

REV. CUTTING MARSH ON THE STOCKBRIDGES.

WAUPACA, Waupaca County, March 25th, 1857.

To the Hon. LYMAN C. DRAPER,
Cor. Sec. Historical Society, Wis.:

DEAR SIR:—I have received a communication from a young man belonging to the Stockbridge Indians, containing some account of two of their most distinguished men. One now survives, JOHN METOXEN, but the other, J. W. QUINNEY, is dead. I think he died in 1855. I send you also the *Albany Free-Holder*, of July 12, 1854, which contains a speech of JOHN W. QUINNEY, and which, I presume, was the last public speech he ever made. Unlike most speeches of the kind made by white men and put into the Indians' mouths, I believe that you may rely upon this as being QUINNEY'S alone. I know that it is his style, he was capable of making such a speech, and no one in the nation was equally well acquainted with their traditions as he was.

LEVI KONKAPOT, the writer of the communication I send, is a Stockbridge Indian, and has received a very good English education, and possesses, naturally, a pretty strong mind. From years acquaintance with both METOXEN and QUINNEY, I believe that KONKAPOT does not hold those men he has so graphically described, in too high estimation. QUINNEY was unquestionably a man of superior talents, and had a very good common education; and provided he could have had the opportunity, he would have made a statesman of the highest order. His description of METOXEN is also true, and I regret that I have not the means at hand of giving a more full account of his early history. KONKAPOT has furnished me with only a part of the information I desired, and if he furnishes more, I shall

write you again hereafter. I send you his communication and the speech, because the time is so near in which you wish to publish, that I thought it not expedient to wait longer.

I have read with considerable care, Mr. ELLIS' paper in the Second Annual Report. With much that Mr. ELLIS mentions, I was personally knowing to, and in the midst of the affairs when they transpired. So far as my recollection serves me, his statements may be relied upon.

There is one thing, however, that is mentioned in a note on page 420, of the 2d Vol. *Hist. Colls.*, with which I am disposed to differ. It is there stated that Dr. MORSE first originated the plan or idea of the Stockbridges removing to Green Bay. Old METOXEN frequently told me, that over a hundred years ago a delegation from their nation visited the Sacs and Foxes when they resided at Green Bay; and that their grandchildren (the Sacs, &c.) invited them to come and settle down with them then, and as an inducement they said they "would give them beaver-skins for their bed."

As a choice present, the Sacs and Foxes sent their Grandfather (a term which they apply to the Stockbridges to this day) a large piece of red pipe-stone, as large as one man could carry. "Ever since," said the aged METOXEN, "we have kept this in mind." He said that their league of friendship with the Sacs and Foxes was formed when the former resided in Canada. Ever since the chain of friendship has been kept bright. That covenant was renewed during the Sac war of 1832. The latter heard that their Grandfather was going to strike them (in Indian parlance), and they sent a delegation, it seems, on purpose to know if that was the case. They (the Stockbridges) assured them it was not so. The covenant of peace and friendship was then renewed, and the delegation returned.

But, Sir, I cannot review the scenes with which I have been conversant, and the whole history of the transactions of Government agents with the New York Indians, as they have

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related them, time and again, without the deepest pain. I am ashamed of my country; I would fain draw the veil of eternal oblivion over them, if I could. I resided with the Stockbridges for the most part of the time from May 1st, 1830, to the fall of 1848, as a missionary, and cannot but feel a strong sympathy for them.

Yours, very truly,

CUTTING MARSH.

THE LAST OF THE MOHICANS.

STOCKBRIDGE, Wis., March 6th, 1857.

To Rev. CUTTING MARSH:

Reverend Sir—Your letter of February 24th last, I received a short time since, in which you express an earnest desire for a brief historical notice of our tribe, or at least of such of our leading men as were actively employed in removing our people to this State. I will endeavor to comply with your request so far as may be consistent with my duties, and will content myself at present with notices of one or two of our head men, leaving other details connected with our tribe, to some future opportunity. I herewith send you a copy of the *Albany Free-Holder*, containing a speech delivered a few years ago by JOHN W. QUINNEY, at Reidsville, N. Y.

JOHN METOXEN, was born at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, in 1770, and consequently must now be about eighty-seven years of age. He received his education at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, among the Moravians. Before finishing his studies, Mr. METOXEN was called from home to assist his tribe in business at New Stockbridge, N. Y., whither they had emigrated. Soon after his return, he was employed by his people as an interpreter, in which capacity he continued to act until a few years ago, when he was induced by age and various other circumstances, to abandon his post. JOHN W. QUINNEY and SOLOMON U. HENDRICK being the master spirits and champions of the humane policy of removing their people to Green Bay, in order to avoid the vices and growing dissipation incident to civilized society now crowding upon them, conducted a portion of them thither, while JOHN METOXEN and AUSTIN E. QUINNEY were also the leading men of a band conducted to

White River, in the State of Indiana. Having discovered that the lands anticipated at White River had been sold, they removed North-west, and joined their brethren at Statesburgh, near Green Bay, in this State.

Previous to the arrival of the Rev. Mr. MINER as missionary, Mr. METOXEN was in the habit, as his wife relates, of officiating as a religious teacher among the tribe, when they had good meetings, and were much engaged in religion. After the arrival of Mr. MINER, and during your own labors as a missionary, Mr. METOXEN was the only reliable man that could be resorted to as a correct and fluent interpreter. During the last few years he has been of great service in giving testimony to events connected with olden time.

Mr. METOXEN has taken an active part in the civil and political affairs of his tribe. Especially during our unfortunate disputes from 1843 to 1848, between the citizen and Indian parties, he occupied a distinguished position by lending his whole influence to the Indian party.

When young, Mr. METOXEN was a man of great bodily strength, and owing to many hard-fought personal conflicts, in which he had been engaged, he was commonly styled the "Stockbridge bully."

As an interpreter, the style of Mr. METOXEN was that of classic harmony and beauty. I am delighted with the Oneida language, as spoken by DANIEL BREAD, although to me unintelligible; and I am pleased with the style of WASHINGTON IRVING of your own tongue; but I have also been frequently entertained in listening to the classic beauty and force, *as uttered by* JOHN METOXEN, of the language of the Muh-he-conews, whether delivered around the council-fires of the Nation, or within the sacred walls of the sanctuary. In council, his speeches were generally listened to with deep attention and interest, and his opinions were regarded as important.

But "the old man eloquent" is now silent. By the influence of sickness, infirmity and old age, he seems to take but little

interest in the affairs of the Nation, or even in passing scenes and events, however thrilling. His memory is impaired, and he says he has forgotten a great many things. He, however, answers questions as far as he is able. He appears to take delight in being reminded of events connected with the exciting days of his vigorous, manly youth—of days long since passed away. He is evidently drawing toward the close of mortal existence. He is ready almost to commence that journey whence no traveler returns. He is tottering on the brink of that grave which is ready with its yawning gulf to envelope him. See! There he goes from his couch to his chair; then from his chair to his couch. Take care, friends!—hold, hold him! Don't let him fall, for that may be his last! See how he stands trembling, tottering, and stuttering, sometimes leaning on the arm of a friend for assistance.

Farewell, brother, farewell! Let us shake hands together. Though for many years the chain of our friendship has been broken, I trust it will not so remain forever. Let the long lost link be restored, and the chain of friendship be re-united. Let us call to mind the fraternity of our fathers, and imitate their example. May our guardian angels, the spirits of our brothers, warriors, and wise men, witness this impressive ceremony, and carry its welcome tidings to our GREAT CHIEF. And if you first reach the happy hunting grounds of the spirit land, I shall tell the white man—thus lived, and thus died the *Last of the Mohicans*.

JOHN W. QUINNEY was born in the year 1797, and while yet a lad acquired a common English education at a high school in Yorktown, N. Y., under the patronage of the United States. SOLOMON U. HENDRICK and DENNIS HENDRICK were his companions at school. SOLOMON and JOHN are represented as having made rapid proficiency during the time they attended, which was only three years, in English Grammar, Arithmetic, Surveying, &c., and it is affirmed as an undoubted opinion,

that if they had been permitted to go through a course of classical studies, but few white young men could have excelled them.

The lot of JOHN W. QUINNEY having fallen among an interesting people, the old and constant friends of the United States, the Stockbridge Nation, who were just emerging from a state of barbarism into civilization, he was employed by them to impart that instruction he had received to their youth. By a constant and unwearied attention in this business, he gained the confidence and good will of all, so that arriving to years of maturity he was immediately transferred to attend to the affairs of the Nation.

A mere outline of the character of JOHN W. QUINNEY would fail to do justice to the renowned chief of at least a portion of the Stockbridge Nation. His whole life has been a scene of constant activity and unwearied industry in Indian diplomacy. Since he has been engaged publicly during the last thirty years on affairs arising between the Stockbridges and the United States; and the State of New York, with distinction, it would require a large volume to recount the varied incidents and events connected with his romantic history. He has visited the seat of General Government on business eleven times; and during a large portion of the period occupied by these missions, he has met with repeated difficulties and obstacles from various sources, which failing to frustrate his undaunted spirit, served only to increase the confident reliance of those by whom he was employed, to bring to a successful issue, their favorite schemes of policy. Unlike SYSIPHUS, though decreed to a life of constant toil and labor, without a prospect of ease and freedom, he seemed to be employed, *in ease and freedom*, against the trials and impediments by which he was surrounded. And like CHARLES THE TWELFTH, he laughed at the thought of avoiding danger; delighting, amid the whizzing storms of life, to encounter his numerous foes.

In personal demeanor, he was kind to all, but particularly to his friends, winning their constant attachment, and inspiring respect even from his enemies. He had enemies. Some of them were bitter enemies; but he also had many, many friends.

In general intercourse, he was affable in his manners, courteous in debate, dignified in address, and civil to his opponents, eliciting similar treatment from the most rancorous, *except such as could not be reasoned with.*

The most prominent trait of Mr. QUINNEY'S character, was perseverance. The continued obstructions by which he was beset, was enough to discourage the career of the most noted fabled heroes of the ancients; and the smiling manner in which he repeated his efforts, until triumphantly successful, deserves to be celebrated in song!

JOHN W. QUINNEY was certainly an illustrious character. Had he lived in the days of the ancients, his name would have been registered with HERCULES in the Temple of Fame. England has had her ALFREDS and CROMWELLS; France her NAPOLEONS; Rome her CÆSARS and SCIPIOS; Carthage her HANNIBAL; Sweden her CHARLES THE TWELFTH; Prussia her FREDERICKS; Russia her PETERS and NICHOLASES; and America her JEFFERSONS and ADAMSES. Had his destiny been to dwell among more civilized nations, and to move in a higher or different sphere of action, his career would have been none the less distinguished than were those of the aforementioned heroes and statesmen.

In later times, the Cherokee Nation has her ROSSES and RIDGES! And now during the faint and glimmering light yet remaining of a "decaying and decayed people," caused, among other things, by their internal dissensions; during their last and expiring existence, the ill-fated Mohicans can also, once more, perhaps for the last time, chronicle on the records of Fame among the illustrious dead and living—their JOHN W. QUINNEY.

LEVI KONKAPOT, Jr.

DEATH OF JOHN W. QUINNEY.

Our correspondent has sent us a truthful and succinct narrative of the prominent events in the life of JOHN W. QUINNEY, which we subjoin. We are requested to state, that the friends of the deceased would be gratified if the *New York Tribune* and the *Evangelist* would copy this obituary notice.—*Fond du Lac Union*, Aug. 9, 1855.

JOHN W. QUINNEY, ex-Stockbridge Indian Chief, died at his residence in Stockbridge, Wisconsin, upon the morning of the 21st of July, 1855, after having been in a state of decline for about one year. His death is deeply felt and mourned by his people, as he has been to them what HENRY CLAY and DANIEL WEBSTER were to the American people. He was among them a great man, and to them, the great has fallen. No member, in the history of the Stockbridge tribe, has been his equal in usefulness, in penetration of mind, and soundness of judgment. When a boy, he was one of three who received a common English education, under the patronage of the United States, being placed under the tuition of a Mr. CALEB UNDERHILL, of Westchester county, N. Y., where he pursued his studies with alacrity and great proficiency. By degrees he gained the confidence of his people, until almost the entire national business rested upon him. In 1822, he, with two others, formed a deputation to Green Bay, where a treaty was made and concluded with the Menomonees, by which was purchased all the Green Bay lands, designed for the future home of the New York Indians. He procured, in 1825, the passage of a law through the New York State Legislature, to give the Stockbridge tribe full value for their lands, which remained to them in that State, and which enabled them subsequently to

remove themselves to Green Bay. This law is memorable as being the first ever passed by the New York Legislature to give an Indian tribe full value for their lands. The lands of the New York Indians, purchased of the Monomonees, being endangered by a re-purchase, made by the United States officers, he was sent in 1828 to petition Congress, in behalf of the United New York tribes, for the recognition of their rights to such lands. He, however, failed, and the Stockbridge tribe lost their home at Kaukana, upon the Fox river, the General Government barely allowing them \$25,000 for their improvements. Mr. QUINNEY seeing this, entered at once into a new plan, and finally, after great labor and protracted efforts, he obtained, in 1832, the grant of two townships upon the east side of Lake Winnebago, where the tribe still reside. About the year 1833 he framed a Constitution, as the basis of a tribal government, which was adopted by his people, and led to the abandonment of hereditary power, and a choice of republicanism. In 1846, he effected a repeal of an act passed by Congress in 1843, which made citizens of the tribe, and had his people restored back to enjoy their own customs and government, and obtained for them \$5,000 on account of their old claims. The tribe made a treaty in 1843, in which he took a prominent part, the Government stipulating to find the tribe a new home west of the Mississippi, and to remove them thither within a certain time, but after many, but unsuccessful attempts, on their part, to select and remove, in which Mr. QUINNEY engaged with untiring zeal, he finally conceived the plan of getting back the township of Stockbridge. Efforts were immediately commenced, which have finally terminated in the formation of a new treaty, by which the Government cede back to the tribe their old home. In 1854, he succeeded in the passage of a law by Congress, which gave him a fee simple title to 460 acres of land in Stockbridge. At the election held in 1852, he was chosen Grand Sachem of the tribe, which office he honorably filled for three years, encouraging education and everything

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calculated to improve his people. Thus, it will be seen, that the public labors of Mr. QUINNEY have not only been many, but very important to his tribe. No business of a public nature, which he deemed important, but what he entered into it with all his soul, even to the neglect and sacrifice of his own private matters. His whole aim seems to have been to establish himself and people upon some permanent home. He was slow in business, but sure. His purposes and plans were original, deep and far-searching; his disposition mild, his demeanor that of a gentleman. None could converse with him, or be in his presence any length of time, and not be convinced that they had been with an amiable and great man. In the death of such a one, the tribe sustain an irreparable loss. He leaves a vacancy which will not soon be filled.

A MEMBER OF THE TRIBE.

STOCKBRIDGE, July 28th, 1855.

CELEBRATION OF THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1854,
AT REIDSVILLE, NEW YORK.

*Interesting Speech of JOHN W. QUINNEY, Chief of the Stock-
bridge Tribe of Indians.*

There was a large gathering of the people, numbering about two thousand.

DENISON FISH presided, assisted by several Vice Presidents and Secretaries. Dr. BOUGHTON delivered a short address, and was followed by JOHN W. QUINNEY, an Indian of the Stockbridge tribe, and principal chief of the Nation. His address, which we give below, is strongly marked by the peculiarities of Indian eloquence.

The speech will be found interesting for its references to the traditional memoirs of the origin of the Indian race, and their taking possession of this country. It is to be lamented that the proceedings of the last great council of the Muh-he-con-new tribe, reduced to writing, as stated by Mr. QUINNEY, have not been preserved. They would have formed the most authentic and reliable memorial of the traditions of the Red Man ever committed to paper.

The Stockbridge Indians once owned all the land on the Hudson river. There is no record of their having sold any part of the land constituting the manor of Rensselaerwyck. That part of Mr. QUINNEY'S speech which touches upon the manner in which most of the land was purchased from the Indians, contains too much truth. We presume that hardly one of the old Indian conveyances was fairly and honorably made. The whole of Saratoga county, and parts of Schenectady, Fulton and Montgomery, were bought of two or three Indians, who had no

power to convey, for a little rum, a few blankets and trinkets, and these constituted the ground upon which the patent of KAYADEROSSERAS was granted. It is a curious fact, that one of the patentees of that patent was the great-grandfather of Dr. BOUGHTON.

Mr. QUINNEY's speech contains several hard hits. After speaking of the laws passed to legalize titles fraudulently obtained, he puts the following questions: "*Will you look steadily at the intrigues, bargains, corruption and log-rolling of the present Legislatures, and see any trace of the divinity of justice? And by what test shall be tried the acts of the old Colonial Courts and Councils?*"

Well and stoutly put. Who will answer them?

The last half of this speech is admirable. It is a bold, stern and manly protest against the uniform and persistent injustice which has been meted out to the Indian race. We hope to see it republished in all the newspapers of the country.—*Albany Free-Holder*, July 12, 1854.

QUINNEY'S *Speech*.

It may appear to those whom I have the honor to address, a singular taste, for me, an Indian, to take an interest in the triumphal days of a people, who occupy by conquest, or have usurped the possession of the territories of my fathers, and have laid and carefully preserved, a train of terrible miseries, to end when my race shall have ceased to exist. But thanks to the fortunate circumstances of my life, I have been taught in the schools, and been able to read your histories and accounts of Europeans, yourselves and the Red Man; which instruct me, that while your rejoicings to-day are commemorative of the free birth of this giant nation, they simply convey to my mind, the recollection of a transfer of the miserable weakness and dependence of my race from one great power to another.

My friends, I am getting old, and have witnessed, for many years, your increase in wealth and power, while the steady con-

suming decline of my tribe, admonishes me, that their extinction is inevitable — they know it themselves, and the reflection teaches them humility and resignation, directing their attention to the existence of those happy hunting-grounds which the Great Father has prepared for all his red children.

In this spirit, my friends, (being invited to come here,) as a Muh-he-con-new, and now standing upon the soil which once was, and now ought to be, the property of this tribe, I have thought for once, and certainly the last time, I would shake you by the hand, and ask you to listen, for a little while, to what I have to say.

In the documentary papers of this State, and in the various histories of early events in the settlement of this part of the country by the whites, the many traditions of my tribe, which are as firmly believed as written annals by you, inform me that there are many errors. Without, however, intending to refer to, and correct those histories, I will give you what those traditions are.

About the year 1645, and when KING BEN (the last of the hereditary chiefs of the Muh-he-con-new Nation) was in his prime, a Grand Council was convened of the Muh-he-con new tribe, for the purpose of conveying from the old to the young men, a knowledge of the past. Councils, for this object especially, had ever, at stated periods, been held. Here, for the space of two moons, the stores of memory were dispensed; corrections and comparisons made, and the results committed to faithful breasts, to be transmitted again to succeeding posterity.

Many years after, another, and the last, Council of this kind was held; and the traditions reduced to writing, by two of our young men, who had been taught to read and write, in the school of the Rev. JOHN SARGEANT, of Stockbridge, Massachusetts. They were obtained, in some way, by a white man, for publication, who soon after dying, all trace of them became lost. The traditions of the tribe, however, have mainly been preserved; of which I give you substantially, the following:

“A great people came from the North-West : crossed over the salt-waters, and after long and weary pilgrimages, (planting many colonies on their track,) took possession, and built their fires upon the Atlantic coast, extending from the Delaware on the south, to the Penobscot in the north. They became, in process of time, divided into different tribes and interests; all, however, speaking one common dialect. This great confederacy, comprising Delawares, Munsees, Mohegans, Narragansetts, Pequots, Penobscots, and many others, (of whom a few are now scattered among the distant wilds of the West — others supporting a weak, tottering existence; while, by far, a larger remainder have passed that bourne, to which their brethren are tending,) held its Council once a year, to deliberate on the general welfare. Patriarchal delegates from each tribe attended, assisted by priests and wise men, who communicated the will, and invoked the blessing, of the Great and Good Spirit. The policy and decisions of this Council were every where respected, and inviolably observed. Thus contentment smiled upon their existence, and they were happy. Their religion, communicated by priests and prophets, was simple and true. The manner of worship is imperfectly transmitted; but their reverence for a Great and Good Spirit — (whom they referred to by looking or pointing upwards,) the observance of feasts and fasts, in each year; the offering of beasts in thanksgiving and for atonement, is clearly expressed. They believed the soul to be immortal; — in the existence of a happy land beyond the view, inhabited by those whose lives had been blameless: while for the wicked had been a region of misery reserved, covered with thorns and thistles, where comfort and pleasure were unknown. Time was divided into years and seasons; twelve moons for a year, and a number of years by so many winters.

The tribe, to which your speaker belongs, and of which there were many bands, occupied and possessed the country from the sea-shore, at Manhattan, to Lake Champlain. Having found an ebb and flow of the tide, they said: “This is Muh-he-con-

new,"—"like our waters, which are never still." From this expression, and by this name, they were afterwards known, until their removal to Stockbridge, in the year 1730. Housatonic River Indians, Mohegan, Manhattas, were all names of bands in different localities, but bound together, as one family, by blood, marriage and descent.

At a remote period, before the advent of the Europeans, their wise men foretold the coming of a strange race, from the sunrise, as numerous as the leaves upon the trees, who would eventually crowd them from their fair possessions. But apprehension was mitigated by the knowledge and belief, at that time entertained, that their original home was not there, and after a period of years, they would return to the West, from whence they had come ; and, moreover, said they, "all the red men are sprung from a common ancestor, made by the Great Spirit from red clay, who will unite their strength to avert a common calamity." This tradition is confirmed by the common belief, which prevails in our day with all the Indian tribes ; for they recognize one another by their color, as brothers, and acknowledge one Great Creator.

Two hundred and fifty winters ago, this prophecy was verified, and the Muh-he-con-new, for the first time, beheld the "pale-face." Their number was small, but their canoes were big. In the select and exclusive circles of your rich men, of the present day, I should encounter the gaze of curiosity, but not such as overwhelmed the senses of the Aborigines, my ancestors. "Our visitors were white, and must be sick. They asked for rest and kindness, we gave them both. They were strangers, and we took them in — naked, and we clothed them." The first impression of astonishment and pity, was succeeded by awe and admiration of superior art, intelligence and address. A passion for information and improvement possessed the Indian — a residence was freely offered — territory given — and covenants of friendship exchanged.

Your written accounts of events at this period are familiar

to you, my friends. Your children read them every day in their school books; but they do not read — no mind at this time can conceive, and no pen record, the terrible story of recompense for kindness, which for two hundred years has been paid the simple, trusting, guileless Muh-he-con-new. I have seen much myself — have been connected with more, and, I tell you, I know all. The tradition of the wise men is figuratively true, “that our home, at last, will be found in the West;” for, another tradition informs us, that “far beyond the setting sun, upon the smiling, happy lands, we shall be gathered with our FATHERS, and be at rest.”

Promises and professions were freely given, and as ruthlessly — intentionally broken. To kindle your fires — to be of and with us, was sought as a privilege; and yet at that moment you were transmitting to your kings, beyond the water, intelligence of your possession, “by right of discovery,” and demanding assistance to assert and maintain your hold.

Where are the twenty-five thousand in number, and the four thousand warriors, who constituted the power and population of the great Muh-he-con-new Nation in 1604? They have been victims to vice and disease, which the white man imported. The small-pox, measles, and “strong waters” have done the work of annihilation.

Divisions and feuds were insidiously promoted between the several bands. They were induced to thin each others' ranks without just cause; and subsequently were defeated and disorganized in detail.

It is curious, the history of my tribe, in its decline, during the last two centuries and a half. Nothing that deserved the name of purchase, was ever made. From various causes, they were induced to abandon their territory at intervals, and retire further to the inland. Deeds were given, indifferently to the Government, or to individuals, for which little or no consideration was paid. The Indian was informed, in many instances, that he was selling one parcel, while the conveyance described

other, and much larger limits. Should a particular band, for purposes of hunting or fishing, desert, for a time, its usual place of residence, the land was said to be abandoned, and the Indian claim extinguished. To legalize and confirm titles thus acquired, laws and edicts were subsequently passed, and these laws were said then, and are now called, justice!! Oh! what a mockery!! to confound justice with law. Will you look steadily at the intrigues, bargains, corruption and log-rolling of your present Legislatures, and see any trace of the divinity of justice? And by what test shall be tried the acts of the old Colonial Courts and Councils?

Let it not surprise you, my friends, when I say, that the spot on which we stand, has never been purchased or rightly obtained; and that by justice, human and divine, it is the property now of the remnant of that great people from whom I am descended. They left it in the tortures of starvation, and to improve their miserable existence; but a cession was never made, and their title has never been extinguished.

The Indian is said to be the ward of the white man, and the negro his slave. Has it ever occurred to you, my friends, that while the slave is increasing, and increased by every appliance, the Indian is left to rot and die, before the humanities of this model *Republic!* You have your tears, and groans, and mobs, and riots, for individuals of the former, while your indifference of purpose, and vacillation of policy, is hurrying to extinction, whole communities of the latter.

What are the treaties of the general Government? How often, and when, has its plighted faith been kept? Indian occupation forever, is, next year, or by the next Commissioner, more wise than his predecessor, re-purchased. One removal follows another, and thus your sympathies and justice are evinced in speedily *fulfilling the terrible destinies of our race.*

My friends, your holy book, the Bible, teaches us, that individual offences are punished in an existence, when time shall be no more. And the annals of the earth are equally instructive,

that national wrongs are avenged, and national crimes atoned for in this world, to which alone the conformations of existence adapt them.

These events are above our comprehension, and for wise purposes. For myself and for my tribe, I ask for justice — I believe it will sooner or later occur — and may the Great and Good Spirit enable me to die in hope.

WANNUAUCON, *the Muh-he-con-new.*

MEMORIAL OF JOHN W. QUINNEY.

*To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives
of the United States, in Congress assembled:*

FATHERS:

I pray your listening ear. I am a true Native American, descended from one of those characters, whose memory every true American reveres. My grandfather, DAVID NAU-NAU-NEEK-NUK, was a warrior, and he assisted your fathers in their struggle for liberty. (See paper marked A, hereto appended.)

I was born in the year 1797, and, while yet a lad, (I gratefully acknowledge it,) received a common English education under the patronage of the United States. The papers hereunto annexed, marked B and C, show that there were two other lads educated with me; but I am left alone to tell the story of their death, a few years after their return from school. The great Sovereign of the Universe has showed great mercy, and enabled me to answer some purpose of my education. My lot was cast among an interesting people, the old friends of the United States, the Stockbridge Nation, who were just emerging from a state of barbarism into civilization, and I was employed by them to impart that instruction I had received, to their youth. By a constant and unwearied attention in this business, I gained the confidence and good will of all, so that when I arrived to years of manhood, I was immediately transferred to attend to the affairs of the nation. Here I would frankly acknowledge, that although but poorly qualified for public employment, yet, as the tribe lacked educated men, I being young and aspiring for usefulness, consented to undertake and do what I could. I moreover felt under great obligations to my benefactors, who gave me education, and animated

me to do something to merit their approbation. I will not trouble you with the history of my life, but humbly ask leave to present to your notice some of my public transactions which have taken place within the period of the last thirty years. I earnestly ask your kind indulgence in this, for purposes hereinafter mentioned. I was one of the Deputies from the N. Y. tribes, (so called), who concluded the noted Treaty of 1822, with the Menomonee Indians at Green Bay, for the purchase of lands, for the future home of the New York tribes of Indians.

In 1824, I procured the passage of a certain law in the New York State Legislature to give the Stockbridge tribe full value for their lands, which remained to them in that State; by which alone, the tribe was afterwards enabled to remove itself to Green Bay. At that time, such removal was in accordance with the favorite policy of the General Government.

In the fall of 1828, I was deputed by the New York Indians, who were at Green Bay, and journeyed to the State of New York, for the purpose of uniting the New York tribes in a petition to Congress, for a confirmation or recognition of their rights to the lands purchased by them from the Winnebagoes and Menomonees at Green Bay. The United States Commissioners had given occasion for this, by purchasing from the Menomonees at the Treaty of Little Butte des Morts, in 1827, a portion of the very lands the New York Indians had previously purchased.

It is a well-known fact that many difficulties have unfortunately befallen the Stockbridge tribe of Indians, in consequence of the United States purchasing their lands from other Indian tribes, together with various other matters of grievance, all of which, however, I have the pleasure to say, have been finally adjusted by Congress to the entire satisfaction of the Stockbridge tribe. I have adverted to them here, only for the purpose of stating that I was employed by the Stockbridge tribe, to present them before Congress and the Executive De-

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partments for adjustment. In giving my attention to this business, I journeyed from Green Bay to Washington City *nine times*. (See further particulars given on paper marked D, hereto appended.) I could do no more than to communicate the wants and wishes of my tribe, and urge upon the Government officers and members of Congress to grant relief. Through my representations, the United States Senate kindly gave the Stockbridge and Munsee tribes, jointly, two townships of land, on the east side of the Winnebago Lake, in the now State of Wisconsin, in lieu of their location upon Fox River.

In 1846, while I was in attendance, Congress honored the Stockbridge tribe by passing a law recognizing its tribal character, and appropriated five thousand dollars for the payment of their claims upon the Government of the United States.

In 1848, the Stockbridge tribe, avowedly for the purpose of ridding themselves from further *trouble*, sold, by Treaty, to the Government of the United States, the balance of their lands at the Winnebago Lake. Here, again, the United States Senate, in their constitutional action upon said Treaty, have shown their parental care over their old friends, the Stockbridge tribe, by introducing an amendment to said Treaty, authorizing the President of the United States to give them not less than seventy-two sections of land, wherever they may select, upon the west side of the Mississippi River, \$5,000 in cash, and the further sum of \$20,000 to be paid in ten annual payments, commencing immediately after their removal to their new home. Both of which, however, are in consideration for *all* their old claims upon the Government of the United States. I will now proceed to state the object for which the above statements are made. I am growing old and poor, by attending continually to the business of my people, who are poor and unable to give me adequate compensation. I am, moreover, discouraged with that policy which keeps the tribe in continual mutations—I mean removals. I have not only witnessed its

injurious effects upon the people, but have, to my sorrow, experienced it. I feel that I cannot go into the wilderness again and begin anew. I have long striven for a home, but, for my situation in the tribe, I have been disappointed. These considerations have led me to approach you in this manner, not in fear, but with full confidence that you will recognize me and appreciate my character, and that if I have done anything to merit your approbation, I pray your Honorable Body will please pass a law to give me the rights and privileges of a citizen of the United States, and a home, with all my rights in the Stockbridge nation enured to me. I have become so attached to that place, where I have resided for the last eighteen years, and which has become the property of the United States by a Treaty with the Stockbridge tribe, as above stated, that it is my earnest wish and prayer your Honorable Body will please grant me that place as my home, where I may spend the few remaining years of my life in peace, and leave an inheritance for my offspring after me. The place is in Stockbridge, Calumet County, Wisconsin, and comprehended within the following boundaries, to wit: bounded on the north by lot No. 33, recommended to be patented to Mr. DINSLOW, in the Stockbridge Treaty, of Nov. 24th, 1848, and the U. S. lot No. 74; south, by lots Nos. 37 and 70, recommended to be patented to Mr. JOHN DICK; east by the Military Road, (so called) passing through the town of Stockbridge, and west, by the Winnebago Lake—containing 360 acres of land, more or less; about fifty acres on the southwest corner of said land is all swamp, but makes the whole piece a square one.

In addition I beg leave to state another consideration, which has encouraged me to make the application above set forth, which is this: I have found that the young State of Wisconsin has made a liberal provision in her Constitution to give Indians equal rights and privileges, if they choose to become citizens; and I am so pleased with it, that I am willing to test those

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rights and privileges in this place, which my ancestors have aided in procuring. All of which, is nevertheless, respectfully submitted to the consideration of your Honorable Body. And your petitioner, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

WAUN-NAU-CON, *alias*

JOHN W. QUINNEY.

WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., *April 12th*, 1852.

A

WASHINGTON, D. C., ss:

The undersigned, JOHN HADOCKS, of the Town of Stockbridge, County of Madison, in the State of New York, being duly sworn, doth depose and say, that I was well acquainted with JOHN W. QUINNEY'S grandfather, (on his mother's side,) whose name was DAVID NAU-NAU-NEEK-NUK. He lived in the same Town, County, and State, where this deponent now resides, and we were neighbors for nearly twenty years, unto the day of his death, which happened in the month of May, in the year of our Lord, 1821. He, the said DAVID NAU-NAU-NEEK-NUK, had the reputation of being one of the *Brave Stockbridge Indian Warriors of the American Revolution*.

The said JOHN HADOCKS doth further depose and say, that the said DAVID NAU-NAU-NEEK-NUK would sometimes meet this deponent's father, who was another American Revolutionist, when they would have a real chat together, and recount to one another the scenes of White Plains, Saratoga, and many other hard fights and skirmishes had with the enemy in the Northern District, during the Revolutionary war. This deponent doth further depose and say, that he had often heard the said DAVID NAU-NAU-NEEK-NUK say, that he had enlisted in the regular army a few times, for short periods, but did not like that mode of warfare so well as his own, which he called the *Bush fight*. And further this deponent saith not. Given at Washington, D. C., this 10th day of March, A. D., 1852.

JOHN HADOCKS.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, }
 COUNTY OF WASHINGTON, } *to wit:*

On this tenth day of March, 1852, before the subscriber, a Justice of the Peace, in and for said county, personally appeared JOHN HADOCKS, and made oath on the Holy Evangely of Almighty God, that the foregoing statement, to which he affixed his name in my presence, is true.

W. THOMPSON, *Justice of the Peace.*

B

Extract of a letter from the Secretary of War, Henry Dearborn, to Capt. Hendricks, Stockbridge Chief.

WAR DEPARTMENT,

January 30th, 1809.

SIR:

If you will send one of your sons and two other young lads, such as the Chiefs shall agree on, to the nine partners to school, the Friends at Baltimore will inform you to what person to send them, and the United States will pay their board for a reasonable time.

C

Extract from a letter from J. I. Underhill, Principal of the Grammar School, Poughkeepsie, dated Poughkeepsie, N.Y., April 23d, 1850.

About the close of the year 1810, three Indian boys, named DENNIS HENDRICKS, SOLOMON U. HENDRICKS, and JOHN W. QUINNEY, were placed under the care of my father, CALEB UNDERHILL, of Yorktown, Westchester County, N. Y. by that esteemed and celebrated *Friend*, RICHARD MOTT, of Mamaronick, to be instructed in "*Agriculture*," and in the

branches of a "good English education." My father undertook the former, and the latter devolved upon me. They continued under my tuition from the above time to the 1st of May, 1813, and, although I have had thousands of pupils since, I am free to say, that none ever excelled them in amiable deportment, in readiness in endeavoring to be taught as required of them, and in docility in receiving and retaining instruction, than these youths. The two latter, SOLOMON and JOHN, made great advances, for the time, in English grammar, arithmetic, surveying &c., and I have not the least doubt, if they had been permitted to have gone through a course of classical studies, but few of our white young men could have excelled them.

D

FURTHER PARTICULARS REFERRED TO :

Being a brief statement of matters of business between the Stockbridge tribe of Indians and the United States, in which JOHN W. QUINNEY was employed.

The New York tribes of Indians having obtained from the General Government full permission to buy more land at Green Bay, concluded another Treaty for that purpose, the 18th day of October, 1822, with the Menomonee nation of Indians at that place. In this Treaty, the Stockbridge tribe was represented by SOLOMON U. HENDRICKS, ABNER W. HENDRICKS, and JOHN W. QUINNEY, regularly authorized by the tribe for that purpose. To accomplish this business, and establish at Green Bay, that unfortunate portion of the Stockbridges, who emigrated to White River, in Indiana, in 1818, but were disappointed in their expectations of a home there, in consequence of the sale of the lands to the United States by the treaty of St. Mary's, of August 8, 1818, the delegation above men-

tioned, before going West, had to proceed to Albany, New York, for the purpose of procuring funds for expenses and goods for the nation, and the means to make a proportionate payment to the Winnebagoes and Menomonees for lands purchased from them by the New York tribes the preceding year, (1821.) Time occupied from the middle of July to November 24th, say four months. [1822—four months.]

All things being satisfactorily arranged by the New York tribes about their purchases of lands at Green Bay, the Stockbridges determined to secure their rights by immediate possession. They settled upon a plan of removal by detachments—one to go each year until all were removed. To defray the expenses connected therewith, they depended upon the avails of the small quantity of land still held by them in New Stockbridge, New York. One company had already removed, when I was appointed to negotiate for the passage of a law by the Legislature of the State to give the tribe the full value of the balance of their lands, in order to carry out the arrangements made. The subject was kindly entertained, and a law passed during the winter of 1825, granting the wishes of the tribe in full. This Act is memorable as being the first ever passed by the New York Legislature, to give an Indian tribe full value for their lands. Among the Stockbridges, it was a *plume of credit* to the humble negotiator. On this occasion I was absent from home only three months. [1824-5—3 months.]

In 1827, the United States held a Treaty at the *Little Butte des Morts*, on Fox River, with various Indian tribes, at which delegations from all those of New York were present. The professed object of this Treaty was to settle boundaries between the different tribes. Instead of doing this, however, the United States Commissioners procured from the Menomonees a cession of lands which they had previously ceded to the New York tribes. This wanton violation of their rights they could not believe was authorized by the President of the United States, and they resolved to appeal to him for redress.

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The following winter a delegation accordingly visited Washington, but failed to have anything done. Late in the fall of the same year, (1828) I was deputed by all the New York Indians at Green Bay to visit the tribes in the State of New York for the purpose of getting them to unite in a petition and appeal to Congress, which duty I performed. I was further employed by the latter to see this document printed and forwarded by an agent selected by them for that purpose. The result of this proceeding was the ratification of the Treaty, with a proviso, "saving the rights of the New York Indians." In the spring, I collected the poor of the Stockbridge nation, who were unable to remove themselves, to the number of thirty souls, and returned home with them. In the performance of these duties I was absent from home over eight months. [1827-8-9—eight months.]

A Commission on the part of the United States visited Green Bay in 1830, with a view to effect an amicable compromise of the difficulties growing out of the Treaty of 1827, and the attempted invasion of the rights of the New York Indians, but failed to accomplish the object. It was, however, believed that delegations from all the tribes interested could settle the matter in dispute, before the President of the United States, in a manner satisfactory to all concerned. Accordingly, the following winter, delegates from all the New York tribes repaired to Washington—the Stockbridges and Munsees being represented by myself. A large delegation of the Menomonees, under the charge of their agent, also came on. The Stockbridges and other New York Indians at Green Bay labored under great disadvantages. Many of the old Menomonee chiefs, with whom the above Indians made the Treaties by which they acquired their lands in that region, were dead; others had been deposed, and young chiefs put in their places. These, operated upon and influenced by interested and designing men, were disposed to act in a manner hostile to the just rights and interests of the New York Indians. Hence, as seen in the treaty

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of 1831—by which the difficulties referred to were endeavored to be settled, the Menomonee delegation complained of encroachments by the Pottawatomies, Winnebagoes and New York Indians, and alledged never having sold lands to the latter. Strange to say, they were negotiated with as though they had not done so. The Treaty was concluded in total disregard of the rights of the New York Indians. They were treated as intruders, and as if they had no home in the Green Bay country, though they had secured one there at great expense and many sacrifices and hardships. By the Treaty as concluded, this was to be wrested from them, as had previously been their lands on White River, in Indiana, by the Treaty of 1818. Their delegation came to Washington, disposed to agree to any arrangements that would do them substantial justice, but their rights being thus disregarded, they were reluctantly compelled to remonstrate against the Treaty being ratified, unless amended in such manner as to do them justice. In consequence of our remonstrances, the ratification of the Treaty was postponed for that session of Congress, and we returned home. I was absent from home, and engaged on the for going matters, from November 1st to April 31st, nearly six months. [1830-31—six months.]

It is true, that by the Treaty above referred to, a country was purchased of the Menomonees, for the New York Indians, and that it was not far from where they then resided, but the idea of being again thrust out of their homes, and to have to go through the severe and trying ordeal of re-establishing themselves in a new location, filled them with dread and dismay.— Still, as glowing descriptions had been given of the country, and its advantages, and they were disposed to comply with the wishes of the authorities of the United States, they concluded to have it examined, to see whether, without too great sacrifices, they would be justified in accepting it, and acquiescing in the Treaty. After a fair and impartial examination, however, it was found to be entirely unsuit-

able. The Stockbridges and Munsees then determined to separate themselves from the other New York Indians, and negotiate with the Government for the best terms they could get. JOHN METOXEN and myself were appointed, and we repaired to Washington for that purpose, in November, 1831. Delegations from other tribes also came on, and we jointly succeeded in obtaining a hearing. We gave a correct description of the country which had been set apart for us, represented its entire unsuitableness, and prayed to be permitted to remain where we were. We met with a peremptory refusal. We then proposed to take other lands, far in the woods, on the east side of Winnebago Lake, which was agreed to, and the amount to be paid to us for our improvements was then fixed upon. With corresponding modifications, the treaty ratified upon condition of the assent of the Menomonees being given thereto, which was done by a supplemental treaty made in October, 1832. Thus ended one of the most complicated and trying affairs with which the Stockbridges ever had anything to do, and which subjected them to great anxiety and trouble, and much expense. On this occasion I was engaged, and absent from home six months. [1831-2 — 6 months.]

In the winter of 1838, a delegation of Oneidas, from Green Bay, visited Washington, and concluded a Treaty with the Government, by which they were allowed the sum of \$35,500, "in reimbursement of moneys expended by said Indians, and "in remuneration of the services of their chiefs and agents in "purchasing and securing a title to the land ceded in the first "article of the Treaty, viz : the land set apart for them in the "first article of the Treaty with the Menomonees, of February "8th, 1831, and the second article of the Treaty with the same "tribe, of October 27th, 1832." This just and liberal allowance to their brethren, the Oneidas, made the hearts of the Stockbridges glad. They were similarly situated, and had like claims upon the Government, and they thought that the time had now come when the Government was willing to do justice

to all the New York Indians in Wisconsin, for the hardships they had suffered, and the heavy expenses they had incurred in removing to, and securing themselves homes in, the Green Bay country. AUSTIN E. QUINNEY, the Sachem of the tribe, and myself, were, therefore, appointed, and repaired to Washington, to lay before the Government our claims for remuneration, on account of expenses and losses connected with, and growing out of, our procuring lands for ourselves on White river, in Indiana, and at Green Bay; our self-removal; and those lands being taken from us, by treaties with other tribes, without compensation. We failed to obtain any recognition of our just claims, which were, however, continued to be presented year after year, until they were finally adjusted by the Senate of the United States, in the amendment made by that body to the Treaty of 1848, by which we were allowed the sum of \$25,000, and lands, not less than seventy-two sections. I was absent from home, in the performance of the above duty, very nearly six months. [1839—6 months.]

In 1841-2, in company with J. N. CHICKS, I again visited Washington on the above business, being absent from home about eight months. [1841-2—8 months.]

I made another visit, with the Sachem of the tribe, in 1844, for the same object, and for the purpose of obtaining a modification of the law of Congress of March 3d, 1843, making the Stockbridges citizens, contrary to the wishes of a majority of those people, and was absent from home four months. [1844—4 months.]

In 1846, I was appointed to visit Washington alone, and had the gratification of succeeding in procuring the repeal of the law of 1843, and an allowance by Congress of \$5,000 on account of our claims above referred to. On this occasion I was absent from home eight months. [1846—8 months.]

The \$5,000 above referred to, having been withheld, together with other moneys belonging to the tribe, I visited Washington again in 1848, to endeavor to obtain payment of the same, and

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to get the provisions of the act of 1846, repealing that of 1843, carried out, but was compelled to return home without effecting anything. Absent five months. [1848 — 5 months.]

In company with AUSTIN E. QUINNEY, Sachem of the tribe, I visited Washington, in 1850, for the above purposes, and to obtain permission for our tribe to select the lands granted by the amendment to the treaty of 1848, on the Mississippi river. We were successful in both objects. Absent, on this occasion also, five months. [1850 — 5 months.]

In all, 63 months — or 5 years and 3 months.

I am now on my ninth visit to Washington, in an official or delegated capacity — on important business of my tribe, with reference to their new location in the West, which has not yet been fixed upon, and arrangements for their removal there-
to.

JOHN W. QUINNEY.

WASHINGTON CITY, *April 12th*, 1852.