INTRODUCTION

THE national religion of the Iroquois Indians, who reside today as they did in pre-Columbian times in the state of New York and in Ontario, is centered in the Gaiwiiio—the "Good Word" of Handsome Lake, the Seneca prophet.* A body of the prophet's utterances, the Gaiwiiio, has been passed down by word of mouth from 1799, when Handsome Lake announced his first visions, to the present, and now constitutes the Bible of this faith. One preacher's version of this Code, which is still regularly recited (and requires four days for its recitation) was published by the New York State Museum in 1913: Arthur Parker's Code of Handsome Lake.

The most important historical contribution made by Halliday Jackson's "short history" is his account of the circumstances sur-

*The best historical account of Handsome Lake and his religion is to be found in Merle H. Deardorff, "The Religion of Handsome Lake: Its Origin and Development" (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 149, pp. 77-107; Washington, 1951).

No authentic portrait of Handsome Lake is known. In the Buffalo Historical Society, however, is a picture painted by James M. Stanley, "The Trial of Red Jacket," in which a figure in a fur cap standing in the left background is believed by some to represent the Prophet of the Good Word. Of this picture our artist, Robert Gabor (Saotaala), a member of Ray Fadden's Akwesasne Mohawk Counsellor Organization, writes: "I don't think that is a true representation of Handsome Lake. His teachings of understanding, tolerance, and forgiveness are certainly not depicted in the surly, sullen look shown in the Historical Society depiction of him. I am inclined to believe he resembled more the drawings of him that were executed by my good friend, Jesse Cornplanter."
The Vision of Handsome Lake

From a drawing by Robert Gabor
rounding the early visions of Connudiu (Handsome Lake), and his separate rendering of the first three visions themselves. Jackson himself did not personally hear Handsome Lake announce the first two visions, but copied their text later from a manuscript in the hands of Cornplanter, Handsome Lake's half-brother. The prophet's original statement of these first two visions was committed to paper by Henry Simmons, Jackson's associate, who wrote the visions down in 1799 from Handsome Lake's own mouth or from the dictation of an interpreter. Jackson heard Handsome Lake report the third vision in an Indian council in 1800, and took down the interpreter's translation.

Halliday Jackson (1771-1835) was a Quaker of New Garden, Pennsylvania, near Philadelphia. He made the two-year "sojourn in the wilderness" (1798-1800) as a young man, and made notes while in the field, but the "short history" reproduced here was not written until some time after the event. Within a year of his return from the Allegheny country he married and left his father's house at New Garden, to settle in Darby. By his first wife, who died in 1830, he had no less than twelve children. His second wife, whom he married in 1833, at the age of sixty-two, was twenty-one years younger than he. They had one child who died in infancy. The second wife survived him and lived to 1874.

In 1830 in Philadelphia Jackson published two books: Civilization of the Indian Natives (an account of his and other Quaker missions to the New York Iroquois) and Sketch of the Manners, Customs, Religion and Government of the Seneca Indians in 1800. He continued throughout his life to take an interest in the Indian work of the Philadelphia meetings, and held various offices in Friends' organizations. In his later years he became an adherent of Elias Hicks and gained some notoriety as one of the Hicksites' star witnesses in a long court case over a disputed school fund in New Jersey.

Jackson's mission to the Allegheny Seneca from 1798 to 1800 was made in company with two other young Quakers, Joel Swayne and Henry Simmons. (On their way out to establish the mission they were accompanied by two older Friends, members of the Indian Committee of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting: John Pierce and Joshua Sharpless.) Jackson and his associates represented the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, whose Indian Committee
had been formed in 1795 for the purpose of helping the Six Nations (Iroquois) Indians of New York State to improve their material and social condition, which at that time was very low. The once-powerful Iroquois had been defeated in war by Washington's armies, and now maintained a precarious existence, farming and hunting on their dwindling reservations, dispirited and demoralized. Strong drink was for many the last refuge. The Quaker missionary effort is unique, in the annals of the period, in aiming explicitly to help people in their daily lives rather than to save souls. Its closest counterpart is the Moravian mission work, which was however avowedly evangelistic as well as humanitarian.

Although the Quaker rationale thus was not an evangelical one, the three missionaries to the Senecas did consider their work to be the Lord's. This is reflected in the pseudo-Biblical style of Halliday Jackson's narrative, and in the pious reflections and exhortations with which it is so liberally padded. Jackson certainly viewed his sojourn in the wilderness as a great adventure, implicitly comparing himself with the prophets of old who carried word of the Lord amongst the heathen. Indeed, one might even say that there is a certain romanticism in his attitude, which a Quaker gentleman of the day could only express in the idiom of that Book which, unlike most of the contemporary literature, has always dealt with strong human emotions.

As we have already noted, the most significant historical contribution which Jackson makes is in his recording of the visions of Handsome Lake (or "Connudi," to use Jackson's orthography for the Seneca title Ganiodaio) and of the circumstances surrounding them. For Jackson, Swayne, and Simmons (who also left some descriptions of the event) were observing the birth of a new religion: Gaiwiiio, the Good Word. The present document bears the same relation to the Handsome Lake Religion as would a newly-discovered eye-witness account of the Sermon on the Mount to Christianity. In Jackson's words we can here see Gaiwiiio in the moment of its conception, the nucleus about which later gathered the other visions and admonitions and historical traditions which form the remainder of the code as it is presently held.

Special acknowledgment must be made to several persons associated with the presentation of this document, particularly to
Miss Bertha Forsythe of West Chester, Penna., a descendant of Halliday Jackson, who deposited it with the Chester County Historical Society especially for its present use; to Mr. Bart Anderson of that society, who facilitated its inspection and photostatic reproduction; to Mr. Donald H. Kent and associates of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, Penna., who provided secretarial aid; to Mr. Merle H. Deardorff of Warren, Penna., and Mr. Charles Congdon of Salamanca, N. Y., who made available to the writer their great knowledge of both historical and ethnographic material concerning Handsome Lake and the religion which he founded; and to Dr. Paul A. W. Wallace, the editor of this journal, who first recognized the historical importance of Jackson’s “Short History” and has encouraged and aided the writer in editing it.

A SHORT HISTORY OF MY SOJOURNING IN THE WILDERNESS

Forasmuch as there are a Certain people¹ whose Dwellings are in the Wilderness and scattered abroad in the Land of Columbia, that are called by the name of Indians, who in days of Old were in possession of the goodly parts of the Land, and did eat of the goodly Fruits thereof, and the Wild Deer of the Forrest were then in abundance, but by reason of many Wars and fightings are become poor and miserable and their dwellings in desert places; and forasmuch as this people shewed kindness unto Onas our forefather, and his Children when they were strangers in the land, and suffered them to sit down peaceably beside them and dealt honestly with them, and in due time the Children of Onas waxed rich and became a great people, and got many goodly possession[s] in the land; and in remembrance of the kindness of the Natives to Onas our forefather, and forasmuch as we now enjoy the Land whereon they once lived in ease & plenty our hearts were drawn in compassion towards them, and a certain contribution was made² throughout the Congregation of the Children of Onas, in order to minister to their necessities, and supply them with implements of Husbandry to till the land, that they might cease to pursue the wild Beasts of the forrest, and look for

¹Halliday Jackson in the following paragraph is confusing the Delaware Indians with the Iroquois. It was the Delawares with whom the “Children of Onas” sat down (the Delawares were the aboriginal inhabitants of southeastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey). But the people whom Jackson visited were the Iroquois of New York State, who were politically and linguistically separate. By 1798 the Delawares had left eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey and migrated westward.

²Beginning in 1795.
sustenance to their Fields, their Fruit Trees, & their Vineyards and have flocks and herds and swine in Abundance, and Corn in their houses, and bread without scarcity, and themselves become Clothed with Garments which their own fingers have made: And moreover it was desired by the Elders and Judges of the Congregation that some of the Children of Onas (such as it seemed good unto) should go and sojourn amongst them, in order to instruct them in building houses, and encloseing fields and taking care of their Flocks, and their Herds and shew them the works of the handyworkman and the cunning Artificer, and all manner of handy craft, that seeing they might believe, and believing they might come to enjoy the plentifull fruit of industry. And it came to pass as I mused on these things from day to day, that my heart was filled with compassion for the distressed situation of the inhabitants of the Wilderness, & I concluded within myself to go and sojourn for a time amongst them, and when this thing was told unto my kinsfolk, and in the Congregation of the people, they said unto me “go in peace”

Now there was certain other Brethren of the Tribe of Onas, Henry whose sirname was Simmon[s] and Joel whose Sirname was Swayne, that purposed in their hearts to go and sojourn among this people; and it came to pass on a certain day that we assembled together in the Great City with the Judges of the Congregation, and our business was made known unto them and the sayings thereof was grateful in their Ears, and great was the Solemnity that prevailed among the Judges at the Season—

And moreover it was determined that we should go into the land of the west, and sojourn among the people of Corn-planter a Chief ruler of the Seneca nation—And certain Brethren were appointed to make provision for the Journey of all manner of implements necessary for carrying on the work, and a writing was writt concerning us and signed by the Congregation of the People—

And moreover it came to pass that after certain days that two of the Antients of the Congregation, even Joshua whose sirname was Sharpless, & John, who sirname was Pierce, concluded to accompany us on the Journey, because we were all young men, and in order that all things might be accomplished according to the design of the Congregation, and a certain day was appointed wherein we should set out on the Journey—

Now it came to pass in the 4th mo, on the nine and twentieth day of the month, on the first day of the week, that I bid adieu to my kinspeople and departed from the land of my nativity, and the next day Journeyed to the house of Abraham, whose sirname was Gibbons, where I remained that night, and met with all the

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* In 1797.
* 29 April, 1798.
Company that were to be my Companions in the Journey——Now this Abraham was a wise man and mighty in words and in deeds, and a Speaker in the Congregation of the people, and he spake many notable sayings unto us. And it came to pass as we Journeyed on the third day of the week that we came unto the River, even the great River Susquehannah, that cometh down from afar, out of the Mountains in the North, and runeth towards the great sea, and we lodged at the house of Wm, whose sirname was Right. and when the morning was come we passed over the River, but got very wet by reason of the great rain.

And moreover we Journeyed for many days, & passed thro' divers Villages, and over the lofty mountains whose high towering Summits seem'd to mingle with the Clouds, and it came to pass on the first day of the Week as we passed over an exceeding high mountain that we lift up our eyes and beheld on the other side thereof a goodly land, and well favoured Countrey inhabited and beautifully interspersed with rivulets and Valleys, variegated with Green pastures, and fruit trees sending forth a sweet smelling savour. And after we were come down from the Mountain, we came to certain River called in the vernacular Tongue Yoixhegany, and a pleasant little Village was on this side the River and forasmuch as the day was far spent we put in for quarters at the house of Thomas whose Sirname was Gibson, and him and his wife were some of the Antients of the Congregation of the Children of Onas, and they had a Daughter of a goodly Countenance and an exelent Spirrit was found in her.

Now When the morning was come we passed over the River and Journeyed the self same day to the house of Reece whose Sirname was Cadwallider, and here we purposed encamping several days, in order to rest ourselves because of the long Journey, and to visit our brethren and kinspeople that dwelt in that goodly land; and as we passed up and down in the Land our kinspeople rejoiced to see us, & shewed us much kindness. And it came to pass on the fourth day of the week that we went with the household of Reece to the Congregation of the Children of Onas where the were assembled to gether to worship, and a marriage was accomplished in the Congregation and a writeing was read concerning it, and we put our names to the writeing—And when the Congregation departed every one his way we returned to the house of Reece and did eat Bread therein—Now this Reece was a goodly man of great reputation among the people, and he treated us kindly as also those of his household, and it came to pass after we had eaten Bread, that we arose and departed and passed over the River Monongahala at a beautifull little village call'd Browns Vill, and lodged at a certain inn on the road that Night

And when the morning was come, ere the Sun was risen upon
the Earth, we arose and Journeyed on our way, and and lo about
midday we came to the River again, even the River Monengahala,
and passed over it, and entered into the City of Pittsburgh near
where two Rivers Met. Now it was a time when the Judges and
rulers of the people were assembled together in this place in order
to do justice between man and man, and a great concourse of People
were collected hither, and we abode at a Certain Inn in the City
that night.

Forasmuch as our business required Agents in this place we
were recommended by letters from Our Brethren in the Great
City, to divers of the dwellers herein, who received us kindly and
promised their Assistance in all things which we required, even
James whose sirname was Wilkinson, the chief Commander of
the [word “Troops” crossed out in MS] Host of the People of the
Provinces, spake comfortable words unto us, and wished us a
Prosperous Journey; and more over wrote a writing unto the
Judges and Rulers of the Natives of the Land whither we were
going.

And it came to pass after two days that we departed from this
place, and crossed the River on the north side of the City which
is called in the [words “Vernacular Tounge Allegany but in the”
crossed out in the MS] Seneca Tounge Oheyu, and we went from
thence Northward, and Journeyed two days thro’ a wilderness
Countrey without many Inhabitants, and lo on the Second day
about the going down of the Sun, we came to a certain Fortifi-
cation on the banks of the River, being threescore and eight
miles, and we lodged in a Certain Inn that night— Howbeit on the
morrow we did eat Bread in the Fortification, and the keeper
thereof and his wife treated us kindly, and furnished us with
provender for ourselves, and our horses, to carry with us, & a pilot
to direct us on the way, because it was so ordered by James the
Chief Commander in the City of Pittsburgh. Now this Fortifi-
cation was a Strong hold for the inhabitants round about to
fly too, for safety, when they became assaulted by the Natives
of the Land, and the name thereof (in the Vernacular Tounge
was, Fort Franklin, but) in the Seneca Tounge Eninggie, and it
stood on a piece of ground near where two Rivers met.

And it came to pass about midday that we departed thence, and
Journeyed thro’ a woody Countrey and lo about the going down
of the Sun we espied a house near a Brook in a fertile Valley (and
we put in for quarters) and abode there that night and got plenty
of milk without money or without Price— And when the morning

— James Wilkinson (1757-1825) was in 1798 Commander-in-Chief of the
United States Army. Wilkinson was a friend of Benedict Arnold and Aaron
Burr, was implicated in a series of treasonable conspiracies, and was finally
court-martialed (but acquitted) for the disgraceful conduct of the northern
campaign in the War of 1812.

— I.e., the Allegheny River, as it is now known.
was come we Arrose and departed, and, traveled along a path that had never been much trodden by the foot of man, thro a waste howling Wilderness even two days Journey, and lo it came to pass on the fifth day of the week that we arrived in the Indian Countrey, and went up to one of the villages of the natives of the Land, and the Inhabitants thereof came out and saluted us kindly, even Cornplanter the Chief rejoiced greatly to see us, because he had heard before time of our comeing, and he took us into his house.

Now it was the fifth month on the 17 day of the month that we entered into the Village of Corn-planter, and it was nigh unto the River even the River Oheyu, and the name thereof in the Seneca Toungue was Je, much, sha, da go which being interpretted is Burnt house.7

Howbeit the people spake unto us in a strange Language and we understood them not—nevertheless Corn-planter had a son whose name was Henery,9 and he had been taught in the Learning of the White people in the Great City, and the words of his Father made he known unto us— And Corn-planter the Chief spake on this wise, and said unto us

“Brethren—I have heard of your coming for many days, and rejoice in my heart to see you this day, and am thankful to the Great Spirit for your safe arrival and preservation on the way”. And we spake unto him by the Interpreter, and said, that we were the Children of Onas their Brother, come from a far Countrie to see them, and moreover we desired to have their people collected together that we might speak unto them of the things which we came about— And Corn-planter the Chief spake again unto us & said it should be so, & moreover he sent messengers the self same day, thro' out all his Villages10 to carry the tideings

7 Cornplanter (c. 1740-1836), also known as Gaianwakaka and John Obeal, was the son of a Seneca woman and a Dutch trader from Albany, John Abeel. Although Cornplanter fought against the Americans during the Revolution, he took a pro-American position after the war. For this he was rewarded with land grants by the Pennsylvania legislature. The village of Jenuchshadago (see below) was located on land belonging to Cornplanter personally. Cornplanter was the half-brother of Handsome Lake (Connudiu).

8 The village stood on the flat west bank of the Allegany River, overlooked on both sides of the stream by steep hillsides. The village itself no longer remains, although a few Indian families descended from Cornplanter still retain farmsteads in the neighborhood. For an historical account of the village and the “Cornplanter grant” on which it was located, see Merle H. Deardorff, “The Cornplanter Grant in Warren County” (Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine, Vol. 24, No. 1, 1941).

9 Henry Obeal had been schooled by the Quakers in Philadelphia, and spoke some English.

10 Properly speaking, none of the Seneca villages were “ruled” by Cornplanter. His position was one of great influence along the Allegheny, however. “His villages” probably refers to the scattered Seneca settlements along the river as far up as the present town of Salamanca.
and have the people Collected together— And Cornplanter set before us food to eat such as was convenient, and brought in his wife, & his Sons, and his Daughters, and shewed them unto us— And as we walked in the Field nigh unto the Village, they Women laboured abundantly therein, because it was about the time of planting their Corn and they rejoiced in their hearts, and were merry when the knew we were the Children of Onas come from a far Countrey to See them. And when the night was come we Slept in the house of Cornplanter, and rested comfortably, because we were weary of the exceeding long Journey.

Now it came to pass on the morrow about the eleventh hour of the day, that they blew the Trumpet and the People collected to the Council, the Chiefs and the warriers and the mighty men and the men of Valour, and they were curiously adorned in fine Apparrel, with breastplates and head bands & earrings, & nose Jewels, & bracelets, and round Tires like the moon, and with Skins of the Wild Beasts of the Forrest, & they prided themselves in the Bravery of their Tinkling Ornaments.

And they Assembled themselves together at the house of Cornplanter and sat down and mused a little in their own minds and Cornplanter the Chief arose and spake on behalf of the people and said unto us,

"Men And Brethren,

I was rejoiced in my heart when I saw you come out of the bushes Yeasterday and thankful to the Great Spirrit for preserving you on the way; You told us You had something to say unto us, & behold we are collected together to hear your words"—

Then John whose Sirname was Pierce stood up before the People, and spake unto them, concerning the things which we came about and the writing was read which we brought with us from our Brethren in the Great City, & the interpretation thereof made known unto them and the sayings that was written therein pleased them, inasmuch as the told them of our intentions to Sojourn amongst them, & teach them to Plow to Sow, & to reap that they might eat the Goodly things of the land, and also to instruct them in the use of mechanical Instruments and how to take care of their Flocks and their Herds that they might have meat in abundance & bread without scarcity—

And moreover the writing of James the Chief commander of the troops of the Provinces was read unto them, which was by way of recommendation, desiring them to Open their ears and listen to our Talk, & to open their Eyes and look on our works,

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In the aboriginal Seneca economy, the women were responsible for agriculture, the men for hunting.
that so their Old men their Wives and their Children might live
in Security and come to enjoy the comforts of life—

And Corn-planter the Chief spake unto the people of the things
that had been told them, and said they must meditate thereon, and
reply to our Speech on the morrow.

And after these things we walked too and fro in the Village, and
beheld their houses and their dwellings which were as tents of the
Field and when we looked thereon, our hearts were sorry and
they stood in a Valley and the mountains were on the right hand
and on the left.

Now it came to pass on the morrow in the evening of the day
that they people returned again to the Council, the Chiefs and the
warriers and the men of Valour, and Cornplanter the Chief Stood
up before the people & spake unto us on this wise,

"Brethren, the Children of our Brother Onas, hear ye this day
all the words which I spake unto you.

You know Brethren the Red people are poor they are not like
the White People because the great Spirit has made them of
another Language, so that it is hard for us to understand one
another plainly, howbeit we have considered the things that you
Spake unto us, and forasmuch as you have come from a far Coun-
try to see us, and desire that we should cease pursuing after
the wild Beasts of the Forrest, and turn from the ways of our
forefathers, to be tillers of Ground and keepers of flocks and
of herds, whereon we may look for sustenance, some of our
people who are men of Sobriety, are determined to follow your
example, and do the things which you have told us of— But
there are some among us will not hear your words, neither regard
they your Counsel—

And morover Brethren we cannot say a word against you, it is
good for us to call the Children of Onas our Brothers, you never
desired to take our Lands from us, neither have you coveted any-
thing that is ours; but the people of the Earth, who are not the
Children of Onas, have taken away our Lands, so that we have
but very little left of all that our forefathers possessed, and be it
moreover known unto you, that in days which are over and
gone, a certain Man Named Robert whose Sirname is Morris

and rather bark houses and (at this time) log cabins with bark roofs.
12 The Iroquois had been accustomed to raise corn, squash, and beans long
before the whites came. The point of the Quaker recommendation was that
the Iroquois men should now accept responsibility for agriculture. In the
Indian scheme of things, this was woman's work (although men might help
in planting and harvesting). Men considered their proper role to be that of
the hunter, the warrior, and the councilor. Domestic animals, other than dogs,
had not been kept in pre-Columbian days, but some pigs, cattle, and horses
were in the village in 1798.
purchased our Countrey,\textsuperscript{14} and we fear he will not deal honestly with us, but if he deal honestly with us, we have yet sufficient inheritance remaining therein—

And furthermore Brethren, if you sojourn among us, we desire you to learn our Children to read, and write as you do, that they may become wise in their generation—

Now Brethren, two of you are going home again, if you hear any thing concerning the lot of our inheritance remaining in the land which we sold unto Robert, You must write unto the young men who Sojourn amongst us, and they must tell us of your words”—

And it came to pass after these sayings were ended, that Joshua and John opened their mouths and spake unto them saying “we are glad to hear the words of our Indian Brothers and the sayings thereof pleases us very well, & be it known unto you that these young men will stay among you, and do as it seemeth good unto them, and moreover abundance of implements of Husbandry are cominge from the Great City in the land of the East which are for the use and Benefit of our Indian brethren even a present which the Children of Onas have sent unto you, in order to assist you in building houses and Tilling the Field.”

And they also spake unto them of the things that belong to their peace, and moreover told them we should want a piece of Ground to sit down upon, while we sojourned among them & desired of the Chiefs and rulers of the people liberty to look about their Countrey, and choose a place for the lot of our inheritance, and they Anwered and said it should be so—Then were all these sayings ended at that time and the people departed to their own dwellings—

Now the next day being the first day of the week we assembled together at the house of Cornplanter in order to worship, and Corn-planter the Chief met with us and worshiped,\textsuperscript{16} and and great was our peace at that Season—

And in the afternoon of the day I went out to the foot of a Mountain over against the Village and sat down alone under the Shadow of a great Tree, and mused of all things which I had

\textsuperscript{14} Robert Morris (1734-1806), the celebrated “financier of the American revolution,” had bought most of western New York from the Senecas in 1797. Certain “reservations” in the sale preserved particular tracts to the Indians, including forty-two square miles along the Allegheny just above Jenuchshadago. But Morris was in financial difficulties in 1798—difficulties which eventually ended in bankruptcy and debtor’s prison from 1798 to 1801. The Holland Land Company acquired the Seneca lands through foreclosure on Morris. The Senecas were understandably worried about the situation and its implications for themselves.

\textsuperscript{15} Cornplanter was not a convert. His joining the Quakers in their worship was more an expression of courtesy and interest than an act of religious conviction. Many Senecas even today see no inconsistency in participation in both Indian and Christian services.
seen in a strange land, and of the manners and customs of the people, I was come to Sojourn among, and while I mused the fire burned until my heart was like the Chariots of Aminidab, "pav'd with love for the Daughters of Jerusalem."

And it came to pass on the morrow that we got into a small Vessle, with Cornplanter the Chief, and Henery the Interpreter, and passed up the River, even the River Oheyu, about the space of threescore and ten furlongs, and We put to Shore at an Antient Village, Called in the Seneca Tongue Geneshunguhta (which being interpreted is thro' the Hills) but we found many houses therein desolate, and without inhabitant nevertheless a few people remained in the Village who entreated us kindly and we entered into the house of one of the Natives whom we called John. And we walked two and fro in the Valley viewing the Country round about, and when we saw that it was a fruitful and goodly land, we said one unto another, "here let us choose for the lot of our inheritance amongst this People, and paradventure when the natives see us build again the waste places, and repair the breaches of their City, they will come and Settle down beside us and we shall dwell together as brethren in the Land." And forasmuch as we were all united in this matter, we spake unto Cornplanter the Chief and told him of the things which we had determined to do, and the sayings pleased him well and he answered & said unto us

"Men and brethren, the land is all before you Choose where you please, and ye shall have permission of the Chiefs and Rulers of the people to catch and kill of the wild beasts of the Forest & the Fish that Skim the Surface of the great Deep," and we returned on the waters of the River to the house of Cornplanter that evening.

Now while we remained in the house of Cornplanter the people shewed forth much kindness unto us, and our hearts were enlarged toward them, and the Women of the Village made a Certain contribution and gave unto us—

Howbeit after Certain days we departed thence and went again to Geneshunguhta, with our Horses and baggage and provender, and all that was ours, and behold we were yet without any habitation for we had purchased none inheritance in the Land—but forasmuch as we had permission of the Chiefs and rulers of the people, we went unto a certain house nigh unto the River Side and the Woman to whom it belonged with her daughter was Labouring in the Field. And forasmuch as the situation pleased

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10 Jackson's insistence on using a Biblical vocabulary makes his observations difficult to understand. Presumably he means a canoe.

17 The village of Geneshunguhta (Oldtown), about nine miles above Jenuchshadago, was located on the Seneca national reservation, not on Cornplanter's personal grant.
us, we made an agreement with the woman, and purchased it for twenty Pieces of Silver— And it came to pass the self same day that we entered therein even in the fifth month on the twenty third day of the month did we enter into the house which we bought of the Woman, and her name was kiandoxshan.

Now behold it was a Wilderness Countrey, and the Mountains were on the right hand and on the left, and we had abundantly to Labour, howbeit our Implements of Husbandry were not yet arrived from the Great City in the Land of the East.

And when the First day of the week was come we were gathered together into the One place, and worshipped, and our hearts were Comforted and great was our peace; and for as much as we had appointed to meet the Chiefs and rulers of the people (for Joshua and John desired to see them again before their departure) Certain of the Brethren went to the house of Cornplanter that evening in order to be ready on the morrow, howbeit I remained with Henery (whose Sirname was Simmons) at our own dwelling that night.

And it came to pass when the morrow was come, that we mounted our horses and rode to the Village of Cornplanter, and behold the people were collected together even a great Multitude, and some of the Antient women was amongst them.

And when we were all gathered into the one place Cornplanter the Chief arose and spake on behalf of the people and said unto us Men and Brethren

I am rejoiced to See You here this day and all in good health; my people are also well, and many of them are here to listen to your words, but some others are gone in pursuit of the Wild Beasts of the Forrest to procure something for themselves to eat. Brethren we are now ready to hear your words—

Now we had prepared a writing and recorded therein the things which we determined to say unto them, and the writing was read, and the interpretation thereof was made known unto they people; Nevertheless Joshua and John spake many notable sayings unto them, and reasoned with them concerning the things that belong to their peace, desireing them to remember our words and lock them up in their hearts, and moreover beseeched them to put away the Accursed thing from amongst them, even the great evil of Strong drink, for it was an abomination in the Land, and many

*20 dollars [Jackson's note in MS].

18 This suggests that the meeting was being taken very seriously by the Indian population. The "ancient women" of the community probably included the "clan mothers," who possess considerable influence in Iroquois communities.

19 While liquor was an addiction of many Indians at this time, and led to distressing social disorders, it should be pointed out that frontier whites also had a reputation for drunkenness.
other things did the testify unto them, which are not written in
this book.

And after these sayings were ended the Chiefs & Rulers of
the people went a part unto the house of Peter* and mused in their
own minds of the things which we had Spoken unto them, and re-
turned the self same day and Corn-planter the Chief stood up in
the midst of the people and said unto us

Ye Children of Onas our Brethren, hearken ye this day unto
my Speech.

You are come here to see us Brethren, you desire us to do well
—you wish us to become as the white inhabitants of the Land—

We know you have come from a far countrey to see us, it is a
great way to the Sea Side where our Forefathers\textsuperscript{20} once lived in
ease and plenty, but the White People have not dealt honestly
with us, they have taken away our Lands, and drove us into the
Wilderness, and now we have but little Land left, we are determined
to try to learn your ways—

You know Brethren there are some bad people among us, and
you know we have been deprived of the lot of our inheritance and
that makes us bad and our minds uneasy, and then we pursue after
the wild Beasts of the forrest to procure our liveing: if the White
inhabitants of the land had dealt honestly with us, we should have
been a very rich people, and had every thing in plenty, and then
our minds would be easy & we could think upon the great Spirrit—

Moreover Brethren, we cant all go to work at Once, because of
the scarcity of axes and Hoes and the implements necessary to
assist us in tilling the Ground, and we are poor, we are not able
to buy more."

And many other sayings did Cornplanter the Chief spake unto
us, and when the were finished the people bid us adieu and departed
and we returned to our Tent.

Now it came to pass in the fifth month on the last day of the
month that the Vessel arived with our goods from the great City,
and the sight thereof rejoiced us greatly because it brought us
clotheing, and provender and implements of Husbandry in abund-
ance, untill our dwelling was filled on every side— And forasmuch
as the Vessel returned the self same day, I wrote letters to my
kinspeople in the Land of my Nativity—of all things that hap-
ened me in my Journey through the Wilderness, and how we were

* A white Captive [Jackson's note in MS].

\textsuperscript{20} Cornplanter’s Seneca forefathers are not known to have lived much
farther east than he himself did, certainly not along the coast. The editorial
"we" which he is using here embraces Indians of many tribes, particularly the
coastal Algonkians including the Delawares. Cornplanter is speaking as an
Indian, not just as the representative of the Seneca nation.
accepted by the Judges and Rulers of the Land whither we were come—

And now we began to be husbandmen and Vinedressers, and laboured abundantly in the field, and Joshua and John remained with us yet many days, and spake comfortable words unto us, and told us of the manner in which we should go in and out before this people.

Now it came to pass in the 6 month on the Seventh day of the month that Joshua and John departed for their own dwellings, and I wrote letters to my kinspeople in the land of my nativity—nevertheless they determined to go into the land of the North several days Journey, in order to visit the scattered Tribes of the Children of Onas that dwelt on the other side of the Great Water that cometh down from afar out of the North Countrey—21

And it came to pass after Joshua & John departed that we were left alone in a Strange land and the Heathen flocked about us, even the Chiefs and the Warriers, with their Wives and their little Ones, came from afar to see us, and shewed much kindness unto us, in bringing us the delicious fruit of the Earth, and meat of the Wild Beasts of the Forrest, and Fish which they Caught in the Waters of the River, and we gave them presents which were sent from the Great City and gained favour in their sight.

And after certain days Cornplanter the Chief and other chosen men of the people, went into the Countrey of the North, and as they traveled therein they met with Joshua and John returning towards their habitations after visiting their Brethren on on the other side of the Great River.* And they wrote letters to us of their Welfare and how it fared with them from the time of their departure from us.

And it came to pass as we laboured in the work whereunto we were called that we obtained favour among the People and all eyes were upon us to behold the works which we done: And Cornplanter the Chief shewed us much kindness and gave unto us whatsoever we asked without money or without price, for he said unto us, "forasmuch as ye came not to trade in the Land but to do good unto us I will not receive a recompence at your hands."

Now it was a time when many of the people who dwelt on the Great River, even the River Susquehannah (which is called in the Seneca Toungue Can way ne wy ne i) were moving from their habitations and Journeying into the land of the West, and they passed by our habitation on the Waters of the River in great multitudes with their wives and their little Ones insomuch that on a certain day there came up to our dwelling from the River Side three score and ten Souls, and they asked us questions concerning

21 I.e., Lake Erie.
*Niagara [Jackson's note in MS].
our coming into this Land, and whether we had purchased a
possession therein, of all which we answered them warily. 22

And moreover it came to pass in the 7 month on the ninth day
of the month that we got into a small vessel, and went on the waters
of the River to the Village of Cornplanter, to see how things
prospered, and the people came out and saluted us kindly and re-
joiced greatly to see us, and we did eat Bread in the house of Corn-
planter And returned to our own dwelling toward the going down
of the Sun—

And in these days the Heathen deserted their villages and
went into the wilderness to pursue and to kill the wild beasts of the
Forrest, which were in abundance in the Mountains round a bout,
and returned after many days and had plenty of meat in their
houses, and gave unto us to eat—

Now there was a certain man named George (whose Sirname
was Hildebrand) dwelt by the river side about the Space of 20
furlongs from us, and he was about to Journey into the land of the
East toward the Great City, And I wrote letters to my kinspeople
and the household of my Father; and moreover we wrote to the
judges of the Congregation in the Great City, of our welfare and
how the work prospered whereunto we were Sent, and that we
had obtained Favour in the Sight of the people and they shewed
forth much kindness unto us. Now it was the Seventh month on
the twenty ninth day of the month, that the writeing was sent to
the Judges of the Congregation in the great City—

And the Heathen began to build Houses in these days, and
forasmuch as we came from our own land, to shew them the works
of the Handy workman, they requested our assistance and instruc-
tion therein.

And moreover it came to pass in those days that a Certain People
came about us to survey the Land which the Natives had sold unto
Robert (whose Sirname is Morris) and the brought stores of
provinder from afar on the Waters of the River, and pitched their
Tents nigh unto our dwelling, and remained many days.

And for as much as many of these people knew not the Children
of Onas, they surmised in their own hearts, and did speak evil
in the ears of the Heathen concerning us; howbeit they hearkened
not, neither regarded their words, for their Confidence in us was
very Great.

Now on the First day of the week a certain young man Named
Benjamin (whose Sirname was Shaw) came unto our dwelling,
and he was lost in the wilderness and rambled too and fro for
many days, untill he was an hungred and his Body became Faint,

22 Some settlers from Pennsylvania bound for the west would go up the
West Branch of the Susquehanna and its tributaries, portage a few miles
across the height of land to the Allegheny, and then float down the Allegheny
to the Ohio.
howbeit we had compassion on him and gave him to eat. And he told us his dwelling was in the East three score miles and upwards, and as he traveled to a certain place nigh unto Jerusalem, he got bewildered in the woods and was 6 days and 6 nights in a waste howling Wilderness, untill at length he espied our habitation, and his heart was Glad—

And moreover he spake unto us of the things which he had seen in Jerusalem, and that a Certain woman named Gemima (whose sirname was Wilkinson) was a dweller therein—and that she did much mischief among the people, feigning herself to be a Goddess and a prophetess, and in the pride and vanity [word “wickedness” crossed out in MS] of her heart, said she could raise the Dead, & walk upon the waters, and do many mighty miracles— And she had certain Disciples which believed on her, as also many of the Inhabitants of Jerusalem, whom she had deceived with her enticing words, for she was eloquent & mighty in reasoning after the carnal will of Man— And Benjamin abode with us two days and departed to his own Countrey.

And moreover it came to pass in these days that the Heathen collected together at the Village of Cornplanter the Chief, and they were assembled from every quarter of the Land, in order to Worship and to offer a burnt offering according to the Custom of their forefathers for many generations; and they continued in the one place for many days, with feasting and music, and dancing and great shouts of Laughter, and on the last and great day of the feast, they Slew a Dog and kindled a fire and laid him thereon for a burnt offering and sacrifice for their Sins— And this is the custom of the people and the manner of their worship, tho' with mine eyes I saw it not.

Now in the eighth month on the sixth day of the month there came unto our dwelling certain men out of the North countrey from near the Great Waters, even Joseph (whose sirname was

23 Jerusalem was the name of a white settlement founded about 1790 on the west shore of Seneca Lake, in the present Yates County, N. Y.; Jackson is not using Biblical symbolism here. “Jerusalem” was listed as a “town” in Ontario County with a population of 99 in the 1790 census, and still survives as the name of a township. Here the followers of Jemima Wilkinson (see below) established their headquarters.

24 Jemima Wilkinson (1758-1819) achieved notoriety during the period 1776 to 1816 as one of the evangelists and reformers of the period. Claiming to be the Spirit of Life from God inhabiting the body of Jemima Wilkinson of Rhode Island, who (she said) died of the plague in 1776, she called herself the Publick Universal Friend, and directed a colony of several hundred settlers at New Jerusalem, on the shores of Seneca Lake.

25 Jackson is describing the Green Corn, the Seneca religious festival celebrating the ripening of the corn at the end of summer, and one of the two major annual ceremonies (the other being the Midwinter in January or February).
Ellicott)\textsuperscript{26} and Wm. (whose sirname was Johnson)\textsuperscript{27} and Jasper the Interpreter (whose sirname was Parrish)\textsuperscript{28} and also the Great Sachem and head ruler\textsuperscript{29} of the Natives of the Land wherein we dwell, whose village [word “City” crossed out in MS] was in the North about three days Journey, and we spake unto him by Jasper the interpreter of the work which we came about, and of all that we desired to do amongst this people and the writing was read, which was sent from the congregation of the Children of Onas in the great City concerning us, and the sayings thereof pleased him well, and he wished us to prosper in the work, and accomplish the things whereunto we were sent.

Now Joseph had business with Cornplanter the Chief and the rulers of the People concerning the lot of their inheritance that remained in the Land which they sold unto Thomas,\textsuperscript{30} and it came to pass on the morrow that the Chiefs and the Rulers of the people were collected together, & Cornplanter sent a messenger for us, and we all went with Joseph and those that were with him to the Council, and heard all the things that were spoken therein—

And moreover it came to pass in the ninth month on the 14th day of the month, that I received letters from my kinspeople in the land of my nativity, and from my Fathers house, the sayings whereof greatly rejoiced me inasmuch as the told me of their welfare and of many things that happened from the time of my departure— And many were the sayings which were in the writings that were sent unto me which this book would not contain were the all to be written, nevertheless these are the words of one of the writings that came unto me at that Time.

"Forasmuch as it hath seemed good in thy sight (in days that are past and gone) to write unto us concerning thy Journey into a far Country; be it known unto thee that the sayings thereof rejoiced us greatly, inasmuch as the made known unto us that the Rivers of water over which thou hadst to pass, did not overwhelm thee, that thou encompassed Mountains in the Wilderness where Terribly roar the wild Beasts of the Forest, often times affrighting the weary Traveler, and yet no evil suffered to come nigh thee: also that thou was well accepted by the Judges the

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{26} Joseph Ellicott (1760-1826) was a surveyor and land agent influential in Western New York. He was employed by the Holland Land Company, and in 1803 laid out the City of Buffalo.
  \item \textsuperscript{27} William Johnson was a large landowner and early resident of Buffalo, and was very influential among the Indians of Buffalo Creek, having married, according to report, a niece of Farmer’s Brother.
  \item \textsuperscript{28} Jasper Parrish was a familiar figure at councils between whites and Iroquois, serving as Indian agent and interpreter.
  \item \textsuperscript{29} This probably refers to Red Jacket, the influential Seneca chief.
  \item \textsuperscript{30} This refers to Thomas Morris, agent for his father, Robert Morris, to whom the Senecas had sold their Genesee lands by the Treaty of Big Tree, September, 1797.
\end{itemize}
Counselers and the mighty men of the land whither thou wentest—and finally that allowance was by them given thee to kill and eat of the Kid, of the goat and of the Fishes that Skim the Surface of the Great Deep without money or without Price.

Mayest thou go in and out wisely before them and do with a willing heart and a cheerful mind that which seemeth meet for thee to do; and may thy Labours be Crowned with the increase of plenty, that it may Create a knew Spirit in the hearts of thousands to lay their Shoulders to the work, and may Tens of thousands follow them, as they have followed thee and thy Brethren that sojourn with thee; so will ye have to rejoice in the work of your hands, and Joy in the abundance of Genesinguhtas prosperities.

Then will it not be said before the days of many generations, that the Desart aboundeth with every goodly thing, and the Wilderness appeareth Beautiful as the Garden of Eden.

Now as Touching the things that have happened since the days of thy departure, and of the times, may it not be called a day of darkness and of gloominess, a day of Clouds and of thick darkness, for the pestilence that walketh in obscurity & destroyeth as at noon-day is within the City; and without that City much of what the Armies of Flies had left, hathe innumerable hosts of grass-hoppers eaten, even the green pastures and herbage of the Field—"

Now inasmuch as these writings which were sent unto me, signified of the pestilence rageing in the Great City, and of the judgments that were spreading abroad in the land of Columbia, it caused me to go heavily Along, and as I mused on these things, I said in my heart surely "affliction cometh not forth of the Dust, neither doth trouble spring out of the ground—" well may it be called a day of darkness and gloominess a day of clouds, and of thick Darkness, for many of the peoples hearts are waxed Gross, and their ears have become dull of hearing, and their Eyes they have closed, that the will not discern the Signs of the times, nor turn from pursuing the Evil imaginations of their hearts, untill they be awakened out of their Spiritual Slumbers, by a mighty hand and an outstretched Arm that speaketh by the voice of pestilence in the City, and causeth the chastiseing rod of affliction to pass through the Land—"  

And it came to pass after these things on the first day of the week that Cornplanter the Chief and his wife came unto our dwelling and did eat Bread therein, and Cornplanter the Chief sent out his warriers to pursue the wild beasts of the forrest, and they

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31 I.e., the great epidemic of Yellow Fever in 1798 in Philadelphia.
32 The gloomy forebodings which Jackson expresses here were commonly held in America at this period, and are associated with the evangelical and revivalistic turn taken by American religions of the day. Particular manifestations were the great Revival in the West (1797-1805) and the rise of missionary activity.
caught Venison and gave us thereof in abundance to eat, and the friendship of the Heathen waxed stronger and stronger and we gained favour in their Sight—

Now we had dwelt hitherto in the house which we bought of the Woman, and forasmuch as it was like the houses of the heathen which are as tents of the Field, it was not convenient for the purpose of our household, and it came to pass in due time that we builded ourselves a greater and we entered therein with our goods and our provinder and did live comfortably in it.

And it was in the tenth month on the sixth day of the month that we entered into the house which we had builded, and lo! the Heathen flocked about us and beheld the work of our hands and admired the beauty of our dwelling, because it was greater than all the dwellings of Genesinguhta—

And moreover it came to pass in the same month that we received a letter from Thomas the Scribe (whose Sirname is Wistar) and he was one of the Judges of the Congregation of the Children of Onas, and he wrote unto us of the pestilence rageing in the Great City, and how the inhabitants thereof were scattered abroad in the Countrey round about for safety, and of those that remained in their dwellings there died of the pestilence every day near three score [word “souls” crossed out in MS] people.

And moreover he wrote many notable sayings unto us concerning the work whereunto we were sent, desireing us to keep the word of patience, that we might be kept from the hour of temptation and experience the everlasting Arms to be underneath—

And in those days a certain man called Israel (whose sirname was Barret) came unto our dwelling on the waters of the River, and he was wounded in his foot which disabled him from Traveling and he abode with us many days— And forasmuch as the winter was approaching (for the Snow began to Fall) and his dwelling was in a far Countrey he desired to go forward on horseback, and I saddled an horse and set him thereon, and went before him to pilot him on the way— Now it was in the eleventh month on the ninth day of the month that Israel and me departed from Genesinguhta, and we lodged in the house of one of the rulers of the Heathen that night, and much Snow fell—and it came to pass on the morrow early in the morning that we arose and departed and traveled a days journey into the wilderness, and when the evening approached [word “that” crossed out in MS] there was no house nigh unto us, and we kindled a fire and did eat Bread, and lay down in a Great Valley, and the wild beasts of the Forrest did terribly roar in the mountains round about— And when the morning was come, we arose and journeyed from thence thro a waste howling wilderness, untill we came to a Certain river called in the Seneca Toungue A,da,gus,kia, and we passed over on
Handsome Lake preaching at Tonawanda
the Other side of the River and lo in the twilight of the evening, we espied one of the Villages of the heathen, and entered into one of their houses, and abode that night— Now this Village was nigh unto the River side, and it was a goodly land, and fruitfull, and the Walnut and Sugar tree did grow therein in abundance—

And we journeyed from thence on the Morrow and encamped by the Side of the Great* Water that cometh down from a far out of the North Countrey, whereon the Merchants Ships do pass as the go to the uttermost part of the land.

And early in the morning before the Sun was risen upon the Earth we arose and Journeyed by the side of this mighty water and I lift up my eyes and looked and beheld on the other side of the Water a land inhabited by a people under the dominion of the Great king whose dwelling is on the other side of the mighty deep, and behold it was a goodly land and well favoured Countrey, and had many goodly dwellings therein.

And it came to pass about midday that we came unto a River called [words “in the vernacular Toungue Buffalo (but in the” crossed out] Seneca tongue Tus, ye*, o,) and we passed over the river and went into the village, and remained that night.

Now when Israel found some of his people in this place he purposed remaining for a time, and when the morrow was come I arose and Journeyed again by the same way whither I wentest, and lo about the going down of the Sun I came unto the Village of the Heathens nigh unto the River Adaguskia, and I entered into the house of Jacob and Abode that Night—

Now this Jacob (whose name in the Seneca Toungue is Ka’uh ka) was one of the antients of the people and he spake unto me and said the days of his Pilgrimage were one hundred and twenty years and moreover he said unto me that his dwellings had been in different parts of the Earth, and that he had been in the Great City even when it was a little Town, and the number of his days were many and he had saw many wars and Fightings, and fought many Battles of the Warriers amidst confused noise, from the rising of the Sun till the going down thereof, untill many of the people fell down Slain, and then Villages were burnt with Fire and the remnant of those that escaped fled into the Wilderness: But now he rejoiced greatly to see a time of peace and hoped the Sons of Men would no more destroy one another with the Sword, or with Weapons of War—

* Jackson is probably referring to the Cattaraugus reservation on Cattaraugus Creek, which lay on the trail to Buffalo.
* Lake Erie [Jackson’s note in MS].
* Jackson is referring to Canada as seen across the eastern end of Lake Erie.
* Buffalo Creek [Jackson’s note in MS].
* The white settlement at Buffalo, probably.
And furthermore he said his wife's name was Elemausa and the number of her days were fourscore years and upwards: yet she laboured in the Field, and brought in Corn in abundance until their houses were filled on every side— And as I communed with Ka,uh,ka, and Elemausa, they brought to my remembrance good old Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, with their Wives and their Children as it is recorded in the Book of Moses, and I blessed them in my heart, and gave gifts unto them, and arose in the morning while it was yet Dark and departed—

And it came to pass as I Journeyed on the way, that I got benighted in the Wilderness even a day's Journey from any Inhabitants of the land and behold it was dark, and I was without fire by reason of the Snow and the great rain, and I lay me down to Sleep on a certain place in the midst of the wood, and the wild beasts of the forest did Terribly roar in the Mountains round about for lo it was a waste howling wilderness—

But as I mused fear departed from me, & I said within myself surely no evil will befall me in this place, until at length mine eyes were heavy with Sleep, and I dreamed I was at home in my native Land—

Now as soon as the morning appeared I arose and Journeyed from thence over the Mountains the Hills and the Valleys, along crooked and Solitary paths, and one of the Natives of the land found me wandering in the Wood, and gave me Venison to eat, and lo about the going down of the Sun, I reached my habitation at the place of my sojourning in the land of the West, with great Joy and thankfulness of heart—

Now it came to pass while I was traveling in the North that Cornplanter the Chief called the people together and speak unto Henery and Joel concerning the little ones which he desired should be taught in the learning of the children of Onas, and moreover Henery determined to go and Sojourn at the Village of Cornplanter and teach all the children [words “little ones” crossed out in MS] that should come to him for instruction, and it was in the eleventh month on the twenty third day of the month, that Henery Opened the Books and expounded the things that were written therein—

And in those days the Heathen pursued after the Wild Beasts of the Forrest and slew thereof a great multitude, until their Tents were filled on every side—

And moreover it came to pass in those days that the Daughter of Cornplanter lay upon her bed sick, and she died, and great lamentation was over her in the house of Cornplanter for many Days— And this is the manner in which the mourn over their dead— When a woman dieth, if she die either in the house or out in the Field, it cometh to pass that her kindred and people gather together and mourn over her, and carry with them the best fruits of the Earth, to the house where the dead layeth and holdeth a great
Feast and maketh lamentation for many Days— And in like manner do the mourn over the Men [word “Son” crossed out in MS] also—

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Now the Newyear being come in the first month on the twenty third day of the month it came to pass that we wrote a letter to the Judges of the Congregation of the Children of Onas in the great City of our welfare and how the work prospered, and of all things that seemed meet unto us—

Now it was a time of much rain and the Fountains of the Deep were broken up, and, the Floods came down from a far and the waters overflowed the banks of the River, and surrounded our dwelling, until we were on an Island.

But after many days the Floods Abated and the Waters returned to the River and ran down toward the great Sea; Nevertheless as sailing was yet dangerous I went by the way of the Mountain to the Village of Complanter in order to see Henry my fellow traveler and hear how the School prospered, and behold it was the Seventh day of the feast, for the day of Pentecost was fully come and the people were assembled together from every quarter of the Land to worship and to offer their yearly sacrifice, according to the Custom of their forefathers; and ere I came nigh unto the Village mine ears were saluted with the sound of Music, & dancing and Great Laughter for this is the Custom of the Heathen and the manner of their worship—

And more over the set up an image of wood in the form and Similitude of a Man, and put thereon the Skins of wild beasts of the Forrest, and Feathers of the Fowls of the Air, and Handkerchiefs and fine ribbons of varigated colours.— And the people were adorned in fine apparel even with Silk and purple and fine linen, and Breast plates, and earrings and Nose Jewels and Bracelets, and round tires like the moon; and with head bands and Silver Pins and the Ornaments of the legs & a girdle about their Loins curiously interwoven with various Colours. And moreover it came to pass on the Seventh Day of the Feast that they slew a dog and hung him on the image which they had set up, and put a String of Beads about his neck, and adorned him with Ribbons and fine apparel, and looked thereon and worshiped, and it came to pass afterwards, that they kindled a fire and laid him thereon for a sacrifice and burnt offering for their Sins. And moreover did they burn incense upon their Altar, and the smoak

The Seneca New Year, which falls in January or February, was celebrated by the second of the major religious festivals, the so-called Midwinter ceremony.
thereof went upwards, and the Minister of the Tabernacle Spake in the ears of the People in order to consecrate the offering—

And when these things were accomplished they danced exceedingly, both men and women, small & great, and they prided themselves in the bravery of their Tinking Arnaments, and the noise of the dancing and musick and great shouts of Laughter, made both the ears of those that heard to tingle—

And when the day of penticost was ended the people returned to their own dwellings: but my heart was sorrowful because of the customs and traditions of the Heathen, for as I mused on these things I said in my heart “surely it availeth nothing your dancing and Musick and Burnt offerings—your appointed Feasts and your sacrifices, the most High will not accept as an attonement for your Sins—

And I abode two days in the Village of Corn-planter and wrote letters to my kinspeople in the Land of the East, and returned again to my own dwelling—

Now it came to pass that certain letters came unto us from near the Great City and the Sayings thereof were sorrowful, and caused us to mourn and weep inasmuch as the made known unto us that many of the people were slain by the pestilence, and of the Valiants of Israel were fallen not a few— Even Warner (whose Sirname was Mifflin) that lived in the South Countrey, who was mighty in words and in Deeds, and excelled in knowledge and understanding; and James (whose sirname was Emlen) a perfect and upright Man, was Dead. Now Warner and James were two of the Judges of the Congregation of the Children of Onas. And Abraham (whose Sirname was Gibbins), and Mary the Widow (whose sirname was sharpless) and Hannah the wife of Jacob (whose sirname was Lindley) was also dead. Now these were Speakers in the Congregation of the Children of Onas and greatly beloved among the people, and forasmuch as Hannah the wife of Jacob was my kins woman my heart was sorrowful for many days.

And it came to pass again in the third month on the first day of the month that we received letters again from the Great City, even from Thomas the Scribe, and from Joshua (whose sirname was Sharpless) and the sayings thereof greatly rejoiced us inasmuch as they made known unto us that the Pestilence was stayed in the City, and that health smiled again upon the land.

Nevertheless there died of the Pestilence in the Great City three thousand and five hundred Souls, and many were Slain in the Villages round about, even of the Valliants of Israel were fallen not a few— And moreover Thomas and Joshua wrote many notable sayings unto us, like the good Scribe out of the treasury of their hearts things both knew and Old, whereby we were greatly comforted—

Now while the Winter lasted we staid at home in our dwelling
because of the Cold and the great Snows, but it came to pass when the Spring drew nigh that the Snows ran down from the Gaps of the Mountains, and the Fountains of the Deep were Broken up and the waters came down from afar, and the Floods surrounded our dwelling for many days; and in those days we wrote letters to our kinspeople and Brethren in the land of the East, of our welfare and how the work prospered, and of all things whatsoever seemed good unto us to write—

And moreover it came to pass in those days that the Inhabitants of Andauguskia assembled themselves together, the Chiefs and the Counsellors & the mighty Men, and they wrote a petition unto us. Now the Inhabitants of Aduagusikia were a tribe of the same Nation of the people of the land wherein we dwell, and forasmuch as they had heard of the works which we had done in Genesinghuta, and of our kindness to their Brethren, they desired of us that some of the Children of Onas might go and sojourn amongst them, and shew unto them the works of the handy workman, and the use of Mechanical Instruments, and teach them to plow and to sow and the manner of tilling the Ground—and therefore did they write a petition unto us, of that which they desired of us, and the writing we sent to they Judges of the Congregation of the Children of Onas in the Great City—

And it came to pass in the fourth month on the eight and twentieth day of the month that I received letters from my kinspeople of the household of my Father and also from Isaac (whose surname was Coates) and he was one of the Judges of the Congregation—And moreover the Judges of the Congregation wrote unto us and counseled us wisely in the work whereunto we were sent, and many excellent sayings were wrote unto us which are not recorded in this Book—

And in these days the Heathen went out and Trade with the inhabitants of the Land and commit evil in buying of the accursed thing (even strong drink) and brought it into their Villages and hid it in their Tents, and many of them was drunken there with—And after Certain days we spake unto Cornplanter the Chief and called the Counsellors and rulers of the people together concerning this matter—And it came to pass in the fifth month on the fifth-teenth day of the month that we opened our mouths, and spake unto them concerning the Great evil of Strong drink and of the many abominations it wrought in the Earth—And moreover we spake unto them of the work which we came about, to turn them from the ways of their forefathers, to wisely cultivating the Earth, and keeping of flocks and of herds & of swine, that they might have meat in their houses and bread without scarcity—and great silence was among the people at that Season, and they said they would meditate on the things which we had told them but they answered us not at that time.
Howbeit it came to pass afterwards that the Chiefs and Counsellors of the People collected together and spake unto us, of all the things which we had told them did they answer that day, and said our words were just and true, and the could discern no fault in us but contrariwise the evil that was committed was all on their own side, and therefore they were determined to take our advice, and try to amend their ways, and put away the accused thing from among them, even the great evil of Strong Drink—

And after these things I received letters again from the household of my Father and the tideings thereof were sorrowful, inasmuch as they made known unto me the death of my Sisters Husband, and that she was a Widow and Desolate, and had many Fatherless Children that were young in Years— And these things did cause me to go heavily along, and look toward the land of my Nativity, and pity the Fatherless and the Widow if paradventure my being among them might give them a little comfort—

And now "the winter was past, the storms were over and gone, the flowers appeard on the Earth, & the time of the Singing of Birds was come," we went out and laboured abundantly in the Field, and became husbandmen and Vinedressers, and the works of our hands did prosper, and brought forth fruits of increase— And the Heathen round about us began to labour in these days and enclose fields, like unto us for they desired to become husband-men—

And it came to pass in those days that a certain woman of the Heathen dwelt in the Village of Corn planter whom they suspected to have a familiar Spirrit, because they say she had done much mischief by Pison and by Witchcraft. And there was enmity between her and the house of Corn-planter the Chief, and [about seven words crossed out] there was a young Child in his house, and the woman of a familiar Spirrit threatened to Slay the Young Child [about five words crossed out] and when a messenger came and told these things in the ears of Corn-planter the Chief, his Indignation was raised against the woman, and he commanded his sons, and while she was labouring in the Field they rose up against her and smote [word "slew" crossed out] her that she died, and they digged a hole in the Earth and put her therein for there was no mourning over her. Now when this thing was noised abroad there was no small stir amongst the People and it came to pass the self same day that the Chiefs and counsellors of the people assembled together concerning this matter, and when they reasoned together they said one unto another that Justice had been done to the Woman because she was found worthy of Death, and in order to do away evil from among the people and put away those of Familiar Spirrits out of the Land.

Now in these days I sojourned alone at Genesinguhta (for Joel whose Sirname is Swayne was exercis'd at the village of Corn-
planter) and when certain messengers came and told me of the Woman that was slain, & that the Sons of Corn-planter had rose up against her and slew her in the sight of the people, my spirit was troubled because of the wickedness of the heathen, until I made further inquiry concerning the matter—

And after these things we received letters from the Judges of the Congregation in the Great City and forasmuch as we heard of the things which were sent unto us that come by Waggon over the lofty mountains and were brought on the waters of the River to a certain* Fortification about fourscore and ten miles from us, I gathered together divers of the people and embarked on the waters of the River in order to transport them to our dwelling— Now it was in the sixth month on the seventeenth day of the month that we sailed, and on the evening of the second day we put to shore at the Fortification and encamped at the Riverside— Howbeit I went into the Fortification and the Keeper thereof treated me kindly and gave me to eat, and I remained there that Night— Now there was a Marriage nigh unto the Fortification and their hearts were merry with wine, because the Governor of the feast gave them plentifully to drink—

And when the morrow was come I went out into the village to buy bread for myself and those that were with me and we loaded our Vessels and sailed in the Afternoon of the Day— Now there was 12 of us in company and four Vessels, and when night was come we put to shore and pitched our tent by the river side, for it was a wilderness Country through which we passed, and the Mountains were on the right hand and on the left—

And in the morning we Departed from thence and after many days arrived at Genesinguhta, with our Vessels and the Laden thereof, & I was greatly rejoiced because I was weary of the Long Journey—

Now it came to pass in these days that one of the Heathen (the Brother of Corn-planter the Chief[)] lay upon his bed sick and behold he was in a trance for nearly the space of an hour, and when his Spirit revived again he spake of the many things which he had seen and heard, and that he had seen three Men with green Branches in their hands which bear different kinds of fruit, who told him if he eat thereof he need not be afraid to die— And moreover it came to pass the second time that he lay upon his bed sick and he fell again into a trance from the seventh until the third hour of the day, and was at it were caught up into Heaven, and saw wonderful things which are not meet to be

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77 Henry Simmons, Jr., was also at Jenuchshadago, teaching in the school there.
*Fort Franklin [Jackson’s note in MS].
88 Handsome Lake (or “Connudiu” in Jackson’s orthography).
uttered— Howbeit he saith, he talked with Men like Angels, who spoke unto him of things that should come to pass hereafter and saw the Spirrits of some that were dead even the Daughter of Cornplanter the Chief who died in the Last winter, and she spake unto him concerning her kinspeople that were in the world, and moreover it was told him that he should return to the world again, and remain untill one half of the hairs on his head were turned Gray— Now his arms and his legs were cold to his elbows and his knees, but when his spirrits revived in the afternoon of the day, he opened his mouth and spake these things in the ears of those that were about him, and they people collected together to worship when they heard these things, and they danced exceedingly, and moreover they slew a white Dog and did eat the meat thereof but the Skin [word “did” crossed out in MS] they Burnt with Fire—

And after these things (when the Ears were well grown upon the stalks of Corn) the people collected together to keep the yearly passover and to worship according to the custom of their forefathers, and when they were gathered into the one place, Cornplanter the Chief spake unto the people all the words of the Vision, and the prophecy, which his Brother declared unto him, and some of the people believed therein, but many believed not—

And the Heathen continued many days at the Village of Cornplanter, eating & drinking and rising up to play, with dancing and musick and great shouts of Laughter, and adorning themselves with shining apparrel and abundance of Tinkling ornaments, and when those days were accomplished, they departed every one to their own dwelling—

(To Be Continued)