the present, by some specious pretences, as they had altogether failed in substantiating the charges brought against him, 'though the Connecticut men were hardly prevailed with to forbear war against them.' The brief sketch given of the manly and dignified defence of Miantonimo is highly interesting, and was doubtless expressed in the powerful and energetic language, and manner, for which the natives of this land have been so justly celebrated, and unquestionably produced in the minds of his adversaries a

conviction of their own unworthiness, and a painful sense of inferiority, which increased their desire of freeing themselves from one who so fearlessly defended the cause of truth and justice.

Miantonimo, when pleading his cause before the General Court, observed to his judges that 'though some had dissuaded him from coming, assuring him that the English would put him to death, or keep him in prison, yet being innocent of any ill intention against the English, he knew them to be so just that they would do him no wrong.' Miantonimo was very deliberate in his answers, showing a good understanding in the principles of justice and equity, as well as a seeming ingenuity withal; but though his words were smoother than oil, yet, as many conceived, in his heart were drawn swords. It was observed, also, that he would never speak but when some of his counsellors were present, that they might, as he said, bear witness of all his speeches at their return home.—'They spent two days in the treaty, wherein at last he gave them satisfaction in all things, though he held off long about the Nianticks, of whom he said they were his own flesh, engaging on their behalf, that if they should do any wrong, so as neither he nor

they could satisfy without blood, he would leave them to the mercy of the English. At his departure he gave his hand to the governor, telling him that was for the Magistrates who were absent, and with great discontent, as he was going home, said he would come no more to Boston.'

Caroline. In what way had the Nianticks injured the English?

Mother. I know of no injury, except the suspicion which they had entertained of the Nianticks having been accessory to the death of J. Oldham.

Eliza. I should have imagined that having taken such signal vengeance on the Indians of Block Island, and after the Narragansets had so generously restored the goods found in the vessel, and sent them the only Indian who had escaped with life, the English would have been satisfied.

Mother. It appears not to have been possible for the Indians to have satisfied the English, whilst any thing remained in their possession. Thus we find that Miantonimo, a sovereign prince, the friend and ally of the English, was summoned to appear at their tribunal as a traitor who had conspired against them; that having obeyed the mandate, and

proved beyond all doubt his integrity ; he was not only denied the common justice^o of being confronted with his accusers, and refused any satisfaction for what he had suffered, but when confiding in their justice he had put himself in their power, they embraced, without scruple, the opportunity of imposing on him conditions highly unjust and dishonourable. It should also be remembered that the English forces were sent again to Block Island with instructions to do them all the injury in their power, and were only restrained by the inhabitants submitting to become tributary to the English, though they were subject to the Narragansets. What I have now related to you is taken from Hubbard's Narrative of the Indian Wars, which I have literally followed in reference to historical facts ; I will close the account of the noble, but unfortunate Miantonimo, by an extract from a note in Winthrop's Journal, by the late editor ; which reflects great honour on that gentleman.—'In the May preceding, the Chief of the Narragansets had been summoned to Boston, whither he came with confidence, to answer our demand, if he could prove any interest in Purnham and Sacononoco, who early in the same year, 1643, had sold parcels of their lands to eleven men of

somewhat different faith from that of the majority of Massachusetts. Our colony having prevailed on those sachems immediately after to submit themselves to us, thereupon denied most injuriously the right of Gorton, Holden, and others, to the lands thus purchased, because the Indians had been induced to make the sale by Miantonimo, who asserted a superiority over them, and took part of the price.' Though it appears that there existed no doubt of the right claimed by Miantonimo to dispose of the land in question, yet we are told that, as he failed to prove it to the satisfaction of the court, he was dismissed, and his claim disregarded.* 'We next hear of this chieftain in July, that a feud breaking out between Onkus and Sequasson, a relative of Miantonimo, he complained against Onkus to the government of Connecticut and Massachusetts, and desired them not to take offence, if he made war upon him. Hostile feelings and injuries had long subsisted between these chieftains, but to which of their confederates the first wrong might be imputed by the English, they certainly did not assume the part of avengers. The answer of Gov. Winthrop to the complaint, is a full declaration of neutrality. 'If

* Hutchinson's History.

Onkus had done him or his friends wrong, and would not give satisfaction, we should leave him to take his course.' Now the severest casuistry of christian belligerents is not yet so refined as to deny that Onkus had wronged Sequasson, for he had defeated him, killed and wounded several of his men, burnt his wigwams, and carried away plunder. Miantonimo, in the earliest prosecution of the war, was seized by the treachery of two of his captains, and delivered to his enemy, by whom, on his solicitation, he was carried to Hartford. It cannot be doubted, I presume, that the captive, having in vain pressed the conqueror to put him to death, expected friendship from the English, to which his former services, and recent deference had given him no slight claim. The Narragansets made presents to Onkus : by one party these gifts are represented as a reward for delivering his prisoner to the English, by the other as a ransom for the life of their sovereign. Whatever influence moved Onkus, it seems hardly possible that he could have anticipated the joyful result of the policy of his teachers in civilization, the deliberation of pious statesmen, by which his captive was restored to his hands, with an injunction to put him to death.'

'A judicial investigation of the case of this sachem should not have been undertaken ; but, as it was, we may look at the grounds of judgment. Trumbull makes part of his offence the making of war, without consulting the English according to agreement. Our author's narrative ought to have silenced such a pretence. Little importance need be attached to another allegation, that he had promised, in the open court, to send to Onkus the Pequod who had shot him in the arm, yet in his way homeward he killed him ; nor indeed to any other part of the doubtful story about the traitorous slave of the Mohigan. By the acts of the commissioners we learn, that it was fully proved, from the Pequod's own mouth, that he was guilty ; and therefore Miantonimo, if innocent, as our people before his misfortunes thought him, might believe his royal promise satisfactorily performed by putting the assassin to death, instead of returning him to his master. Perhaps his promise to the English was less distinctly understood, than it might have been between contracting parties of the same language. If Onkus were, however, free from all blame, and the Narraganset chargeable with treachery and every other vice of kings, our rulers had no cognizance of the

cause, and their advice to the successful warrior was cruel; but their conduct to Miantonimo, who had so few years before been their ally against the Pequods, can hardly be regarded as less than a betraying of innocent blood. In the congress of the united colonies, whose doings in this behalf are briefly, but fairly told, by our author, its president, it was too hastily, I think, resolved, 'that it would not be safe to set him at liberty,' and as death was the alternative, in their want of counsel and confidence to come to such a shocking result, against an unarmed prisoner, who was in amity with them, advice was asked, yet of only five among fifty assembled, of the ministers of religion.—The fate of Agag followed of course.'

'In case Onkus refused to execute justice upon Miantonimo,' say our records, 'he was to be sent by water to Massachusetts.' Such an unwelcome visit from one who had often been here in his prosperity and pride of independence, was to be avoided. How much those of Connecticut desired his destruction may easily be judged by their undertaking to send twelve or fourteen musketeers home with Onkus, to abide a time with him for his defence. If so low was their estimate of the peril, from the

subjects of the chieftain in revenge of his death, how slight must have been their danger in restoring him to liberty and power ! With profound regret I am compelled to express a suspicion, that means of sufficient influence would easily have been found for the security of themselves, and the pacifying of Onkus, and the preservation of Miantonimo, had he not encouraged the sale of Shawmut and Patuxet to Gorton and his heterodox associates.—‘ The savage soul of Onkus doubted whether he ought to take away the life of a great king, who had fallen into his hands by misfortune ; and to resolve this doubt, he applied to the christian commissioners of the four united colonies, who met at Hartford in September 1644 ; they were less scrupulous, and ordered Onkus to carry Miantonimo out of their jurisdiction and slay him, but kindly added that he should not be tortured ; they sent some persons to see execution done, who had the satisfaction to see the captive king murdered in cold blood.’—Winthrop says, that ‘ Onkus taking Miantonimo along with him, in the way between Hartford and Windsor, Onkus’ brother following after Miantonimo, stave his head with a hatchet, some English being present, that the Indians might know that the English

did approve it.' This was the end of Miantonimo, the most potent Indian prince the people of New England had ever any concern with : and this was the reward he received for assisting them seven years before in their war with the Pequods. Surely a Rhode Island man may be permitted to mourn his unhappy fate, and drop a tear on the ashes of Miantonimo, who with his uncle Canonicus were the best friends and kindest benefactors the colony ever had : they kindly received, fed, and protected the first settlers of it, when they were in distress, and were strangers and exiles, and all mankind else were their enemies, and by this kindness to them, drew upon themselves the resentment of the neighbouring colonies, and hastened the untimely end of the young king." *

Caroline. Oh, mother, this is worse than any thing you have before told us ; but is there not some circumstance which may in any degree excuse this barbarous transaction ?

Mother. It is a maxim, which ought always to be attended to, not to decide till we have heard the evidence of both parties, as both are desirous of giving the most favourable representation in regard to themselves. In this

* Comment of Gov. S. Hopkins, Hist. Coll.

instance, however, we receive all our information from those who committed the guilty deed, and therefore must conclude that nothing is left untold that would in any measure lessen the odium of these dark transactions, or lessen the offences of our ancestors.

Elizabeth. But if, as you tell us, we are by nature disposed to do right, how happens it that they should have acted so wickedly ?

Mother. I must again repeat, that the feelings of nature and conscience were paralyzed, by the gloomy superstition which bewildered the mind, and destroyed all those endearing charities which bind us to the whole creation, and which reason and revelation combine to enforce. Nevertheless we are assured, from the accusations brought against Miantonimo, which he so nobly refuted, beside the petty and contradictory charges which could not be sustained, that our historians would gladly have exhibited any offence which would have tended to their vindication.

Caroline. I should have supposed that Miantonimo would have been too much offended by the treatment he received to have come again to Boston, after he had said he would come there no more.

Mother. The ardent temperament of the

youthful prince had doubtless rendered him very susceptible of the superiority of the English in arts and in arms, and in the infancy of the settlement they found it essential to conciliate the natives by a courteous demeanour and friendly confidence, well suited to impress the Indians with a belief that they were actuated by the pure and benign precepts of christianity. This unquestionably disposed Miantonimo to use his influence in promoting the interests of his new friends, and the high estimation and great attention given to the rights of hospitality, strengthened the resolution to become the friend and ally of the English. Canonicus, a chief of great wisdom and discernment, was aware doubtless of the danger incurred by allowing strangers to encroach on the rights of the natives ; the manner in which he received the messengers sent to determine what aid could be given them to prosecute the war, was indicative of his disapprobation. After Canonicus had given audience to the ambassadors, he reclined on the stately couch on which he was seated, and left the whole to the determination of the young sovereign, Miantonimo ; who, having thus become responsible, and willing to hazard so much to serve the English, we may well imagine was desirous of

concealing if possible from his people the little consideration or friendship he experienced from those to whom he had sacrificed so much.

This feeling is manifested in many instances. When this prince was so injuriously summoned to Boston as a criminal, he told the court, 'that he would come to them if they sent to him any Indian in whom he could confide, and we should not need to send any of our own men ;' and on the first appearance of the messengers, he had taken them apart into the woods, accompanied only by one of his chiefs ; without doubt to conceal, if possible, the indignity to which he was subjected. Hubbard says, that Miantonimo was dissatisfied that more was not given the Narragansets after the overthrow of the Pequods, and was continually plotting against the English and the Mohegan sachem, and excuses their taking the life of Miantonimo, as 'it was feared there would never be any firm peace between the parties whilst Miantonimo was left alive,'—yet as the chief had completely refuted the accusations of his adversaries, and with the hope of conciliating the English, generously yielded to them all his right to the country of the Pequods, and the sovereignty of Block Island, we must conclude that his firmness in maintaining

his right to the land which he had sold to Gorton and his heterodox associates; with the kindly treatment he gave to R. Williams, and the other schismatics, was the capital offence for which he was condemned to die. 'The Narragansets,' says Hubbard, 'were animated by the haughty spirit and aspiring mind of Miantonimo, the heir apparent of all the Narragansets. This Miantonimo was a very goodly personage, of tall stature, subtle in his contrivements, as well as haughty in his designs.'

The account given of this chief by Roger Williams, is highly interesting:—When Williams and his adherents were banished for maintaining heretical opinions, after wandering some time quite forlorn, they found themselves in the country of the Narraganset Indians. Mr. Williams applied to the sachem or king of that people, truly stating his unhappy case, and begging his protection, which this noble prince kindly granted to him and his associates, and also generously made them a present of all that neck of land lying between the mouths of Pawtucket and Moshusuck rivers, that they might sit down in peace and enjoy it forever.

At Mr. Williams's request, the king or sachem of the Narraganset Indians, made a grant of the whole of Rhode Island to Mr. Clark

and Mr. Coddington, and their associates. The Indians seem not to have been induced to part with this island so much in consideration of any price that was paid them, as out of the great love and regard they bore Mr. Williams, as appears from the account he has left of this transaction, in his own hand writing.— ‘It was not price or money,’ says Mr. Williams, ‘that could have purchased Rhode Island, but ’twas obtained by love and favour: For the Indians were very shy and jealous of selling their lands to any, and chose rather to make a grant, or gift of them to such as they affected.’ *

In summing up the character of this great prince, who was so barbarously sacrificed, few can compare with him in liberality and true greatness of mind. Not only was the land above described given and granted to these unfortunate people, but in every instance when an opportunity presented, the same generous feelings were manifested. No sooner were the Narraganset chiefs informed of the death of Oldham, than Miantonimo went to Block Island, seized the murderers, and restored the property to the English. After the overthrow of the Pequods, though at first he was dissatis-

* Historical Collections, Vol. 9th. 2d series.

fied with the partial distribution of the land, he nevertheless testified his strong desire for peace, by yielding to the English the whole of the conquered country, with the sovereignty of Block Island. The Narragansets had at an early period shown a great kindness to John Oldham. This man is first mentioned as having with three others gone over land to Connecticut to trade. * 'The sachem used them very kindly, and gave them some beaver. They brought of the hemp which grows there in great abundance, and is much better than the English. He lodged at Indian towns all the way.'—The next year 'the Rebecca came from Narraganset with five hundred bushels of corn given to Mr. John Oldham—They had promised him one thousand bushels, but their store fell out less than they expected. They gave him also an Island in the Narraganset Bay, called Chippacursett, containing about one thousand acres, six miles long, and two broad.'—'The country on the west of Narraganset is all champaign for many miles, but very stony and full of Indians. He saw there above one thousand men, women, and children, yet the men were many abroad on hunting.'

The liberal donations made to Oldham by

* Winthrop's Journal.

the Narragansets, and their courteous treatment of him, affords the fullest conviction that the death he suffered was inflicted in return for some outrage committed by him against his benefactors. We are fully justified in this opinion, from the character of Oldham, who had, previously to what is here related, 'undergone ludicrous and severe punishment for his injurious treatment of Plimouth colony.' He was afterwards sent to England 'where he caused much distraction by the variety of his conceits of extraordinary gain, and was found altogether unfit to deal with.'

I have thus, my dear children, endeavoured to present, at one view, the munificence, kindness, and forbearance, which marked the character of this great prince in all his transactions with the English; that you may thus be enabled to perceive how small reliance can be had in the assertion, of those who maintain that the English could have formed no permanent settlement in this country, without destroying the natives.

Elizabeth. It certainly appears that the natives would gladly have allowed the English to dwell with them, from their willingness to yield them their land, and from their readiness to assist them.

Mother. We must assuredly adopt this opinion, as we find that, though the natives were most injuriously treated by the English, they made no resistance till they found the arts of conciliation vain ; but there are many who affirm that by intermixing with the natives, the whites would have lost much of their peculiar character, and the result must have (of course) been highly detrimental ; nevertheless, I am free to confess that in my opinion we should have gained more than would have been lost. The primitive simplicity, hospitality, and generosity of the Indians would gradually have improved and softened the stern and morose feelings resulting from the false views of religion, and the superstitious reverence in which the settlers viewed the characters of the Israelites, whose example they believed themselves authorized to follow. Our arts and sciences would have imparted to the Indians new light and vigour. The pure religion of Jesus would have strengthened and confirmed their innate convictions of the character and attributes of the Almighty, and the example of our divine master and instructor would have taught them to subdue their wayward passions, and evil propensities. We should thus have been saved from the hordes of va-

grants, who have been allured to our shores, like vultures by the scent of prey, that they might seize on the spoils of the natives whom we have destroyed ; and though we might not be able to boast, ‘ the glorious result of ten millions of white inhabitants,’ the red men who would have formed a part of our population, would have been to us a wall of defence ; neither would the innocent blood we have so profusely shed, which cries aloud for vengeance, subject us to the fearful retribution which has fallen on the guilty nations who have established themselves on the ruins of their fellow men.

Caroline. But, mother, it would not have been very agreeable, I think, for white people to marry Indians.

Mother. Whatever objections there may be for people of different colours to unite, it would doubtless abundantly diminish the amount of crime, and we might thus testify our obedience to the will of our heavenly Father, who has made of one blood all the nations of men, that they may dwell together.

Eliza. Is it not generally supposed that coloured people are inferior in point of capacity, to those who have fair complexions ?

Mother. These notions, it appears to me, are adopted by such only as have not impartially investigated the subject. The Europeans have received from the Asiatics, who have all dark complexions, most of their arts and sciences and notwithstanding many efforts have been made to prove, that astronomy was cultivated with success, and the greatest discoveries made by the Greeks in that science; it has, I think, been satisfactorily shown, that the Greeks were inferior to the Hindoos in the accuracy of their calculations, by the tables of Astronomy found in India, of a very ancient date. From these tables we may conclude many of the greatest discoveries have been made, as some of our most eminent men, who have applied themselves to investigate them, from the conviction they would be found to contain great errors, have from this investigation been led to new discoveries, which have demonstrated the accuracy of their theory and the authenticity of the tables. It was not till after Egypt had been conquered by the Greeks, that astronomic calculations were made with much precision, and we also find from the earliest records of Greece that her great men were accustomed to travel into Asia and Egypt in search of knowledge, which affords abun-

dant evidence of the inferiority of the Greeks at that period.

Caroline. Were the Egyptians and Hindoos the same people?

Mother. Of this there is no evidence which can be relied on, though in many things there is much resemblance; nevertheless, the treasures of art found in Egypt surpass all that have been discovered in other countries. The pyramids, which remain to this day the wonder of the world, present to the moderns a model which baffles all their skill, and they are compelled to confess their inability to comprehend how blocks of stone of such enormous dimensions could be raised to so great a height, and are perplexed when they attempt to estimate the labour and ingenuity required in the construction of edifices of so much solidity and beauty. The description given by Homer of the greatness and unrivalled magnificence of Thebes, which he styles 'The world's great empress on the Egyptian plain,' was formerly supposed to be an imaginary representation, yet the wonderful ruins of this city, which have been discovered, more than realize the description of the poet, and are calculated to impress the mind with astonishment at the munificence and power of its

projectors and ancient masters, whom many believe to have been real negroes, from its being a city of Africa. If it be so, then it must be conceded that this race of men are not inferior to any portion of the human race, and therefore the shallow pretext of their being formed to bear the galling yoke of slavery is proved to be as untrue, as it is wicked and base to deprive them of all the rights of men, and subject them to a cruel and ignominious bondage. Many conjectures have arisen in reference to the great amount of labour required to erect these stupendous edifices, whose ruins are still visible, and some entire, but the opinion which appears to me the most correct, is, that as no vagrant or idle people were suffered to prey on society, they were doubtless employed in the erection of these noble monuments, which to this day attest the power and wisdom of the Egyptians. We may also adopt the conclusion, that in time of peace the soldiers were not disbanded and left to poverty and wretchedness; but were continued in the service of their country, which they, by their labour, helped to immortalize, and we are thus freed from the necessity of admitting that a great portion of the workmen were slaves.

Eliza. I have read, mother, that the Egyptians were great idolaters, worshipping not only some animals, but inanimate substances also.

Mother. The people of Egypt, like all other nations, worshipped one supreme Deity, whose most adorable attributes, power, wisdom, and goodness, were frequently personified, and under various forms received distinct homage. Gratitude also for the gifts esteemed most beneficial, led them to pay veneration to the ox, and some other animals, who most contributed to supply their wants, or to preserve them from danger or loss ; and probably, like the Hindoos, as they perceived in all nature traces of divine goodness, they were led to recognise the Almighty in all His works. It appears wrong to me to call such a people idolaters, though in many instances they may have transgressed the bounds of moderation. No person who has given any attention to this subject can but acknowledge it to be highly important at the present day, that we should manifest the sincerity of the faith we profess, and our grateful sense of divine favour, by our kindness and attention to the brute creation, more especially to such as contribute by their labour so greatly to promote our ease and

comfort, and the cruel and unfeeling treatment of the creatures, who were given us with the injunction, to use, but not abuse, merits the severest reprehension.

Caroline. I never supposed that those whom we call idolaters were influenced by gratitude in their worship, it assuredly indicates a feeling of reverence for the gifts of providence in which we are greatly deficient. But I am anxious to learn how the Narragansets received the cruel tidings of the death of their beloved young king.

Mother. The Narragansets, stung with grief and resentment for the death of their invaluable monarch, 'declared to the messengers sent by the English, that they had resolved to have no peace without the head of Uncas; finding however that the English were raising forces to defend and support Uncas, the Narragansets were compelled to submit, and Pessacus, with two other chiefs, came to Boston with a large number of Indians in their train, having received assurance, that, however the treaty should end, they should receive no injury. The Narragansets could obtain no redress for what they had suffered, neither were they permitted to take revenge on Uncas. They were told that their breach of covenant was

the cause of all the expense which the English had been at in preparing for war, and it was reasonable that they should be reimbursed; but the commissioners, *to show their moderation*, demanded only two thousand fathoms of wampum, which was a sum far short of their charges, to be paid at different periods, and that they should restore to Uncas his captives and canoes, and make satisfaction for destroying his corn, &c keep perpetual peace with the English, and all their allies and subjects, and give hostages for the performance of their engagements.'

Elizabeth. How extremely unjust and ungenerous it was (after the reply of Gov. Winthrop to the complaint of Miantonimo, 'that if Onkus had done him or his friends wrong, and would not give satisfaction, they should leave him to take his course;') thus to charge them with a breach of covenant, and insist on their paying the expense of the forces perfidiously sent to destroy them.

Mother. The Narragansets were, it appears, fully sensible of the iniquitous conduct of the English, but they were unable to resist.

Hutchinson, from whom I have taken the account of this transaction, confesses,—
'These were hard terms, and it was with

great reluctance that they finally submitted to them, but they knew that part of the English forces were gone into their country, and they were afraid that, even whilst the treaty was depending, hostilities would be begun; and finally, in August 1643, they signed the agreement as the commissioners had prepared it, and left some of their number hostages, as a security for the performance of it. The small English army, which was ready to march, was disbanded, and the fourth of September, which had been appointed for a fast, was now ordered to be observed as a day of thanksgiving.

Caroline. I should think it would have been very difficult to raise two thousand fathoms of wampum, when the process of making it was so very tedious.

Mother. The intention of the colonists was undoubtedly to exhaust, as much as possible, the wealth and resources of the Narragansets; and they knew that the humiliating engagements which the chiefs had been compelled to make, would lessen their authority, and cause discontents among their people, which would hasten their final overthrow. The colonists were not ignorant of the difficulty of raising a sum so extravagant, but this would afford an

opportunity of coercing them by insisting on their fulfilling existing engagements. The Narragansets at first refused the payment, and Pessacus, their chief Sachem, alleged that the promise was extorted through fear that the English forces would fall upon his people during the absence of their chiefs, and he pleaded their inability to pay so large a sum. 'The commissioners insisted, however, on the demand, and some of the people were sent to procure what they could, but brought two hundred fathom only. The whole was not paid until 1650, when Capt. Atherton, with twenty men, was sent to demand the arrears, which was about three hundred fathoms. Pessacus put him off some time with dilatory answers, not suffering him to come into his presence. In the mean while his people were gathering together. But the captain, carrying his soldiers to the door of the wigwam, entered himself with his pistol in his hand, leaving his men without, and seizing Pessacus by the hair of his head, drew him from the midst of a great number of his attendants, threatening them that, if one of them offered to stir, he would despatch him. Pessacus presently paid what was demanded, and the English returned in safety.' Ninigrate, a sachem of the Nianticks,

a branch of the Narragansets, after this began to stir up new troubles, but upon sending Capt. Davis with a troop of horse into the Indian country, he was struck with a panic, and would not be seen by the English until he had assurance of his life, and then readily complied with their demands. The most galling condition imposed on the Narragansets was their being bound to remunerate the murderer of their king, for the losses he had sustained, during the prosecution of his treacherous war; and previous to the outrage I have noticed above, they had endeavoured by messages and presents to conciliate the favour of the English, and gain their permission to take vengeance on Uncas for his perfidy and cruelty. Their efforts however proved unavailing, and they were obliged to submit.

Eliza. I think, mother, I never heard any thing so unjust and insulting as this treatment of the Narragansets; but were they not able to defend themselves?

Mother. I believe, I have before stated to you that the Indians were wholly unacquainted with our modes of warfare, and were terrified by the destructive operation of fire-arms, which prevented them from approaching near enough to their enemy to use with any

success the weapons to which they were accustomed. The Narragansets had early entered into engagements, artfully contrived, which it is probable they did not fully comprehend, and they had also been induced to join the English in their exterminating war against the Pequods, nor did they perceive their error till too late. Had they listened to the warning voice of Sassacus, the Pequot chief, the Narragansets 'would not have been accessory to their own ruin by helping to destroy the Pequods.'

The forbearance of the Narragansets had no other effect than to invite new aggressions; they were perpetually harassed by impositions which, having no means to avert, they, by the advice of those friends to whom they had granted shelter and protection when oppressed and banished by the Massachusetts colony, formally submitted their country to the King of England, and entreated his protection as subjects. In reply to some demands of the Massachusetts government, they declared that the Narragansets were now, like themselves, subjects of the English king, and of course freed from their jurisdiction. They were nevertheless sharply reprimanded and obliged to acquiesce. What greatly contributed to the

success of the colonists was the treachery of ill-minded or vagrant Indians, who were induced by artifice or rewards to betray their country. Waquash, a converted Indian, secretly guided the English to the fortress of the Pequods, his countrymen. Peter, a prisoner, led them to the Narraganset fortress, and Sausaman, (who had been the counsellor, and pretended friend of Philip, but after, by the frequent solicitations of Mr. Eliot, whose convert he had previously been, joined the enemies of his country,) betrayed his master, and was made the principal instrument in his destruction. We have reason to suppose that the Indian converts were induced to believe it to be a part of their duty to betray their unbelieving countrymen, who were already doomed to never-ending wo for their unbelief. Many Indian prisoners were compelled to give information of the places where their countrymen had secreted themselves, and reveal all they knew of their designs, on pain of death, inflicted in its most terrific form; and many others were induced, from fear and despair of success, to join the enemies of their people.

The Narragansets still struggled to maintain, in some degree, their independence.

When the war with Philip first began, the Narragansets had received the women and children of the Pokanokets, who had been sent to them for protection, as was the Indian custom in time of war. The English remonstrated against this proceeding, and alleged it to be a breach of the treaty they had entered into with them. However painful and humiliating it may have been to the Narragansets to violate the laws of hospitality, which they had ever held sacred, they complied with the demands of the English, and refused to afford an asylum any longer to the helpless beings committed to their care. Though this act of sending the women and children for protection to the Narragansets, proves beyond all doubt that this people had determined to preserve a neutrality, yet it appears that the English had determined to involve them in the war. They asserted that the Narragansets had broken the league, 'especially in not delivering up the enemies, which had sheltered themselves with them; which, though they did not positively deny, yet did nothing but find excuses to defer it one week after another, upon pretence that they could not get them together.

And beside the favouring of those that fled to them, and supplying the whole body of them with provisions upon all occasions, it was strongly suspected that many of their young men were actually in arms against the English.' It was however confessed, 'that had the Narragansets joined Philip at first, it would have been very difficult, if possible, to have saved any of the inland plantations; and the messengers who had been sent to the Narragansets always reported that the elder people were not only inclinable to peace, but seemed very desirous thereof, insomuch as their two eldest sachems expressed much joy when it was concluded.' Nevertheless, the English insisted that this was done but to gain time, and 'therefore that all scruples as to the justness and necessity of the war was removed, for if they were let alone till the next spring, they might all rise together. It was therefore finally agreed upon, by the general consent of all, to fall upon the Narragansets first, by a considerable army gathered out of the three colonies, and that with all expedition, at furthest not to exceed the tenth of December, before they should have a thousand men in arms, ready for the design.'

Caroline. If the Narragansets were truly desirous of peace with the English, why did they allow their young men to join Philip, or why did they supply his people with provisions?

Mother. It is, I believe, not deemed an act of hostility for neutral nations to supply belligerents with provisions; yet it appears very improbable that the Narragansets had it in their power to furnish supplies to the extent here described, after they had been so harassed by the English, and they had doubtless parted with all that could be spared to procure the wampum so unjustly demanded by their oppressors. It is however natural to believe that the young Narragansets were filled with indignation at the conduct of the English, and it would unquestionably have been extremely difficult to have restrained them from giving assistance to their oppressed countrymen, in whose fate their own would be involved. And it is, I am told, not uncommon for youthful warriors, ambitious of achieving military fame, to enlist under the banners of one of the contending parties in time of war, without its being supposed to indicate any decided hostility on their part, or on that of their nation.

Eliza. You have lately spoken of Pessacus as chief of the Narragansets; what has become of Canonicus?

Mother. Pessacus was brother to Miantonimo, and appears to have been invested with the chief authority during the minority of Canonchet, the noble and heroic son of Miantonimo, who like his father fell a victim to his vindictive oppressors. Canonicus, though he appears not to have taken a very active part in the closing scenes which put an end to the empire, and involved in undistinguished ruin the Narraganset name and power; yet ever maintained his undeviating integrity, and dignified deportment.

Mr. R. Williams relates that Canonicus, when speaking to him of the want of faith in the English, mentioned several instances in which they had forfeited their engagements; in every instance he laid down a pledge to prove the fact. After the cruel tragedy had been acted which put an end to the life of Miantonimo, messengers were sent to insist that the Narragansets should not prosecute the war against Uncas, or attempt to revenge the perfidious death of their illustrious prince; Canonicus, deeply

impressed with feelings of sorrow and resentment, refused to permit the messengers to come into his presence, and they were compelled to wait at the door of his princely habitation for some time, when they were taken to an ordinary wigwam, and constrained to deliver their instructions to an inferior chieftain.

Caroline. How truly interesting are the characters of the Narraganset chiefs! Is it not uncommon to find so many great men in one family, mother?

Mother. It rarely happens among us, but from what is related of the royal families of the Narragansets and Pokanokets, it appears that their great qualities were, like their royal state, hereditary, and I have often remarked with pleasure on the primitive virtues exhibited by our Aborigines; your own observations will now, I trust, lead you to set a just value on those high endowments which the gracious author of nature has implanted in the heart, and that you will be incited to improve and perfect those gifts which have been so bounteously bestowed. Thus may a grateful sense of divine goodness give fervor and elevation to your devotions.

I will now proceed with the painful task of relating the merciless destruction of the Narraganset fortress, whither this persecuted people had retired, with their infirm and aged people, together with the women and children, and furnished it with stores which they hastily collected in the hope of finding shelter from the storm which threatened to overwhelm them. The army being assembled, began their march. Two days after, December 14th, five files of men sent out under sergeant Bennet, and another upon the scout killed one man and one woman, and brought in four more by one of the clock. The whole company marched after into some of the sachems' country, where they burned 150 wigwams, killed seven of the enemy, and brought in eight prisoners when they returned at night. In their march through the country they killed and took captive all whom they found unable to resist them, and the Indians, roused by these assaults, endeavoured in their turn to destroy the scouting parties sent against them. The army continued its march through snow and cold in a stormy evening, and having waded fourteen or fifteen miles through the country of the old queen of Narraganset, they came at one o'clock upon the edge of the swamp where

their guide assured them they should find Indians enough.

'The fort was raised upon a kind of island of five or six acres of rising land in the midst of a swamp; the sides of it were made of palisadoes, set upright, which was compassed about with a hedge of almost a rod thickness; through which there was no passing, unless they could fire the way through, which they had no time to do. It seems that there was but one entrance into this fort, but neither the English or their guide well knew on which side the entrance lay, nor was it easy to have made another; wherefore the good providence of Almighty God is the more to be acknowledged, who, as he led Israel sometimes by the pillar of fire, and the cloud of his presence, a right way through the wilderness, so did he now direct our forces upon the side of the fort, where they might only enter, though not without the utmost danger.— They that first entered were forced presently to retire, having lost sundry of their men, but at last two companies being brought up, besides the four that first marched up, they animated one another to make another assault. After a considerable number were well entered, they beat the enemy out of a flanker on

the left, which did a little shelter our men from the enemy's shot, till more came up, and so by degrees made up higher, and then into the upper end of the fort, till at last they made the enemy all retire from their sconces and fortified places, leaving multitudes of their dead bodies upon the place.'

'The brunt of the battle that day lay most on the commanders, whose part it was to lead on their several companies in the very face of death, or else all had been lost; so that all of them with great valour and resolution of mind, *as not afraid to die in so good a cause*, bravely led on their men in that desperate assault, leaving their lives in the place, as the best testimony of their valour, and *love to the cause of God* and their country. No less than six brave captains fell that day.'

'After the warriors had been forced to retire, the soldiers set fire to the wigwams, supposed to be about five or six hundred. The enemy's corn, stores and utensils, with many of their old men, women and children, perished in the conflagration. It was supposed that three hundred warriors were slain, besides many who died of their wounds, and with the cold. From the number of wigwams in the fort, it is probable that the whole number of

Indians were nearly four thousand. Those who were not killed in battle, or did not perish in the flames, fled to a cedar swamp, where they spent the night without food, fire, or covering. The burning of the wigwams, the shrieks and cries of the women and children, and the yelling of the warriors, exhibited a most horrible and affecting scene, so that it greatly moved some of the soldiers. They were much in doubt then, and afterwards seriously enquired whether burning their enemies alive could be consistent with humanity, and the benevolent principles of the gospel. The English, after they became masters of the fort, finding it not tenable, after they had burned all they could set fire upon, were necessitated to return to their quarters, full fifteen or sixteen miles off, whither with their dead and wounded men they were forced to march.' 'But our victory was found to be much more considerable than was at first apprehended; for although our loss was very great, yet the enemy lost so many of their principal fighting men, and their provision was, by the burning of the wigwams, so much of it spoiled at the taking of their fort, and by surprizing so much of their corn about that time also, that it was the occasion of their

total ruin afterwards : they being at that time driven away from their habitations, and put by from planting the next year, as well as deprived of what they had in store for the present winter. What numbers of the enemy were slain is uncertain, it was confessed by one Potock, a great counsellor amongst them, afterwards taken at Rhode Island, and put to death at Boston, that the Indians lost seven hundred fighting men that day, besides three hundred that died of their wounds. The number of old men, women and children, that perished either by fire, or that were starved with hunger and cold, none of them could tell.'

Eliza. This account of the war with the Narragansets is more shocking than what you before related of the destruction of the Pequods, to whom the colonists were not bound by the ties of gratitude and honour. But, mother, I am at a loss to conjecture what motives influenced the Narragansets, and prevented them from joining Philip when the war first began, since they could assuredly have no confidence in either the justice or friendly disposition of the colonists ?

Mother. Your remark, Elizabeth, is just and natural ; but it appears that the Narragansets had a strong desire to be at peace with

the colonists. They had been forced to give up as hostages some of their young princes and valued relatives who might be either condemned to die, or transported and sold into slavery. In a letter from the General Assembly at Rhode Island, to the General Assembly of Connecticut, remonstrating against the proceedings of the colonists in their war upon the Indians, they write, 'We are apt to believe that if matters come to a just enquiry concerning the cause of the war, that our Narraganset sachems, which were subjects to his majesty, and by his foresaid commissioners taken into protection and put under our government, unto us at all times manifested their submission by appearing when sent for. Neither was there any manifestation of war against us from them, but always the contrary, till by the united colonies they were forced to war, or such submission as they could not subject to.' *

The Narragansets doubtless expected protection from the English government, to whom they had solemnly yielded their country and promised obedience as loyal subjects. It appears that those who had settled at Rhode Island had refused to join the other colonists

* Historical Collections, Vol. 8.

in their war upon the Indians, and had used their influence to defend their friends the Narragansets. Complaints were carried to Cromwell from Rhode Island against Massachusetts, by Clark, Holmes, and others; yet the agent sent by the government of Massachusetts, who was much in the favour of the usurper, prevented so much as an enquiry into the conduct of that people. The pacific disposition of the Narragansets was manifested beyond all doubt we shall find, by attending to the details of the war. When the English army marched into their country, the Narragansets made no opposition till after the English had killed and taken captive all whom they could find, and had burned many of their habitations. A large portion of the natives had taken refuge in a place evidently selected for security, not for offence, as we are told it was situated in a swamp, fifteen or sixteen miles from any habitable place.

Caroline. How very wicked and odious it seems to speak of God as guiding and assisting to destroy a people so worthy of respect and esteem, and to whom they were so much indebted!

Mother. Hubbard, whom I have principally followed, on account of his brevity,

though he differs not in any material circumstance from Hutchinson or Winthrop, perpetually interlards his narrative with praises of the wonderful goodness of God in directing and aiding his people, or, as he frequently styles them, his Israel, to drive out the heathen, and possess their goodly heritage. I have, however, purposely omitted to repeat many expressions of this sort; those I have mentioned were to give you an idea of the self delusion and unworthy notions entertained, at that period, of the great Father of all, however wonderful it may appear that rational beings could so far deceive themselves. Hutchinson says, 'they were sincere, but mistaken in their principles;' and, absurd as it is, it is too evident they believed it to be for the glory of God to take away the lives of his creatures, for maintaining tenets contrary to what they professed themselves. It must be confessed that bigotry and cruel zeal prevailed to that degree in New England that no opinions but their own could be tolerated.

Our ancestors had fled from persecution in their native land, and taken shelter in this almost unknown portion of the globe in the hope that they might here enjoy the high privilege of worshipping God, in conformity

with the dictates of their own conscience ; yet no sooner did they feel themselves secure in their new abode, than, unmindful of the lessons of wisdom and moderation which their own sufferings should have taught them, they in turn persecuted all who in the slightest degree differed from them, and exacted the most rigorous conformity to their own creeds and formularies. They discussed and decided, with dogmatical authority, points wholly unimportant ; and it would be difficult to determine which of the parties were most bewildered in the mazy subtleties deemed so essential at that period, as they are all equally incapable of solution ; but the cruel punishments, many were condemned to suffer, admits not of excuse. One exception amidst this general delusion is worthy of attention, as the sufferer could not be charged with entertaining any of those absurd opinions, then so prevalent ; and appears to be the only person who, in that season of gloom and superstition, ventured to profess a rational belief, and is therefore entitled to the respect and esteem of enlightened christians of the present day.

‘ The devil would never cease* to disturb our peace, and to raise up insurgents one af-

* Winthrop's Journal.

ter another. Amongst the rest there was a woman in Salem, one Oliver his wife, who had suffered somewhat in England for refusing to bow at the name of Jesus, though otherwise she was conformable to all their orders. She was, for ability of speech and appearance of zeal and devotion, far before Mrs. Hutchinson, and so the fitter instrument to have done hurt, but that she was poor and had little acquaintance. She took offence at this, that she might not be admitted to the Lord's supper, without giving public satisfaction to the church of her faith, &c. and covenanting or professing to walk with them according to the rule of the gospel; and so as upon the sacrament day she openly called for it, and stood to plead her right, though she were denied, and would not forbear, before the magistrate, Mr. Endicott, did threaten to send the constable to put her forth. This woman was brought to the court for disturbing the peace in the church, and there she gave such peremptory answers as she was committed, till she should find sureties for her good behaviour. After she had been in prison three or four days, she made to the governor and submitted herself, and acknowledged her fault in disturbing the church:—whereupon he took her husband's

bond for her good behaviour, and discharged her out of prison; but he found after that she still held her former opinions, which were very dangerous. As first, that the church is the head of the people, both magistrates and ministers met together, and that these have power to ordain ministers, &c. Secondly, that all that dwell in the same town, and will profess their faith in Christ Jesus, ought to be received to the sacraments there, and that she was persuaded that if Paul were at Salem, he would call all the inhabitants there saints. Thirdly, that excommunication is no other but where christians withdraw private communion from one that hath offended.'

'About five years after, this woman was adjudged to be whipped for reproaching the magistrates. She stood without tying, and bore her punishment with a masculine spirit, glorying in her suffering. But after, when she came to consider the reproach which would stick by her, &c. she was much dejected about it. She had a cleft stick put on her tongue half an hour, for reproaching the elders.'

Eliza. What a horrid and ignominious punishment for a woman like Mrs. Oliver publicly to suffer! what must have been the feelings of her husband and children?

Mother. We cannot too much deprecate and expose the errors and perversity which led the first settlers of this country to rend asunder the bands of humanity and brotherhood, thus destroying social happiness and confidential intercourse, and giving force and scope to the most hateful passions. Nevertheless, however violent were the conflicts among themselves for supremacy, these did not prevent them from uniting for the purpose of exterminating their Indian neighbours; though at the close of every campaign their contests were renewed with increased animosity, and all attempts to restrain them by the mother country was deemed to be an unlawful usurpation of authority, to lord it over God's heritage.

I deem it to be of vital importance that young people should learn to reject all spurious doctrines, and firmly fix their faith on the truth as it is in Jesus, undefiled by aught that is adverse to the spirit of his gospel. I have before stated to you the pernicious effects resulting from the supposition that the figurative style of writing, common in the Eastern world, should be construed as containing the literal import of what was related, and the evil consequences produced by associating

with our benign religion the history and sanguinary transactions of the Israelites. Errors like these cannot be too much exposed, and we may venture to predict that christianity will never fully exert its purifying influences till this unhallowed connexion be dissolved. The effort to combine principles and actions, where no affinities exist, has proved altogether adverse to the spirit manifested in the gospel. The conviction of the Jews having been set apart from all other nations by God to preserve a knowledge of his true character and attributes, and authorized to destroy the Canaanites, whom he had purposely left to follow their own wicked devices, is assuredly the strong hold of Calvinism; for, if it be admitted that God had chosen a people who were commanded to punish and exterminate a portion of His creatures who had been blinded and kept in ignorance of the truth, then is the doctrine of election firmly established, and the elect may sin with impunity, for, of course, men are not responsible for what they are unable to resist. It becomes us, however, who acknowledge and feel our accountability as followers of Jesus, earnestly to insist, that a being who authorizes injustice, revenge, and cruelty, cannot be the God and Father of our

lord Jesus Christ, who was sent to proclaim peace and good will to the whole human race ; cannot be the Almighty and All-powerful Being, whose essential attributes admit not of change, whose mercy endureth for ever ; and cannot be the God who demands our reasonable service, and must forever claim our adoration.

To me it appears altogether wonderful to find highly gifted and benevolent men, who have abjured and denounced the base and incongruous dogmas which have so long obscured and marred the sublime doctrines of Christianity, still advocate the connexion supposed to subsist between the historical relations of the Old Testament, and the doctrines of the inspired teacher of the New Testament ; or in any way admit a comparison of Moses and Christ, so highly derogatory to the character of this divine personage with whom none can compare. All others were influenced by human passions and weaknesses ; Jesus alone was ever guided by the wisdom which is from above.

It appears to me that whoever impartially investigates the history of the Jews will perceive that notwithstanding so much is said of the vices of the Canaanites, and the superior

sanctity and goodness of the Israelites, that these representations proceed from the exaggerations of self love so common to all nations, who, though extremely indulgent to the crimes and follies which abound among themselves, describe those which prevail among a foreign people as in the highest degree odious and wicked. In discarding all unworthy prejudices, and allowing reason to guide us in our researches after truth, we may detect the fallacy of the arguments used to prove that to the Jews alone were allowed the high privilege of knowing and worshipping the true God, whilst all others had forgotten the Being who formed them, and had altogether become vile in His sight.

Those who profess to believe that God in the most familiar manner communed with the Israelites, must also believe, from the same authority, that this high privilege was granted to the Canaanites, who hearkened to his voice, and in all their transactions invoked the same Almighty power to witness their integrity; nor can it be allowed that the people of the land with whom Abraham sojourned were so greatly depraved, when they read of the kindness shown to him and his posterity, before, at the request of Joseph, they departed into

Egypt. The readiness manifested both by the king of Egypt, and the king of the Philistines, at different periods, to restore Sarah, whom they had unjustly detained, when warned by God of the evil they had done ; their respect for the marriage tie, and the munificent gifts made by the latter Prince to Abraham as an acknowledgment of the injury he had done him,—‘ And Abimelech said, “ behold my land is before thee, dwell where it pleaseth thee.” These all abundantly attest that a strong sense of justice and benevolence was prevalent among these people. When Abraham, after the death of Sarah, proposed to purchase the cave of Machpelah of Ephron the Hittite to bury his dead in, what can be more noble and generous than the reply of Ephron, “Nay, my lord, hear me, the field I give thee, and the cave that is therein I give it thee ; in the presence of the sons of my people give it I thee : bury thy dead.” Contrasting these transactions with the treacherous murder of the Shechemites, and the sacking of their city by the sons of Jacob, and with the odious deed of selling their brother Joseph as a slave, all of which were in perfect keeping with the atrocious deeds perpetrated by their descendants, it appears to be wanting in respect for

the moral attributes of the Deity to represent Him as having chosen a people so destitute of goodness to be his peculiar favourites.

Caroline. If the Jews were not a favoured people, why should Christ have been of Jewish parentage, and the predictions of his coming have been made by prophets of that nation only?

Mother. The blessings promised by the Messiah were not exclusively intended for the Jews; there appears to have been a general expectation of the coming of one who should restore order and harmony among contending nations, and lead them in the way of truth. This event, which was foretold by Isaiah in sublime poetic strains, was also recorded in the Sibylline oracles, in language nearly resembling that of the prophet; the felicities which would result to mankind when all crimes should cease, and peace universally prevail, were such as doubtless existed in the lofty conceptions of the prophet, and we may venture to predict will be realized, when christianity, pure and undefiled, shall exert its benign influence over the heart. Neither can it be deemed a mark of God's preference of the Jews that the Messiah was of their nation, as the cruel and ignominious death to which

they condemned him, and their extreme obstinacy in denying his mission, has made them singularly obnoxious to punishment. The fact of the Jews having persisted in refusing to acknowledge Christ, or to embrace his doctrines, proves beyond doubt that they could not have been designed in a peculiar manner to preserve such a knowledge of God as would enable them to perceive and embrace the truths and benign precepts of the gospel.

Eliza. Were not the religious opinions of the Jews, and their forms of worship, more pure than those of other nations ?

Mother. The rites and ceremonies of the Jews very nearly resembled those of the neighbouring nations, particularly those of Egypt, from whom they copied the garments of their priests. Though they were strictly enjoined to worship one God only, it must be inferred that the Cherubim, those sacred emblems who were always placed on or near the altar, were deemed highly important, though they did not receive any portion of the homage due to the supreme Jehovah. The Cherubim resembled the Egyptian Isis, who was worshipped under a great variety of forms, representing the goodness and abundance of the gifts bestowed on man by the beneficent Crea-

tor. But, above all visible objects, the sun, the apparent source of light, by whose vivifying heat all that sustains life and gratifies the senses are produced, has attracted universal homage and admiration; and the moon with its mild reflected lustre has soothed the sorrows of the weary, and thus elicited sentiments of devotion and love. Nevertheless, it is confessed that the homage they received was given them as the most splendid visible representatives of the all perfect mind.

Sir William Jones, who made many valuable discoveries in India, and who had it principally in view to ascertain truths which had been long disguised by fable, and to search into the origin of idolatry, concludes that the mythological system of the Hindoos is derived from the same source as that of the Egyptians and Grecians, whose apparent idolatry arose from their enthusiastic admiration of the sun. I have transcribed the closing stanzas of a hymn to the sun, translated by this admired writer, that you may be enabled to judge of the sentiments of the Hindoos on this interesting subject.

Yes; though the sanscrit song
Be strown with fancy's wreaths,
And emblems rich, beyond low thought refin'd,
Yet heavenly truth it breathes

With attestation strong,
 That, loftier than thy sphere, the eternal mind
 Unmoved, unrivall'd, undefil'd,
 Reigns, with providence benign :
 He still'd the rude abyss, and bade it shine ;
 While sapience, with approving aspect mild,
 Saw the stupendous work and smil'd ;
 Next, *thee*, his flaming minister, bade rise
 O'er young and wondering skies—
 Since thou, great orb, with all enlight'ning ray
 Rulest the golden day,
 How, far more glorious, He, who said, serene,
 Be and thou Wast, Himself unform'd, unchang'd, unseen.

We are indebted to Sir W. Jones for many other beautiful hymns which he has translated from the Sanscrit, which, though they abound in fanciful images, express the same noble and elevated conceptions of the one eternal mind.

Caroline. You think, mother, there is sufficient proof that the Jews were not a favoured people, or better instructed than other nations in the knowledge of God ?

Mother. This, in my opinion, is susceptible of demonstration by referring to the principal events in the history of this people, where we shall find but few periods when they were either happy or prosperous. They were a stiff-necked, rebellious, contentious people, almost perpetually engaged in inter-

tine or foreign wars. After the death of Solomon, whose reign appears to have been more prosperous than that of any other Jewish sovereign, but who had nevertheless lost the affection of the people by making his yoke bear heavily upon them; ten of the tribes, finding his son Rehoboam not disposed to lighten their grievances, revolted, and made Jeroboam their king, who openly encouraged idolatry, and set up golden calves, as objects of national worship. Those also who continued faithful to the son of Solomon, built them high places and images on every high hill, and under every green tree. The most frightful disorders prevailed, and the most atrocious and sanguinary deeds were perpetrated by the contending parties with a view to gain or preserve the empire, till, after repeated defeats and subjection, the Jews were eventually destroyed, the city of Jerusalem utterly demolished, and the empire finally subverted, after the land had been deluged in their blood. The Jews who survived this dreadful catastrophe were most of them carried captive, with the spoils of their city and temple, to Rome, and thus ceased to be any longer a nation. Long before this event, the ten tribes who had separated from the other two, had been carried

captive by the king of Assyria into his own land, and it is probable became incorporated with that people, as no record remains of them after this disaster. The measure of their iniquity was full, and hence they received the same punishment which has fallen on other guilty nations. In my apprehension it would therefore be highly absurd to insist that the Jews were a chosen people, of whose power and influence there should be no end. The promises made to the Jews of the prosperity, and durability of their kingdom, all had reference to their forsaking their evil ways, and yielding obedience to the commands of God, and they were repeatedly admonished, that, except they did this, they must experience all those calamities which, in conformity with the everlasting decrees of that holy and unchangable Being, must eventually fall on every soul that doeth evil, whether they be Jew or Gentile.

It is assuredly wonderful, and altogether irreconcilable with the dictates of reason and moral sensibility, that a book containing the history of a people whose vices create in unsophisticated minds a moral aversion too great to be overcome, should be acknowledged to have an intimate and necessary connexion

with a belief in Jesus; and I am unable to repress the mingled emotions of shame and regret excited by reflecting on the extreme incongruity of exhibiting characters so utterly unworthy, as examples for imitation, to a foreign people, with a view to prove the superior purity and efficacy of our religion, and prevent human sacrifices. For this purpose we present to the Hindoos, and others, the records of a people, whom we aver were the peculiar favourites of heaven, who not only offered up in sacrifice their own offspring, but, in demonstration of their gratitude for a memorable victory, selected many hapless victims from a multitude of women and children, (who had previously been made to endure every degree of misery) as an offering unto the Lord.

Elizabeth. What opinion should we entertain of a people who should send to us such a history for the purpose of proving the validity and superior sanctity of their religion, and thus induce us to become their proselytes?

Mother. This idea has frequently occurred to me, nevertheless the Old Testament is highly valuable, as it contains a portion of ancient history which is particularly interesting, and it also contains many sublime passages and beautiful images. Solomon's prayer

at the dedication of the Temple is in a high degree interesting, as it demonstrates that, however he may have been allured by the splendid and imposing rites of pagan worship, he was unquestionably imprest with the conviction that the idolatrous images, before whom he bowed down, were only personifications of the attributes of that Almighty power to whom he addressed his fervent and humble supplications. It must however be confessed, that the great mass of the people, like all who have multiplied their objects of worship, were more attracted by forms and ceremonies, than by those deep and spiritual impressions which a belief in one all-perfect and only God can inspire.

Caroline. Is there no other book beside the Old Testament, which contains the same historical accounts?

Mother. Some of the principal events, recorded in the Old Testament, are found in the sacred books of the Hindoos, described in nearly the same terms; such is the account of the creation and fall of man, the history of the deluge, with all its eventful circumstances, are related with much exactness. There are also found in India, hieroglyphic monuments which are supposed to have been designed to

commemorate some of these great events. The Hindoos in many instances resembled the Jews; like them they deemed it sacrilegious for foreigners to be allowed access to their sacred books, and this privilege has been obtained only by conquest. Josephus has written a history of the Jews, which it will be well for you to read at some future period. Whatever partiality the historian of their own country may be supposed to indulge, you will find the Jews to have been a wicked and perverse generation, far more barbarous and vindictive than their enemies, especially when you compare the treatment they received during their captivity in Babylon, with their own exterminating warfare against the Canaanites.

In the course of our conversations I have had frequent occasions to remark on the injury done to Christianity, by the pernicious practice of associating with it the historical transactions and institutions of the Jews. It is by nourishing this root of iniquity, which may be likened to the parasite plant which blights and destroys the fair tree to which it clings for support, that ample scope has been afforded for the commission of those countless crimes which have been perpetrated under

the sanction of religion. It is 'giving heed to those profane Jewish fables and commandments of men that turn from the truth and engender strife and division,' and the vain pretensions to infallibility, which have covered the earth with the blood of her children, and perplexed with doubts and difficulties sincere enquirers after truth, who have thus been induced to cast away the wheat with the chaff, from the notion that they were inseparable.

I devoutly trust that ere long those invaluable men, who have so nobly exerted themselves in the cause of truth, will complete the work they have so successfully begun, and wholly cleanse Christianity from the impure influences of Judaism, and thus remove all incentives which nourish passions opposed to that religion, which is 'pure and peaceable, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy!' This I deem to be especially important, because the opponents to this benign system daily manifest the same inveteracy which has marked the proceedings of those who have, (whenever circumstances admitted,) put in execution every species of torture, imprisonment, and death, with a view to silence their adversaries, nor will this censure be deemed unmerited by those who

attend to the denunciations which are perpetually fulminated against all who dissent from the self-elected judges, who contend for infallibility and exclusive privileges. It is in my apprehension morally certain, that so long as we continue to laud men who have acted in conformity with these sentiments, we have no right to complain of those who still insist on the like privileges.

Elizabeth. But, mother, would not some serious Christians be shocked at the reformation you propose, who have not been led to reflect on the evils resulting from the corruptions of which you complain?

Mother. This would unquestionably be the case; for there are many who would wish to support the pretensions of the Jews, who are not swayed by a desire to screen their vices, or to have it in their power to propagate pernicious doctrines, by examples drawn from the history of that people; yet, though some may be offended, much good will result from separating truth from error, and bigotry: it will relieve many from perplexing doubts relative to the divine attributes, which have appeared to them so contradictory and uncertain; while others will be reclaimed from scepticism who have been made to think that there is the same

authority for believing in the Old Testament, as in the New. By rejecting those parts of the former which are so unsuitable, and discordant to the spirit of the Gospel, with all those degrading and unworthy representations of the high and lofty One who inhabiteth eternity, it will brighten and make clear the path which has so long been encumbered with thorns. The main prop of Calvinism is found in the election of the Jews, with all their vices, to be the peculiar favourites of Heaven; those, therefore, who profess this belief, with much consistency affirm, that the human race can do nothing to promote their own salvation, which altogether depends on the capricious will of Him who formed them, some for honour, and some for dishonour, without any regard to moral qualities: and hence, to show the insufficiency of good works, though performed with an ardent desire to comply with the will of the Deity, they represent the most wicked and profligate as elected by an instantaneous display of grace. David, for instance, has been exhibited as literally a man after God's own heart, notwithstanding the heinous offences he committed. A celebrated preacher of the Calvinistic school, plainly stated to an attentive audience, when one of our family were

present, that this preference was given by God, for the express purpose of manifesting his utter disregard and dislike of those who relied on moral purity as a passport to favour future acceptance, even though they may have believed themselves influenced by a profound veneration and love of the Deity.

Caroline. Then, conformably with this system, our good or ill actions are of no importance; or, as it rather appears, the wicked are most likely to be selected as objects of grace?

Mother. 'This is indeed the only construction which can be admitted consistently with this doctrine: and it is moreover believed that such as have experienced this instantaneous conversion cannot fall away, though it does not prevent them from acting in a high degree sinfully. History informs us that Oliver Cromwell, though he was notorious for his barbarity, and hypocrisy, a short time previous to his decease, struck by the recollection of the crimes he had committed, enquired of the priest who attended him, if it were possible, after having been once converted he could forfeit this high privilege? On being assured by the priest that this could not possibly happen, Cromwell replied, "then I am safe, for I am positive that I was once in a state of grace," I could men-

tion many instances of the pernicious effects resulting from the belief, that people, who adopt a certain form of faith, are, by adoption, the subjects of grace. Once possessed with this notion, I have found it altogether useless to urge them to do what is right, by quoting the precepts or example of Him whom they profess to believe is God himself; they heed you not, because they have been taught to believe that the reprobate state of those, who are unregenerated, prevents them from discerning the qualities essential to such as depend on imputed righteousness. I once endeavoured to persuade a negligent mother of a fine boy, to pay more attention to her child, by assuring her that he would prove a blessing or a curse, in proportion as she exerted herself to make him happy, and form his mind to virtue. A supercilious smile passed over the dark countenance of the mother, when she firmly replied, "I have no power to do him good or ill, his fate is already fixed; and in proof of her assertion repeated some lines from Milton's Paradise Lost, which she said had the authority of Scripture. In another instance a woman applied to me for assistance, complaining of her great misfortune in having lost her husband, and being obliged to provide for a daughter

who was infirm. I offered to find her employment, and urged her to a diligent application of labour, to remedy the evils she suffered, and thus to testify her submission to the will of Heaven. Yet, notwithstanding she had made great pretensions to resignation, she replied with a look of anger and self-importance: "I thank God, I depend not on my own exertions, but on the merits of my saviour."

Elizabeth. But would she not take the work, you proffered her.

Mother. She took a little home, but soon grew weary; I suppose she found an easier way of gaining a subsistence. Nothing is, in my opinion, more injudicious than the charities of many individuals, who give without any regard to the capacity of the object to supply by labour, aided by a little assistance, their own wants; thus rendering exertion unnecessary, and paralyzing the natural desire of independence. This woman, I doubt not, from her appearance, felt entitled to support, because she was numbered among the saints, and she preferred to attend meetings, &c. rather than to remain at home occupied with domestic cares, which might relieve the wants of herself and her invalid daughter. I believe you have heard me mention a woman who lived in

the neighbourhood of your grandmother, whose children busied themselves with tormenting birds and insects, whilst their mother was attending lectures, &c. Your grandmother, who was one of the most pure, and intelligent characters I ever knew, thought it was her duty to acquaint the woman of the cruelty of her children, and in remonstrating against the indulgence of such propensities, cited a passage of Scripture to enforce her admonitions; when the woman replied with the most supercilious indifference, "Oh, Mrs ——, the Bible is to most people a sealed book."

Caroline. This reminds me of Mary, our cook; when you had detected her in an act of dishonesty, and told her that you were astonished to find one who professed so much religion, acting in direct opposition to its precepts, Mary said, with an air of much importance, "where sin abounds, grace much more abounds." At another time, when she was angry with me for some trifle, she told me that notwithstanding I now felt myself above her, she would in another world look down with triumph on my sufferings.

Mother. This spirit of bitterness and puerile conceit is the natural result of the false and pernicious notions so early impressed on

the mind. Mary's temper was not really bad, but she had been accustomed to cherish bad passions, instead of repressing them, by the odious doctrines set forth by Calvinistic preachers, of their sect being the only favoured people who cannot err: while all others are not only excluded from mercy, but doomed to everlasting torments. But, as if all this was not sufficient to satisfy the spirit of revenge, and attest the vindictive character of the Deity, the Calvinists represent the felicity of the elected as greatly increased by their being permitted to contemplate the agonies, and hear the groans of the condemned.

Elizabeth. Surely, mother, all Calvinists have not this malicious feeling, or desire to witness the torments of others?

Mother. I trust they have not; for their innate convictions of justice and benevolence, overcome, in a great measure, this degrading superstition. Nevertheless, we know by sad experience, that whenever an opportunity is given for persecuting their opponents, they are all induced to join, or acquiesce in doing them all the evil in their power, in the full conviction that they are serving and honouring Him, whose high behest they are bound to fulfil.

The Roman Catholic superstition is a system of deception and oppression which countenances abuses of almost every description. The sanguinary procedure of the Catholics, who laid claim to infallibility, was supported by the arrogant pretensions of the Jews who asserted a right to destroy all who opposed their peculiar tenets or customs. When Calvin renounced some of the errors of the Romish Church, he appeared to think that the infallibility of the church, whose doctrines he had abjured, was transferred to him and his followers; of this he has given ample proof in his treatment of Servetus, a man distinguished as a scholar and a theologian, who had opposed the prevailing superstition embraced by Calvin in regard to the doctrines of the trinity. Calvin, having by the most insidious methods got Servetus in his power, prevailed on the magistrates of Geneva to arrest him, and after having deprived him of all his property, he was thrown into a damp and noisome dungeon, for his alleged blasphemies; though he repelled the charges with great firmness, and openly avowed himself the author of the writings that were stated to contain the heretical opinions for which he was arraigned. During a protracted trial which lasted some months, Servetus endured

the most cruel sufferings, and was at last burned by a slow fire, amidst the exultation and scoffs of Calvin and his followers, who in vain endeavoured to make him renounce what they called his heresy.

Caroline. But you do not believe, mother, that all Calvinists approve of such horrible persecutions ?

Mother. As that sect acknowledge Calvin to be their head and leader, we are compelled to suppose they would deem themselves authorized to follow his example, whenever an opportunity presents ; though I doubt not many would suffer much inquietude should such an event take place, notwithstanding they should be convinced of its being their duty to acquiesce. I have before had occasion to remark, that no superstition could be compared to Calvinism in its demoralizing, petrifying effects. However erroneous may be the belief of the Hindoos, their self-devotion has something in it great and impressive, because it is themselves who are the victims, nor do they by any vain subtilty expect to avoid responsibility. I have thought it right to enter into this discussion, not assuredly with a view to injure any sincere believer in the doctrines of Calvin, for I have much regard and friendship

for many who are of this sect, but because I am persuaded it exerts a baneful influence over its adherents, and I earnestly desire to guard you against its pernicious effects, by exhibiting its deformities and inconsistencies: and to show that the dogmas of Calvinism derive no support from reason, or Scripture, except by some detached passages which are wholly at variance with the general scope and sense of the inspired writers. I will mention one instance, among many which is directly in point. I once happened to be present when a preacher of this sect took for his text the first sentence of the fifty-eighth chapter of Isaiah,—“Cry aloud, spare not.” Throughout the whole of this beautiful chapter we are exhorted to testify our faith and love to God, by performing acts of justice and mercy. Nevertheless the preacher rested his whole argument on the first sentence, and went on with great flippancy to prove that we were commanded to pray continually for grace, regeneration, and conversion, and that this was the great and all-important duty enjoined by the prophet; without giving any attention to the works of benevolence, which form the whole texture of the exhortation, and which we are assured will alone render us acceptable to God.

Elizabeth. I should think the people would discover such an imposition, and lose all confidence in their preachers.

Mother. Many are too ignorant to detect the fallacy of such preachers; and those who are better informed, appear to feel themselves bound to receive as true, the explanation given by their teachers.

This, my dear children, is a long digression; but it appeared to me so highly essential to give you clear and elevated conceptions of the Deity, by explaining the causes from which errors and corruptions have arisen, with their fatal consequences, that I was unwilling to proceed with the history of the war with Philip, till I had fortified your minds by this explanation.

Eliza. Caroline and myself are anxious, mother, to hear the particulars of the war with Philip, if it be convenient for you at this time,

Mother. You must previously be made acquainted with Masassoit, the father of Philip, the first native prince who entered into a treaty of amity with the English, to whose kind offices they were much indebted. They had fortunately met with Squanto, a native, who with twenty-six beside himself, had been treacherously carried to Spain by Hunt, a ship-master,

but had been humanely restored to his country. This man could speak a little English, and with three other Indians came to the English, bringing with them a few skins, and signified that their great sagamore Masassoit, the greatest king of the Indians bordering on us, was hard by with his brother Quadequina, and their company. "After an hour the king comes to the top of a hill over against us, with a train of sixty men. We send Squanto to him, who brings word that we should send one to parley with him. We send Mr Edward Winslow to know his mind, and signify that our governor desires to see him, and truck, and confirm a peace. Upon this the king leaves Mr Winslow in the custody of Quadequina, and comes over the brook with a train of twenty men, leaving their bows and arrows behind them. Captain Standish and master Williamson with six musketeers meet him at the brook, where they salute each other, and they conduct him to a house wherein they place a green rug, and three or four cushions. Then instantly comes our governor, with drum, trumpet, and musketeers. After salutations, (the governor kissing his hand, and the king kissing him,) they sit down; the governor entertains him with some refreshments, and then they agree on a

league of friendship, for mutual assistance and defence: and that Masassoit should certify his neighbour confederates of this, that they might not wrong us, but be comprised in the conditions of peace. That doing thus, king James would esteem him his friend and ally. After this, the governor conducts him to the brook, where they embrace and part.

“This morning, divers Indians coming over tell us, the king would have some of us come over and see him. Captain Standish, and Mr J. Allerton go venturously to them, whom they welcome after their manner, and about noon return to their place called Sowam, about forty miles to the westward. The king is a portly man, in his best years, grave of countenance, spare of speech, and we cannot but judge he is willing to be at peace with us.”

“We agree to send Mr. E. Winslow, and Mr. S. Hopkins with Squanto to see our new friend Masassoit at Pokanokit, to bestow some gratuities on him, and bind him faster to us, to view the country, see where and how he lives, his strength, &c. At nine this morning we set out, travel fifteen miles westward to Namasket by three in the afternoon. The people entertain us with joy, give us bread they call maizum, and the spawn of shads, which

now they have in great plenty, and we eat with spoons. By sun-set we get eight miles further to a wear, where we find many of the Namasket men fishing, having caught abundance of bass; who welcome us also, and there we lodge. The head of this river is said to be not far from the place of our abode, upon it are and have been many towns, the ground very good on both sides, for the most part cleared. Thousands of men have lived here, who died of the great plague which befel these parts about three years before our arrival; the living not being able to bury them, and their skulls and bones appear in many places where their dwellings had been. Upon this river Masassoit lives: it goes into the sea at Narraganset Bay. Next morning we travel six miles by the river to a known shoal place, and it being low water, put off our clothes and wade over. Thus far the tide flows: we observed few places on the river but what had been inhabited, though now greatly wasted by the plague aforesaid. So we travel to Pokanokit, where Masassoit kindly welcomes us, and gratefully receives our presents, assures us he will gladly continue the peace and friendship, tells us the Narragansets live on the other side of that great Bay, are a strong people and

many in number, live compactly, and were not touched by that wasting sickness ; desires us not to let the French trade with them ; and there we lodge. Next day, many of their sachems or petty governors come to visit us ; we see their games for skins and knives, and there lodge again. Next morning we take our leave : Masassoit retaining Squanto to procure truck for us, appoints Tockamahamen in his place, whom we had found faithful before, and after upon all occasions. That night we reach to the wear, and the next day home."

I have given you this account as it is related in Prince's New-England Chronology, and is taken verbatim from the journals of Governor Bradford and others, who were the actors in the scenes they describe ; as I deem it essential for you to have a precise knowledge of the manners of the natives, with their mode of living, and the reception they gave to the pilgrim fathers, as many are disposed to cavil, and misrepresent the facts so explicitly stated.

Caroline. We should not have expected the Indians would have been so kind and courteous to the settlers, after Hunt had so treacherously stolen, and carried into slavery so many of their people.

Mother. We learn that these Indians, who

were the immediate sufferers, showed much resentment at first; an unhappy woman, whose sons were among those who were so barbarously carried away, burst into a flood of tears on seeing white men, supposing them to belong to the party who had robbed her of her children; but they were soon reconciled by the mediation and influence of Masassoit. As an instance of this, we are told that a boy being lost in the woods, the governor caused him to be enquired for among the natives: at length Masassoit sends word he is at Nawsit. "He had wandered five days, lived on berries, then lighted of an Indian plantation twenty miles south of us, called Manomet, and they conveyed him to the people who first assaulted us, but the governor sends ten men in a shallop with Squanto and Techamahamon to fetch him. The first day the shallop sails for the harbour of Cummaquid, but night coming on we anchor in the midst of the Bay where we are dry at low water. Next morning the Indians on the other side of the channel invite us to come and eat with them; as soon as our boat floats, six of us go ashore leaving four of them pledges in the boat: the rest bring us to their sachem whom they call Iyanough, a man not above twenty-six years of age, but person-

able and courteous, who gives us plentiful and various cheer. After dinner we take boat for Nawsit, Iyanough and two of his men with us. We send Squanto to tell Aspinet, the sachem of Nawsit, our errand. After sun-set, Aspinet comes with a great train of a hundred with him, bringing the boy: one bearing him through the water delivers him to us. The sachem makes peace with us. We give him a knife, and another to him who first entertained the boy, and setting sail carry Iyanough to Cummaquid, and get home the next day. Those people also come and make their peace, and we give them full satisfaction for the corn we had formerly found in their country. Hobamock, a pinese or chief captain of Masasoit, also comes to dwell among us, and continues faithful as long as he lives."

Elizabeth. The Indians did not discover any of that revengeful spirit so commonly attributed to them in their treatment of this boy; on the contrary they seem to have been much pleased with the white people, from the entertainment they gave them.

Caroline. Some of them manifested a strong attachment to the settlers: did those natives who came and dwelt with them always continue faithful?

Mother. All, except Squanto, discovered a truly disinterested attachment ; this man endeavoured to excite suspicions against Masassoit, with a view of promoting his own interest, which was easily detected. There were some pretended rumours that the Narragansets had assaulted Masassoit, and were joined by Corlittant, a petty sachem, and that Masassoit was driven from his country ; but as governor Bradford says nothing of all this, or of Masassoit being seized or invaded by the Narragansets, we must conclude there was no foundation for these reports.

The settlers always continued on the most friendly terms with Masassoit during his life, and we learn that, a short time previous to his death, "this chief came with his eldest son, afterwards called Alexander, to the English at the court of Plymouth, and did renew the league for himself and son, their heirs and successors. And after that he came to Mr Brown's, who lived not far from Mount Hope, bringing with him his two sons Alexander and Philip, desiring there might be love and amity after his death, between his sons and them, as there had been betwixt himself and them in former times. Yet it is very remarkable that this Masassoit, called also Woosamequen, (how

much soever he affected the English,) yet was never in the least degree well affected to the religion of the English, but would in his last treaty with his neighbours at Plymouth, when they were with him about purchasing some land at Swanzey, have had them engaged never to attempt to draw away any of his people from their old Pagan superstition, and devilish idolatry, to the Christian religion: and did much insist upon it, till he saw the English were resolved never to make any treaty with him more upon that account; which, when he discerned, he did not further urge it."

"After the death of Masassoit, his eldest son succeeded him about twenty years since, Alexander by name, who, notwithstanding the league he had entered into with the English, together with his father, in the year 1639, had neither affection to their persons, nor yet to their religion; but had been plotting with the Narragansets to rise against the English: of which the governor and council of Plymouth being informed, they presently sent for him to bring him to the court; the person to whom this service was committed, was a prudent and resolute gentleman, the present governor of the said colony, who was neither afraid of danger, nor yet willing to delay in a matter of

that moment ; he forthwith, taking with him eight or ten stout men well armed, intended to have gone to the said Alexander's dwelling distant at least forty miles ; but by a good providence he found him, whom he went to seek, at a hunting house, within six miles of the English towns : where Alexander, and with him about eighty men were newly come in from hunting, and had left their guns without doors, which Major Winslow and his small company seized and conveyed away, and then went into the wigwam, and demanded Alexander to go along with him before the governor ; at which message he was much appalled, but being told by the undaunted messenger, that if he stirred or refused to go, he was a dead man ; he was by one of his chief counsellors, in whose advice he most confided, persuaded to go along to the governor's house : but such was the pride and height of his spirit, that the very surprisal of him so raised his choler and indignation that it put him into a fever, which notwithstanding all possible means that could be used, seemed mortal ; whereupon entreating those that held him prisoner, that he might have liberty to return home, promising to return again if he recovered, and to send his son as a hostage till he could do so ; on

this consideration he was fairly dismissed, but died before he got half way home. Here let it be observed, that, although some have taken up false reports as if the English had compelled him to go further, or faster than he was able, and so he fell into a fever: or as if he was not well used by the physician that looked to him while he was with the English; all of these are notoriously false. Nor can it be imagined that a person of so noble a disposition as is that gentleman, (at that time employed to bring him) should himself be, or suffer any one else to be uncivil to a person allied to them, by his own as well as his father's league, as the said Alexander was; nor was any thing of that nature ever objected to the English at Plymouth by Philip, the brother of Alexander, when he came in the year 1662, in his own person, with Sausaman, his secretary and chief counsellor, to renew the former league that had been between his predecessors and the English at Plymouth, but there was as much correspondence betwixt them for the next seven years as ever had been in any former time."

Caroline. Was it true, mother, that Alexander had been plotting to destroy the English?

Mother. No proof was found of any conspiracy against them, though the English unquestionably were conscious that the Indians had ample cause of alarm from the constant encroachment of the whites, and it is probable that they frequently expressed their discontent, and apprehension of danger; but after the destruction of the Pequods, and the unjustifiable treatment of the people of Block Island, they despaired of being able to resist by force any designs of the English, and of course were ready to sacrifice much to preserve peace, as we have witnessed in the Narragansets. There were many reports of a conspiracy among the Indians, 'which,' says Hubbard, 'were found by experience to be very uncertain, especially when they may be raised and carried by such as are at variance one with another; who may be very lieve to accuse one another to ingratiate themselves with the English.' This has been verified in the case of Miantonimo.

Elizabeth. No excuse then can be given for the indignity which this high-minded chief was made to suffer, which cost him his life.

Mother. Of late it has been attempted to show that Alexander was not treated so harshly

as was represented ; but as Hubbard endeavours to excuse and extenuate the violence done to this prince, and refers to the person who had been sent to arrest Alexander, at that time Governor of Plymouth, who attempted not to refute his statement of the fact, we must conclude that it was represented as fairly as the case would admit, and moreover it is in perfect keeping with the feelings manifested toward the Indians. This is fully demonstrated in their treatment of Philip.

‘In the year 1671, the devil, who was a murderer from the beginning,’ says Hubbard, ‘had so filled the heart of this savage miscreant with envy and malice against the English, that he was ready to break out in open war against the inhabitants of Plymouth, pretending some trifling injuries done him in his planting land, but when the matter of controversy came to be heard by divers of the Massachusetts Colony, yea, when he himself came to Boston, as it were referring his case to the judgment of that colony, nothing of that nature could be made to appear ; whereupon in way of submission, he was of necessity by that evident conviction forced to acknowledge that it was the naughtiness of his own heart that put him upon that rebellion, and nothing of

any provocation from the English. A writing was drawn up which Philip was required to sign, acknowledging himself the aggressor, and promising in future to be faithful and friendly to the English, whom he had ever found so kind, and to resign up all his English arms to the government of New Plymouth, to be kept by them for their security as long as they shall see reason.'

Elizabeth. How could the English construe the complaints made by Philip into an act of rebellion?

Mother. This is readily comprehended when we mark the results. It cannot be doubted that Philip had just cause for his complaint; had he been disposed to maintain his rights by arms, he would not have appealed to the English for justice, or trusted his person within their jurisdiction, nevertheless they seized on the opportunity of having his person in their power, to exact such conditions as they knew would enable them to control and entangle Philip in their snares. The restraints and impositions to which he was subjected, unquestionably exasperated him in a high degree, and the English were conscious they had no claim to his confidence or respect, and they well knew from Philip's lofty

sense of justice, and his rights as a sovereign, that the dread of their power only prevented him from avenging the injnries he had received. Impressed with these convictions, the people of Plymouth, in the course of the same year, renewed their complaints of conspiracy and cited Philip as a subject to appear and answer to the charges preferred against him. 'Mr. Morton, in the name of the court of Plymouth, wrote to the Massachusetts Gov'r, acquainting him that they had summoned Philip to appear on the thirteenth of the next month; that if he did not do it, they had determined on the twentieth to send out forces to reduce him to reason, unless better cause should seasonably appear to them by the Massachusetts advice to prevent it; that it was a common cause, and they should well accept of assistance; but it was plainly intimated that if aid should be refused, they would engage alone. Philip happened to come to Boston, with his counsellors, the same day the letter was received, and represented his case so favourably to the Gov. and council, that in their answer to Plymouth, they urged that Government to refer the difference between Philip and them to commissioners from Massachusetts and Connecticut. Plymouth de-

clined this proposal, and insisted on Philip's appearance at the time proposed; but finally, Massachusetts declaring that there did not appear sufficient grounds for commencing hostilities, Plymouth consented to give Philip further time, until the twenty-sixth, promised him safe conduct, and desired commissioners from Massachusetts and Connecticut to be present, and give advice.'

'The nature of Philip's subjection to Plymouth was inquired into upon this occasion by Massachusetts. They say in their letter,—
"We do not understand how far he hath subjected himself to you; but the treatment you have given him, and proceedings towards him, do not render him such a subject, as that if there be not a present answering to summons there should presently be a proceeding to hostilities; and the sword once drawn, and dipped in blood, may make him as independent upon you, as you are upon him." When Philip was at Boston, and the letters which had been received from Plymouth were read to him, he expressed himself before the Governor and council as follows.—"That his predecessors had been friendly with the Plymouth Governors, and an engagement of that nature was made by his father, and renewed by his brother,

and, (when he took the government) by himself; but they were all agreements for amity, and not for subjection any further, as he apprehends; he desired to see a copy of the engagement they speak of, and that the Governor of Massachusetts would procure it for him." He knew not they were subjects.'

Caroline. I am pleased to find that the people of Massachusetts were disposed to do justice, on this occasion, to Philip.

Mother. It would assuredly be gratifying, were we not given to understand that there was at this time a breach in the union between the colonies, which was healed the next year; accordingly we find that when the mediators met at Plymouth, Philip was obliged to sign articles highly unjust and arbitrary, which were as follows:

'We, Philip, and my council, and my subjects, do acknowledge ourselves subject to his Majesty, the king of England, and the government of New Plymouth, and to their laws. I am willing, and do promise to pay unto the government of Plymouth, one hundred pounds in such things as I have; but I would entreat the favour that I might have three years to pay it in, forasmuch as I cannot do it at present. I do promise to send unto the Governor

five wolves' heads, if I can get them, or as many as I can procure, until they come to five wolves yearly. If any difference fall between the English and myself, and people, then I do promise to repair to the Gov. of Plymouth to rectify the difference. I promise not to make war with any but with the Gov.'s approbation, and I promise not to dispose of any of the lands that I have at present, but by the approbation of the Gov. of Plymouth." The true performance of these promises, Philip, with three of his counsellors, bound themselves faithfully to observe.

Eliza. Philip must have been sadly mortified and disappointed to find the people of Massachusetts, to whose justice he had appealed, oblige him to the performance of such conditions as would entirely subject him to the Plymouth Government.

Caroline. We should have expected that the misfortunes of a great prince, of whose noble qualities they were not ignorant, would have induced the Massachusetts people to have softened the rigorous conditions to which Philip had before been subjected, instead of increasing them.

Mother. No compunctious visitings of conscience, or regard to justice, appear to have

influenced the decisions, or proceedings, of the colonists ; they were, as I have before observed, possessed with the notion that they, like the Israelites of old, were the peculiar favourites of heaven, and like them commissioned to drive out and destroy the heathen inhabitants of this land. Influenced by these impressions, they were equally regardless of the precepts of our benign Master, and the ties which bind man to his fellow beings.

Eliza. Did Philip comply with the requisitions imposed on him, mother ?

Mother. Whatever may have been the feelings of Philip, he doubtless was sensible that nothing could be gained by resistance, and that it was better to be content with the circumscribed limits he still held, than to risk all by a breach of engagements. Hutchinson says that Philip, in the first agreement with Plymouth, 'was prevailed on to deliver up what English arms he then had with him, being about seventy guns, and to promise to send in the remainder in a few days. The loss of so many guns must have been grievous to Philip, at a time when he only waited a good opportunity of falling upon the English, and when he was at liberty he thought no more of his engagements ; the guns were not

brought in.' Yet, as Hubbard, who is very desirous of proving the origin of the war to have been just, makes no charge of this kind against Philip, and nothing appears in the second articles drawn up by the commissioners, to prove the nonperformance of his promises; we may be assured that the accusation was got up with an intent to excuse the unjustifiable proceedings against this unfortunate chief. There were at this period, as at the present, some estimable men, who, rising above vulgar prejudices and sordid calculations, reprobated the crimes which under false allegations were perpetrated against the natives. We learn from Hutchinson, that, 'The English have been charged by some writers with acts of injustice to the Indians, which have provoked them and occasioned the frequent wars. There have been many instances of abuse offered to particular persons among the Indians, by evil-minded Englishmen, and the inhabitants of some parts of the province which have suffered most by Indian cruelties, may have been under too strong prejudices, and by this means, offenders, when brought upon trial, may have been acquitted by too favourable juries. We are too apt to consider the Indians as a race of

beings by nature inferior to us, and born to servitude. Philip was a man of a high spirit, and could not bear to see the English of New Plymouth extending their settlements over the dominions of his ancestors; and although his father had, at one time or other, conveyed to them all they were possessed of, yet he had sense enough to distinguish a free voluntary covenant, from one made under a sort of duress, and he could never rest until he brought on the war which ended in his destruction.'

Caroline. It would seem that the colonists thought that the Indians had no right to defend themselves, or prevent them from taking possession of their country.

Mother. This was undoubtedly the feeling which prompted them to exclaim against the barbarities of the Indians, whenever they attempted to inflict that punishment on aggressors, which they knew it would be vain to expect from an appeal to the justice of the English. In a note we are told that Philip was charged with pride and ambition, in aspiring to the sovereignty of a country which he would have enjoyed as his inheritance if they had not prevented; with perfidy, in breaking promises made whilst under restraint, and in the power of those to whom they were

made ; and with impiety in refusing to receive his religion from his enemies. *

' From 1671 to 74, we meet with no transaction of moment relative to the Indians ; but it is affirmed that Philip was all this time using measures to engage the Indians in all parts of New England to unite against the English. The Indians about Hadley confessed such a plot. The Narragansets had engaged to bring four thousand men. This could not be done immediately. The English were upon the watch. Some fire-arms had been taken from the Indians. To provide sufficient arms, ammunition, and provisions, whilst under suspicion, was a work of time. They did not expect to be prepared before the spring of 1676 ; but Philip precipitated his own nation and his allies into a war before they were prepared. This was evident from the distraction of the Indians in all parts of New England, upon the first news of the disturbance from Philip. They were amazed, not knowing which way to turn, sometimes ready to declare for the English, as they had been used to do in the former contests with Philip, at other times inclining to join with Philip, as first or last most of them did.'

* Hutchinason's History of Massachusetts, p. 257.

'The war was hurried on by a piece of revenge which Philip caused to be taken upon John Sausaman, a praying Indian. He had been bred up in the profession of the christian religion, was some time at the college, and afterwards employed as a schoolmaster at Natick, but upon some misdemeanor fled to Philip, who made him his secretary and chief counsellor and confidant. After remaining some years with Philip, Mr. Eliot, the Indian evangelist, who had been his spiritual father, prevailed with him to return to the christian Indians at Natick, where he manifested public repentance for his apostacy, and became a preacher, and conformed more to the English manners than any other Indian. In the year 1674, Sausaman upon some occasion went to Namasket, where he fell in company with some of Philip's Indians, and with Philip himself. There he discovered by several circumstances that the Indians were plotting against the English. He informed the Governor what he had discovered, and told him that if it should be known that he was the informer, it would cost him his life. It was not long after, that Sausaman was met by three or four Indians upon a frozen pond; they knocked him down, and put him under the ice, leaving his gun

and hat upon the ice, to make the world believe that he accidentally fell in and was drowned. When the body was found and taken up, the wounds appeared upon his head. An Indian happened to be upon a hill at a distance, and saw the murder committed; he concealed it for some time, but at length discovered it.'

'The murderers were apprehended, tried upon the Indian's testimony, and other circumstances, convicted, and executed; two of them denying the fact to the last, the third, when he came to die, confessed that his father, (one of the counsellors and special friends of Philip) was one of the two that murdered Sausaman, himself only looking on.'

Elizabeth. If the English confided in the testimony of this man, they must have believed him guiltless of the murder; why then did they put him to death?

Mother. If the assertion was true that one of the executioners was father to the young man who died last, one only of the three could have been guilty.

Caroline. Was it not very wrong to put these Indians to death on evidence so slight and uncertain?

Mother. Extremely so in my apprehen-

sion, not only in reference to the little confidence which could be had in an obscure individual, but as these Indians were the subjects of Philip, it was not only an arbitrary exercise of power, but highly insulting and injurious to that Prince. When the Pequods slew Stone to rescue their own men, whom he had fraudulently seized and detained, the English made it a pretext to destroy the whole nation; notwithstanding the Pequods endeavoured to conciliate them by messages and presents. In a note it is observed, 'This action of Philip, in procuring the death of Sausaman, has always been pronounced to be a most heinous crime. Philip no doubt considered him as a traitor and renegade, who had justly forfeited his life. The Indians left murderers to the revenge of relations and friends, but punished traitors by public execution.'

Elizabeth. Then it appears that Philip only exercised a legal act of justice, in putting to death a traitorous subject.

Mother. It was unquestionably so, and Philip, we learn, 'was enraged to see the immediate actors brought to punishment by the English laws, and expecting that it would be his own turn next, (being conscious that the

murderers were employed by him,) took no pains to exculpate himself, but gathered what strangers he could, and (together with his own men) marched them up and down the country in arms. The English of Plymouth ordered a military watch in every town, but took no notice of the Indians' behaviour, hoping that when Philip saw no measures were used for apprehending him, the threatened storm would blow over, as it had done several times before. But the Indians coming in to him from several quarters, gave him fresh courage, and he behaved with insolence, first threatening the English at Swanzey, then killing some of their cattle, and at length rifling their houses. An Englishman was so provoked that he fired upon an Indian and wounded him. One of the inhabitants of Rehoboth was fired upon by a party of Indians, and the hilt of his sword shot off. The same day in the afternoon, being a fast, as the Swanzey people were coming from public worship, the Indians attacked them, killed one, and wounded another, and killed two men who were going for a surgeon; beset a house in another part of the town, and murdered six more.' It is probable that these victims who first fell a sacrifice to the resentment of Philip, were

those who had committed depredations on his lands, or otherwise injured him or his people, against whom he had sought redress in vain. We are authorized to adopt this conclusion from what is related of the treatment of Philip, when he appealed to the court of Plymouth for justice against those who had injured him in his planting lands, and from the manner in which the victims were selected.

Caroline. Philip, I suppose, finding that all the sacrifices and concessions he had made had failed to procure him any permanent peace, or free him from perpetual suspicion, was determined to submit no longer to the insults and impositions of the English.

Mother. The natural discernment of Philip unquestionably led him to conclude that the English had determined on his ruin ; and he therefore preferred to risk all, and die bravely, defending his country, than become their slave. It is, we find, not in the nature of things for those, who have injured others, to rest satisfied or be at ease ; and the English were conscious that Philip could not forgive them for having robbed him of his territory and independence, however he may have suppressed his resentment. It is easy to foster suspicions, when every new accusation pre-

sents an opportunity of exacting new demands. Philip was not only harassed by continual accusations of conspiracy, but grossly insulted by an assumption of authority to judge and condemn his actions in conformity with the laws of England ; or, more frequently, by such as would forward their own base and selfish views. Mr. Winslow, Governor of Plymouth, writes to Mr. Leverett, the Massachusetts Governor, July 4th, 1675 :—" I do solemnly profess, we know not any thing from us, that might put Philip upon these motions, nor have heard that he pretends to have suffered any wrong from us, save only that we have *killed some Indians*, and intended to send for himself for the murder of John Sausaman."

Elizabeth. Mr. Winslow speaks of their having killed some Indians, as a very trifling affair ; without adverting to the signal and unpitying revenge of the English for the murder of Stone and Oldham, two men who had been deemed too vile to be permitted to live in their community.

Mother. Hubbard speaks, with much apparent satisfaction, of their scouts having brought in one Joshua Tift, a renegado Englishman, who had upon some discontent turned Indian, and married one of their

squaws; who, after examination, was condemned to die as a traitor. This appears to be a case similar to that of Sausaman. It is wonderful to find the English accusing Philip of a criminal act in taking the life of Suasaman, and inveighing against Indian barbarity, whilst they themselves on all occasions testified the most sanguinary feelings, slaughtering their prisoners without mercy, even the most noble; or, what is more terrible, dooming them to an hopeless and ignominious bondage. In the prosecution of this war, perpetual instances occur of this sanguinary, unrelenting spirit, which excites our utmost horror and disgust.

I shall not enter into the horrid details of the war, which was carried on with great rigour. Troops were immediately raised in all the colonies, and marched into the Indian towns, through fields of stately corn; but all was deserted. They discerned Philip's wigwam among the rest; but met with no enemy. I have elsewhere related the determination of the English to fall upon the Narragansets first, lest they should be induced to join Philip; and, notwithstanding the sincere desire which that people manifested for peace, the barbarous attack and destruction of the

Narraganset fortress, together with the aged and infirm, who, with the women and children, had retired thither for safety. Yet, notwithstanding all the Narragansets had suffered, they still struggled to procure peace; and we learn, that the rest of the winter was spent in fruitless treaties; both sides being well wearied with the late desperate fight. "The particular passages of the treaty," says Hubbard, "being carried on by the enemy only in pretence,—and by our men, that soon discerned the fraud, rather out of necessity, to conceal their incapacity of engaging them anew, than any real expectation of a good effect,—are not worth relating. However, though the foot were unable to do any service in the depth of the snow and sharpness of the cold, the troop was sent out upon all occasions to scout about the country, who brought in daily much of the enemies' corn and beans, which they had hid in the ground under barns; or, at least, kept them from making use of their own provisions, or spoiling the English cattle; now and then also bringing in prisoners, as they were straggling about to get food. Captain Prentice was sent into Bomham's country, where he burnt near a hundred wigwams." This, I suppose, was Pomham, who

had been persuaded to renounce his allegiance to his lawful sovereign, Miantonimo, and become the subject of the English.

Caroline. For what reason was this chief now treated as an enemy ?

Mother. I do not recollect that Pomham had given any offence to the English ; yet it is probable that he refused to take an active part against his countrymen, or submit to the impositions required. Toward the close of this war, we learn from Hubbard, that, after many successful combats, “ the victory was greatly increased by the slaughter of Pomham, who was one of the stoutest and most valiant sachems that belonged to the Narragansets ; whose courage and strength was so great, that, after he had been mortally wounded so as he could not stand, he caught hold of an Englishman, and had done him an injury, had he not been presently rescued. Amongst the rest of the captives at this time was one of the said Pomham’s sons, a very likely youth, and one whose countenance would have bespoken favour for him, had he not belonged to so bloody and barbarous an Indian as his father was.”

Elizabeth. Can it have been possible that this fine youth was condemned to die for no

other reason than that his father had bravely defended his country ?

Mother. He unquestionably shared the fate of many other noble chieftains, who unfortunately fell into the hands of their invaders. But I will now proceed with the history, as related by Hubbard, who, in some instances, is more particular than others :—
“ Two messengers were sent from the Narragansets to make way for a treaty of peace, who laid the blame upon Canonchet, who came to Boston in October last to confirm the peace with the commissioners of the united colonies, as if he had misinformed them, viz. that they were not by the former treaty to have delivered up the Wampanoogs, or Philip’s Indians, until the said Canonchet’s brother, one of the hostages at Hartford, was released. An English child, of about three years old, taken from Warwick, was sent in, to put the better pretence upon the treaty mentioned.”

“ Messengers came from Ninnigret, the old sachem of Narraganset, signifying the reality of his friendship to the English, and the straits of the enemy ; that corn was two shillings a pint with them. Yet, notwithstanding all their difficulties, they rather delayed the

time till they could get away, than really endeavoured the making a peace, as was soon manifest; for that young, insolent sachem Canonchet, and Panonquin, said they would fight it out to the last man, rather than become servants to the English."

Elizabeth. It is not wonderful, that the Narragansets should come to this determination, when the English refused to deliver up the hostages, when the Indians should have fulfilled the conditions for which they had been put in custody.

Mother. The Indians were early discouraged, as they found, no sooner had they complied with one stipulation, than another was demanded; and the terms were frequently so vaguely expressed as not to be understood by the Indians; which afforded frequent opportunities to the English of taking advantage, as will be explained in the sequel of this disastrous war. Canonchet was doubtless deceived, or he would not, with so little prospect of success, have broken a treaty which he had consented to make. We are informed by Hubbard, that "Canonchet was the chief sachem of all the Narragansets, the son of *Mi-antonimo*, and heir of all his father's pride and insolence, as well as of his malice against the

English, and who had with his people been driven out of his own country by the sword of the English. The whole body of the Indians to the westward, trusting under the shadow of that aspiring bramble, he took a kind of care of them upon himself. Wherefore, foreseeing so many hundreds could not well subsist without planting, he propounded it to his council, that all the west plantations upon Connecticut river, taken from the English, should be planted with Indian corn, which was indeed in itself a very prudent consideration. To that end, he resolved to venture himself with but thirty men (the rest declining it) to fetch seed corn from Seakonk, the next town to Mount Hope, leaving a body of men, not fewer than fifteen hundred, to follow or meet him about Seakonk the week after. This adventure brought him into a snare, from whence he could not escape. He was discovered, and pursued by a party of the English, and, after having vainly attempted to escape his pursuers, made their captive, though he was a very proper man, of goodly stature, and great courage of mind, as well as strength of body. One of the first English that came up with him was Robert Stanton, a young man that had scarcely reached the twenty-second year

of his age, yet adventuring to ask him a question or two ; to whom this manly sachem, looking with some neglect, replied, You are too much a child to understand matters of war : let your brother or your chief come, him will I answer ; and was as good as his word, acting herein as if, by a Pythagorean metempsychosis, some old Roman ghost had possessed the body of this western Pagan ; and, like Attitius Regulus, he would not accept of his own life, when it was tendered to him, upon that (in his account) low condition of compliance with the English ; refusing to send an old counsellor of his to make any motion that way, saying, he knew the Indians would not yield ; but, more probably, he was not willing they should, choosing rather to sacrifice his own and his people's lives to his private humour of revenge, than timely to provide for his own and their safety. He, continuing in the same obstinate resolution, was soon after carried to Stonington, where he was shot to death. He was told at large of his breach of faith ; and how he had boasted, he would not deliver up a Wampanoog, or the paring of a Wampanoog's nail ; that he would burn the English in their houses :—to which he replied, others were as forward for the war as him-

self, and that he desired to hear no more thereof. When he was told his sentence was to die, he said he liked it well ; that he should die before his heart was soft, or he had spoken any thing unworthy of himself."

Caroline. It appears scarcely possible that any people could have been so barbarous and wicked, as to put to death one so great and noble.

Mother. This is true, Caroline, and one whom they knew was actuated by heroic zeal and true patriotism ; nevertheless, it is no small consolation to be assured, that a speedy end was put to the sufferings of this heroic chief. The extreme misery, which many captives were doomed to bear, who were condemned to be transported and sold for slaves, cannot well be imagined or described ; and there is much reason to suppose that the young and interesting son of Pomham, whose fate is darkly told, was doomed to slavery.

Elizabeth. How greatly preferable is death, where the pang though violent is short, than to live in a state of perpetual misery and bondage ! I remember to have seen an engraving of a plantation, where the poor slaves, with their bodies half bent and without clothing, were at work under a burning sun, whilst

their overseers were waving their whips over them, ready to strike on the slightest remission from their labour. I shudder to think of the barbarity and cruelty which is exercised toward those poor beings ; but the state of this young and noble creature, accustomed as he was to having every wish gratified, and allowed to roam wherever he pleased, must have been scarcely possible for him to have borne. But, dear mother, I cannot bear to think of the many instances of barbarity, which the records of our country exhibit.

Mother. You will not find consolation in perusing the details of this war, which are replete with scenes revolting to humanity ; and will experience no relief from the most painful sensations, except in the heroism of the Indians, who in various instances redeemed, by their noble bearing and intrepidity, the human character, from the odium which attaches itself to all that is barbarous and base. The Indians, aware that nothing could save them from the rapacity of the invaders, unless they could be compelled to quit their shores, and sensible that they could not withstand them in the field of battle, strove to destroy the habitations and provisions of the English ; and to kill, and make as many captive, as pos-

sible, by a war of depredation. In these efforts they were greatly overmatched by the English, who, moreover, had the address to engage many of the natives, as auxiliaries. Great fear had fallen on them ; and, whenever a party fell into the hands of the English, they were told, that they must expect no mercy, unless they joined them, and gave them all the assistance they were able. Nothing appears to have operated so powerfully on the natives, as their extreme fear of being transported and sold for slaves. Captain Church, we are told, was very successful in making captives of the Indians, by besetting the places to which they frequently resorted, and suddenly falling upon them before they were sensible of danger. Those who fell into his hands were not only compelled to become his partizans, but were obliged, by threats and the most cruel treatment, to guide the English to the retreats of their people. Church acknowledges their extreme unwillingness, in most instances, to forsake or betray their countrymen ; but, having once given or plighted their faith, they were ever after faithful to their engagements. Many instances occur, in the first settlement of this country, of the steady adherence of the Indians to their plighted faith, however great

may have been the sacrifice, though all are not equally entitled to this character.

Philip, who had at first been cheered with success, soon experienced the most cruel reverses of fortune. At the close of this bloody contest, in which this heroic chief had displayed the most undaunted determination to preserve his independence, and guard the rights of his country against a foreign power who usurped dominion over them, he was subjected to every calamity "which flesh is heir to." At one time he very narrowly escaped from his pursuers, being forced to leave his beloved wife and only son, with his treasures, to the mercy of the English. "His ruin (proceeds the historian) being thus gradually carried on, his misery was augmented with the sense and experimental feeling of the captivity of his children, loss of friends, slaughter of his subjects, bereavement of all family relations, and being stripped of all outward comforts, before his own life should be taken away. The desertion of his followers, many of whom to save their own lives had joined the English, and were accessory to his destruction, it is said broke Philip's heart, so as he never rejoiced after, or had any success in his designs."

“ Philip, having been hunted by the English forces through the woods above a hundred miles, backward and forward, was at last forced to take refuge on Mount Hope, his ancient residence, where he retired with a few of his best friends into a swamp, which proved but a prison to keep him fast till the messengers of death came to execute vengeance upon him. Philip, finding himself discovered, endeavoured to make his escape, but was shot through the heart by one of his own nation, and with him fell five of his trustiest followers.” This was deemed a remarkable testimony of divine favour, and gave great cause for rejoicing to the colonies. A high reward had been offered to any one who should deliver Philip alive or dead to the English, and a sum proportionable for any of his subjects.

Caroline. Was not this offering a reward to induce people to become traitors and murderers?

Mother. In the struggle to obtain the sole empire of this country, the settlers showed little scrupulosity in regard to the means used to ensnare or seize by violence the natives; and the treatment received by many of Philip's brave and faithful chiefs, evinces an entire disregard either to faith, justice, or hu-

manity. The English, though they laid great stress on some portions of scripture, appear to have altogether overlooked the parts most important ; particularly that which informs us, that God hath made of one blood all the nations of the earth, that they may dwell together. Hubbard says, " It appears thus by the sequel of things, that after the Lord has accomplished his work upon his people, that he is beginning to call his enemies to an account, and punish them for the pride of their hearts, and for their treachery and cruelty against his servants." Philip's captains have shared the same fate with himself, some before, and some since his own fall.

Tespiquin, a brave chief, induced by a promise from Capt. Church, that he would make him his captain over the Indians, if he was found to be as stout as he was reported to be, (for the Indians had said that Tespiquin could not be pierced by a bullet,) came and submitted himself, and being sent to Plymouth on trial, was found penetrable by the English guns, for he fell at the first shot. The next that was seized was Annawan, one of Philip's chief counsellors ; who had betaken himself with a few others, besides women and children, to a ledge of rocks ; he was, however,

surprized by Capt. Church before he was aware of danger, who told him he had come to sup with him. Annawan, who had expected immediate death, was much affected with the Captain's generosity, and in token of his submission, and by way of acknowledgment for his courtesy, presented him with Philip's belt, curiously wrought, being nine inches broad, wrought with black and white wompum in various figures, and flowers, and pictures of many birds and beasts. This, when hung on Capt. Church's shoulders, reached his ancles ; and another belt of wompum he presented him, wrought after the same manner, which Philip was wont to put upon his head, and which hung down on his back ; and another small belt with a star upon the end of it, which he used to wear on his breast ; these were all edged with red hair. These, with other emblems of royalty, Annawan presented to Capt. Church, telling him the war was now over. Annawan was induced to believe from the courteous behaviour of Capt. Church, that he should receive protection, and therefore neglected to attempt an escape when it was in his power. This great chieftain was, nevertheless, doomed to die because he had bravely fought in defence of his coun-

try and king, and of course had destroyed many English.

“The cruelties, which had been exercised upon the English, were urged in excuse for the treatment which the Indians received, who were made prisoners or surrendered themselves. In all the promises of mercy, those who had been principal actors in the murders of the English were excepted, and none had any promise made of any thing more than their lives. A great many therefore of the chiefs were executed at Boston and Plymouth, and most of the rest were sold and shipped off for slaves.” *

Elizabeth. I think you told us, mother, that few captives were ill treated by the Indians, and that most of them were allowed to return home uninjured?

Mother. We must keep in remembrance, that the combat was maintained by the Indians to preserve themselves and their country from subjugation to usurpers, whose ingratitude and perfidy they held in abhorrence, and that, although they in some instances manifested a cruel and vindictive spirit in subjecting their prisoners to torture; yet as I find but one or two instances specified, I conclude that few suffered this ordeal, though it

* Hutchinson.

was made a pretext by the English to inflict the worst of evils on those unhappy natives who fell into their hands. Hubbard, after relating the manner in which many were taken prisoners by the Indians, says, "And such was the goodness of God to those poor captive women and children, that they found so much favour in the sight of their enemies, that they offered no wrong to any of their persons, save what they could not help, being in many wants themselves. Neither did they offer any uncivil carriage to any of the females." Among those captives who safely returned, was the celebrated Mrs Rolandson, whose history I read with much interest when a child. She was the wife of the minister of Lancaster, "who being absent to seek help to defend that place, on returning, was entertained with the tragical news of his wife and children being surprised, and carried away by the enemy, and his house turned into ashes; yet it pleased God so to uphold his heart, that he always said, he believed he should see his wife and children again, which did soon come to pass, within five or six months after; all save the youngest, who being wounded at first, died soon after." After this, we learn from the same writer, that "a day being set apart

of public thanksgiving to God, who had remembered his people thus in their low estate, that matter of thanksgiving might not be wanting at the day appointed, the very day before were most of our English captives brought back from the Indians, and many more soon after." Thus it appears that the English captives were in the main subjected to no evils except such as which their conquerors were by necessity obliged to submit to ; and that females in particular were treated with a degree of decency and attention, which they do not commonly receive from those who boast of their superior advantages. We have, therefore, abundant proof, that the pretence of retaliation on the Indians for their cruelty, must have been a mere subterfuge of the English ; though nothing can be alleged to justify or extenuate the miseries which the unfortunate Indians were doomed to suffer. Can the torments of a few hours be compared with the anguish and despair of those who were forced to linger out a protracted and miserable existence in the basest servitude, whilst their indignant spirits were perpetually goaded by the wrongs they suffered, contrasted with the happiness and independence they once enjoyed !

Caroline. This must, indeed, have been a sad reverse of fortune, far more terrible than death in its most hideous form. We have, however, been informed that chiefs only, who had signalized themselves by deeds of heroism, deemed themselves privileged to undergo this cruel ordeal, by torture; and that in the midst of the most excruciating sufferings they would defy their enemies, and relate with exultation the deeds which had entitled them to this honourable death.

Mother. It is greatly to be regretted, that the conduct of the Indians toward some of their distinguished prisoners is so highly reprehensible, and altogether opposed to those noble qualities which distinguish them in their primitive state. There is, nevertheless, a redeeming spirit in those who are doomed to suffer, which engages our respect and admiration. Amidst the most appalling torments, which are frequently prolonged for many hours, the sufferer exhibits the most heroic fortitude and composure: not a groan escapes him; it is the triumph of the soul over the body, and to the last he defies his enemies, and relates with exultation those heroic achievements in defence of his country, which will secure him an entrance into the abodes

of the blest, where the spirits of his fathers will rejoice over the deeds of their son.

Elizabeth. Is not this horrid custom peculiar to the Indians, mother ?

Mother. It is only so in form ; death by torture was common, I believe, in the dark ages of Europe ; nor can we boast at the present day an exemption from this barbarous custom. Slaves are stretched on the rack even on suspicion ; and the tortures inflicted on the victims of the inquisition surpass in magnitude and duration all that has ever been recorded ; even the sufferings of the martyrs were light when compared with the protracted and repeated trials inflicted within the walls of the inquisition, though both resulted from the bigotry and base superstition of those who laid claim to infallibility.

I have in general omitted the abusive epithets bestowed on Philip and other great chieftains by Hubbard, who relates their sufferings and death in a strain of exultation indicative of a harsh and sordid mind ; nevertheless, their characters are unstained by any unjustifiable acts of cruelty or injustice. If it be proved that Sausaman was put to death by the order of Philip, he was unquestionably

authorized by the laws of his country to condemn him as a traitor and a renegade.

Philip is also accused of putting to death one of his confederates, for proposing terms of peace with the English; this, in my apprehension, may be excused, by adverting to the hazard in which he was involved. This chief had retired from the scene of action with a few brave adherents, who, like himself, had determined to die in defence of their liberties, rather than submit to the English, in whose justice or generosity they could not confide. Philip had witnessed the slavery and ignominious death of many great chieftains, who had unfortunately fallen into their hands; especially, we may imagine, that the fate of the noble and magnanimous Miantonimo and his gallant son, pressed heavily on his mind. The retrospect afforded no assurance or even hope that his life or liberty would be respected; and he was also aware, that the treachery of insidious friends or subjects, who had been suborned to betray their sovereign, had occasioned most of the disasters which had fallen on his countrymen. Philip, therefore, had just cause to suspect the fidelity of him who proposed conditions of peace with an enemy so implacable, and he

unquestionably viewed this man as an instrument suborned for his destruction, whose machinations could only be prevented by instant death.

Elizabeth. I do not at all wonder, mother, that Philip should have no confidence in the English; his brave and ardent spirit could not endure the wrongs he had suffered; neither would he have acted a faithful part to his subjects, had he allowed the English to go on taking their lands at pleasure, and murdering his people, and returning only insults to his amicable and just complaints. Philip tried conciliating measures; he gave presents to the English, and they had been treated in the kindest manner by his father. But they would not be content; their jealous spirits could not rest until the ruin of Philip was complete; until the whole Indian power was exterminated.

Mother. The facts recorded are sufficient to excite the utmost commiseration for the Aborigines, who appear to have been truly desirous to preserve peace with the settlers; nor can it be doubted that many injuries were done them which have not been told. We learn from Morton's Memorial, that the friendly Indians were subjected to many vex-

atious restrictions to which they were wholly unaccustomed, and to which they reluctantly submitted; and, that such as embraced the faith of their conquerors, were required to prove their sincerity by minute observances, not exacted from the English. It is worthy of remark, as it indicates the justice and generous feelings of the Indians, that at the commencement of the war Philip's party offered no injury to the towns of Taunton and Bridgewater, though in his immediate vicinity, nor were any of the people assaulted so long as they remained quiet at home. No reason is assigned for this forbearance; but it unquestionably resulted from the friendly conduct of the inhabitants; as the natives ever manifested amicable and grateful feelings toward those who respected their rights.

Caroline. Since you have given us this account of the Indians, my dear mother, I have become greatly interested in their history, and the more I hear of them, the more unjust and cruel their treatment appears to have been. The history of the much-injured, but noble-minded Philip, who so bravely defended his people and his liberty, has particularly affected me. Why was Philip thus persecuted and driven from place to place? his only crime

was his attachment to his country and his people ! How many heroes, among civilized nations, have had statues and monuments erected to their memories for the same patriotism which was deemed criminal in Philip ! My heart bleeds when I think of the unmerited suffering of this heroic chief, who was slain in his own domain, and within sight of the dwelling where he had passed so many happy days. He had also the anguish of knowing, that his beloved wife and only son were captives in the hands of his unmerciful enemies. Oh, mother, I shudder when I reflect on the fate of this unfortunate princess and her son, condemned to quit forever their native country, and doomed to perpetual bondage in a foreign land. Labour and confinement must have been doubly severe to those, who had been accustomed to ease and unbounded liberty. How unmindful were their enemies of the precepts of our blessed Saviour, to do unto others, as they would have others do unto them.

Mother. Your observations, my children, are just ; and we have the satisfaction of knowing that, in the sentiments we entertain of our natives, and of the wrongs they have sustained, we coincide with many truly worthy and intelligent individuals ; conspicuous

among these, we find our much distinguished countryman Washington Irving, whose interesting memoir of Philip of Pokanoket, I have lately read with grateful emotion. His just and manly defence of the Indian character, and his sympathy for the wrongs which have been heaped upon them, is truly honourable. This writer observes : —

“ The scanty anecdotes that have reached us are full of peculiarity and interest ; they furnish us with nearer glimpses of human nature, and show what man is, in a comparatively primitive state, and what he owes to civilization. There is something of the charm of discovery, in happening upon these wild and unexplored tracts of human nature to witness, as it were, the native growth of moral sentiment, and perceive those generous and romantic qualities, which have been artificially wrought up by society, vegetating in spontaneous hardihood and rude magnificence.

“ These reflections arose on casually looking through a volume of early provincial history, wherein are recorded, with great bitterness, the outrages of the Indians, and their wars with the settlers of New-England. It is painful to perceive, even from those partial narratives, how the footsteps of civilization in this

country may be traced in the blood of the original inhabitants ; how easily the colonists were moved to hostility by the lust of conquest ; how merciless and exterminating was their warfare. The imagination shrinks at the idea, how many intellectual beings were hunted from the earth ; how many brave and noble hearts, of nature's sterling coinage, were broken down and trampled in the dust."

"Such was the fate of Philip of Pokanoket, an Indian warrior, whose name was once a terror throughout Massachusetts and Connecticut. He was the most distinguished of a number of cotemporary sachems, who reigned over the Pequods, the Narragansets, the Wampanoags, and other eastern tribes, at the time of the first settlement of New-England. A band of native, untaught heroes, who made the most generous struggle of which human nature is capable ; fighting to the last gasp for the deliverance of their country, without a hope of victory or a thought of renown ; worthy of an age of poetry, and fit subjects for local story and romantic fiction, they have left scarcely any authentic traces on the page of history, but stalk like gigantic shadows in the dim twilight of tradition." After detailing the misfortunes which surrounded this lofty-

minded chief, whom our author describes as “displaying a vigour of genius, a fertility in expedients, and an unconquerable resolution, that commands our sympathy and applause,” he says:—“The spring of hope was broken—the ardour of enterprize was extinguished—he looked around and all was danger and darkness—there was no eye to pity, nor any arm that could bring deliverance; with a scanty band of followers, who still remained true to his desperate fortunes, the unhappy Philip wandered back to the vicinity of Mount Hope, the ancient dwelling of his fathers. Here he lurked about, like a spectre among the desolated scenes of former power and prosperity, now bereft of home, of family, and friends.

“Even in this last refuge of desperation and despair, a sullen grandeur seems to gather round his memory. We picture him to ourselves seated among his care-worn followers, brooding in silence over his blasted fortunes, and acquiring a savage sublimity from the wildness and dreariness of his lurking place. Defeated but not dismayed—crushed to the earth, but not humiliated—he seemed to grow more haughty beneath disaster, and to receive a fierce satisfaction in draining the

last dregs of bitterness. Little minds are tamed and subdued by misfortune ; but great minds rise above it. The very idea of submission awakened the fury of Philip, and he even smote to death one of his followers who proposed an expedient of peace."

"Such is the scanty story of the brave, but unfortunate King Philip ; persecuted while living, slandered and dishonoured when dead. If, however, we consider even the prejudiced anecdotes furnished by his enemies, we may perceive in them traces of amiable and lofty character, sufficient to awaken sympathy for his fate, and respect for his memory. We find amid all the harassing cares and ferocious passions of constant warfare, he was alive to the softer feelings of connubial love and paternal tenderness, and to the generous sentiment of friendship. The captivity of his beloved wife and only son are mentioned with exultation, as causing him poignant misery ; the death of any near friend is triumphantly recorded, as a new blow on his sensibilities ; but the treachery and desertion of many of his followers, in whose affection he had confided, is said to have desolated his heart, and bereaved him of all further comfort. He was a patriot attached to his native soil — a prince true

to his subjects, and indignant of their wrongs — a soldier, daring in battle, firm in adversity, patient of fatigue, of hunger, of every variety of bodily suffering, and ready to perish in the cause he had espoused. Proud of heart, and with an untameable love of natural liberty, he preferred to enjoy it among the beasts of the forest, or in the dismal and famished recesses of swamps and morasses, rather than bow his haughty spirit' to submission. With heroic qualities and bold achievements that would have graced a civilized warrior, and rendered him the theme of the poet and historian, he lived a wanderer and fugitive in his native land, and went down like a foundering bark amid darkness and tempest—without an eye to weep his fall, or a friendly hand to record his struggle."

In closing the history of Philip, it has afforded me great pleasure to call to aid the richly-varied tribute of praise given by Irving, to this great prince. It was my intention to relate what is recorded of the brave and generous Canonchet, and of Wetamoe, the magnanimous Indian princess, by the same master spirit; but this must be deferred to another day.

In this memoir, Canonchet, one of the most faithful friends of Philip in his adversity, is spoken of in terms of just encomium. After relating the events prior to his captivity, which you have previously heard, our author observes:—"Though repeated offers were made to him of his life, on condition of submitting, with his nation, to the English, yet he rejected them with disdain, and refused to send any proposals of the kind to the great body of his subjects. Being reproached with his breach of faith, he disdained to justify himself, haughtily answering that others were as forward for the war as himself, and he desired to hear no more thereof."

"So noble and unshaken a spirit, so true a fidelity to his cause and his friends, might have touched the feelings of the generous and the brave; but Canonchet was an Indian; a being toward whom war has no courtesy, humanity no law, religion no compassion—he was condemned to die. The last words of his, that are recorded, are worthy of the greatness of his soul, and challenge a comparison with any speech on a similar occasion in the whole range of history. When sentence of death was passed upon him, he observed he liked it well, for he should die before his heart

was soft, or he had spoken any thing unworthy of himself. His enemies gave him the death of a soldier, for he was shot at Stonington, by three young sachems of his own rank."

Mention is also made of Wetamoe, an Indian princess of Pocasset, a near relation and confederate of Philip, whose subjects through treachery were betrayed into the hands of the enemy. Our author indignantly describes the unmanly and dastardly vengeance, taken on the corpse of this illustrious female ; whose only crime was, affectionate fidelity to her kinsman, and her friend.

Elizabeth. I rejoice to find a man like Irving so impressed with the native worth of our Aborigines, and who is capable of describing, in terms so appropriate, and glowing, the unjust treatment they have suffered : is not Washington Irving related to the venerable father of our country ?

Mother. Your conjecture, Elizabeth, is very natural ; should it be true, the tie of kindred is without doubt distant : nevertheless, his sentiments toward our Indians, bear a close affinity with the respect and paternal sollicitude, which ever actuated our Washington. The writings of Irving, all bear the

stamp of benevolence, and a lofty integrity, uninfluenced by those miserable and sordid calculations which sanction the sacrifice of the life and comfort of fellow-beings to ambition or gain. Queen Isabella, the patroness of Columbus, by whose munificence he was enabled to discover this new world, alone of all her age possessed those exalted qualities, to which the ardent imagination of Irving turned with delight, when fatigued and disgusted with those whose vices had destroyed, in their insatiable thirst of gain, millions of beings, whose courtesy and gentle virtues entitled them to the respect and protection of their invaders.

That you may duly appreciate the superior worth of this exalted princess, we must take a slight view of the sentiments which prevailed at the period when this new hemisphere was discovered. The Pope, who was believed to be the vicegerent of Christ on earth, and assumed the prerogative of disposing at pleasure of the possessions of the heathen, had, by various edicts, empowered the sovereigns of Christendom to take possession of all new-discovered countries, and to subject, or drive out the native inhabitants. Columbus, though possessed of native integrity, and knowledge

far beyond most of his contemporaries, was nevertheless much addicted to the prevailing superstition, and of course believed himself authorized to subject the natives of the Islands he had discovered to the most cruel servitude, for the purpose of raising a revenue ; thus aggrandizing his benefactors, and enhancing the value of his services. Columbus was also desirous of being enabled to perform a solemn vow of making a crusade to the holy land, by the profits accruing to him from the laborious occupation of the natives. I have elsewhere explained to you the disastrous results, produced by associating the sanguinary institutions of the Jews with the pure and benign religion of Jesus, as it was exemplified by the settlers of this portion of country in their treatment of the Indians. This is abundantly corroborated by the conduct of Columbus in his newly acquired government. Although he was strongly impressed with the beauties of the country he had discovered, and describes it in the most vivid colours, as an earthly paradise,—and speaks with delight of the hospitality, gentleness, and joyous temperament of the natives ; he nevertheless, unmoved by justice, humanity, or gratitude, in the course of a few years blasted all their fair prospects, and con-

verted this scene of enjoyment and beauty into a wide-spreading one of wretchedness and desolation. Although Columbus was naturally beneficent, and believed himself to be a true Christian, we find no instance in which he was seriously inclined to relieve the natives from the burthens he had imposed ; though, to lull the inquietude which ever presses heavily on a guilty conscience, he incessantly resorted to vows of penance, of pilgrimages, and crusades, which to him appeared far more meritorious, than to obey the divine behest " to undo the heavy burthens, and let the oppressed go free." The precepts of Christ appear to have made no impression on his mind ; but he perpetually cited the example of Moses and other Jewish leaders, who had been peculiarly favoured by heaven, and believed himself, like them, the instrument of the Most High, commissioned to do his pleasure.

Yet, amid the degeneracy and bigotry, which so universally prevailed, no prospect of worldly gain could subdue the firm resolve of Queen Isabella, to protect and guard the rights of her new-made subjects. This admirable woman reminds us of a lone column, which rises uninjured by time, amidst the fallen ruins of former splendid edifices, to at-

test the magnificence, and fair proportions of the ancient structure. The portrait of Isabella, as drawn by Irving, is interesting in the extreme :—

“Cotemporary writers have been enthusiastic in their descriptions of Isabella, but time has sanctioned their eulogies ; she is one of the purest and most beautiful characters on the pages of history. She was well formed, of the middle size, with great dignity and gracefulness of deportment, and a mingled gravity and sweetness of demeanour. Her complexion was fair ; her hair auburn, inclining to red ; her eyes were of a clear blue, with a benign expression ; and there was a singular modesty in her countenance, gracing as it did a wonderful firmness of purpose, and earnestness of spirit. Though strongly attached to her husband, and studious of his fame, yet she always maintained her distinct rights as an allied prince. She exceeded him in beauty, in personal dignity, in acuteness of genius, and in grandeur of soul. Combining the active and resolute qualities of man, with the softer charities of woman, she mingled in the warlike councils of her husband ; engaged personally in his enterprises ; and in some instances surpassed him in the firmness of

intrepidity of her measures; while being inspired with a truer idea of glory, she infused a more lofty and generous temper into his subtle and calculating policy."

"It is in the civil history of their reign, however, that the character of Isabella shines most illustrious. Her fostering and maternal care was continually directed to reform the laws, and heal the ills engendered by a long course of internal wars. She loved her people, and, while diligently seeking their good, she mitigated as much as possible the harsh measures of her husband, directed to the same end, but inflamed by a mistaken zeal. Thus, though almost bigoted in her piety, and perhaps too much under the influence of ghostly advisers, still she was hostile to every measure calculated to advance religion at the expense of humanity. She strenuously opposed the expulsion of the Jews, and the establishment of the inquisition, though, unfortunately for Spain, her repugnance was slowly vanquished by her confessors. She was always an advocate for clemency to the Moors, although she was the soul of the war against Granada. She considered that war essential to protect the Christian faith, and to relieve her subjects from fierce and formidable enemies."

“While all her public acts were princely and august, her private habits were simple, frugal, and unostentatious. In the intervals of state business, she assembled round her the ablest men in literature and science, and directed herself by their councils in promoting letters and arts. Through her patronage, Salamanca rose to that height which it assumed among the learned institutions of the age. She promoted the distribution of honours and rewards for the promulgation of knowledge; she fostered the art of printing (recently invented;) and encouraged the establishment of presses in every part of her kingdom; books were admitted free of all duty, and more, we are told, were printed in Spain, at that early period of the art, than in the present literary age. It is wonderful how much the destinies of countries depend at times upon the virtues of individuals, and how it is given to great spirits, by combining, exciting, and directing the latent powers of a nation, to stamp it as it were with their own greatness. Such beings realize the idea of guardian angels, appointed by heaven to watch over the destinies of empires.”

Caroline. How beautiful is the character of Isabella, and how happy would it have been

for the world had the natives of this country been treated in the manner she desired.

Mother. The beauty of virtue is fully illustrated in the character of this princess, and hence we fully perceive the benefits which naturally result from good actions, and are also convinced that the Almighty requires nothing from his creatures but what is calculated for their best good, both in this life and that which is to come; and hence also we are assured that Christ was a teacher sent by God to confirm and illustrate those divine impressions which have been written in the heart. In the precepts of Christ, many of the duties which are enjoined have immediate reference to the rewards which naturally result. "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy," &c. Nothing can better attest the truth of those innate impressions, than the speech of an aged chieftain to Columbus, who, as it was his custom to erect crosses in conspicuous situations, to denote the discovery of the country and its subjugation to the true faith, had ordered a large cross to be elevated on the bank of a river. "This was done with great ceremony on Sunday morning, and the celebration of a solemn mass. When Columbus disembarked for the purpose, he was met

upon the shore by the cacique and his principal favourite, a venerable Indian of fourscore years of age, of grave and dignified deportment. The old man brought a string of a certain kind of beads, to which the Indians attached a mystic value, and a calabash of a delicate kind of fruit; these he presented to the admiral in token of amity. They then each took him by the hand, and proceeded with him to the grove, where preparations had been made for the celebration of the mass. A multitude of the natives followed. While mass was performing in this natural temple, the Indians looked on with awe and reverence, perceiving from the tones and gesticulations of the priests, the lighted tapers, the smoking incense, and the devotion of the Spaniards, that it must be a ceremony of a sacred and mysterious nature. When the service was ended, the old man of fourscore, who had contemplated it with profound attention, approached Columbus, and made him an oration in the Indian manner."

" 'This which thou hast been doing,' said he, 'is well, for it appears to be thy manner of giving thanks to God. I am told that thou hast lately come to these lands with a mighty force, and hast subdued many countries,

spreading great fear among the people ; but be not, therefore, vain-glorious. Know that, according to our belief, the souls of men have two journies to perform, after they have departed from the body ; one to a place dismal and foul, and covered with darkness, prepared for those who have been unjust and cruel to their fellow men ; the other pleasant, and full of delight, for such as have promoted peace on earth. If then thou art mortal, and dost expect to die, and dost believe that each one shall be rewarded according to his deeds, beware that thou wrongfully hurt no man, nor do harm to those who have done no harm to thee.'

" This speech was explained to the admiral by his Lucayan interpreter, Diego Colon, (who had received this name according to the rites of the Christian church in Spain, whither he had been carried by Columbus,) who was greatly moved by the simple eloquence of this untutored savage. He told him in reply, that he rejoiced to hear his doctrine respecting the future state of the soul, having supposed that no belief of the kind existed among the inhabitants of these countries."

Although Columbus, we are told, was greatly moved with the sentiments expressed by this native chief, so congenial with the doctrines

he was instructed to teach these simple people ; he was nevertheless too much influenced by the debasing superstition of the age, and the fancied partiality of God for those who bear the appellation of Christians, to doubt the infallibility of the church, by whose authority he was empowered to take possession of the countries he should discover, and subject its heathen inhabitants to the most grievous servitude, and thus destroy forever all their present and future prospects of earthly happiness, in violation of every tie of justice and gratitude. Notwithstanding my admiration of the genius and inflexible intrepidity of Columbus, my compassion and regret for the injurious treatment he suffered is greatly diminished by the recollection of his base ingratitude and cruelty toward a people, who had so hospitably received him, and so generously relieved his wants ; and we should be forcibly imprest with a sense of that retributive justice which by an eternal decree is ordained to fall on those who have transgressed the laws of God: The keen sense of the injustice he suffered must unquestionably have led Columbus to reflect on the criminality of his own deeds, and these must have added a deeper sting to the miseries he was fated to endure.

Elizabeth. Oh, mother, how very sad must have been the condition of Columbus; had he acted in conformity with the dictates of his own heart, his fame would not thus have been sullied.

Mother. We must ever lament that superstition and avarice should have overcome the better feelings of Columbus; had he resisted these base allurements, he would have been ranked among the great benefactors of the human race; a conscious rectitude would have supported him in his greatest adversity; but sad indeed must have been his reflections when he recalled to remembrance the ruin and misery he had inflicted on those gentle beings, who came forth to meet him with songs and dances; gracefully conducting the Spaniards to their pavilioned habitations among verdant groves, decked with flowers of the gayest hue and most splendid forms; and presenting them with delicious fruits and viands, cheerfully parting with their garments and most valued ornaments to gratify their stranger guests.

“Columbus,” says Mr Irving, “from his continual remarks on the beauty of the scenery, appears to have been extremely open to those delicious influences exercised over some

spirits, by the graces and wonders of nature. When speaking of some lovely scene among the groves, or along the flowery shores of these favoured islands, he says, 'one could live there forever.' Cuba broke upon him like an Elysium, 'it is the most beautiful island,' he says, 'that eyes ever beheld.' The verdure of the groves and the colours of the flowers and blossoms derive a vividness to the eye from the transparent purity of the air, and the deep serenity of the azure heavens. The forests too are full of life, swarming with birds of brilliant plumage. Painted varieties of parrots and woodpeckers create a glitter amidst the verdure of the groves, and humming-birds rove from flower to flower, resembling, as it has well been said, animated particles of a rainbow. The scarlet flamingos too, seen sometimes through an opening of a forest in a distant savannah, have the appearance of soldiers drawn up in battalions, with an advanced scout on the alert, to give notice of approaching danger. Nor is the least beautiful part of animated nature the various tribes of insects that people every plant, displaying brilliant coats of mail, which sparkle to the eye like precious gems."

"The beautiful plain called the Royal Vega,

governed with patriarchal sway by a noble cacique, who with many subordinate chieftains had received the Spaniards with the most generous hospitality, was in a short period almost deserted. The pleasant life of the island was at an end; the dream in the shade by day, the slumber during the sultry noon-tide heat; by the fountain or the stream, or under the spreading palm-tree, and the song, the dance, and the game, in the mellow evening, when summoned to their simple amusements by the rude Indian drum. They were now obliged to grope, day by day, with bending body, and anxious eye, along the borders of their rivers, sifting the sands for grains of gold which every day grew more scanty; or to labour in their fields beneath the fervour of a tropical sun, to raise food for their taskmasters, or to procure the vegetable tribute imposed upon them: they sunk to sleep, weary and exhausted at night, with the certainty that the next day was but to be a repetition of the same toil and suffering. Or if they occasionally indulged in their national dances, the ballads to which they kept time were of a melancholy and plaintive character. They spoke of the times that were past, before the white men had introduced sorrow and slavery

and weary labour among them, and they rehearsed pretended prophecies handed down from their ancestors, foretelling the invasion of the Spaniards."

When Columbus was seized by a new governor appointed to succeed him, and sent bound in chains to Spain, his reflections must have been truly appalling. The visionary shadows of those, whom he had so cruelly wronged, would haunt his indignation, and his slumbers would be fearfully broken and disturbed by the sad and long succession of those injured forms, which, like the phantoms who appeared to Macbeth, and the usurper Richard in their dreams, would threaten and affright his guilty soul. I am not inclined to admit the excuse which has been urged in favour of Columbus by a reference to the opinions and usages of the age, his patroness Isabella nobly resisted the efforts of those base minds who endeavoured to induce her to abandon the natives of her new domain, and exhibited a memorable example of all that was truly great and good; which Columbus, who was not insensible to her worth, should have had the magnanimity to imitate. The bright visions of glory which had filled the mind of Columbus was in one instance only

realized ; his reception at the court of Spain was a scene of splendid triumph which equalled his high anticipations.

“ Columbus, on his arrival at Seville, immediately wrote to the Spanish monarchs, announcing his discovery ; shortly after he received a letter from them, expressing their great delight, and requesting him to repair immediately to court. This letter was addressed to him by the title of ‘ Don Christopher Columbus, our admiral of the ocean sea, and viceroy and governor of the islands discovered in the Indies,’ at the same time he was promised still further rewards. Columbus lost no time in complying with the commands of the sovereigns, and arrived at Barcelona about the middle of April, where every preparation had been made to give him a solemn and magnificent reception. The beauty and serenity of the weather in that genial season and favoured climate, contributed to give splendour to this memorable ceremony. As he drew near the place, many youthful courtiers, and hidalgos of gallant bearing, together with a vast concourse of the populace, came forth to meet and welcome him. His entrance into this noble city has been compared to one of those triumphs which the Romans were accustomed

to decree to conquerors. First were paraded the Indians, (whom he had brought with him,) painted according to their fashion, and decorated with tropical feathers, and with their national ornaments of gold; after these were borne various kinds of live parrots, together with stuffed birds and animals of unknown species, and rare plants supposed to be of precious qualities: while great care was taken to make a conspicuous display of Indian coronets, bracelets, and other decorations of gold, which might give an idea of the wealth of the newly discovered regions. After these followed Columbus, on horseback, surrounded by a brilliant cavalcade of Spanish chivalry. The streets were almost impassable from the countless multitudes; the windows and balconies were crowded with the fair: the very roofs were covered with spectators. It seemed as if the public eye could not be sated with gazing on these trophies of an unknown world, or on the remarkable man by whom it had been discovered. There was a sublimity in this event that mingled a solemn feeling with the public joy. It was looked upon as a vast and signal dispensation of Providence in reward for the piety of the monarchs, and the majestic and venerable appearance of the discoverer, so different from the

youth and buoyancy that are generally expected from roving enterprise, seemed in harmony with the grandeur and dignity of his achievement. To receive him with suitable pomp and distinction, the sovereigns had ordered their throne to be placed in public, under a rich canopy of brocade of gold, in a vast and splendid saloon. Here the king and queen awaited his arrival, seated in state, with prince Juan beside them; and attended by the dignitaries of their court, and the principal nobility; all impatient to behold the man who had conferred so incalculable a benefit upon the nation. At length Columbus entered the hall, surrounded by a brilliant crowd of cavaliers, 'among whom,' says Las Casas, 'he was conspicuous for his stately and commanding person, which, with his countenance rendered venerable by his gray hairs, gave him the august appearance of a senator of Rome. A modest smile lighted up his features, showing that he enjoyed the state and glory in which he came; and certainly nothing could be more deeply moving to a mind inflamed by noble ambition, and conscious of having greatly deserved, than these testimonials of the admiration and gratitude of a nation, or rather of a world.' As Columbus approached, the

sovereigns rose, as if receiving a person of the highest rank. Bending his knees, he requested to kiss their hands; but there was some hesitation on the part of their majesties to permit this act of vassalage. Raising him in the most gracious manner, they ordered him to seat himself in their presence; a rare honour in this proud and punctilious court."

"At the request of their majesties, Columbus now gave an account of the most striking events of his voyage, and a description of the islands which he had discovered. He displayed the specimens he had brought of unknown birds, and other animals; of rare plants of medicinal and aromatic virtue; of native gold in dust, in crude masses, or labour-ed into barbaric ornaments; and above all, the natives of those countries, who were objects of intense interest, since there is nothing to man so curious as the varieties of his own species. All these he pronounced mere harbingers of greater discoveries he had yet to make; which would add realms of incalculable wealth to the dominions of their majesties, and whole nations of proselytes to the true faith."

"The words of Columbus were listened to with profound emotion by the sovereigns.

When he had finished, they sunk on their knees, and raising their clasped hands to heaven, their eyes filled with tears of joy and gratitude, they poured forth thanks and praises to God, for so great a providence. All present followed their example ; a deep and solemn enthusiasm pervaded that splendid assembly, and prevented all common acclamations of triumph : the anthem of *te deum laudamus*, chanted by the choir of the royal chapel, with the melodious responses of the minstrels, rose up from the midst in a full body of sacred harmony, bearing up, as it were, the feelings and thoughts of the auditors to heaven, ' so that,' says the venerable Las Casas, ' it seemed as if in that hour they communicated with celestial delight.' Such was the solemn and pious manner in which the brilliant court of Spain celebrated this sublime event ; offering up a grateful tribute of praise, and giving glory to God for the discovery of another world."

" When Columbus retired from the royal presence, he was attended to his residence by all the court, and followed by the shouting populace. For many days he was the object of universal curiosity, and wherever he ap-

peared he was surrounded by an admiring multitude."

Caroline. The splendid reception given to Columbus by the Spanish sovereigns must have greatly aggravated the neglect and cruel treatment he afterward received.

Mother. It did so, unquestionably. The triumph of Columbus was at this period full and complete ; a conscious rectitude assured him that he merited the honours so graciously conferred upon him : it was not till after his return to the Islands that he became guilty of acts of atrocity, which cast a deep gloom over the closing scenes of his varied life. On the return of Columbus to the settlement, he found the people, whom he had left in the fortress he had constructed, all destroyed. Unmindful of the injunctions of their leader, to treat the natives with justice and kindness, the Spaniards had taken every advantage of the hospitable natives ; subjecting them to the most galling and injurious treatment, and forcibly wresting from them whatever excited their cupidity or avarice. The natives, oppressed and irritated by the unbridled licentiousness of the Spaniards, had risen upon them and massacred these lawless invaders. Columbus, who should have conciliated the

natives by kindness, was determined to subdue and subject them by force. For this purpose, the most flagitious measures were adopted. The natives were trampled down by their war horses, and torn in pieces by fierce bloodhounds trained for the purpose, while they were pursued by the Spaniards with the sword and fire, to their most hidden retreats. Those who escaped slaughter were compelled to pay an enormous tribute, that Columbus might be enabled to fulfil the high expectations he had raised. It is probable, that the promise of inexhaustible wealth, made by Columbus to the sovereigns, suggested this cruel and rigorous treatment, with the view to procure the gold he had averred was so abundant, and thus give satisfactory proofs of the value of his discoveries. "He remitted to the sovereigns by his brother Diego, all the gold that he could collect, with specimens of other metals, and in his eagerness to produce immediate profit, and to indemnify them for these expenses, which bore hard upon the royal treasury, he sent, likewise, above five hundred Indian prisoners, who, he suggested, might be sold as slaves at Seville."

"It is painful," says our author, "to find the brilliant renown of Columbus sullied by

so foul a stain, and the glory of his enterprize degraded by such flagrant violations of human rights ; yet," he adds by way of palliation, "the custom of the times must be pleaded in his apology." "A large number of Indians arrived in Spain, who had been captured in the recent wars with the caciques, and royal orders had been issued that they should be sold as slaves — Isabella, however, had been deeply interested by the accounts given of the gentle and hospitable character of these Islanders. The discovery had been made under her immediate auspices ; she looked upon these people as under her peculiar care, and she anticipated with pious enthusiasm the triumph of leading them out of darkness into the path of light. Her compassionate spirit revolted at the idea of treating them as slaves, even though sanctioned by the custom of the times. Within five days after the royal order for the sale, a letter was written by the sovereigns, suspending that order until they could inquire into the cause for which the Indians had been made prisoners, and consult learned and pious theologians, whether their sale would be justifiable in the sight of God. Much difference of opinion took place among divines on this important ques-

tion ; the queen eventually decided it according to the dictates of her own pure conscience and charitable heart. She ordered that the Indians should be sent back to their native country, and enjoined that the islanders should be conciliated by the gentlest means, instead of being treated with severity."

Thus we find the illustrious Isabella uncontaminated by the bigotry and false conclusions which then prevailed ; she triumphed over the sordid calculations of interest and ambition, so difficult to restrain, when the indulgence of those hateful passions are represented as compatible with duty. Her character, when contrasted with that of Columbus, who was deemed one of the greatest men of the age, shines with a purer and brighter lustre.

Elizabeth. How I admire the character of Isabella ! the more we investigate her conduct, the more interesting and delightful she appears.

Mother. Isabella was truly a wonderful woman ; and we shall have the pleasure of being made acquainted with one in another hemisphere, who was equally attractive for the goodness and gentleness of her disposition, as well as for her great and noble qualities.

The harsh measures put in operation by Columbus, for subjugating the Islanders, was still more rigorously enforced by his successors, nor was any degree of violence omitted which could gratify the lust of wealth and power. I shall relate one instance only, among many others, of the perfidious cruelty of the Spaniards.

Don Bartholomew, the brother of Columbus, set forth on an expedition to visit the dominions of Behechio, one of the principal chieftains of the island. This cacique reigned over Xaragua, a province comprising almost the whole coast at the west end of St. Domingo. It was one of the most populous and fruitful districts. The climate was sheltered and delightful; the people were softer and more graceful in their manners than the rest of the Islanders. Being so remote from all the fortresses, the cacique, although he had taken a part in the combination of the chieftains, had hitherto remained free from the incursions and exactions of the white men.

With this cacique resided Anacaona, widow of the late formidable Caonabo. She was sister to Behechio, and had taken refuge with her brother after the capture of her husband.

She was one of the most beautiful females of the island; her name, in the Indian language, signified flower of gold. She possessed a genius superior to the generality of her race, and she was said to excel in composing those little legendary ballads or areytes, which the natives chanted as they performed their national dances. All the Spanish writers agree in describing her as possessing a natural dignity and grace hardly to be credited in her ignorant and savage condition. Notwithstanding the ruin with which her husband had been overwhelmed by the hostility of the white men, she appears to have entertained no vindictive feelings toward them. She knew that he had provoked their vengeance by his own voluntary warfare.* She regarded the Spaniards with admiration, as almost superhuman beings; and her intelligent mind perceived the futility and impolicy of any attempt to resist their superiority in arts and arms. Having great influence over her brother Behechio, she counselled him to take warning by the fate of her husband, and to conciliate the friendship of the Spaniards; and it is supposed that a knowledge of the friendly sentiments and powerful influence of

* See note at the end of the book.

this princess, in a great measure prompted the adelantado to this expedition."

The adelantado, (the title given to Don Bartholomew) as he advanced into the territories of Behechio, was met by this chieftain "with a great army of his subjects, armed with bows, arrows, and lances. If he had come forth with an intention of opposing this inroad into his domains, he was probably daunted by the formidable appearance of the Spaniards. Laying aside his weapons, he advanced and accosted the adelantado, enquiring the object of this incursion of the Spaniards. The adelantado assured him that he came in peace to pass a little time with him in a friendly intercourse. He succeeded so well in allaying the apprehensions of the cacique, that he dismissed his army, and sent swift messengers in advance, to announce his approach, and to order preparations for the suitable reception of so distinguished a guest. As the Spaniards passed through the districts of his inferior caciques, the latter brought forth cassava bread, hemp, cotton, and the various productions of their lands. At length they drew near to the residence of Behechio, which was a large town situated in a beautiful part of the coun-

try, near the coast, at the bottom of that deep bay called at present the Bight of Leogane."

"The Spaniards had heard many accounts of the soft and delightful region of Xaragua, in one part of which the Indian traditions placed their Elysian fields. They had heard much, also, of the beauty and urbanity of the inhabitants; the mode of their reception was calculated to confirm their favourable prepossessions. As they approached the place, thirty females of the cacique's household came forth to meet them, singing their areytes or traditional ballads, and dancing and waving palm-branches. They wore aprons of embroidered cotton, with merely a fillet round the forehead; their hair falling on their shoulders. They were beautifully proportioned, their skin smooth and delicate, and their complexions of a clear and agreeable brown. The Spaniards, when they beheld them issuing forth from their green woods, almost imagined they beheld the fabled dryads or native nymphs and fairies of the fountains, sung by the ancient poets. When they came before Don Bartholomew, they knelt, and graciously presented him the green branches."

"After these came the female cacique, Anacaona, reclining on a litter, borne by six In-

dians. Like the other females, she had on an apron of various-coloured cotton, and wore round her head a fragrant garland of red and white flowers, and wreaths of the same round her neck and arms. She received the adelantado and his followers with that natural grace and courtesy, for which she was celebrated. The adelantado and his officers were conducted to the house of Behechio, where a banquet was served up of a great variety of sea and river fish, with the roots and fine fruits which formed the principal food of the Indians. The banquet being over, Don Bartholomew and six of his principal cavaliers were lodged in the dwelling house of Behechio ; the rest were distributed in the houses of the inferior caciques, where they slept in hammocks of netted cotton, the usual beds of the natives."

" For two days they remained with the hospitable Behechio, where they were entertained with various Indian games and festivities. When the festivities were over, and familiar intercourse had promoted mutual confidence, the adelantado addressed the cacique and Anacaona on the real object of his visit. He informed them that his brother, the admiral, had been sent to this island by the sovereigns of Castile, who were great and mighty poten-

tates, with many kingdoms under their sway. That the admiral had returned to apprise his sovereigns how many tributary caciques there were in the island, leaving him in command, and that he had come to receive Behechio under the protection of these mighty sovereigns, and to arrange a tribute to be paid by him in such a manner as should be most convenient. The cacique assured him that in no part of his territory was gold to be found, but readily consented to pay a tribute in cotton, hemp, and cassava bread, with which the surrounding country appeared to abound."

"Having made all the requisite arrangements, the adelantado took the most friendly leave of the worthy Behechio and his sister. Thus by amicable and sagacious management, one of the most extensive provinces of the island was brought into cheerful subjection; and had not the wise policy of the adelantado been defeated by the excesses of worthless and turbulent men, a large revenue might have been collected without any recourse to violence. In all instances these people appear cheerfully to have resigned their rights to the white men, when treated with gentleness and humanity."

Elizabeth. How happy and delightful must

have been the life of these islanders, and how wicked and hardened to all feelings of humanity were the Spaniards, who wantonly destroyed a people so interesting and good.

Mother. When you hear the sad catastrophe which befel this beautiful and celebrated Princess, the feelings you have expressed will be greatly augmented. "Behechio, the ancient cacique of Xaragua being dead, Anacoana, his sister, had succeeded him in the government, in conformity with the laws of these islands, which ordain the succession to be in the female line. The marked partiality which she had once manifested, which had made Xaragua the seat of hospitality, and refuge of the suffering Spaniards, had been greatly weakened by the general misery they had produced in her country, and by the brutal profligacy exhibited in her immediate dominions. The unhappy story of the loves of her beautiful daughter, who had been affianced to a young Spaniard of noble birth, who had been forcibly seized and imprisoned by the jealousy of Roldan, one of the Spanish commanders, had also caused her great affliction, and finally the various, and enduring hardships inflicted on her once happy subjects by the grinding systems of labour enforced on

them, had at length converted her friendship into absolute detestation."

The Indians of this province were uniformly represented as being a more intelligent, polite, and generous-spirited race than any others of the island. They were the more prone to feel and resent the overbearing and insulting treatment to which they were subjected. Quarrels sometimes took place between the caciques and their oppressors. These were immediately reported to the governor as dangerous mutinies; and a resistance to any capricious or extortionate exaction was magnified into a rebellious resistance. Complaints were continually pouring in upon the governor, until he was persuaded that there was a deep-laid conspiracy among the Indians of this province to rise upon the Spaniards.

"Ovando immediately set out for Xaragua at the head of three hundred soldiers, and seventy horsemen, under the pretext that he was going on a mere visit to Anacaona. When Anacaona heard of the intended visit, she sent to all her tributary caciques, and to all her principal subjects, to assemble at her chief town, that they might receive the commander of the Spaniards with becoming dis-

tion. As Ovando at the head of his little army approached, she went forth to meet him according to the custom of her nation, attended by a great train of her most distinguished subjects, male and female, who were, as has been before remarked, noted for superior grace and beauty. They received the Spaniards with their popular areytos, their national songs; the young women waving palm-branches and dancing before them, in the same way that had so much charmed the followers of the adelantado on his first visit to the province."

Anacaona treated the governor with that natural graciousness and dignity for which she was celebrated. She gave him the largest house in the place for his residence, and his people were quartered in the houses adjoining. For several days the Spaniards were entertained with all the natural luxuries that the province afforded. National songs, and dances, and games were performed for their amusement, and there was every outward demonstration of the same hospitality, and the same amity, that Anacaona had uniformly shown to white men.

Notwithstanding all this kindness, and her uniform integrity of conduct, and open gen-

erosity of character, Ovando was persuaded that Anacaona was secretly meditating a massacre of himself and his followers. Historians tell us nothing of the grounds of such a belief; it was too probably produced by the misrepresentations of the unprincipled adventurers who infested the province. Ovando should have considered the improbability of such an attempt by naked Indians against so large a force of steel-clad troops, and he should have reflected upon the general character and conduct of Anacaona. At any rate, the example repeatedly set by Columbus and his brother, should have convinced him, that it was a sufficient safe-guard against the machinations of the natives, to seize upon their caciques, and detain them as hostages. Ovando however was determined to anticipate the alleged plot by a counter artifice, and to annihilate this defenceless people with an indiscriminate and bloody vengeance.

“As the Indians had entertained their guests with various national games, Ovando invited them in return, to witness certain games of his country. Among these was a tilting match, or joust, a chivalrous game which the Spaniards had learnt from the Moors of Granada. The joust was appointed

to take place in the public square, before the house in which Ovando was quartered. The soldiers had their secret instructions, and were ready for action at a concerted signal."

"At the appointed time the square was crowded with the Indians, waiting to see the military spectacle. The caciques were assembled in the house of Ovando. None were armed; an unreserved confidence prevailed among them, totally incompatible with the dark treachery of which they were accused. Ovando, to prevent all suspicion, was playing at quoits, with some of his principal officers, when, the cavalry having arrived, the caciques begged the governor to order the jousts to commence. Anacaona, and her beautiful daughter Higuaniota, with several of her female attendants, were present, and joined in the request."

"Ovando left his game, and came forward to a conspicuous place. When he saw that every thing was disposed according to his orders, he gave the fatal signal. A trumpet was immediately sounded, the house in which Anacaona, and all the principal caciques were assembled, was surrounded by soldiery, and no one was permitted to escape. They entered, and, seizing upon the caciques, bound

them to the posts which supported the roof. Anacaona was led forth a prisoner. The unhappy caciques were put to horrible tortures, until some of them, in the extremity of anguish, were made to accuse their queen and themselves of the plot of which they were charged. When this cruel mockery of judicial form had been executed, instead of preserving them for after examination, fire was set to the house, and all the caciques perished miserably in the flames."

"While these barbarities were practised upon the chieftains, a horrible massacre took place among the populace. At the signal of Ovando, the horsemen rushed into the midst of the defenceless throng, trampling them under the hoofs of their steeds, cutting them down with their swords, or transfixing them with their spears. No mercy was shown to age or sex, it was a savage and indiscriminate butchery. Humanity turns with horror from such atrocities, and would fain discredit them; but they are circumstantially recorded by the venerable Bishop Las Casas, who was resident in the island at the time, and conversant with the principal actors in this tragedy."

"As to the princess Anacaona, she was carried in chains to St. Domingo. The mock-

ery of a trial was given her, in which she was found guilty, on the confessions which had been wrung by torture from her subjects, and on the testimony of their butchers, and she was ignominiously hanged in the presence of the people whom she had so long and so signally befriended. Contemporary writers, of grave authority, have concurred in representing Anacaona as remarkable for her native propriety and dignity. She was adored by her subjects, so as to hold a kind of dominion over them, even during the life-time of her brother."

"After the massacre at Xaragua, the destruction of its inhabitants still continued. The favourite nephew of Anacaona, the cacique of Guaora, who had fled with the affrighted natives to the mountains, was hunted like a wild beast, until he was taken and hanged. For six months the Spaniards continued ravaging the country, and having at length hunted the Indians out of all their retreats, and reduced the survivors to the most deplorable misery and abject submission, the whole of that part of the island was considered as restored to good order; and in commemoration of this great triumph, Ovando

founded a town near to the lake, which he called, St. Mary of the true peace."

Such is the tragical story of the delightful region of Xaragua, and of its amiable and hospitable people. A place which the Europeans, by their own account, found a perfect paradise, but which, by their vile passions, they filled with horror and desolation.

Caroline. Oh! mother, it appears impossible that human beings could have been so altogether lost to the feelings of humanity, or that they could have been so grossly deceived as to imagine themselves entitled to the name of Christians.

Mother. We can scarcely believe it possible that men should become so utterly depraved, did we not perceive the gradual approaches to vice, when the voice of conscience is stifled, and the natural emotions of compassion are paralyzed. The most powerful agents in producing this deplorable state of mind, are fanaticism and bigotry; and when tempted by the lust of wealth and power to gratify these insatiable passions, it is impossible to estimate the horrible results. The time when Columbus first sought his fortunes in

Spain, was one of the most brilliant periods of the Spanish monarchy. Every event had conspired to exalt the sovereigns, and render Spain independent and prosperous. Yet it has with truth been remarked, that its decline may be traced from the period when the treasures of the New World were added to the wealth and revenue she had heretofore possessed ; and Spain is now abject and impoverished. She has lost the greater part of the countries she so barbarously subdued, and the happiness, which once reigned over these delightful regions, is exchanged for gloomy superstition, galling servitude, and perpetual warfare. When Columbus arrived at St. Domingo, (after his second visit to Spain,) wearied by a long and arduous voyage, and worn down by infirmities, both mind and body craved repose ; but from the time he first launched upon public life, he was doomed never again to taste the sweets of tranquillity. The beautiful region, called the Royal Vega, which but four years before the Spaniards had found so populous and happy, which seemed to shut up in its luxuriant bosom all the sweets of nature, and to exclude all the cares and sorrows of the world, was now a vast scene of wretchedness and repining.

Many of those towns, where the Spaniards had been detained by genial hospitality, and almost worshipped as beneficent deities, were now silent and deserted. Some of the late inhabitants were lurking among rocks and caverns; some were reduced to slavery; many had perished with hunger, and many had fallen by the sword.

The evil passions of the white men, which had inflicted such calamities upon this innocent people, had insured likewise a merited return of suffering to themselves. They were idle, factious, and dissolute; many of them were broken in constitution, and many had perished by disease. There was a universal desire to leave the island, and to escape from the miseries which they had created:

Elizabeth. Was it not in the power of the queen to prevent this horrible treatment of the natives?

Mother. We are informed, that "the sanguinary acts of Ovando, in particular the massacre at Xaragua, and the execution of the unfortunate Anacaona, awakened equal horror and indignation in Isabella; she was languishing on her death-bed when she received the intelligence, and with her dying breath she exacted a promise from king Ferdinand,

that Ovando should be recalled from his government. Thus retribution was continually going its rounds in the chequered destinies of this island, which has ever presented a little epitome of human history ; its errors, and crimes, and consequent disasters. Had Isabella been spared, her benignant vigilance would have prevented many a scene of horror in the colonization of the new world, and have softened the lot of its native inhabitants. As it is, her fair name will ever shine with celestial radiance in the early dawning of its history."

In surveying the disastrous events of this history, we find that nations and individuals are alike punished for their crimes, by a perpetual reaction, which subjects them to the like sufferings and privations which they caused to fall on others ; and it is thus that this beautiful world, which God in His goodness has bestowed on the human race, is perpetually drenched with their blood, and deformed by vice. We every where behold the abundant provision made to satisfy the wants of man, and administer to his enjoyment ; nevertheless, not content and grateful for all the good he so bounteously receives, he is ever endeavouring to wrest from his fellow-beings

that portion of earth destined by the Creator to his use. Hence it is, that the fair cities of old, decorated by the arts, and exalted by scientific improvements, which were once the busy marts of splendour and opulence, are now desolate, or inhabited only by a few solitary beings who have lost the remembrance of all that once constituted their greatness. It is thus also that the inhabitants of Europe are quitting their fertile plains and magnificent cities to wrest from the natives of this newly-discovered hemisphere the beloved land of their fathers. In observing attentively the course of events, one may, without the gift of prophecy, venture to predict that the fate, which has fallen on the countries of Asia and Africa, will eventually fall on Europe. Already has the progress of desolation begun, and nothing is left to attest the former grandeur of some of the splendid cities of Greece and Rome, except the mouldering though beautiful remains of ruined edifices. This catastrophe has long been anticipated, and an eloquent writer has some time since remarked—“It is to be hoped the wise and good friends of British glory in England will regard this flourishing off-set of their own native stock, and witness with pride

the progress of their language, their manners, their laws, and their literature; and will with joy reflect that not a note is struck at the centre of thought and opinion in the British capital, but is heard and propagated by our presses to the valley of the Missouri; and if the day should come, in the progress of national decline, when England shall be gathered with the empires that *have been*; when her thousand ships shall have disappeared from the ocean, and the mighty chain of her wealth shall be broken, with which she has so long bound the European world to her chariot-wheels, and mustered the nations from the banks of the Tagus to the banks of the Don, to march beneath the banner of her coalitions, that then there will be no unworthy descendant to catch her mantle, and that the rich treasure of her institutions, and character, instead of becoming the unrescued prey of Huns and Vandals, will be preserved, upheld, and perfected in the western world of promise." And again, the same writer observes, "We do think there are passages, and long and frequent passages, in the poems of Southey, Scott, and Byron, which will be read while any thing English shall be read, which will be admired when London is a sheep-walk."

The causes which have produced this perpetual desire of change will forever continue to operate until mankind are sufficiently enlightened, virtuous, and magnanimous to allow their fellow beings to enjoy in peace the bounteous provisions of nature which have been so graciously bestowed on them.

Caroline. It appears to me, mother, that the natives of the islands strongly resembled the Aborigines of this continent.

Mother. They did indeed in many particulars; and although they were more gentle, and less impatient of restraint, they possessed many admirable qualities. Many of the islanders, when they discovered the intentions of the Spaniards to subjugate them, displayed the most heroic determination to preserve their liberty, and many endured every extremity of suffering, rather than betray their friends; but the natives of the continent seem to have possessed a more lofty character than was common to the islanders. You doubtless well recollect the noble bearing of some of the native chiefs which I have related to you, and no reasonable doubt can be entertained of their being entitled to the high character which has been in many instances so involun-

tarily granted; when even at this period of declension such instances are found of unrivalled heroism and self-devotion as have of late been exhibited by the Osage and Winnebago chieftains. As these occurrences are too well authenticated to admit of cavils, it is presumed that all who are capable of appreciating the worth of men highly gifted, will readily admit that no individuals in any age or country have displayed more true greatness. "These six Osage chiefs resigned themselves with more than Roman firmness into the hands of our government to be tried for their lives in consequence of the murder of five Americans, who were slain by a party of Osages on a war expedition against the Caddo tribes, and the Americans slain were supposed to be of the tribe with whom the Osages were at war. Nevertheless, as the head men were deemed responsible, and no alternative presented but war, which would involve their country in ruin, these chiefs voluntarily yielded themselves up to be tried for the offence. The interesting account of the manner in which this surrender was made, was given in a letter from Mr Vail, a missionary, who witnessed the scene a few years past."

"The chiefs, accompanied by all the inhab-

itants of the town, encamped four miles from the fort, which the chiefs approached, attended by four hundred warriors. The chiefs advanced toward the commanding officer, Col. Arbuckle, and gave him their hands, assuring him that it was by accident those white people were slain, they had never wished to kill white men, but when they had come to their town, they had with pleasure fed them; but at your word, (said they) we will go and answer for this offence. As they closed, the counsellors and fathers round the circle, in mild accents, pronounced what they had said to be right. During all this time not a sigh nor a cry was heard among the people. Indeed, so far from opposing the measure, the women are all in favour of it, knowing that it would save them and their children from being destroyed by war." * It was asked at the close of this account, "where shall we find six military chiefs in the U. States, possessed of so much magnanimity or patriotism, as voluntarily to surrender themselves to be tried for their lives, by the laws and people of a foreign country, rather than to see our nation involved in war on their account! Very few instances of such patriotism are found in history."

* Friend of Peace.

What is now presented is but a sketch of the affair as stated in various newspapers. The interesting letter of Mr Vail has been much abridged. Although the resolute devotion of the Osage chiefs evinces a moral courage and generosity highly gratifying ; the noble conduct of the Winnebago chief, who delivered himself up to our government in the summer, and died in prison the following February, is still more touching. These chieftains had doubtless deemed themselves fortunate to have been allowed at once to resign their lives ; but to be immured within the walls of a dreary prison, cut off from all intercourse with those they loved, and compelled to submit to restraints, to which they were wholly unaccustomed,—with meagre fare, inadequate to their support,—with the conviction, that, should they survive the period of confinement, they must close their lives with ignominy on the gallows, a mode of punishment, than which nothing can be more disgraceful in the mind of the Indian,—demands a strength of resolution and a lofty sense of rectitude rarely found. The provocation, which induced the Winnebago chief to commit the crime with which he was charged, has not been specified ; but it must have been of great magnitude to have tempted

one whose character (we are told) had, during his whole life, and up to the period of his bloody adventure, been marked by all that was kind and friendly and faithful. A man so highly distinguished and beloved, and possessing ample means for the gratification of his generous hospitality, both to white men and Indians, would not assuredly, except in self-defence, or on the most galling provocation, have jeopardized a life so invaluable. "But, it is said, "all his distinction was swallowed up and lost in one fell resolve—one act of guilt. But he rose, if not to innocence and life, yet high in general admiration and sympathy, in the voluntary surrender of himself, and in the manner of the act. No individual act was ever more imposing than was that act of self-devotion. His white dress of beautiful deer skin, fitting his elegantly proportioned frame, as if to show the beauty and perfection of his finish; his war-pipe made fast to his breast, as if to indicate the attachment of his heart to the Indians' glory; his white flag, the emblem of peace, in one hand, and his calumet, or pipe of peace, in the other; and then the long line of one hundred and fourteen unarmed warriors, attending the self-devoted victim; and, to crown all, his death song! All this

was highly impressive ; but it was over-matched by the calm, though commanding spirit, that gave grace and firmness to his steps, life to his eye, majesty to every movement of the man, and grandeur to the ceremony. As he entered the portal of death, stepping firmly up, he said, by a manner forcible as language, "I give away myself—my life." The death of this chief was announced in the paper from which I have taken this account. "Died in prison at Prairie du Chien, on the night of the sixteenth of February last, Wannig-sooth-kaw, or the Red Bird, a Winnebago chief of note. His free wilderness spirit could not bear the confinement of a narrow prison house, nor could his body be supported by the provisions usually dealt out on such occasions, they being so unlike those he had gathered in his native forests, He was buried in the presence of his fellow prisoners, the next evening. He was an extraordinary man. In form and appearance he had few equals, white or red ; and in the graces of action, of face, and of spirit, he was not surpassed. This is the chief who killed and scalped Gagnier. He is the same who together with his companion in guilt voluntarily surrendered himself last summer at the Portage of Fox and Ouisconsin

rivers, and who was afterward delivered over by Maj. Whistler, to whom he gave himself up, to Gen. Atkinson, who conveyed him and others to Prairie du Chien, to await the penalties of the law."

Caroline. This, mother, is, I think, the most extraordinary character of which you have given any account; but is it possible that such a man should have been suffered to perish from want of suitable food and accommodations.

Mother. It must have been so, and in my opinion the worst has not been told, as it implies a degree of guilt, and a total absence of those just and honourable feelings, which should characterize men to whom are intrusted the defence of their country. It was assuredly the duty of Gen. Atkinson to attend to the accommodation of a prisoner like the Winnebago chief, and had he been capable of estimating the value of such a man, or the nobleness of the sacrifice, he could not have been so regardless of the high trust reposed in him.

Elizabeth. Have you never heard the provocation which induced this chief to involve himself in guilt.

Mother. I have lately met with an article in the American Quarterly Review, which

explains the cause. The writer is of opinion that our treaties with the Indians are not only useless, because no equivalent can be given them for their lands, but that the most deplorable results are often produced. In these treaties every artifice is used to engage the assent of the chiefs to the measures required. "At the treaty of Chicago, when every other means failed of success, the besetting and overpowering sin of the Indians had been called in, to aid the pure and charitable design of the white men. We are not prepared, (says the writer) to exhibit the items of a formal account current, but fair deduction from circumstantial proofs, and direct testimony of good and sufficient eye witnesses, lead us to believe that not far from fourteen barrels of whiskey were, by some direct or circuitous channels, issued by the commissioners to the Potawatomies, before they were so far besotted, so completely subdued by the horrors of returning sobriety, that they could be made to accede to the terms proposed, or even in any manner to treat concerning the cession of their lands." It is also stated that the Indians are called to attend treaties at the season of the wild rice harvest, and at the time when by hunting they gain their winter's

supply of food, to them the most important seasons, and that several of the northern Chippeways who were called to attend the treaty at Fond du Lac, in 1826, left it long before the commissioners had completed their speeches, alleging that if they should wait for the distribution of the presents, and the conclusion of the council, the season for gathering wild rice would have passed. "The inhabitants of the country about the upper lakes, and the sources of the Mississippi, and to the eastward of the Red River, of Lake Winipeg, derive their subsistence from a barren soil, under the influence of an ungenial sky. Those can best estimate their situation, who have visited their dreary country of swamps and snows, and have had an opportunity to see that even the dry blue-berries which they preserve, constitute an important item in their winter's supply of food. We have information from good authority, that many persons in the country of the Chippeways have, in the two winters succeeding the treaties of Prarie du Chien, and Fond du Lac, perished of hunger, in consequence of the unavoidable neglect of their customary avocations occasioned by their absence to attend these treaties."—"Let us then, for a moment," proceeds

our author, "consider the occasion of the late disturbances among the Winnebagoes, and the effect which this quickly repressed and expiring struggle has had on them. This was one of the tribes called from their hunting grounds, and cornfields, to attend the boasted treaty of 1825, at Prairie du Chien; and it is well known that these, among other Indians, received the most solemn assurances, that the boundaries, then established or recognised, would, on the part of the United States, at least, be carefully respected. Their great father himself was pledged by his commissioners, not merely to compel his own people to respect the right of the Red skins; he would make his "arm long" to punish any among his red children, who should venture to disturb the universal peace and harmony which was from that moment to prevail. Let it be supposed, then, that the chiefs and warriors of the Winnebagoes, who were present at that council, received these assurances in good faith; that they believed the commissioners had the power and the disposition to make good their promise; that neither whites nor Indians, not of their own tribe, would be suffered to hunt or settle on those lands acknowledged to belong to them, between the Ouisconsin and

Rock rivers."—"Suppose," we say, "they had not too well understood the character of those with whom they treated, to look for the fulfilment of these fair promises, what must have been their wonder, almost immediately on returning to their villages, to find the finest portions of their territory overrun with white men searching for lead mines? Is it surprising, that so prompt and palpable a violation of the treaty should have produced some act of retaliation? Need we wonder, that the Winnebagoes, exasperated by repeated insults, and open violation of their rights, should, within sight of that very treaty ground, and before ten months had passed, have reminded us, by the murder of an entire family, that professions of friendship and protection, did not compensate them for the evils they were compelled to suffer? The events which followed the murder of the family of Methode, the butchering at mid-day, and within call of the agent's house, of the family of Garnier, the attack upon the keel boats on the Mississippi, the alarms and disturbances at Fever river, the march of Gen. Atkinson, with a large force from Jefferson barracks, of Major Whistler from Green Bay, and the minor events of this, to us unimportant, campaign,

are still fresh in the recollection of many. But though, to the United States, this affair has cost only the lives of a few unimportant individuals, and an inconsiderable expenditure, its effects upon the miserable and devoted Winnebagoes, has been much more serious. We speak not of the alarm and distress, the starvation and despair introduced into their villages. These are less serious evils than the loss of the amplest and best part of their territory, between the Ouisconsin and Rock rivers, which, as we have understood, the agents of the government in that quarter have been directed to seize and hold, apparently as a kind of memento to the Indians, that they may henceforth beware of exciting the impatience of a power so abundantly able to crush them. The result is easily foreseen; their valuable lands and rich lead mines will invite the enterprise of our restless western population, and the miserable remnant of the Winnebagoes, retaining their ancient habits and feelings, will be compelled to seek westward of the Mississippi, amid hostile lands, and in a desolate region, a precarious subsistence."

Caroline. I am pleased to find so much sympathy expressed for the Indians.

Mother. In what I have related, a spirit of

justice and philanthropy appears in most instances to influence the feelings of the writer which elicited my warm approbation; but what can be said in vindication of the following sentence? "This result is not, perhaps, greatly to be regretted. It is a result which must speedily have arrived, whatever probable course events might have taken. A people so rude, so obstinately averse to settled industry, so incapable of patient, connected, and useful thought, must soon have yielded their place to a more enterprising, and, we hesitate not to say, a better race of men." Would the writer in truth have it believed, that the inhuman and shuffling tricks of our *civilized* countrymen, are preferable to the native integrity, and loftiness of spirit which characterize the Aborigines of the land; which, though it in the apprehension of some may be styled rudeness, will assuredly be deemed by those who are capable of appreciating true worth, vastly preferable to the underhand dishonest conduct he so forcibly describes, as so commonly practised by white men. Neither can it be denied that the industry of the Indians is fully adequate to the supply of all their wants, when they are allowed to reap the fruits of their toil. In proof of this, we need only advert to

the food and clothing which the first settlers received from their hospitable and courteous Indian friends, and that no beggars or destitute persons were found among them. Should further proof be wanting, we may refer to the public despatches of our military commanders, where thousands of acres of corn are boastingly stated to have been destroyed in their hostile expeditions against the Indians, in addition to fruit trees, and esculents of various kinds. There is also abundant testimony of the industry and ingenuity of the Indian women, who, in addition to their usual labour, fabricate baskets of various kinds, moccasins, and other articles, in which they display great perseverance, taste, and skill. Their submission to the laws has excited the admiration of many intelligent writers at the early settlement of the country. Charlevoix says, "At first view one would imagine them without any form of government; they notwithstanding enjoy all the advantages which the best regulated authority is capable of procuring, in the most enlightened nations. They have a natural repugnance to restraint of every sort, but reason alone is capable of restraining them in a kind of subordination, not less effectual, for being entirely voluntary."

Governor Cass, who cannot be suspected of partiality toward the Indians, witnessed a most affecting instance of the influence of their laws, and the fortitude and magnanimity with which an Indian of the Chippewa tribe submitted to the sentence awarded him. All this was accomplished without the aid of gibbets, or dungeons, or guards. Are the Indians, then, incapable of connected, useful thought? Whatever advantages result from civilization, it must be granted, from the equality which reigns among them and the patriarchal sway by which they are governed, that the great mass of the people are, or were, abundantly better supplied, and of course happier, than those of that class in civilized portions of the globe, where so much abject misery is found arising from vice and oppression, with all their train of evils; from these, previous to the coming of the whites, the Indians were exempt. Charlevoix says — “The Indians were perhaps the only happy mortals on the face of the earth, before they were acquainted with those objects which seduce and pervert us.” I know not by what casuistry the people of the United States can brand the Indians as an inferior race, because they too

enerally appear unable to resist inebriation,

(though Gov. Cass tells us, it is not so prevalent as has been represented) when this vice pervades so great a portion of our own population, which is not confined to the lower classes. How frequently do we hear of men in the higher circles, who indulge in this odious vice ; nay, who deliberately set in for a riotous debauch, attended with all its disgusting accompaniments. Neither should we censure them for their present improvidence, when among the people of these States, notwithstanding they enjoy every facility for accumulating wealth, and are sure of protection, still paupers are so abundant. When we advert to the unhappy state of our Indians ; the uncertainty which attends their efforts to provide for their wants ; to their crops being so frequently the prey of white men ; and the contumely, and injurious treatment to which they are compelled to submit, we should cease to scoff at their destitute condition, or inveigh against them because they seek to drown by inebriation all sense of the ruin, which they perceive is fast coming upon their race. For what purpose does the writer of the article, on "Indian language and Condition," so forcibly describe their wrongs, and in some instances, point out the mode of alleviation ; when,

after all, he can so coldly consign them to destruction? I am at a loss to determine, unless he feared to incur the resentment of that class of men, to whom the injuries and outrages against the Indians, are mainly to be attributed. When he speaks of the benign influences of Christianity, and the hitherto useless efforts, made to enable the Indians to receive and comprehend the important doctrines of revealed religion, he should have recollected how little influence it has had on our own people, and how very imperfectly it is understood by the great body of those who profess themselves christians. Had the writer comprehended the importance of the admonition, "be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good," he would not have framed excuses to justify the unmerciful and unjust usurpation of Indian territory. The Indians have much sagacity and discernment; is it, therefore, wonderful if they believe either that christianity is not sufficiently pure and powerful to restrain the evil passions, or that its professors have too much innate depravity to submit to its authority? Several Seneca chiefs, who in 1818 were much noticed in England, expressed themselves in the following manner, in an address

to some benevolent people at Leeds: — “The great injuries we received from white men, and the wickedness we constantly saw practised among them, greatly strengthened our minds against their ways, and their religion; thinking it impossible that any good could come out of a people, where so much wickedness dwelt.” If the period shall ever arrive, when Christianity, pure and undefiled, shall enlighten the mind with its benign lustre, and the heart become obedient to its divine dictates, we may be assured that our light will so shine, that the Indians seeing our good works will glorify God, and be no longer averse or unable to comprehend a religion which secures to them the privilege of sitting down under their own vines and fig-trees, having none to make them afraid.

Elizabeth. Does the writer, who gives the account of the Winnebagoes, make no mention of the noble chief who yielded up his life to save his country?

Mother. I expected that an event like this would assuredly have been noticed; but soon was reminded, that it would have been altogether at variance with the character he has given of the people to whom this great man belonged; for it will not be believed that this

chief, who was "so distinguished and beloved in all the regions of the Northwest," possessed qualities to which the rest of his people were strangers, however he may have excelled.

Caroline. I thought, mother, it was esteemed highly honourable to defend one's country against invaders ?

Mother. It has ever been deemed so ; but acts of heroic patriotism in the Indians, we have thought proper to stigmatize as traitorous, and deserving of severe chastisement. The people of the United States, who style themselves a Christian, civilized nation, feel at liberty to inflict the greatest calamities on the Indians, whenever they attempt to repress our incursions or depredations. We are informed, that there were two expeditions from Kentucky against the Indians in 1791, under the command of Generals Scott and Wilkinson, which had for their object the chastisement of a predatory, troublesome, and warlike tribe, who lived in several detached towns upon the Wabash and its waters. In these expeditions many towns and villages were reduced to ashes, and their corn and fruits utterly destroyed — many warriors were killed, and a large number of women and children made

captives. Two only of these are particularly noticed. "We arrived, (says the writer, who was one of the party who achieved this boastful exploit) completely concealed on the south bank of Ell River, directly opposite the town of Kanapacomaqua. The surprise of this town was so very complete, that, before we received orders to cross the river and rush upon the town, we observed the children playing on the tops of the houses, and could distinguish the hilarity and merriment that seemed to crown the festivity of the villagers, for it was the season of the green-corn dance. The want of day-light prevented us from suddenly attacking, which enabled several Indians to escape, and in some measure obscured the brilliancy of the enterprize, by limiting the number of warriors killed, to eleven, and capturing forty women and their children, and destroying about two hundred acres of corn, which was then in the milk, and in that stage when the Indians prepare it for zassomony. This was achieved with the loss of two men only." "The town of Kathlippacamunch was surprized by Gen. Wilkinson, and immediately burnt and levelled with the ground. This town contained about one hundred and twenty houses, most of them roofed with shin-

gles ; the gardens and improvements round the town were truly delightful, and every thing considered not a little wonderful. The best houses belonged to French traders, and the whole marked no small degree of order and civilization. The situation of this town was well chosen for beauty and convenience ; it stood in the bosom of a delightful country, on a very rich bottom, extending about two miles on the Wabash River. The country is beautiful beyond description."

Elizabeth. It is very astonishing that men can become so hardened as to boast of such inhuman exploits. I suppose, from the charge exhibited against these Indians, that the crime for which they suffered was their attempting to defend themselves, and prevent the white men from getting possession of their land ?

Mother. Much blood had been shed, and many brave warriors had fallen, in the conflict to preserve their possessions in the delightful regions of the Mississippi and Ohio, but all their efforts were unavailing ; they were perpetually driven back by the ceaseless current of emigration, and the towns, destroyed in these expeditions, doubtless had afforded a refuge to the remnant of those tribes who had before

been subdued. Those, who still possessed their native land, would of course use all possible means to keep these hostile invaders at a distance from their settlements.

Caroline. You remarked, some time ago, mother, that the gloomy retrospect of the atrocious acts, which have been perpetrated, would induce the belief of innate depravity, were we not cheered and consoled, by contemplating the virtues and rich endowments of some highly-gifted individuals.

Mother. I have indeed often made this remark. When we call to mind the noble characters which have been exhibited, we feel assured that man, though formed of the dust, has been gifted by the Almighty with a portion of His own inspiration. Nevertheless, the divine impress is too frequently darkened, or paralyzed by the earthly tenement with which we are invested, and all that is divine is stifled and absorbed by gross and sordid passions.

Elizabeth. It is, I think, extraordinary, that two female sovereigns, so celebrated as Isabella and Anacaona, should have lived at the same period of time ; but, delightful as is the character of the queen of Spain, some

may object to her acting so independently of her husband.

Mother. Although Isabella treated her husband with much affection and respect, she was doubtless convinced that her power of doing good would be greatly diminished, had she yielded up her right to govern her own kingdom; and she would unquestionably have received less attention and respect. The common notion, that women are incapable of occupying high and responsible stations in society, is not sustained by history or experience. The few females, who have attained sovereign power, have, in most instances, discharged the important duties which devolved on them, with dignity, and an attention to humanity and the rights of their subjects, which is not commonly found in kings. I would not, however, have it imagined that I suppose women to possess superior talents for governing, but think it unquestionably arises from their being early taught to exercise and cherish the gentle virtues of kindness, forbearance, and a desire to please.

Although the duties, which are by nature assigned to females, are of a different character from those which men are called to perform, they are assuredly not less important.

Nothing in life requires more talent and discernment, than the proper management of a family. To expand the minds of children, and train them up in habits of virtue and persevering industry, without exercising too much control or checking their native love of independence and desire of innocent enjoyment ; to give an example of integrity, and pure disinterestedness, demands high intellectual endowments, improved by an education truly liberal. If it be granted, that the moral character is formed at the early period when children receive their most important impressions from the mother, it is certainly essential that women should not only receive an enlightened education, but that they should possess a degree of independence, which will secure to them respect and attention. This would, in my opinion, greatly improve the concord and felicity of domestic life, on which all ultimately depend for happiness. I deem it a great advance in improvement, that women, who possess property, are not, when they now marry, obliged to resign all their right to the disposal of it ; but, on the contrary, have it secured to them and their children. This arrangement is equally advantageous to both parties, as it prevents the extreme distress to

which many families are reduced by misfortunes in business, and gives the father of a family, opportunity of retrieving his affairs before it be too late. To give full effect to this salutary improvement, women, who have no fortunes, should, when they marry, have a certain portion of the property, or income of their husband's, secured to them for their use, exclusively. The happiness of domestic life would thus be greatly enhanced; there would be no abject submission on one side, or arbitrary interference on the other. I may be told, that this is found to prevail chiefly among vulgar and common people, — true, — but is it not in this class that the great body of our citizens are formed? How will the pure and benign precepts of Christianity ever be understood, and prevail among us, while we are meanly striving to overreach each other, or are busied in sordid calculations to gratify selfish propensities? Nothing has a stronger effect to debase the mind, and unfit us for the performance of the duties which we are bound to perform, than an idea of weakness or inferiority; and I have frequently heard mothers complain of their inability to manage their children, more especially boys, and have, of course, been compelled to con-

sign them to the care of men, to whom they will be obliged to yield obedience. Children have thus been exiled from home, and committed to the care of strangers, who content themselves with merely doing what they deem to be their duty, without any regard to the happiness of the beings confided to them. Children have thus been rendered morose and selfish, by perpetually striving to gain, by artful contrivance, those indulgences which they could not openly obtain, however innocent, and they are hence prepared to act a part in riper years which will procure them selfish gratification, even at the sacrifice of integrity and honour; when, in all probability, they would have been just and beneficent members of society, had they in youth found happiness and instruction under the paternal roof.

The degree of independence, I so anxiously desire should be secured to females, is the more important here, as they receive so little protection from the laws of their country. The only relief a woman can obtain, who wishes to free herself from an unfaithful and abandoned husband, is in most instances attended by circumstances more cruel and humiliating, than the evils she so much desires to avoid. She must relinquish the society of

her children, and consign them to the superintendence of perhaps the very woman to whom she owes her wretchedness. She is deprived of her rank in society, and obliged to subsist upon the pittance, however humble, which the Court, (who are careful to discourage every attempt made by women to emancipate themselves from their thralldom) deem it proper to allow. The laws of the United States are far less favourable to females, than are those in continental Europe, where they possess the undoubted right to dispose of their own property ; and even in England, whence originated our laws, women have by articles of marriage a certain portion of wealth secured to them. There is also another evil, which results from the abuse of power among us, highly reprehensible : a husband may so dispose of his estate, notwithstanding his wife's possessing property in her own right at their marriage, as to leave her at his death, so small a portion as will oblige her to quit the style of living to which she has been accustomed, and move in a humbler sphere, which is not only painful and mortifying in the extreme, but subjects her to the suspicion of having secret faults which alienated the affections of her husband ; although

she may have conscientiously discharged all her duties. Much power, even when possessed by those who are not disposed to do wrong, often leads them to be unjust ; but common and vulgar minds feel no restraint, when they are not overawed by the fear of retribution.

Caroline. Why is it so often asserted, that women owe to Christianity much of their present estimation and rank in society ?

Mother. Those, who profess this belief, can have given but little attention to the subject ; women were created to be the companions and equals of man, and, although different stations have been allotted them, the duties which devolve on women are assuredly not the least important. One cannot read the Old Testament, without remarking the powerful influence exerted by women. When Sarah told Abraham to cast out the bond woman and her son, for the son of this bond woman shall not be heir with my son, even with Isaac ; although the thing was very grievous in the sight of Abraham, he did not hesitate to comply, notwithstanding the demand was cruel and unjust in the extreme. When the children of Israel had been oppressed by the Canaanites for the space of twenty years, they were triumphantly delivered by Deborah

the prophetess, the wife of Lapidoth ; “ she judged Israel at that time.” When David had determined to destroy Nabal for his inhospitality and churlishness, in refusing him the supply he had requested so courteously, Abigail, sensible of the danger incurred, immediately sent him an abundant supply, and by her influence and address prevented the ruin which David had determined to inflict on her house. Huldah, the wife of Shellum, who dwelt at Jerusalem, in the College, received messages from the king of Israel, to enquire of her what he must do to avert the anger of the Lord. Huldah, with the conscious dignity of inspiration, answered the messengers : — “ Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, tell ye the man that sent you to me,” &c.

If we turn to the New Testament, we find our blessed Master, who in all things gave a pure and beautiful example, treating women with affectionate respect, and gaining many proselytes among them. Some of these exhibited the strongest attachment, and fearlessly attended him to the last ; they witnessed his dying agonies, and were the first at his sepulchre, to watch the ascension of their Lord, and bear testimony to his truth and exaltation. Many converts were made by the

preaching of Paul, who had much influence ; and frequent mention is made of devout and honourable women, who possessed no inconsiderable authority.

When Paul was cited to appear before Felix the Roman governor, his wife Drusilla was with him ; and when Paul was again summoned before Festus, King Agrippa, with Bernice, sat with him on the judgment-seat, attended with great pomp ; when, after hearing Paul's defence, they went aside with the principal men to consult on his case.

Elizabeth. I think, Caroline, those who entertain the opinion you mentioned, can have given little attention to the history of the bible, or indeed to any ancient history. I recollect, when we read the history of Rome, many matrons were celebrated for their patriotism, and maternal care, and affection for their families and friends.

Caroline. Oh, yes ; I remember the account given of Coriolanus, who, although unmoved by the intreaties of the senators and people of Rome, to relinquish his hostile designs against their city ; yet was unable to resist the intreaties of his mother, and wife, attended by the matrons of Rome. The character of Cornelia, mother of Tiberius,

and Caius Gracchus, strongly imprest me. The Roman ladies appear to have had much influence, and to have been treated with great respect.

Mother. I am pleased to find you so well remember what you have read, and you could doubtless call to mind many other instances of the estimation in which the Roman women were held; indeed the manners of the Romans all have a tendency to confirm the influence of women. The Spartan females resembled those of Rome. You recollect the very interesting story of Chelonis, daughter of Leonidas, king of Sparta; who, when her father had been dethroned by a faction, and her husband retained the possession of the kingdom, refused to share with him the regal honours, and insisted on accompanying her father in his exile; but when the banished monarch was recalled, and Cleombrotus doomed to become an exile, this heroic and affectionate woman, determined to share his fate; nor could the entreaties of her fond father shake her firm resolve.

Elizabeth. I have seen a beautiful representation of this parting scene. Leonidas, seated on his throne, bending forward and stretching out his arms in an attitude of suppli-

cation to prevail with his daughter to remain with him in Sparta. Chelonis turns aside her beautiful face, to hide the emotions of grief and tenderness which overspread her intelligent countenance; while Cleombrotus is seen in the back ground, waiting to receive his wife and weeping sons.

Mother. I recollect the fine picture you so well describe, nor can it be doubted that the grief of Chelonis was much aggravated by her sense of the criminal deeds, which had severed and dishonoured her royal house, and the unhappy fate of her country. Homer is allowed to have faithfully delineated the manners of the Greeks and Trojans; and the celebrated dramatic writers have confirmed the veracity of the poet. Had women been lightly esteemed, all Greece would not have risen in arms to avenge the loss of Helen; nor do we any where find a more interesting description of domestic manners than is given of the royal family of Priam, which you will readily call to mind; nor must we forget in our review of ancient customs and manners, the importance attached to the ties of hospitality, which were deemed so sacred as to arrest the uplifted arms of those who were engaged in mortal strife. We know, that in nations, call-

ed heathen, women preside, as priestesses in their temples; and that, in all their festivals and processions in honour of their deities, the young women carried baskets of fruits and flowers, as acceptable offerings.

Caroline. But, mother, is it not strange that they should have worshipped female deities?

Mother. I believe I have before explained to you the notions entertained of inferior deities by ancient nations, who, in their prayers and votive offerings, hoped to receive, through their mediation and influence, the forgiveness of their sins, and to find favour in the sight of the great Parent of the Universe; and they naturally believed that those who had been the benefactors of mankind while on earth, would still endeavour to preserve and intercede for them in another state of existence. In the time of the Apostles, women held offices in the churches, and were exhorted not to pray or prophecy with their heads uncovered.

I have only noticed a few prominent characters, which may be regarded as proof of the estimation and influence of women, from the earliest records. Many instances of the strength of domestic affection and tender

friendship might be adduced, which would fully evince the never-failing goodness of God in bestowing on his creatures all those benevolent affections and endearing charities, which are reciprocated by beings who were formed free and equal,—which cheer and console them in every step of their existence.

I ardently desire, my dear children, to impress on your minds the important part you are designed to act in life ; and with the full conviction that you are endowed with powers adequate to the performance of the high duties, which devolve on your sex in all the relations of life. Home should be the centre of attraction, where all the virtues and graces should be exhibited in their most perfect form. The misfortunes, to which you are subjected by the law of nature, demand the exertion of that fortitude, magnanimity, and resignation, which evince high intellectual powers ; every calamity may thus be borne, when entire confidence is reposed in the supreme Ruler of the universe, who ordereth every event for the ultimate good of his creatures.

Caroline. It frequently happens that good people are much afflicted.

Mother. This life is a state of trial ; then how should we approve ourselves worthy of

immortal happiness, if our fortitude and reliance on God were not proved by tribulation ? “ Brown, in his argument for the benevolence of the Deity, has (says an eloquent and amiable writer) deemed it sufficient to show, that our happiness far exceeds our misery ; but, in addition to this, we find evil sometimes productive of good, especially moral good. The virtue of patience, magnanimity, and fortitude, could not have been developed, without suffering ; and who is there, that would not blush to prefer the most perfect but inglorious ease and luxury, to these virtues ?”*

The more we reflect, the more firmly are we impressed with the conviction of the wisdom and goodness of the Almighty, who requires of us nothing but what is calculated to promote our happiness and best good, both in this life and that which is to come. Hence in the character and principles of Jesus, we recognize him as a teacher inspired by God to illustrate and confirm those divine impressions, which He hath graciously written on the heart. In the minds of our Aborigines this law hath not been darkened or corrupted by superstition, and they are guided by the pure

* American Quarterly Review for September, 1828.

lustre of that light, which is from above, when not contaminated by our vices. We must be convinced, therefore, that the primitive virtues, which elevate these children of nature in the scale of being, are congenial to the mind, and, if properly cultivated, will subdue the wayward and sordid passions which are nourished in civilized society.

I trust that the arguments, which have been unblushingly brought forward in defence of our usurpation of Indian territory, and the consequent destruction of life and liberty, will hereafter be deemed too unjust and unsound to be tolerated. If it be admitted, that we have a right to take the land of the natives, because they do not improve it in the manner we think best ; it goes to prove, that all, who do not possess houses or lands which they do not occupy themselves, especially grounds devoted to pleasure or hunting, may be compelled to resign them to those who have no settled habitations or possessions, and thus an equal distribution of property take place, which would subvert all our institutions and incitements to industry or distinction. I rejoice to find that men of high intellectual endowments, have been touched with the

wrongs and unmerited sufferings of our Indians, and have come forward to vindicate their rights and exhibit their claims to respect and admiration. Mr J. Neal has with much ability exposed the futility and injustice of the arguments used in defence of our wresting from the Indians their land, and has given a high and glowing picture of their character and manners. He contends, that "up to this day no faithful portrait of the native North Americans is to be had either in prose or poetry." Mr Neal, however, refers to the record left by Smith, who settled Virginia, one of the most extraordinary men of his age.—"But for Pocahontas, the Indian girl, who interfered just in time to save his life, at the risk of her own, he would have been put to death by Powhatan, her imperial father. Already were the stones brought forth for sacrifice; already were the clubs lifted, with which the brains of the white man were to be dashed out, when the beautiful daughter of Powhatan, a child of ten or eleven years of age, broke away from the side of her royal father, and threw herself upon the neck of the white man, the scourge of her tribe, the brave and terrible stranger, and clung to him till her father consented to spare his life."

Mr Neal refers also to the death of Naman-tenoo, the son of Miantonimo, the head sachem of all the Narragansets. I have spoken to you before, of the fate of this noble young chief, and the magnanimity with which he refused to accept of life on condition of submitting to the terms proposed by the English — he is commonly called Canonchet.

Elizabeth. You have reference, mother, to the story of Otter-Bag, the Oneida chief, that has lately appeared in the *Token*, which I have read with great interest ; but I was much imprest with what was said of the monuments of departed grandeur : —

“ There may be, (says the writer) no such ruins in America as are found in Europe, or in Asia, or in Africa ; but other ruins there are, of prodigious magnitude — the ruins of a mighty people. There may be no piles of barbarian architecture, each a wilderness of turrets, towers, and battlements, rocking to the sea-breeze, or over-shadowing the high places of power in America ; no half-buried city, like the pillared and sculptured treasures of art which encumber the earth and choke up the rivers of the old world, &c. But if there are no such things in America, there are

things which are to be found nowhere else on earth now — the living wreck of a prodigious empire, that has departed from before our face within the memory of man ; the last of a people, who have no history, and who, but the other day, were in the possession of a quarter of the whole earth.”

Mother. Mr Neal has made many remarks which are new and highly interesting ; and I am well pleased to find you remember so much of what he has written ; but I wish to know, what are your impressions in regard to the monuments of our country ?

Elizabeth. Why, it appears to me, that we have more reason to be proud of our monuments, than any other nation — are you not of my opinion, mother ?

Mother. It is unquestionably more honourable to be the natives of a soil, which has produced a people so highly gifted, than to have been preceded by men renowned for a knowledge of the arts ; or by kings and conquerors of the earth.

Caroline. Yet we are not altogether destitute of monuments, which require skill and power in their construction. Mr Neal says, “Centuries and centuries ago, North America

must have been more populous by far than it is now ; the tumuli, that are ploughed up every year in the Western wilderness, are to be regarded as proof of this. They are like a chain of military works, now, link after link, overshadowed by large trees that have grown up out of the wreck of other large trees. Or it may be, that they are burial places ; it may be, that they are the outworks of a great empire—the path of her battles—the route of her march from sea to sea—the places where she halted in her career from the rude north to the warm south, from the rough Atlantic to the smooth Pacific, from the high parts of our earth,

‘ Where the stars and the hills are together at night,’

away to the green level, where she disappeared forever. But, in either case, they prove, that, ages ago, the very solitudes were peopled from shore to shore.”

Mother. “ A field for inquiry ” is indeed here presented, which can never be exhausted ; we must be sensible that there are many things respecting the history and antiquities of the Red men, which imply a greater degree of power and civilization, than was found

when the country was first visited by white men. It has been unceasingly urged, that the Indians are incapable of becoming a civilized people, or of assimilating with them, and that they voluntarily retire at the approach of the whites ; yet I know of no instance where this has been the case. Among all the various tribes, from the first settlement of the country to the present day, all have invariably manifested great reluctance to quit their native land ;—witness with what regret the Creeks and Cherokees anticipate a removal, and their willingness to part with large portions of valuable land, and to adopt our arts, our religion, and husbandry ; in the hope of being permitted to retain what is left of their native inheritance. Thus the argument, so pertinaciously maintained, that the Indians are averse to becoming a civilized people, is contradicted by adverting to the present condition of the nations who inhabit the southern states.

Elizabeth. I recollect a letter which was published from David Brown, some time ago ; a young Cherokee, who had received an education in this part of the country. He gives a very favourable account of the country and

improvements of the Cherokees ; that schools are increasing every year ; that learning is greatly encouraged ; and that the christian religion is the religion of the nation.

Mother. We cannot doubt the integrity of Brown ; and his statements are confirmed by the testimony of others. They have established a printing press, and a paper is weekly issued, in which we find much that is interesting. "The soil is generally rich ; producing Indian corn, cotton, tobacco, wheat, oats, indigo, sweet and Irish potatoes. The natives carry on considerable trade with the adjoining states, and some of them export cotton in boats, down the Tennessee and the Mississippi, to New Orleans. Apple and Peach orchards are common ; and gardens are cultivated with much attention. Butter and cheese are seen on Cherokee tables. There are many public roads in the nation, and houses of entertainment, kept by the natives. Numerous and flourishing villages are seen in every section of the country. Cotton and woollen cloths, and blankets of various dimensions, are manufactured by Cherokee hands. Almost every family grows cotton for its own consumption. Agricultural pursuits, the most

solid foundation of our national prosperity, engage the chief attention of the people. Horses are plenty, and are used for servile purposes, and numerous flocks of sheep, goats, and swine cover the valleys and hills." "Our system of government, founded on republican principles, by which justice is equally distributed, secures the respect of the people."

Brown describes, with enthusiasm, the natural beauties and flourishing state of the country, much of which I have omitted ; but all, which is essential to prove the advanced state of civilization among the Cherokees, is corroborated by the testimony of Mr Flint, in his History and Geography of the Western States.

"The Cherokees, (he says) are in many respects the most interesting tribe of whom he has before given any account, and have been most successful in imitating the habits and institutions of the whites." Other tribes are not far behind in improvement ; the Creeks, Choctaws, and others, cultivate their farms with great industry and success.

Notwithstanding all their efforts, these Indians are perpetually harrassed and impeded

by agents from the government, and the neighbouring states; importunately urging for grants of land to construct canals and public roads, which, though the Indians are sensible will expose them to incessant annoyance, they fear in most instances to refuse. But what disheartens and perplexes them most, is the insidious methods used to induce the people to resign their territory which they so dearly prize, and remove west of the Mississippi; to these are added the threats of their white neighbours, who covet greatly their land. The Indians, it is well known, have now no power to resist a measure so fraught with destruction, other than by appeals to the United States for justice and mercy; and, should no effectual aid be afforded them, in the general sympathy and interference of our citizens, they must ere long relinquish all their dear-bought acquisitions, and depart to the Western wilderness. Mr Vinton's remarks on this subject, in the House of Representatives, are highly honourable to his feeling and penetration: —

“ If we press the Indians over the Mississippi, without giving them any choice, it is a policy of death and desolation; it is a system

of cruelty, fraud, and outrage, which has no parallel; and they who force this upon the Indians, ought to pause before they proceed further. Gentlemen tell us that the Indians cannot be civilized in the neighbourhood of the whites; that man cannot be civilized in the vicinity of civilized men." Mr Vinton contended, "We have not tested this assertion. We have done no act of legislation to incorporate them into the family of civilization."

Mr Woods, in an eloquent and impressive manner, exposed the inhumanity and want of political foresight in those who advocated the removal of the Indians. "In my opinion, (says this gentleman,) nothing more is necessary to make them prosperous and happy, than to extend to them the rights of a free people. Make them a portion of the great American family. I am, sir, in favour of the policy, proposed and pursued by the late secretary of war, (Mr Calhoun.) But we are told that the Indians are oppressed by the encroachments of the white population, which surrounds them; that they are trampled on and oppressed by our citizens. This, sir, is a poor encomium on our people—a wretch-

ed compliment to the nation. While we are talking about our justice, our generosity, our feelings of humanity for the Indians — in the same breath we say, that our citizens — that the American People — with ruthless violence and injustice are trampling the weak remnant of these once powerful nations in the dust. If we cannot protect them within the limits of our State Governments, in sight of our Courts of Justice, and within reach of the arm of the laws, we cannot protect them when placed beyond the limits of any organized civil government. Sir, this system, spun of wild theories, is all a dream — it is an Utopian scheme. If you cannot stay here the oppressing hand of avarice, where will you remove them to be beyond its grasp? Where you propose to plant them, will not our soldiers be placed over them? Will not our people surround them there? Those, who now prey upon them like vultures, will follow them to their new abode."

"Before we carry the eighty thousand Indians, now on this side of the Mississippi, over that river, I conjure you, gentlemen, to look at the situation of the two hundred thousand which are already there. I will not consent

to drive the eighty thousand, now among us, enjoying the comforts of their homes and native land, into the country where they can meet nothing but death, either by the hand of their enemies, or by the lingering sufferings of famine. Sir, I draw no imaginary picture — I cannot portray, in language sufficiently strong, the wretchedness of those people now West of the Mississippi, where we promise their brethren a ‘last home,’ where they may flourish in peace and happiness! I will read an extract of a letter from Governor Clark, superintendant of the Indians West of the Mississippi. He says, ‘the situation of the Indians here is the most pitiable that can be imagined. During several seasons in every year, they are distressed by famine, of which many die, and during which the living child is often buried with the dead mother, because none can spare it as much food as will sustain it through its helpless infancy.’”

Mr Vinton referred to two or three cases, which had occurred. “A treaty was made with the Florida Indians, while living in happiness and prosperity in the heart of the country. We sent out commissioners to ask them to leave this country for one of sand and ste-

rility. They refused to go. They were told they must—they should go. They then threw themselves on the mercy of the commissioners, and the organ of that nation told us, in the most powerful language, that death must be the inevitable consequence of the policy of the commissioners. This language was prophetic of the tragedy which followed. It was afterward established here, that fifteen hundred of these poor Indians perished of starvation in the swamps to which they were removed. We then voted twenty thousand dollars for their relief, and made a provision in the bill which extended their territory of good land. Yet we are now told, by the gentleman from Florida, that the condition of these Indians is now such, that they are obliged to prey upon his constituents."

"In prosecuting this merciless scheme of removing the Indians," Mr Woods affirmed, "the expense would amount to more than ten millions of dollars, as a commencement, without including contingences, and the whole expense of supporting the government to be created in this new territory, and the army to be sustained for its defence."

I have here given only a brief extract of the

speeches of Mr Woods, of Ohio, and Mr Vinton, who so ably and honourably stood forth in defence of the oppressed Indians ; but I ardently hope they will be handed down to posterity without diminution, to vindicate in some degree the character of our country, and show that all who have been appointed to guide and guard it, are not alike sordid and base, and unmindful of the trust reposed in them.

Caroline. It appears scarcely possible that our Government should act in a manner, which would have disgraced a nation in the most dark and barbarous ages, and that so little opposition should be made by the people.

Elizabeth. We might assuredly expect, that the ministers of our benign religion, would advocate the cause of the oppressed Indians, and call to remembrance their virtues, and our obligations to succour and save them.

Mother. The influence of a class of men so highly respectable, would unquestionably produce a strong sensation in their favour, and I have never been able to account for their apparent indifference to the unhappy fate of

our natives. Surely no remains of superstition can at this day operate on the minds of our enlightened and liberal clergy, which can sanction the cruel treatment they have experienced. I hailed with joy the auspicious period when the religion of Jesus was purified and separated from those discordant elements and bigoted dogmas, which have so long obscured its lustre, and retarded its efficacy; and I am cheered with the hope, that, ere long, all impure and sanguinary examples, which in any way sanction the destruction of those of our brethren whose faith varies from our own, will be altogether eradicated from the glorious system which proclaims peace and good-will to the whole human race. I have, indeed, found many clergymen, who commiserated the sufferings of the Indians, and were not insensible to their wrongs; but in one instance only have I been gratified in hearing from the preacher sympathetic expressions of sorrow for their unhappy fate, and impassioned eloquence in displaying their primitive and lofty virtues. Rev. Mr Upham, in his late Thanksgiving Discourse, ascribes the corruptions of Christianity to its admixture with the theology and rites of the heathens.

He says, " In examining the condition of the nations of Modern Europe, or of their institutions, how small a part of their whole religious system is the simple gospel of Nazareth found to constitute ! We see, in large and corrupting admixture with it, a great deal of the superstition of heathen Rome ; of the heathen nations whom Rome subdued ; and of those bold and barbarous races, who finally subdued christian Rome ; who spread themselves in one wide wave over the face of Europe, and, while they hurled kings from their thrones, and broke their sceptres in their wrath, bowed in reverence to the established local Priesthood, and lavished the spoils of their victories over christian armies, in adorning and multiplying christian Cathedrals. So monstrous, indeed, is the mixture of ingredients in the religious systems of the Older Nations, that the imagination can hardly conceive of the possibility of introducing the Gospel in its pure simplicity among them.

" But very different indeed are the auspices which attended the introduction of christianity into this new world. Whatever errors our fathers attempted to establish they did not find them here — for here were none of the

institutions from which they sprung. The unenlightened worshippers of the wilderness did not, as in all other instances has been the case, revenge themselves upon their christian conquerors, by introducing new corruptions, new institutions, or additional false doctrines into their religion. These sons of the forest carried all their household gods away with them, as they slowly and reluctantly departed on their long and dismal journey toward the setting sun. And, even if they had imparted to their christian successors, a portion of their own religious faith, it would not perhaps have been an injury. There was a purity and sublimity, in the religion of the untaught Indian, which could not but have exerted a corrective and restraining influence upon the complicated and gloomy doctrines, towards which christians were then inclined. Of all the races of men, unenlightened by revelation, the original inhabitants of America were possessed of the purest, the simplest, the best religious belief."

"We are permitted to live where no civilized people have dwelt before us. Our predecessors, the original inhabitants of America, instead of mingling and becoming one

with us, have retired before our progress, and disappeared from our path, leaving none of their blood, their institutions, or their customs behind. For this we have cause to be grateful, however much we may feel for that peculiar, and in many respects, noble race of our fellow men, who once dwelt undisturbed in these pleasant places; however much we may mourn over their sad fortunes, the wrongs they may have suffered, and their entire disappearance from these wide regions. And that every amiable and christian heart does feel for them, and lament their fate, there cannot be a doubt. Their romantic and calamitous fortunes, the striking and extraordinary features of their character, the wonderful degree of perfection to which they carried the noble and magnanimous virtues, will be remembered, and honoured so long as man has a soul of sensibility, or a genius to comprehend the moral sublime. But, putting their wrongs, their fortunes, and their characters out of sight, for with these we have *here* no concern any further than to strive to do every thing that justice, humanity, or religion may dictate for the welfare and happiness of the remnant still lingering upon the earth, my present purpose is," &c.

Caroline. I remember well this discourse of Mr Upham's ; it was said to be a beautiful, and highly-finished composition.

Mother. True, it was much and justly applauded, it was Mr Upham's design to show the advantages we possess over all other nations for preserving, uncontaminated, our religion and our civil institutions. Men of genius and integrity, are strongly imprest with the lofty characteristics which, in a peculiar sense, belong to the natives of this land ; of this we have a noble specimen in the eloquent Centennial Discourse of Judge Story :

“ There is, indeed, (says the writer) in the fate of these unfortunate beings, much to awaken our sympathy, and much to disturb the sobriety of our judgment ; much which may be urged to excuse their own atrocities ; much in their characters which betrays us into an involuntary admiration. What can be more melancholy than their history. Every where at approach of the white men they fade away. We hear the rustling of their footsteps, like that of the withered leaves of autumn, and they are gone for ever. They pass mournfully by us, and they return no more. Two centuries ago, the smoke of their wigwams and

the fires of their councils rose in every valley from Hudson's Bay to the farthest Florida, from the ocean to the Mississippi and the lakes. The shouts of victory and the war-dance rung through the mountains and the glades. The thick arrows and the deadly tomahawk whistled through the forest ; and the hunter's trace, and the dark encampment startled the wild beasts in their lairs. The warriors stood forth in their glory. The young listened to the songs of other days. The mothers played with their infants, and gazed on the scene with warm hopes of the future. The aged sat down ; but they wept not. They should soon be at rest in fairer regions, where the Great Spirit dwelt, in a home prepared for brave men beyond the western skies. Braver men never lived ; truer men never drew the bow. They had courage, and fortitude, and sagacity, and perseverance, beyond most of the human race. They shrunk from no dangers, and they feared no hardships."

" If they had the vices of savage life, they had the virtues also. They were true to their country, their friends, and their homes. If they forgave not injury, neither did they for-

get kindness. If their vengeance was terrible, their fidelity and generosity were unconquerable also. Their love, like their hate, stopped not on this side of the grave. But where are they? Where are the villages, and warriors, and youth? The sachems, and the tribes? The hunters and their families? They have perished—they are consumed. The wasting pestilence has not alone done the mighty work. No, nor famine, nor war. There has been a mightier power, a moral canker, which hath eaten into their hearts-core—a plague, which the touch of the white men communicated—a poison, which betrayed them into lingering ruin. The winds of the Atlantic fan not a single region which they may now call their own. Already the last feeble remnants of the race are preparing for their journey beyond the Mississippi. I see them leave their homes, the aged, the helpless, the women, and the warriors, few and faint, yet fearless still. The ashes are cold on their native hearths. The smoke no longer curls round their lowly cabins. They move on with a slow but unsteady step. The white man is upon their heels, for terror or despatch; but they heed him not. They

turn to take a last look at their deserted villages. They cast a last glance upon the graves of their fathers. They shed no tears ; they utter no cries ; they heave no groans. There is something in their hearts which passes speech. There is something in their looks, not of vengeance or submission ; but of hard necessity, which stifles both, which chokes all utterance, which has no aim or method. It is courage absorbed in despair. They linger but for a moment. Their look is onward. They have passed the fatal stream. It shall never be repassed by them, —no, never. Yet there lies not between us and them an impassable gulph. They know, and feel, that there is for them still one remove farther, not distant nor unseen. It is to the general burial-ground of their race.”

“ Reason as we may, it is impossible not to read in such a fate, much that we know not how to interpret ; much of provocation to cruel deed, and deep resentment ; much of apology for wrong and perfidy ; much of pity mingling with indignation ; much of doubt and misgiving as to the past ; much of painful recollection ; much of dark foreboding.”

Judge Story, after summoning up the spe-

cious reasons which have been brought forward to palliate the treatment our Indians have received, and to prove that they cannot assimilate with civilized men, thus proceeds : " It may be so ; perhaps in the wisdom of providence, it must be so. I pretend not to comprehend, or solve, such weighty difficulties. But neither philosophy nor policy can shut out the feelings of nature. Humanity must continue to sigh at the constant sacrifices of this bold, but wasting race. And Religion, if she may not blush at the deed, must, as she sees the successive victims depart, cling to the altar with a drooping heart, and mourn over a destiny without hope, and without example."

This sublime and beautiful description of Indian character, with the bold and touching outline of their former power and glory, contrasted with their present mournful decline, is truly admirable, and will remain a monument of the genius, taste, and moral sensibility of its author.

Elizabeth. The impressive manner in which the characters and sorrows of the Indians are exhibited, will, one would be persuaded, interest the public in their favour.

Already we find more attention is given to this subject than formerly.

Mother. It is natural assuredly to hope for this result, and to expect that, before we lavish our charities on foreigners, we shall fulfil our prior and more sacred obligations to the generous people who owe to us their ruin—whom *we* have nearly stripped of their possessions, and are now in the enjoyment of all that was once exclusively theirs. We must be just, before we can be generous. Let us not bring upon ourselves the scoffs of the world by exclaiming against Mahometan cruelty and oppression, whilst our own cruelty and oppression far exceeds theirs. Had the Mahometans been as merciless, as we who bear the name of Christians have shown ourselves to be, the Greeks would not have had sufficient strength to rise against their oppressors, and attempt to wrest the sceptre from their hands. Our Indians have found no munificent benefactor, or benefactress, who, like the Turkish Sultana, would protect their rights, and allow them to gather strength and influence.* If we are influenced by benevo-

* The prosperous condition of the Greeks, who inhabited the beautiful Isle of Scio when under the protection of the Sultana, is well attested.

lence to send abroad hosts of missionaries to impart to the heathen the pure light of the gospel, why have we neglected to imbue the minds of our own people with its heavenly truths? That this is the only method by which Christianity can be propagated, reason, revelation, and experience, all combine to prove. Will the heathen, whom we are so anxious to convert, be convinced of the power and efficacy of our religion, or have confidence in our sincerity, whilst *we* so grossly violate its precepts? How will the Gospel have its free course, and be glorified, while we thus walk in a vain show? The vast sums expended in vain and nearly useless endeavours to gain proselytes in foreign and far distant lands, would, if rightly improved, be of incalculable benefit at home. Missionaries and teachers might be sent to instruct the barbarous inhabitants on our borders to practise the virtues of justice and humanity, as essential to the Christian character; and to assure them that massacre and plunder are wholly opposed to its essence and spirit. Our Indians then would be interested in their preservation. Our poor would be supplied, and encouraged to perform every good work, and

our seminaries of learning richly endowed. All this might be accomplished without wringing from the hard hand of labour, the pittance which would afford relief in sickness and misfortune; as it is demonstrable that this practice, instead of increasing the amount of charities, only swells the number of those who require it.

The high privileges we possess, and the facilities we enjoy of doing good, should incite our citizens to make the most advantageous use of the means they can command. When we consider the great amount expended in voyages across the Pacific and Atlantic oceans; and the cost of maintaining missionaries with their families in a distant land, (who, we gather from the Journal of Mrs Judson, live in a style very superior to our respectable clergy at home,) and, moreover, that six years are requisite to obtain such a knowledge of the language as will enable them to begin their ministry; it cannot be doubted that, by confining our charities to promoting the welfare of our own people, where so few difficulties intervene, the sum of good produced would be a thousand fold. Shall we, then, suffer our Indians miserably

to perish, and our people to remain ignorant of their duties, whilst we squander the gifts committed to our charge, and pertinaciously persist in sending aid to a people, who are the subjects of a nation abundantly able and willing to afford them instructions, and declare, that they desire not our interference.

The admiration, excited by the noble efforts of Rammohun Roy, to reclaim his own countrymen from idolatry and superstition, and teach them the path of duty, affords an important and striking lesson to others, to follow the example of this inestimable individual, whose magnanimous efforts have conferred infinitely greater benefits on the people of India, than all the missionaries who have ever visited its shores.

Caroline. The success of Rammohun Roy, is unquestionably to be attributed to his knowledge of the language, manners, and prejudices of the Hindoos; in addition to his great qualities, and devotion to his country.

Mother. This knowledgè is all-important; and highly-gifted individuals, who are determined to 'persevere in well doing,' undismayed by difficulties or opposition, may achieve what common minds would deem impossible.

It is, in my opinion, decidedly wrong, to speak of the removal, or extinction of the Indians as inevitable; it surely implies that the people of these states have not sufficient virtue or magnanimity to redeem their past offences, by affording the sad remnant, which still exist, succour and protection. I devoutly trust, that our Government will not again pusillanimously compromise with the sordid avaricious Georgians, and bargain their honour and integrity for being allowed to compel, in their own way, the unfortunate Indians to abandon their country, which had been most solemnly guarantied to them and their posterity. The remarks of the Editor of the New-York Observer on this subject, are calculated to impress on the minds of our citizens their high responsibility:—

“ We do not think it possible, that millions of friends of humanity throughout the Union, with the chart of civil and religious liberty in their hands, will keep silence and see oppression progress, and the Cherokees sacrificed to the cupidity of the State of Georgia.”

Elizabeth. How greatly it is to be regretted, that among ourselves, no one will be roused to active exertion in a cause, on which the

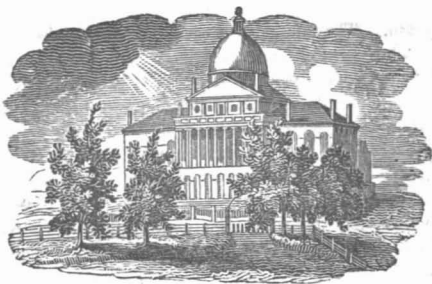
existence of a multitude of our Red brethren depends, and in which is involved the honour and humanity of our country.

Mother. This crisis admits of no delay ; if the Seminoles be not speedily relieved, they must perish in the swamps to which they have been driven, in the presence of a *civilized christian* people, who have solemnly pledged themselves to be their guardians and protectors ; whilst the citizens of the United States, are exhausting their wealth and charities in sending aid to other lands, where none but the most trivial results are produced.

To what purpose is "the multitude of our sacrifices, and vain oblations," our sabbaths, and calling of assemblies, and solemn meetings, whilst we omit to "do justice and show mercy" to the oppressed, whose relief has become to us a most sacred duty.

NOTE. Page 201.

Caonabo, the husband of Anacaona, was the first native prince who attempted to expel the Spaniards by force of arms. He is represented as a warlike Chief, who early perceived from the conduct of the strangers, that his countrymen would inevitably fall under their dominion, except they were repelled by force.



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