An Indian Prayer

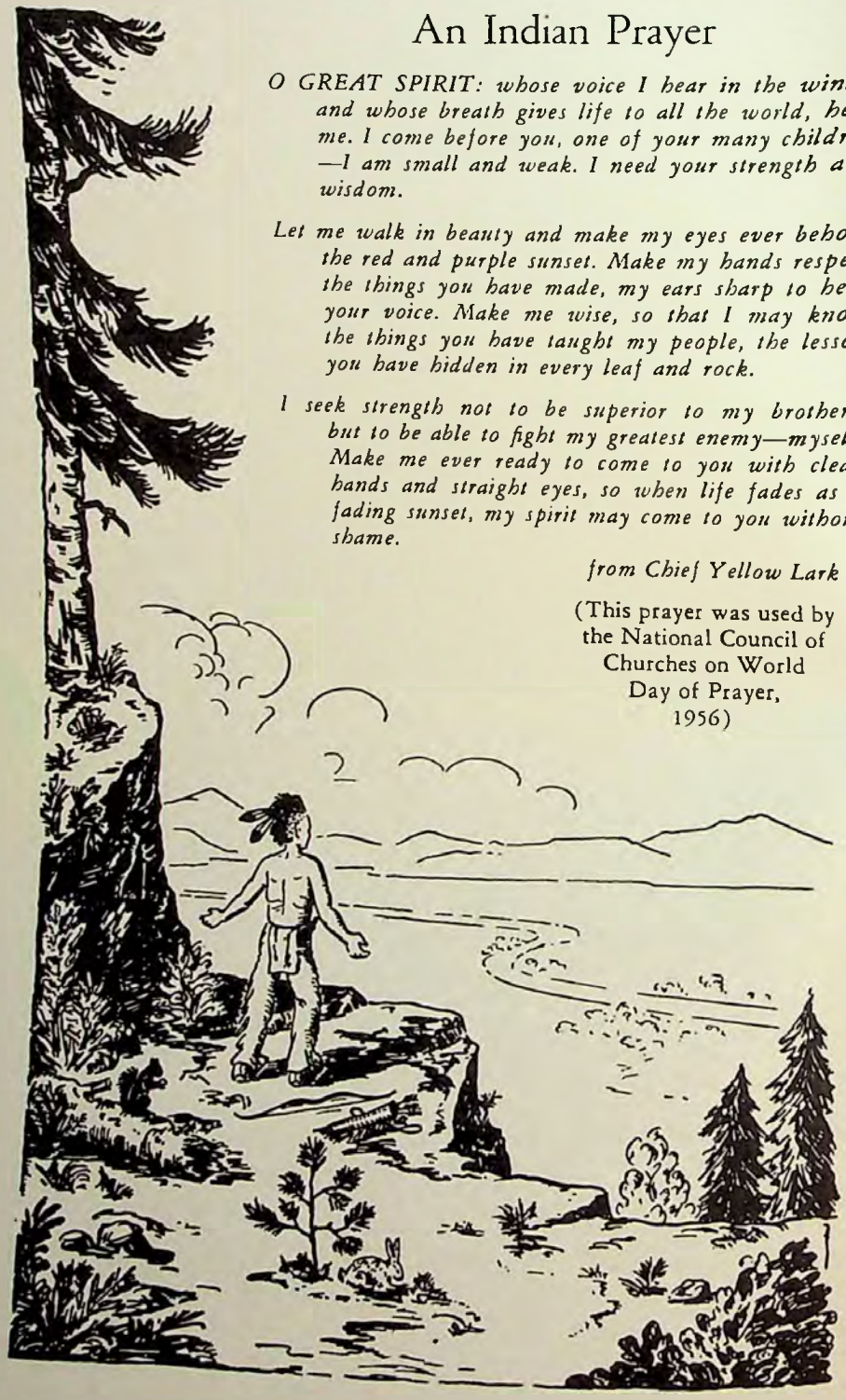
O GREAT SPIRIT: whose voice I hear in the winds, and whose breath gives life to all the world, hear me. I come before you, one of your many children —I am small and weak. I need your strength and wisdom.

Let me walk in beauty and make my eyes ever behold the red and purple sunset. Make my hands respect the things you have made, my ears sharp to hear your voice. Make me wise, so that I may know the things you have taught my people, the lesson you have hidden in every leaf and rock.

I seek strength not to be superior to my brothers, but to be able to fight my greatest enemy—myself. Make me ever ready to come to you with clean hands and straight eyes, so when life fades as a fading sunset, my spirit may come to you without shame.

from Chief Yellow Lark

(This prayer was used by the National Council of Churches on World Day of Prayer, 1956)



Second Printing

FREEMASONRY AND THE AMERICAN INDIAN

By

WILLIAM R. DENSLOW

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This year marks the Fortieth Anniversary of the first volume published by the Missouri Lodge of Research and, in recognition of this milestone, the Board of Publication offers as a bonus book to the Lodge membership a second printing of the 1956 publication *Freemasonry and the American Indian* by William R. Denslow. The volume has long been out of print and is considered a collector's item.

THOMAS C. WARDEN, *Editor*

Foreword

MASONIC JOURNALISM in the United States has provided students with such invaluable resources as the fifteen volumes of *The Builder,* the six volumes of *The Master Mason,* the old Detroit *Masonic News,* the present Detroit *Masonic World,* the *Indiana Freemason* and the fine journals which have come from New York.

But in the past there have been a number of Masonic papers the enthusiastic and devoted editors of which knew much more about the use of paste pot and shears than about Freemasonry. From many of these have emanated a constant stream of misinformation which has been as delightful reading for the uninformed as it has been painful for the student.

"*All* Washington's Generals were Masons"—"*All* the signers of the Declaration of Independence were Masons"—"*All* members of the Boston Tea Party were members of St. Andrews Lodge"—"*All* the framers of the Constitution of the United States were Freemasons"!

Included in this stream of fancy have been stories after stories about American Indian Freemasonry. Lodges existed when the Pilgrams landed at Plymouth! The Reverend George Oliver, having Adam as the first Grand Master, has been outdone by yarns of where the American Indian obtained his Craftsmanship and developed it to a high degree before Columbus discovered the continent!

It is, therefore, an especial joy—for the story of Freemasonry as it really is, is exciting and interesting enough without embroidering it with fairy tales—to welcome such a book as this, which begins by gently but firmly debunking the many absurd myths which well-intentioned well-wishers have built up about the Freemasonry known and practiced by the American Indian.

This exposé of misinformation has been accomplished in no spirit of levity or scorn, but by a careful, painstaking and logical marshalling of facts. The analogies are set forth, the ritualistic legends of Indian secret societies are told, and comparisons suggested between Indian and Masonic signs. The reader finishes this part of the volume with the feeling that it was sympathetically written by a Free-

mason with a reverential regard to the semi-religious character of Indian secret society lore.

It is difficult for this writer to decide—perhaps no decision is necessary!—as to the relative importance of this retailing of facts and the rest of the volume which brings to print a mass of information regarding American Indian culture, the part Freemasonry played in its development, and the Indians famous in their tribes and lives who both lived and loved Freemasonry. Of all these, it is natural that the pages devoted to Joseph Brant are perhaps the most fascinating; so much of legend has beclouded Brant's name and fame that the chronological tale here told of his life and works is perhaps the more important.

But here are names and lives practically unknown to the general public; Indians whose labors were of vital importance to their own times and tribes, who found in Freemasonry a teaching and a way of life which fitted their philosophies far better than any of the numerous sectarian doctrines of devoted missionaries. Indeed, those pages in which are set forth the Indian religion are perhaps the highlight of the story; it leaves the reader, regardless of his faith, with a new conception and a great respect for the first Americans and their beliefs.

Not only the world of Masonic students and historians will benefit from this wholly objective and careful study. The Indian of tomahawk and scalp-taking, blanket and dirt and fire water, is so little the real Red Man that those whose misconceptions of him are of the movie character, will find this work a real mental shock—but it is like the shock of cold shower after hot, delightful in its leaving a feeling of well being.

The Masonic world—indeed, all those who love truth for its own sake—will be long indebted to the author for a carefully done, exact and truthfully drawn portrait of the Indian as a Freemason, and the facts about his secret societies, rituals, beliefs and practices.

CARL H. CLAUDY

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PART I

INDIAN SECRET SOCIETIES

Theories of Origin

AT REGULAR INTERVALS over the last 150 years, Masonic writers have rehashed the question, "Was there Freemasonry among the American Indians?" During the first part of the last century, in particular, many noted and well meaning writers flatly stated that the accumulation of archaeological and cultural facts, combined with current incidents, pointed to the answer as being an unqualified "Yes." This was a period that nourished over-eager Masonic journalists who tried to prove that Freemasonry was as old as the world itself, and that all events of great importance stemmed from its teachings.

Curious carved shell object found in ruins of Casa Grande National Monument in Arizona.

B. T. Kavanaugh, first grand master of Wisconsin, writing about 1850, concluded:

> To sum up the whole argument before us, let us now review the facts in hand. The Indians have, unquestionably, a knowledge of the *universal language* of Masonry; they did not receive it from Columbus or his party! They did not as a whole, receive it from the Welch Druids, neither could they have received it in *all parts* from the Phoenicians, or ancient Mexicans. They must, therefore, have received it before they left their Asiatic ancestors; and if so, at what period in the world's history came they in possession of this knowledge? The answer is plain and inevitable; it must have been at or about the time of the Babel dispersion; and if at that time, a knowledge of the mysteries must have been not only measurably *perfected*, but generally diffused among the various branches of the human race at that time! Here then is *antiquity* enough to cover our time-honored Institution with hoary honors as with a mantle!

Another story has been told of the discovery of a small band of Mohawk Indians near Marshall, Missouri, supposedly the remnant of that great nation, who escaped to the west following the Revolutionary war and the defeat of their allies, the British. The chief had in his possession some clay tablets with the history of the tribe. The originator of the story vouched that the tablets had many Masonic

signs on them and concluded that they had been handed down from the *lost land of Lemuria!* Actually, the Mohawks resettled in Canada after the war, on lands given them by the British.

Other writers have entered the bubble-headed fringe by attempting to link Indian mounds with geometry, astrology and Freemasonry. Take, for instance, the savages who labored long and hard to construct a mound in which to bury their chief near the Mississippi river. When they tired of carrying dirt, they ended up with a central mound which in 1879 measured 36 feet in diameter and 12 feet high. The adjacent mounds formed a triangle 144 feet long and were respectively 3, 4, and 5 feet in height. Imagine the astonishment of those Indians if they could have heard their work being explained two centuries later:

> What is the meaning of this mound? Brother Frank C. Higgins gives the answer in his July 6, 1919 article in the *New York Herald.*
>
> First, that this mound symbolizes the conjunction every 120 years of the three major planets, Saturn, Jupiter and Mars. An equilateral triangle will divide the circumference of a circle into three 120 degree sections. The symbol of one of the three planets is in each angle of the figure, while the 36-foot symbol of the sun is in the center.
>
> Second, that this mound embodies pure Egyptian sacred geometry, embracing the Pythagorean 3, 4, 5 proportion and the equally significant formula of three times 12—the width of the sides—four times 12, and five times 12, or 36 times 48 times 60 which yields 103,680 or the sum of four precessional cycles of 25,920 years each. As this same problem is found in Egypt, Greece and India, Brother Higgins writes that its ubiquity is certain.

Seemingly, the thought never occurred to Brother Higgins that these were not the *original* dimensions of the mound—only at the time of their measurement, and that with another 100 years of erosion the size will be entirely different!

Even the Bureau of Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution, outstanding authority on American Indians, helped along the myth of Indian Freemasonry in its first annual report by quoting a paper by Dr. J. Mason Spainhour, of Lenoir, North Carolina, and stating that "the author bears the reputation of an observer of undoubted integrity, whose facts as given may not be doubted." Dr. Spainhour dug into a mound in Burke county, North Carolina, and found three bodies, each in an upright position. One was in the south facing north, one in the west facing east, and one in the east facing west. Each right hand rested upon a rock, and on each rock was a toma-

hawk. The ax in the south was unbroken, the one in the west broken in two pieces, and the eastern one in three pieces. The body in the east was at a higher level than the one in the west, which in turn was higher than the one in the south. Dr. Spainhour concluded:

The facts set forth will doubtless convince every Mason who will carefully read the account of this remarkable burial that the American Indians were in possession of at least some of the mysteries of our order, and that it was evidently the grave of Masons, and the three highest officers in a Masonic Lodge. The grave was situated due east and west; an altar was erected in the center; the south, west and east were occupied—*the north was not!* Implements of authority were near each body. The difference in the quality of the beads; the tomahawks in one, two and three pieces, and the difference in distance that the bodies were placed from the surface, indicate beyond doubt that these three persons had been buried by Masons, and those, too, that understood what they were doing. Will some learned Mason unravel this mystery and inform the Masonic world how the Indians obtained so much Masonic information?

The editor of the article, Dr. H. C. Yarrow, assistant surgeon, United States Army, straddled the fence with his own comment on Dr. Spainhour's deductions by saying:

Should Dr. Spainhour's inferences be incorrect, there is still a remarkable coincidence of circumstances patent to every Mason. In support of this gentleman's views, attention is called to the description of the *Midawan*—a ceremony of initiation for would-be medicine men—in Schoolcraft's *History of the Indian Tribes of the United States,* 1855, p. 428, relating to the Sioux and Chippewas. In this account are found certain forms and resemblances which have led some to believe that the Indians possessed a knowledge of Masonry.

The following notes are taken from *Indian Masonry* by Brother Allanson Skinner, curator of anthropology, public museum, city of Milwaukee, before *Henry L. Palmer Lodge No. 301* (now extinct) on April 1, 1926.

In the year 1916-17, the writer of these lines was employed in archaeologic research for the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, in excavating and exploring the cemeteries of a forgotten people in the table land of Costa Rica in Central America. . . . Here in the interior we found massive stone carvings, seats, altars, statues or idols, sacrificial slabs, and stone welled graves and mounds, though no temples, or great structures. Yet, in these graves and on the ancient sites the writer himself found images that ranged from life size to tiny figurines, the frequency in which the hands of these idols were found in certain suggestive positions.

In one type the statues were shown standing erect, with the hands held in front at about the height of the waist, the palms toward each other, usually

with a human head between them. In another one arm was held down bent at the elbow, the hand held horizontally, often clasping something, and the other arm raised, elbow bent, forming the angle of a square and, often with something in it. If recollection serves, there was not always uniformity in which hand and arm were lowered, and which were raised. In the third and last form of these images, the person likewise stood erect, both arms bent at the elbows and with the hands pointing inwards, and the fingers touching the center of the abdomen.

The Ten Lost Tribes of Israel

As soon as the newly discovered continent was found not to be connected with Asia, theories of the origin of the Indians began to be formulated by the learned, and consistent with the religious spirit of the age, a solution of the problem was sought in Hebrew tradition. It was this same spirit and this same age that linked Freemasonry with Jewish history and traditions. Existing without authority, the belief is that in 721 B.C., Sargon, king of Assyria, the successor of Shalmaneser, carried off into captivity ten of the twelve tribes of Israel. Other deportations are attributed to Tiglath-Pileser and Shalmaneser. Not all the people were deported; nor were those who were, actually lost. Still, the assumption that they were lost has given rise to absurd theories, according to which these missing tribes have been discovered in every quarter of the globe. The most popular theories are as follows: one which identifies them with the Anglo-Saxons and another which sees their descendants in the American Indians. Father Duran, in 1585, was one of the first to state explicitly that "these natives are of the ten tribes of Israel that Shalmaneser, king of the Assyrians, made prisoners and carried to Assyria."

Antonio de Montezinos, while traveling in South America in 1641, claimed that he met savages who followed Jewish practices. This story he repeated in Holland in 1644 to Manasseh ben Israel, who printed it in his work, *Hope of Israel.* From this many subsequent writers obtained their chief arguments. The identification of the American aborigines with the "ten lost tribes" was based on alleged similarities in religions, practices, costumes and habits, traditions and languages. Adair's *History of the American Indian* was based on this theory (1755). Dr. Elias Boudinot was an enthusiastic successor of Adair who wrote *A Star in the West; or a Humble Attempt to Discover the Long Lost Ten Tribes of Israel, Preparatory to*

Their Return to Their Beloved City, Jerusalem (1816). He was followed by Lord Kingsborough whose *Antiquities of Mexico* represents a fortune spent in efforts to sustain the theory. It may be remarked that the Jews and the Indians have no physical characteristics in common, the two races belonging to entirely distinct types. The Mormon church has supported this theory of the "ten lost tribes," and its statements are alleged to have the authority of direct revelation.

The Welsh Theory

Equally absurd, but less widespread, was the myth of a tribe of Welsh Indians, descendants of a colony reputed to have been founded by Prince Madoc about 1170. The myth placed them with their Welsh language and Welsh Bible (to which some early Masonic writer added Welsh Freemasonry) on the Atlantic coast, where they were identified with the Tuscarora, and then farther and farther west, until about 1776 we find the Welsh, or "white" Indians on the Missouri, where they appeared as the Mandan tribe (according to Catlin), and later on the Red river. Still later they were identified with the Hopi of Arizona and finally with the Modoc of Oregon, after which they vanish.

Such theories are kept alive by periodic rebirths in the press. Even as late as 1956 the *California Freemason* carried a note taken from the *Oregon Mason*. It did not endorse the theory, but merely passed on an item of interest:

> Here's a new slant on how American Indians may have actually had what was the forerunner of Freemasonry as we have it today. To accept this theory it is necessary to set aside the discovery of America by Columbus, and possibly even the claim that Leif Ericson came here looking for Minnesota ahead of all the others.
>
> Now comes the story that ancient Welsh bards have records of a Prince Madoc who was presumed to have been lost at sea in 1172. Five hundred years later a report came from America of two or three Indian tribes which spoke the Welsh tongue. About 1909 two Welsh miners, looking for gold in Arizona, came across an Indian tribe rehearsing a Masonic ceremony in Welsh. The supposition is that Prince Madoc reached the Americas and taught the Welsh tongue and Welsh Freemasonry to the natives.

Other seekers of a foreign origin for the American Indian have derived them in turn from Greeks, Chinese, Japanese, Phoenicians, Irish and Polynesians. Most of these theories are based on fortuitous

analogies in habits, institutions, and arts. In this Freemasonry often has been a willing helper. Frequently the attempt is made to strengthen the theories by pointing out similarities of language. The general similarity of the human mind in similar stages of culture in every part of the world, with its proneness to produce similar arts, institutions, religious ideas, myths, and even material products, sufficiently explains the former class of facts, while the hypothesis of identity of language, based, as they invariably are, on a small number of verbal similarities in the nature of coincidences, are wholly disproved on adequate analysis.

Analogies Between Masonry and Indian Secret Societies

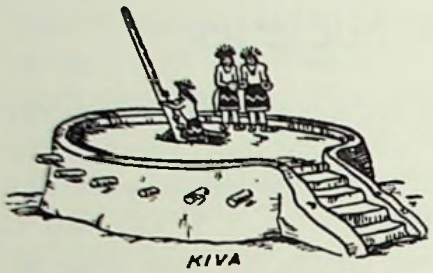
THE AMERICAN INDIAN was never acquainted with Freemasonry until sometime after the advent of the white man. However, he did have his own secret societies, and these organizations paralleled our own fraternity to an amazing degree. So much, in fact, that it would seem that the Great Spirit had planted the basic seeds of Brotherly Love, Relief and Truth in all men—white, black, yellow and red. It is because of these similarities that many have attributed a knowledge of Freemasonry to the Indian. True enough, the Red Man may have exercised many "Masonic" virtues, and portions of his own rites were similar to Masonic degrees, but it can be said safely that he knew nothing of the Hiramic legend or the temple built by Solomon.

Societies, or brotherhoods, existed among most American tribes. They fell into the general classifications of (1) social (2) secret. Some were concerned with the religious mysteries; with the keeping of records; with the dramatization of myths. Some were ethical societies, others mirth-makers (Shrine?). There was one called "Big-Bellied-Men" (eating Masons?). There were no societies composed exclusively of women, but some did allow them to belong (Eastern Star?).

The plains Indians had a greater number of societies than the others, and of them, the Omahas and Pawnees took first place. An individual might belong to one or more societies, and most societies consisted of two or more orders.

DEGREES. Some societies consisted of as many as 20 degrees (aboriginal indeed, Freemasonry now offers more than 200 degrees). Each was an entity in itself, but all were tied together to form a complete conception. The *Midewiwin* society of the Chippewa and neighboring tribes was a secret society of four or more degrees, into which one could be successively inducted by the expenditure of a greater and greater amount of property on the accompanying feasts. We shall treat this society at length later. Some based membership in other societies as a prerequisite for their own. At Zuni

there were 13 societies. The *Kotikilli* society had six divisions or degrees, and held its ceremonies in six different *kivas* (houses). The *Hako* ceremony of the Pawnee topped them all with 20 degrees!


KIVA

MEMBERS AND PROFANE. Distinctions were often made between the members of the societies and non-members, even dividing the non-members as well as members into classes. The *Kwakiutl* of coastal British Columbia, for instance, called the members "seals" and those who for the time being were outside, the *quequtsa*. The *quequtsa* were further divided in accordance with age, sex and social standing. The "seals," on the other hand, were subdivided into societies in accordance with the supernatural beings supposed to inspire the various members.

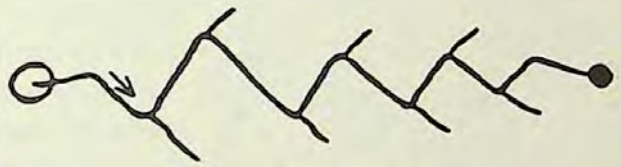
OFFICERS. Each society had an over-all head, usually for the entire nation or at least the tribe (grand master?). Lesser heads served the clans (deputy grands?), and each village had its own society called the *Yeponi,* and the village leader was called *Haku*. He was one of the most important personages in the village, frequently being called upon to settle disputes that could not otherwise be compromised.

PROPERTY AND LODGE ROOMS. Societies owned certain articles such as wooden bowls and packs containing regalia and medicines. Songs were also the property of the societies. Both songs and ceremonies were passed down from generation to generation without being recorded. It was one man's duty, usually a chief or medicine man, to assume this task (grand lecturer?). The *Midewiwin* society, or Grand Medicine Lodge of the Ojibwa and associated tribes held its meetings in a large *Mide-wigan* about 80 by 20 feet. Some yards east of the main entrance was built a *wigiwan,* or sweat lodge, to be used for the reception of the candidate. It was here that he was


PACK, SHELL SOCIETY

properly prepared for the ceremonies. It was a "sweat-box" for sure, for he was required to take four vapor baths in this hut before each degree. In the southwest, the ceremonies were carried on in *kivas* especially constructed and maintained for the purpose. Only members were allowed to enter the lodge rooms.

LECTURES AND CATECHISM. Instruction in arts, morals, medicine and religious beliefs was given to the initiate of the Chippewa *Midewiwin* society, before, during and after each of the degrees. The instruction was by word of mouth from an older member or officer of the society.



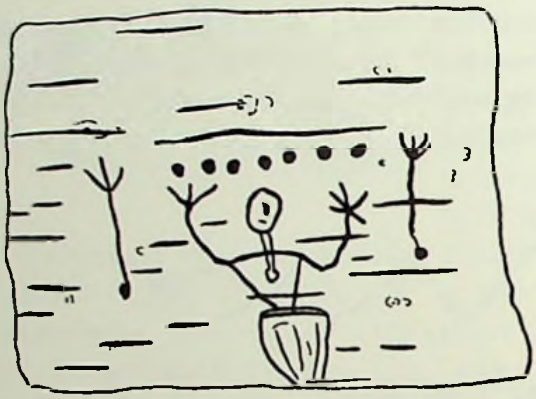
PATH OF LIFE

At one point in the ceremonies the candidate heard the lecture on the "Path of Life" which was drawn with a stick on the earth of the *Mide* Lodge (see illustration). This diagram represents the path of life from youth to old age, the tangent which appears at each angle is a temptation. There are seven of these temptations. The first tangent represents the first temptation which comes to a young man and if he yields he will not live long. The same penalty applies to the second tangent and temptation. With the third temptation the element of religious responsibility appears, and the man is asked, "How did you act when you were initiated into the *Midewiwin?* Were you respectful to the older members and did you faithfully fulfill all obligations?"

The fourth tangent represents a temptation coming to a member in middle life and the fifth temptation causes him to reflect upon his own length of days and he is to ask himself, "Have you ever been disrespectful to old age?" The sixth tangent returns to the religious idea, and asks whether all religious obligations have been fulfilled. The seventh is said to be the hardest of all, and if a man can endure it he will live to the allotted age of man. At this time an evil spirit comes to him, and if he has even so much as smiled during a *Mide* ceremony, he must reckon with it on the spot.

MUSIC AND SONGS. Music and songs were a part of almost every

ritualistic society of the Indians. They not only had their opening and closing odes, but interspersed songs, music and dancing throughout the ceremonies. The *Midewiwin* society alone had several hundred songs. Each song had a name and they were recorded in mnemonics on strips of birch bark (see illustration). This record, which served as a reminder of the essential idea of the song, is not far removed from our own monitors.



SONG WRITING ON BIRCH BARK

The names of the songs were taken from the words and thoughts they contained. It takes very little stretching of the imagination to fit them into their proper place in Masonic ritual. Here are some examples: "They think me unworthy," "I walk in a circle," "Vermilion, I sing of thee," "The sound is fading away," "Escorting the candidate," "They are making me old," "Initiation song," "I am walking," "Alas, alas," "I am raising him up," "We are now to receive you our Mide brother," "You are going around the Mide Lodge," "Whence I come," "Whom I restore to life," "Toward the East," "I will bring it up to light," "Beautiful as a star hanging in the sky is our lodge," "Do not speak ill of the Mide, my brethren."

SUMMONS TO APPEAR. The Grand Medicine Lodge of the Chippewa selected a member to act as herald and general director of the ceremony known as the *ockabewis*. It was his duty to announce the initiation ceremony to the members and invite them to attend by sending each a round stick about the diameter of a lead pencil and six inches long. If a person had committed some offense against the society, he was not included in this invitation. After making the rounds of the lodges, the herald counted the number of sticks he had given out and reported to the initiators, who thus knew the number who would be present at the ceremony. Upon entering the ceremonial *Midewigan,* the members presented their sticks to the

herald who tied them all in a bundle, following the invocational song, and laid them at the foot of the medicine pole.

FUNERAL CEREMONIES. Many societies had special rites conducted on the death of a member. In the *Shell* society of the Omahas, a regular meeting was called. The body of the deceased, arrayed in his best clothes, with his face painted, in accordance with the rules of the society, was carried to the dwelling in which the society held its meetings, where it was seated in the member's accustomed place. During the ceremony, in the presence of the dead, no one spoke except when the rites required. All the regalia, which the dead member had purchased the right to wear, was removed from him at the proper time and returned to his lodge. After the lodge had been dismissed, the body was removed and given the ordinary form of burial.

OMAHA FUNERAL LODGE

OPERATIVE VS. SPECULATIVE. One of the requirements for admission into the *Apitlashiwanni* society of the Zuni was for the candidate to present the scalp of an enemy. The cessation of hostilities among the tribes resulted in a shortage of scalps, and necessarily a decline in membership. In later years, therefore, an old scalp was used over and over again until there was no vestige of hair remaining. This follows closely the transition of Masonry from operative to speculative. The working tools of Freemasons are no longer actual, but symbolical. Men are received who have never been engaged in operative masonry—or taken scalps!

BELIEF IN SUPREME BEING. Almost without exception, Indian secret societies were based on the belief in a Supreme Being. The Omahas put their faith in *Wakonda,* the God of Truthfulness. They regarded the orderly progression of the seasons and of day and night as one method by which *Wakonda* taught man to be truthful—his words and acts could be depended upon! When the lightning and the storm came to break the ordinary calm, it was considered a punish-

ment for their sins. It was once said by a thoughtful member of that tribe that:

> No matter how far an Omaha may wander in his superstitious beliefs and attribute godlike power to natural objects, he invariably returns to *Wakonda*, the source of all being, when he falls into deep and somber thought on religious conceptions.

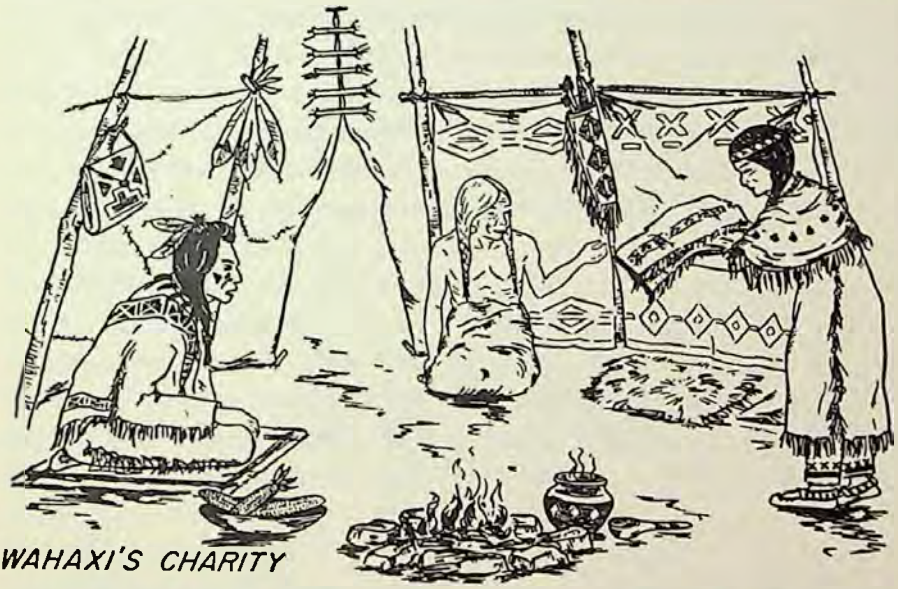
Many authorities denied that the Red Man believed in a Supreme Deity. Brother Arthur C. Parker, noted anthropologist, who was himself of Seneca lineage, says that a confusion of terms may have led to their misunderstanding. The words that the explorer translated as *gods, spirits* and *powers* seemed to preclude a Supreme God. But we may well believe that in some instances the ignorance of the informant, or of the inquirer led to the misunderstanding. In some instances, sad to say, there has been a prejudice among certain Christian sects against admitting that the "savage" could know of one God.

But though the native Indian spoke of spirits, of nature, and of gods, they were instructed by the sages of their race that there was one Supreme Spirit who governed and directed all others. Whether it was the *Gitche Manitou* of the Algonquian *Tirawa* of the Pawnee, or *Haweniu* of the Iroquois, the same idea prevailed—that of the Great Spirit. The Indian would no more think of denying the existence of a Supreme Being than he would of disputing his own existence.

Belief in Immortality. Every action of the Indian leads to the conclusion that he believed in a world beyond—his "happy hunting ground." Many of their myths are based on resurrection of the body and several secret societies incorporated and acted out the death and rebirth of the candidate. To the Dakotas, the east stood for life and its source, so they laid a corpse with the head toward the east, to show hope of future life. The dead, whether it be the Indian or H. A., have been laid at all times in the track of the sun from east to west—toward that region where the sun sets, only to rise again with renewed brilliancy.

During the last half of the 19th century a combination religious-secret society swept most of the Indian tribes of the western plains from Canada to Mexico. It was known as the *Ghost Dance,* and was almost unanimously accepted by all tribes except the Navaho, Pueblo and Columbia river tribes. It kindled like wildfire the Paiute, Sho-

shoni, Arapaho, Cheyenne, Caddo and Pawnee. It was started by a Paiute Indian by the name of *Wovoka,* who claimed to be the Indian Messiah. During the ceremony the novitiate "died" and fell unconscious to the ground, whereupon the group formed a circle around him, chanting and singing. The "dead" man eventually returned to life. It was actually founded on a hope common to all humanity—that of death and the Resurrection. However, the tribes carried it to stages of religious frenzy which was mixed with self-hypnosis, and the Indian Agency outlawed it. Also inculcated in the ceremony was



WAHAXI'S CHARITY

the "dream" that the white man would be driven from the plains and the buffalo would return to its native haunts. In a number of instances federal troops were called upon to prevent the *Ghost Dance,* and at least one battle was fought in suppressing it.

CHARITY. The fact that charity was recognized among Indians is shown by the prerequisites for entrance into the *Honhewachi* society of the Omahas. They demanded that 100 charitable acts, or *wathinethe,* that benefited the tribe, be performed before the profane could be admitted to this particular high ranking society. The following story is told of Wahaxi, a noted chief who died before the middle of the 19th century:

One day an old woman came to his tent, entered, and sat down near

the door. No one noticed her for quite a while, but presently the chief bade his wife to clothe the old woman. The packs were opened and Wahaxi's wife took out various garments, dressed the woman in fine leggings, a tunic of red cloth, and wrapped about her a red blanket. The chief arose and placed corn in her hand and sent her home. The appearance of the gayly clad old woman bearing corn attracted the attention of the people, and the chief, already of high rank, was permitted to "count" this act of clothing the beggar as a *uatkinethe*.

Hospitality and charity were universal rules among the Indians. Every stranger who came with honest intent found a welcome and a home. There was no hunger that all did not share, no feast that was not open to everyone. No orphan feared the lack of home or care. Among many tribes the custom of having a sworn brother was observed. Each was responsible for the punishment of any encroachment or injury upon the other. Companies of these brethren often united in associations, which in no uncertain sense were fraternities. It was this same feeling of brotherhood or common possession that unfortunately gave the Indian the name of thief among early settlers. In the Red Man's mind, it was correct that he should take what food or supplies he needed from his white neighbor.

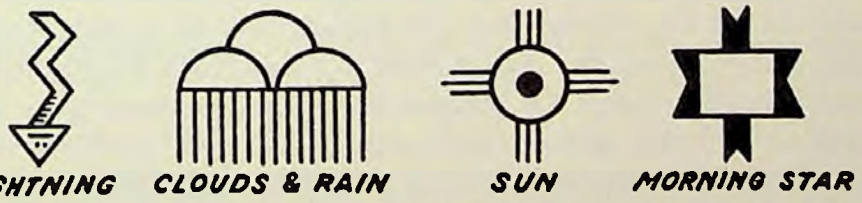

BROTHERS ALL

BROTHERHOOD. If there is one belief above another that affects the conduct of the Indian, it is his faith in the universal kinship of all created things. Man was not only the brother of man because a Supreme Father had created both, but of every animal, plant and rock, as well as every force of nature. The deer and the bear were brothers, "very near men." The trees had spirits and so did the cliffs and waterfalls. Thus the Red Man thought it quite rational to speak of them as friends and brothers.

No animal was killed in a wanton way and every slain animal was taken with a chant asking its pardon for the deed, since it was necessary for the hunter to have the meat and skin of the "brother." This feeling of fraternity worked out in many other ways: i.e., by the organization of numerous fraternities and societies, by the knitting of the clan system, and by the ties of a complex social organization.

MORALITY. The practice of virtue was demanded of every Red Man. He must be just in his dealings with his fellows, truthful, charitable, considerate. He must also be stoical, slow to anger and slow to admit of personal discomfort. He must at all times recognize his dependence upon the Maker of All, and was taught to enter upon no great or important undertaking without first thanking the Maker for the strength that gave him power to perform the deed willed.

SYMBOLICAL. In the *estufa,* or lodge room of the Moqui Indians, a bench ran around its three sides and on the fourth, or north side, it widened into a platform. On the east wall was generally a prayer in symbols, showing three rows of clouds in red and blue, from which fell black and white strips indicating rain, with horizontal red and blue snakes meaning lightning. This prayer was to *Omaia,* God of the clouds, to send refreshing rains upon the Moqui crops. Instead of this, we place the letter "G" in the east.



The Indians often held natural phenomena in reverence, such as rain, wind, storms, lightning, the sun and moon. The Hurons said the moon was mistress of the souls of the dead and destroyed the living. We have, indeed, made the moon our "lesser light" in Freemasonry.

Major Cicero Newell, Indian agent, who was in charge of the Spotted Tail agency in Dakota shortly after General Custer met his Waterloo in that area at the hands of Sitting Bull, noted several symbolic analogies among the Dakotas. The white horse and blanket

were emblems of purity and badges of the *Holy Lodge* society. He stated that the greatest likeness to Freemasonry was in the spiritual part of the work. The Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man were inculcated and the tenets of Masonry were the rule and guide for thousands of years. When the Dakotas met a brother, they placed the hand on the heart and said, *Oh-ho, Ah-ta. Shonta-wash-ta-lo,* which signified, "Good morning, father, my heart is glad." They held their secret councils in the hills and the tyler was mounted on a white horse and clothed in a white blanket.


SHARK-SKIN APRON

Jao de la Porta, a member of Laffite's band, lived with the Karankawai Indians in southern Texas for several years as a captive-guest. While with them, he witnessed the sun dances and noted that the circular sun disks worn by the shaman and his assistants were scratched with the figure of a circle containing a triangle. Its symbolic significance had been lost, and most of the Karankawai thought it represented a tent of the faithful which was pitched in the sun—the place where every good tribesman spent his second existence. The disk, however, was recognized by both the Koasoti and Keechie tribes as a brotherhood badge. In some dim way the triangle must have been associated with immortality among the secret brotherhoods of at least three of the Texas coastal tribes. The Karankawai associated it with the sun which never dies; and the initiates during the sun dance wore a triangular shark skin apron (apex down) as their only garment. When they began their final long journey toward the sun, the skin triangle clothed the body, which was placed on an elevated framework to undergo decomposition.

George Copway, member of the Ojibway tribe which dwelt on the northwestern shores of Lake Superior, was a highly educated Indian and a regularly initiated Freemason. Copway asserted that the *elements* of Freemasonry had long been known among the tribes of the forest. He stated that members wore a small badge of cloth adorned with wampum and surrounded by a fringe of feathers. On its face was a finger pointing to a long road, emblematical of a future life of instruction. The badge was worn nearest the skin, on the breast.

It was the Indian's diploma, the voucher of his character, the mystic credential of his standing.

SACRED AND SECRET WORDS. The *Lexique de la Langue Iroquoise* by Pretre de St. Sulpice, gave the name of the Great Spirit among the Iroquois as *Yowah.* In one of the sacred rites, two attendants brought in conch shells and presented them to the chief. At the moment of presentation, the attendants cried *"Yah"* in a loud voice. They then bowed facing each other and added *"o-he,"* prolonging the last syllable until the breath expired. A pause for an instant was made, when with the new respiration they intoned in a lower key, but in a full, rich voice, the syllable *"wah."*

Another author in describing a festival of the Iroquois, stated that they perambulated around their lodge room and at each round of the procession, which followed the course of the sun, they stopped in the east, where the three oldest chiefs were seated. Each time certain questions were asked and answers returned. This procession consisted of nine males, two of whom were the bearers of the animal to be sacrificed to the Great Spirit, *Ho-wah-ne-o,* whom they recognized as their Creator. They never used the full word *Ho-wah-ne-o,* but said *"Ne-o."* This author claimed that the meaning of the first part, *Ho-war,* was the same as our word "Jehovah."

Dr. Arthur C. Parker, eminent authority on the Iroquois nation, states that:

> There were societies that used sacred words, some of which might be mentioned only at low breath and some never except within the lodge. Because of the secrecy and sacredness, some words lost their meaning and were used only because they were ancient and supposed to be of magical value. There were many "lost words" and in some instances certain portions of the rituals were not intelligible because nearly every word was a portion of a lost ritualistic language.
>
> There can be no doubt that certain Indian societies had secret words that their members might use in conversation or as signals. The possession of ritualistic words that belonged exclusively to the cult or fraternity was jealously guarded.
>
> The Masonry of the Indians as philosophers dealing with moral truths grew out of their experiences with nature and the actions of human kind. The wise men of the tribes knew that a band of men pledged to uphold morality and to enact rituals showing its advantage would constitute a dynamic influence.

H. P. H. Bromwell, past grand master of Illinois, and author of a

number of books on Freemasonry including the massive *Masonic Geometry and Symbolry,* contributed an article to *The Trestle Board* in 1895 on Indian Freemasonry which gives credence to the similarity of words as given above. Unfortunately he does not accurately identify the source of his story and some of the facts are hazy.

In 1866, I fell in with a Mason of the highest standing, one who was then, or previously had been, a Grand Master, and of whom I had often read. We fell into conversation, and among other subjects we spoke of the oft repeated assertation that Ancient Craft Masonry had been long known among some of the tribes of Indians. I told him of the experience of Bro. J. D. Dulin, then worshipful master of Naval Lodge No. 4, District of Columbia, concerning signs given him twice on the plains some years before, and before he was a Mason, by blanket Indians, and I asked the grand master if he believed that any of those remote tribes actually knew anything of Masonry.

He then told me that some years before—I think 15 years or so—when he was master of a lodge, a certain Indian chief of one of the neighboring tribes, whose name as well as that of the tribe, I cannot now recall, was elected in his lodge, and he as worshipful master conferred upon the chief the three degrees of Masonry.

He said that he noticed during the continuance of some of the ceremonies, something very peculiar in the manner in which the chief appeared to regard every part of the work. He acted as though he was no stranger to any part of the performance, but at the same time surprised at what he saw and heard, but he gave no intimation of what he thought, further than to say that he was very much pleased and glad that he had received the knowledge of the degrees.

Sometime after the chief came and said to him: "You have made me a Mason, and I am very thankful to you and your lodge for what you have done for me. I wish now to do as much for you. I will make you a medicine man of my tribe, and of the family of tribes to which we belong. These rules have come down to us from very ancient times, and the mysteries of the medicine man are the highest honors which we confer on any person."

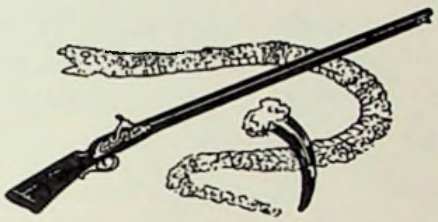
My informant said he was much pleased with the chief's offer, and a time and place were appointed for the performance of the ceremonies, and at the time set, he went to the place with the chief and there met a number of the medicine men, and they conferred upon him the mysteries of a medicine man in ample form, in three degrees, but whether all at the same meeting or not, I cannot now recollect.

In going through the ceremonies, the brother Mason I speak of was as much surprised as the chief had been on going through the mysteries of the Masonic lodge. Neither one was surprised by finding anything new, but in finding only that of which he had long been a teacher. My informant assured me that the work of those medicine men was well performed, and that it was in all its parts, except as to one word, substantially the same as the work of the three degrees of Masonry. The word which was different from ours was the last word as we now give it—since the separation of the final work

of the Chapter from that of the Lodge—but signified the same and final word formerly in the Lodge and now used in the Chapters which retain, or have restored the old and proper word.

. . . He felt entirely sure that the ceremonies through which he had passed could not have been borrowed from the white race at any time since the latter came to America, but where the genuine ancient mysteries of the medicine men of the tribe mentioned and some other related tribes, and had descended to them from their remote ancestors of unknown antiquity.

OATHS AND PENALTIES. The objects by which an Assiniboine swore were his gun, the skin of a rattlesnake, and a bear's claw. These various articles were placed before him and he said:



In case my declarations prove false, may my gun fire and kill me, may the serpent bite me, may the bears tear and devour my flesh, and may my *wahkon* overwhelm me with misery.

Among the *Shell* and *Pebble* societies of the Omaha and related tribes, there was a belief that penalties for non-conformance to the ideas of the society could bring disease, injury or death. The power was invested in the *Honehewachi,* which can be roughly translated into "thought control of the membership."

Ritualistic Legends of Indian Societies

For a better understanding of Indian secret societies, let us visit two "long houses" in which the rites took place. The reader will find in both instances that the candidate re-enacts the myth of the founding of the lodge and impersonates an ancient hero, who was slain and brought to life again, in order that those who followed him might obtain long life in this world, and immortality in the world to come. The principles of Fraternity and Brotherly Love are woven into the teachings.

Ancient Guards of the Mystic Potence

Our first visit is to the long house of an Iroquois tribe. It might be Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida or Mohawk. The sun is setting and the ceremony, which will last until dawn, is about to begin. It will be broken only by three refreshment periods when the candidate, cast, and members enjoy food and drink. The ceremony we are about to witness is called the *Lodge of the Ancient Guards of the Mystic Potence* and it occurs to us that the titles of A.A.O.N.M.S. or A.A.S.R.N.M.J.U.S.A. are not so long after all. The order has also been referred to as the society of *Little Waters*.

Admittance is gained by four sharp raps at the door, and, after the sentinel examines us, we take our seat among the brethren. Shortly, the candidate is brought in by another door, seated, and told to listen to the story of Red Hand, the ancient leader.

Red Hand was a young chief who had received certain mysterious knowledge from the Creator of All. This knowledge he had used wisely, which, coupled with his braveness and kind heart, made him an exemplary character—loved and admired by all. He not only gave playthings to the children, cured the oldsters of their lameness, and led the warriors in battle, but he was kind to every brother on earth—the tree, the rock and the animals. He fed the hungry birds in the winter, gave meat to the wolves and provided the deer with grass.

One day he led a war party of Iroquois south into the valley of the Ohio to punish the foe, and when Red Hand sought out the enemy chief alone, a poisoned arrow felled him to the earth. His assassin rushed upon him demanding the secret of his power, or his

life, and at Red Hand's refusal to divulge the mysterious knowledge, the enemy tomahawked and scalped the young chief. The scalp was carried off in triumph and hung over the lodge pole of the wigwam to dry in the smoke.

Shortly a lone wolf came upon the body, and when he saw it was his brother, whom he knew as Red Hand, he uttered a howl that brought the rest of the pack to the scene. Once again he howled, and this brought all the chiefs of the animal and plant kingdoms to where the body of their friend lay, and they held a hurried discussion as to how he could be revived. "We will give the tip of our hearts and the spark from our brains," they said. They then sent the Dew Eagle for the scalp, which when watered from the pool of dew that rested upon the bird's back, became alive and grew fast when placed on Red Hand's head.

One after another, the brothers of the forest gave up their vital parts, for a brother is not a friend if he would not give his life for so great and good a friend as Red Hand. When the life sparks were reduced to dust, there was only enough to fill an acorn cup. All the chiefs of the animal, mineral and vegetable kingdoms gathered round while the wolf took a cup of bark and dropped three tiny grains of life-dust into the current of a spring. The spring water was then poured into Red Hand's mouth and he moved. At this sign of life, the band gathered around and began the ritual chant of the *Ancient Guards of the Mystic Potence,* which told of life and adventures of the prostrate hero, who awoke, but still lay with his eyes closed. As he listened, learning the song, a voice came out of the darkness saying:

"Hast thou cleansed thyself from human guilt and impurity?"

"I have," Red Hand replies.

"Hast thou ill will toward any of thy fellow creatures?"

"I have not."

"Wilt thou trust and obey us, keeping thyself always chaste and valorous?"

"I will."

"Wilt thou hold this power with which we endow thee for thine own chosen company only?"

"I will."

"Wilt thou endure death or torture in its cause?"

"I will."

"Wilt thou vow this secret never to be revealed save at thy death hour?"

"I will."

"Thy death hour will be revealed to thee; thou wilt be allowed to choose thy successor, and at the end of thy journey thou wilt be rewarded for faith and obedience."

Red Hand was then transported on the wings of the eagles to the brink of a great waterfall and he heard the water thundering down upon the rocks below. The whippoorwill called and a light floated over the darkness. The circle then drew closer and the brother, who

American Indian Freemasonry by Dr. Arthur C. Parker

Red Hand being brought to life by the Bear in Lodge of Ancient Guards of the Mystic Potence.

—Courtesy Bureau of Ethnology

The Ghost Dance—Unconscious

—Courtesy Bureau of Ethnology

The Ghost Dance—Larger Circle—Chain of Union?

is the Bear, touched the breast of Red Hand. All stood erect. The Bear grasped the hand of the Leader who was to be raised, though slain, and by a strong grip pulled Red Hand to his feet.

The Grand Medicine Lodge or Midewiwin Society

The second rite which we shall witness is the *Grand Medicine Lodge or Midewiwin* society. It was far more widespread than the *Little Waters* society, being practiced by all the Algonquian tribes including the Massachusetts, Narragansett, Pequots, Powhatans, Delawares, Shawnees, Sauk, Fox, Menominie, Potawatomi, Kickapoo, Ojibwa, Chippewa, Cree and others.

We are indebted to the late Brother Alanson Skinner, an anthropologist, for our knowledge of this rite. Skinner related that he received it from a "past master" of the society many years ago, by promising to write it down so that the ancient teachings might not be lost to future generations. The degrees differed somewhat from tribe to tribe, just as our own Masonic degrees differ in various jurisdictions, but by and large, the ancient landmarks were the same. For a full account of the Chippewa version see Appendix I.

To witness the Menominee version of the ancient myth, we enter the long house and note that it is oblong, 120 by 20 feet and oriented east and west. Its construction is of poles arched over and covered with sheets of bark and mats made of cattail flags. At one end is an antechamber, connected with the lodge, but separated from it by a partition. It is in this room that the initiate must undergo a rite of purification by means of a sweat bath. We also learn that the candidate, who has paid a heavy fee for his initiation with clothing, blankets and food, has spent a long time in preparation. An oldster, or "past master," has spent many hours teaching him the ritual by word of mouth. It has been handed down through countless generations in the same manner. He must also give gifts to this old member for his instruction. Admission to the order is granted usually (but not always) to fill the place of some deceased member. The candidate might be either male or female, for the primitive brethren did not bar women from this rite. We learn also that this is the fourth and final day of the initiation and that the ritual is nearing its climax. During the earlier ceremonies the candidate has been told the story of the lodge's founding:

In the beginning, the Great Spirit sat above and gazed down on an expanse of waters. At his will there appeared an island—the world—on the surface of the seas. Again he willed, and behold a woman sprang into being —our Grandmother. She was alone upon the earth until the Great Spirit spoke and she gave birth to a daughter. In turn, this daughter was entered by the four winds of heaven and she gave birth to three children. One, of human form, was called "The Great Dawn" or "Great Light"; the second was a wolf and the last a flint rock, which issuing unnaturally, caused his mother's death.

The Great Light dwelt with his brother, the Wolf called *Onahpatac*. The Wolf hunted and kept the lodge supplied with food for his brother. It was the Great Light's duty to rid the earth of the evil snakes and other monsters who dwelt on it and make it an unfit place for the habitation of mankind, who had not yet appeared. Angered at his continual attacks, the evil powers plotted to slay the Great Dawn, but as he was created by the will of no less a person than the Great Spirit himself, they seen realized that this would be impossible, and instead they captured and drowned the Wolf brother.

This drove the Great Dawn to attack more mercilessly than ever, driving them from their hiding places, no matter how remote, and slaying them. Then he wept for his lost brother and the very ocean receded at each breath he drew. The evil ones were terrified. At last they brought the slain Wolf brother back to life and returned him to the Great Dawn, but he refused to receive him saying that his brother had been dead four days and the flesh clave from his body and smelled foully. His brother begged him to reconsider, saying that if he were allowed to return, then human beings, when they should come into existence, would also be resurrected upon the fourth day. But Great Dawn refused, saying that it would be an evil thing for the bodies of mankind to be resurrected after dissolution. So he sent his brother *Onahpatac* to the western heavens where he was given charge over the realm of the dead. It was he who constructed the "Road of the Dead" (the Milky Way) over which the souls of the departed must pass.

The Great Dawn now recommenced his war upon the evil spirits, and in desperation they called upon the Great Spirit himself to save them. He suggested that the only way in which they could settle their difficulty with the Great Dawn was to offer him the secrets of their "Medicine Lodge," and teach him its ritual, that he might pass on to mankind, in due time, the rules of fraternity, of health, long life and immortality.

This the powers did. They constructed an oblong lodge, oriented east and west on the tops of the mountains. They caused it to be covered with clouds, blue within and white without. They seasoned the food for the feast with a

pinch of the blue sky itself. They entered and seated themselves around its edge, and took off their skins, or as the old men said "their animal natures" and hung them, full of their secret things, from the poles behind them. They then sent for the Great Dawn.

At first the Great Dawn would not come, but at last he was persuaded by the otter, whose beautiful skin was ever since used as a receptacle for medicines and a badge of membership in the society.

When the Great Dawn entered the Lodge, he was instructed secretly in a room adjoining the structure, and then taken to the main building, where after certain rites, he was slain and brought to life again in full possession of the secrets of the order.

As the fourth day of dances, chants, songs, and stories nears an end the candidate is escorted to the western end of the lodge by a faithful friend, and there caused to face the east. In the eastern end of the lodge stand four old men, "past masters" so to speak, each holding in his hand his otterskin (sometimes other animal skins are used) badge of membership, which also contains the roots and herbs which are used to heal the sick, and a small shell, *cyprea moneta.*

This shell is supposed to contain the essence of all the virtues of the medicines in the otterskin, and to be able to pass from it like an arrow into the body of the candidate.

When all is in readiness, the candidate is attacked by the first of

four ruffians (four and not three being one of the sacred numbers of the Indians) who runs toward him, raising the head of his otterskin with a mysterious cry. The candidate shudders, but stands erect.

The second leader then attacks him, and he staggers somewhat, but regains his feet. The third ruffian comes forward likewise and nearly fells the candidate, but when the fourth and last man attacks the representative of the ancient grand master, the Great Dawn, he is killed and falls lifeless to the earth.

Now the four men gather about him. There is a whispered consultation, and the candidate is suddenly raised to his feet, alive once more, and a member of the society for life.

Esoteric Teachings of the Mankani Society

The Winnebagos had two important tribal ceremonies, the *Mankani,* or medicine dance, and the *Wagigo,* or winter feast. The ceremonies of the Mankani society could only be held in the summer. Its purpose, in contrast with the winter feast, which was warlike, was the prolongation of life and the instilling of certain virtues into its members. It was open to both men and women and the ceremonies were held in a long tent with much perambulation between five stations, representing the road of life. Here is the esoteric teaching received from his conductor while the candidate negotiates the "rough and rugged road":

My son, as you travel along this road, do not doubt it. If you do, you will injure yourself; you will make yourself unhappy. But, on the other hand, if you do everything I tell you well, it will benefit you greatly.

My son, the first thing to which you will come is a ravine, extending to the very ends of the world. It will seem impossible to cross. Remember, however, that grandfather said you were to pass across—plunge through it, my son, and you will reach the other side.

Now this ravine means that at some period in life you will lose a child and thoughts of death will come to you. But if you pay attention to my teachings, you will be able to go on and find the road of the lodge on the other side. If you do not try to go beyond this point, you will get frightened and dwell upon your hardship too much; this will be your grave.

After you have crossed the ravine, you will see the footsteps of the medicine men who have gone before you very plainly in the road. Step into these and you will feel good. Then as you go along, you will come to an impenetrable brushwood of sticks, thorns and weeds. You will not see how you can possibly get around them. Then you will remember that your grandfather said that you would be able to penetrate them. This, too, you will pass.

The brushwood means that someone you have loved greatly (but not your wife) will die. You must try to get through this obstacle, not be frightened, and not dwell on your hardship too much. Otherwise this will be your grave.

As you pass along this road evil little birds will continually make din in your ears and will cast their excrement upon you. It will stick to your body. Now do not try to brush it off and do not pay any attention to it. If you take notice of it, you may forget yourself and brush it off. That is not right and life is not obtainable in this manner.

The evil birds signify the following: the fact that you have joined the Medicine Lodge means that your intentions are to lead a good life. Now as soon as you join, the work of evil tattlers will begin and they will say that you have done things contrary to the teachings of the lodge. Perhaps a piece of bird's excrement will fall on you. What of it? Do not brush it off without thought. Some will claim that you had said that the lodge was no good. Even then you must not blurt out: "Who said that?" and become angry. Keep quiet and hold your peace.

As you go along, you will come to a great fire encircling the earth and practically impossible to cross. It will be so near that it will scorch you. Remember that your grandfather bid you to pass it. Plunge through it, and soon you will find yourself on the other side unharmed.

Now this great fire means death. Your wife will die. Go through this as well as you can; do not get discouraged. This fire will be the worst thing you will have to go through. You will have been living happily, and then without warning she will be

taken away and you will be left alone with the children. Plunge through, my son, and on the other side you will find the footprints of the medicine men.

Shortly you will come to some perpendicular bluffs that seem impassable. These too mean death. As you travel the road of life you will find yourself alone. All your relatives, all your loved ones, will be dead. You, yourself, will begin to think, "Why, after all, am I living?" You will want to die. Now this, my grandson, is the place where most encouragement is given, for it is most needed. This is the most difficult of all the places you will come to. Keep in the footprints of the medicine dance men and you will be safe. The teachings of the lodge are the only road; they alone will enable you to pass this point safely.

Soon you will come to a hill, and when you reach the foot of that hill, you will sit down to rest and eat. You will eat dried ribs of bear with spirit food, and the spirit food will vibrate with life. When you are finished, you must climb to the top of the hill and look behind you. There will no one. But in front of you will be many people.

Now this will mean that you have reached that period of life, where cause you have always done things correctly, you will be continually parking of feasts. You will always be invited. The road full of people in front of you represents the members of the lodge who have passed before you. There is no one behind you, because you are just beginning to enter on that road.

Soon you will come to another hill. It will look like a nice country full of red stone. Climb to the top of the hill and you will now see that some people are following you and that the number in front is smaller. You will be traveling through better country now—that is you will be taken care of better. Still another hill will loom in sight and as you ascend it you will find a country of red willows and bulrushes. Many presents you will find scattered along this most pleasing of lands, and as you reach the middle of the hill you will find it covered with a reddish haze. This is the Indian summer and it means that you will now have reached that period in life where your eyes have become dim. The red willows signify that your hair has become grizzled. The men in front of you are the older members of the lodge, who will assist you by inviting you to the lodge, and those behind you are the younger members, who will give you feasts in order to obtain increased knowledge.

Finally you will come to a fourth hill in a very beautiful country with white poplars everywhere. You will have to rest four times before reaching the top of this hill, because you are now feeble. When you reach the top

you will see no one ahead of you and very many following. You will then know you are the oldest member of the lodge, and the place from whence you started a long time ago will seem near.

As you walk along, you will come to an oval lodge where a man will ask you: "Grandson, how have you acted in life?" You must answer, "I do not know." He will answer, "Grandson, I know. Take some food." The man talking to you will be the one in charge of the Medicine-Lodge road. You will now become unconscious, yet not for a long time; that is, although you will die, you will go right on in the spirit. Near you will be found the medicine man's ladders. These ladders reach to heaven. When you have ascended them you will come to a country situated right below the place where Earthmaker lives. This country has been especially provided for those who have adhered to the ritual of the Medicine Dance. You will be told that this is your home, and after a while you will be directed to a long lodge, where you will find all those of your relatives who have adhered to the teachings of the lodge. Although you are a grown person, each one, in turn, will take you on his lap. This country is a very happy one to live in. No one is ever in want; no bad clouds float over it; there is no night, and there is no work.

After a while, the attendants of Earthmaker will come to you and take you to Him. There you will see Him face to face. He will tell you that you have done well and that you can become reincarnated and come to life again in whatever tribe you desire.

Indian Signs vs. Masonic Signs

THE FOOLISHNESS in attaching significance to signs through preconceived ideas is well illustrated in a story told by Duncan Anderson, head of the Glasgow Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, when he visited the United States in 1853:

King James I of England desired to play a trick upon the Spanish ambassador, a man of great learning—but with a crotchet in his head on the subject of sign language. The king informed him that there was a distinguished professor of that science in the University at Aberdeen. The ambassador set out for that place, preceded by a letter from the king with instructions to make the best of him. There was in the town, one Geordy, a butcher, blind of one eye, and a fellow of much wit and drollery. Geordy was told to play the part of a professor, with the warning not to speak a word. He was gowned, wigged, and placed in a chair of state. The ambassador was shown in, and they are left alone together. Presently the nobleman came out greatly pleased with the experiment, claiming that his theory was demonstrated. He said, "When I entered the room, I raised one finger to signify there is one God. He replied by raising two fingers to signify that this Being rules over two worlds, the material and the spiritual. Then I raised three fingers, to say there are three persons in this Godhead. He then closed his fingers, evidently to say these three are one."

After this explanation on the part of the nobleman, the professors sent for the butcher and asked him what took place in the room. He appeared very angry and said: "When that crazy man entered the room, he raised one finger, as much as to say I had but one eye, and I raised two fingers to tell him that I could see out of my one eye as well as he could out of both of his. When he raised three fingers, as much as to say there were but three eyes between us, I doubled up my fist, and if he had not left in a hurry, I would have knocked him down!"

Universally, and in all ages, the hands have been used for expression. They are clapped in approbation, rubbed with delight, wrung in distress, raised in astonishment, waved in triumph—and thumbed

in derision. Facial expressions, another means of thought transmission by signs, are not limited by race or geographic location. Anxiety, pain, trouble, anguish, fear, or any other basic emotion, when written upon the countenance, may be read easily by any human being.

In all probability, sign language existed before the spoken word. Its use among the American Indians was a highly developed art. Separated by definite linguistic barriers, the wandering tribes in particular resorted to sign language when communicating with members of other tribes and linguistic stock, as well as with the white man.

Sign Language Examples

Major Cicero Newell, who was Indian agent at the Spotted Tail agency in Dakota shortly after the Custer massacre, said that many of the Dakota signs were very much like some used by Master Masons. When telling of how they treated an enemy in battle, how they removed his heart, cut his throat, etc., the hand would follow the thought. When they greeted their loved and respected brothers, they did it with the fullness of their hearts, throwing their arms around their bodies and kissing them on the cheek. Many points of fellowship, he said, could be seen in the greetings.

Robert C. Wright in *Indian Masonry,* relates a story in which signs were used in an Indian initiation:

> One day in the fall of 1906, I engaged Judge Thomas A. McBride of the circuit bench of Oregon, in conversation about Indians, and was regaled with a number of interesting narratives from his experiences. The judge is a pioneer, and having been raised in their vicinity, has been much among them. He told me that among the Klickatat Indians, who inhabited the northwest, he had seen the initiation or making of an Indian doctor. He remembered particularly that the Indians seemed to hop about or dance and chant a song, which seemed to have stops or periods in it. At each of these periods, the Indian head man, or chief, would give a sign, and at once all the Indians taking part would raise their hands above the head and drop them with a grunt.

Tribal Signs

Each tribe of Indians had a distinguishing sign by which they could identify themselves, and these signs were recognized by Indians of other tribes, just as a tribal totem. For instance, the *Cheyenne* sign was made by drawing the lower edge of the right hand across the left arm as if gashing it with a knife. The sign for *Shoshoni, Ban-*

nock, Apache, Dakota, Sioux and *Ute* was made by drawing the extended right hand, palm downward, across the throat from left to right, as though cutting it. This group of tribes, for that reason, were named the "cut throats" by their neighboring tribes. The sign for the "Big Bellies" was made by cutting the edge of the outstretched hand horizontally across the stomach.

INDIAN TRIBAL SIGNS

Other Signs

The sign for "hear ye" or "listen to me," is made with the left arm held at the side, elbow forming an angle with the index finger pointing to the ear. Right arm is parallel to the ground, with fingers pointing straight ahead, directed towards persons addressed.

To ask the question, "are you through?" place the fists near each other in front of the body; then with a quick motion separate them as though breaking something asunder. Similarly, the sign for "done, finished, that is all," is made by placing the clenched fists together before the breast, palms down, then separate them in a curved motion, outward and downward, to their respective sides.

To signify "night," place the flat hands horizontally, about two feet apart in front of the body and move them quickly in an upward curve toward one another until the right lies over the left.

The sign for "white man" is indicated by placing the closed hand with the thumb resting on the index, on the left side of the forehead, palm down, then draw the hand across the forehead to the right, a short distance beyond the head.

"We are friends" is indicated by clasping both hands together after the manner of our congratulations. This sign for peace, friend-


WHO ARE YOU?
I COME IN PEACE
WE ARE FRIENDS
NIGHT
WHITE MAN
ARE YOU THROUGH?
LISTEN TO ME
THAT IS ALL
CUT DOWN
INDIAN SIGN LANGUAGE

ship or brotherhood corresponds exactly to the clasped hands on a Masonic chart when represented in a pictograph.

"Cut down" is made by placing both hands, extended, flat, edgewise before the body, the left below the right, and both edges pointing toward the ground a short distance to the left of the body. Repeated cuts are then made toward that point from various directions, the termination of each cut ending at nearly the same point.

"I come in peace," or "I am a friend," is made several ways. One is to hold up the palm of one hand above the head, and another is to elevate the extended hands at arm's length above and on either side of the head. It indicates "no arms," corresponding to the highwayman's "hands up."

To ask "who are you?" the right hand is raised, palm in front and slowly moved from right to left. This is to be answered in a tribal sign. For instance, if the one hailed was a *Pani,* he would answer by raising both arms above the head, upper arm parallel to the ground, palms forward, fists clenched, with first two fingers extended.

Were Freemasons Saved by Secret Signs?

Stories of Indians saving the lives of white men after they had given Masonic signs are legend. It is quite possible that some are true. Many are just tall tales, and a large number are half-truths. In the latter instance, the teller is thoroughly honest in his interpretation of the story. Usually either the Indian or the white man mistook the sign. Perhaps both the Indians and whites were afraid upon a sudden meeting, and each was looking for some indication of friendship from the other, even though it was merely a friendly wave of the hand. Then too, if an Indian could become friendly with a white man, he often gained "face" with his tribe. Past Grand Master Jonas W. Brown of Idaho explained it in this manner:

> Indian tribes populating the American continent had and practiced certain rites and possessed and exercised certain means of recognition closely resembling, if not identical with, those of Freemasonry; that these tribes, particularly those in the western portion, manifested the highest regard and friendliness to persons of the Masonic affiliation, but at the same time bitterly antagonistic to others not connected with the society. They were especially amiable to craftsmen, whose security was assured over all who penetrated into the vastness of this rich region.

In examining these stories, we must first look for misconception,

either of signs or intent. Some stories are exaggerations of the original, with each successive teller adding a little to it. Included in this type of story are the "hand-me-down" stories that have been passed from generation to generation, and also the stories told by oldsters of their experiences in Indian country. Like Topsy, they just "grew."

Another classification of untrue stories is that wherein the teller relates the tale for personal gain. There is the individual who wants to impress his listeners with the information he has on the subject; there is the writer who is anxious to prove that Freemasonry hearkens back to the Tower of Babel; and there is the unreliable early Masonic publication that never checked its facts. In most instances, these stories lack the principal points of good journalism, i.e., the Who, What, When, Where and Why.

How can we identify a true story? It is difficult, and the author knows of no single story that has been proved true beyond doubt. However, there are so many of them that it would be difficult to state they are *all* false.

Standards of Judging

The first point to establish is the approximate time when it happened. Few Indians had been made Masons until after the Revolutionary war (with the noted exception of Joseph Brant, who was known to be a Freemason, and Red Jacket, who possibly was). After 1800 a considerable number of Indians, particularly the chiefs, had been regularly initiated into the mysteries of Freemasonry. By 1848, there was a regular lodge of Cherokee Indians in Oklahoma, chartered by the Grand Lodge of Arkansas *(Cherokee Lodge No. 21)* and this was followed by others in that territory.

The next fact to look for is the tribal membership of the Indians and the geographic location of the story. The more intelligent Indians came from a limited number of nations. First were the Iroquois of upper New York; another group was the Five Civilized Tribes, that were moved bodily from the southeast United States to the Oklahoma Territory. These Indians readily adapted themselves to Freemasonry and hundreds of them were initiated into the order in early years.

Most of the stories told will comply with the first category—that they happened after 1800. Most of them happened on the western

plains, and the Indians involved were plains Indians, or "Blanket Indians," as they were known, because their blanket was their home. They were, generally, on a much lower cultural scale than the civilized nations, who maintained permanent settlements and shunned the plains Indians.

Another criterion is whether the teller of the story says it happened to him, or whether it was related to him by another. If the latter is true, then does he identify his original teller? Were there others present who agreed with the facts?

Some writers have suggested that many of the chiefs of the plains Indians had received Masonic knowledge (1) through visits to the east on tribal business with the federal government; (2) through military lodges which had great latitude in their charters; (3) through the factors and traders of the Hudson's Bay Company; (4) through Mormons, who had received the degrees of Masonry in Illinois and Iowa, but later were declared clandestine by the Grand Lodge of Illinois.

Comical

In the light of the foregoing information, consider the amusing case of Brother James Heath, member of *Yuba Lodge No. 39* of Marysville, California, whose story was told in 1910 by the 82-year-old Dr. Charles E. Stone of the same lodge.

> In the year 1867, Bro. James Heath, a member of our lodge, came to me and expressed a desire to join the Chapter of which I was an officer, giving as a reason that, a year or two before, he, with a party of friends, went on a prospecting trip in the state of Nevada. They had a good outfit and supplies to last for several weeks. Heath was the driver, and was one day left in a beautiful valley while the others went out to prospect.
>
> About 2 o'clock in the afternoon a band of Indians, finely mounted, appeared on a ridge above the valley, and he saw they were in hostile array, and said he hardly knew what to do, but thought if the G.H.S. would ever do any good, now was the time to try it. So he gave it and the leader of the Indians at once dismounted, stuck a spear he carried in the ground, and left the band, came down, took Heath by the hand, led him behind the wagon, and, as he expressed it, *gave him more grips and signs than he knew,* and gave him to understand that his party must leave and return to Virginia City.

Brother Heath received the chapter work—and found none of the Redman's signs in that body. Next he took the council and recognized none of their signs there, but undismayed, he petitioned the commandery and was still in the dark as to the signs the Indian had

given him. He then concluded that the Indian was a Scottish Rite Mason and gave the whole thing up as too expensive!

Early Stories of Benefaction

The earliest reference we can find whereby a white man's life was saved by the Indians because he gave "a sign of distress" was in the year 1660. The incident was one in which the Reverend Morgan Jones, chaplain, in a military expedition to Port Royal, South Carolina, was, with others of his party, taken prisoner by the Tuscarora Indians. He was condemned to death. While preparations were in the making for his execution, he made "signs of distress," and certain exclamations in his native tongue, the Welsh. These were noticed and instantly responded to by a sachem of the Doeg tribe, who was present. This sachem warmly interceded with the Tuscarora, in behalf of the Reverend Jones, and saved his life. It will be noted that no claim is made as to whether either the Reverend Jones or the Indian were Freemasons.

Another early story (before 1800) concerns a Scotsman named McGarth, who migrated to this country in 1765, bringing his wife and son, Gilbert. Before crossing the ocean, he had the square and compass with the letter "G" tattooed on his son's left breast. Gilbert later lived with the Seneca Indians and married *Melewah,* daughter of *Unca,* the chief. His closest friend was a Seneca brave named *Walhalla.* One day Walhalla's daughter, *Wenowah,* wandered into the woods and became lost. When Gilbert McGarth learned that she had been kidnapped by a band of hunting Cherokees and taken to their far distant home, he made a rescue trip alone. However, he was taken captive by the Cherokees before he could accomplish his mission. McGarth was to be killed by being tied to a stake where the braves would practice spear throwing—with him as their target. When they stripped him of his shirt, the square and compass was visible. *Hunch-a-lolah,* chief of the Cherokees, noted this, and ordered him freed. He then adopted him into the Cherokee tribe. This chief, it seems, was made a Freemason years before, when he had visited the camp of the English, on the coast, and had been made a member in a military lodge. McGarth convinced the Indians that the Seneca girl should return with him. Some years later, McGarth himself, became a Freemason in a military lodge.

Although we have stated that one of the standards for judging a "distress sign" story should be the period of history in which it happened (1800 the breaking point), there is one outstanding exception to this rule. It is the story of Joseph Brant—Chief *Thayendanegea* The Terrible—of the Mohawks. Brant was unquestionably a Freemason, having been initiated in *Hirams Cliftonian Lodge No. 417,* Princes St., Leicester Fields, London, England, early in 1776.

The story of his rescue of Colonel McKinstry during the Revolutionary war is perhaps the best known and most logical of all our benefactor stories. A later chapter will deal with Joseph Brant in detail, but for the present, it should be mentioned that due to his close friend, Sir William Johnson, an English baronet, Brant swung most of the Iroquois nation to the British side during the Revolution.

At the battle of the Cedars, 30 miles above Montreal, in 1776, Colonel McKinstry, then a captain in Patterson's regiment of Continental troops, was twice wounded, and afterwards taken prisoner by the Indians employed in the British service. The previous bravery and success of McKinstry had excited the resentment of his Indian captors, and in accordance with their custom, he was doomed to die at the stake. He had been fastened to the fatal tree, and the preparations for a slow and horrible death were rapidly progressing. In the agony of despair, the captive made the appeal of a Freemason. It was recognized by Chief Brant, who was present at the occasion. He at once interceded, and by virtue of his chieftainship, was successful in the rescue. Brant had him safely conducted to Quebec, where he was placed in the hands of the English and eventually permitted to return to his home on parole.

This friendship between Brant and McKinstry continued throughout their lives. After the close of the war, Brant often visited McKinstry at his home in Columbia county, New York. In 1805, nearly 30 years after their war incident, both men attended lodge together in Hudson, New York.

This story, which has neither been proved nor disproved, may have been the "spark" for the scores of similar stories that followed in the next one hundred years. Three more stories of Brant's Masonic compassion follow, and although often repeated, are not as convincing as the McKinstry episode.

At the Battle of Minisink, in 1779, one Major Wood, who was not a Freemason, but who had by some means learned of certain Masonic secrets, gave a Masonic appeal in the presence of Brant, and his life was spared. Brant, it seems, had made a raid into Orange county, New York, near the Delaware river, and upon his withdrawal, laid an ambush, which led his pursuers into a wholesale carnage. Wood was captured in the trap. Upon further examination of Major Wood, *Thayendanega* was chagrined at the mistake he had made, but let his verdict stand. Later, so the story is told, Wood became a Freemason while a prisoner at Niagara in a British military lodge, and Brant, who was present, advanced the customary initiation fee.

Another incident, in which it is claimed Brant threw a Masonic protective shield around a captive brother, happened in the same year, but a few months later. His intervention was limited, however, and the brother later met a horrible death at the hands of another group of Indians. This incident is mentioned in several histories by non-Masonic writers.

General Sullivan, upon orders from Washington, set out for the Canadian border on a "burnt earth" campaign to drive the hostile Indians from the United States. This campaign, in which villages and crops were burned and men, women and children slaughtered, brought an intense hatred among the tribes that were affected—particularly the Mohawks, of whom Joseph Brant was the leader. Brant, in opposing him, was aided by Colonel Guy Johnson and Colonel John Butler, both members of *St. Patrick's Lodge No. 8*, Johnstown, New York. The advance party of the expedition was led into an ambush, and its leader, Lieutenant Boyd, a Freemason, was taken captive. Boyd appealed to Brant on fraternal grounds and was promised protection.

However, in Brant's absence, the infuriated Mohawks had little sympathy for him. Colonel Butler, who commanded the Tories, questioned the captive as to the strength and plans of General Sullivan. Boyd refused to answer, and Butler turned him over to the Indians to suffer one of the most bloodthirsty and horrible deaths that has ever occurred to an American patriot. There is a question also whether this was *Colonel John Butler,* the Freemason, or his son *Captain Walter Butler* of whom there is no record of membership. Both were in the vicinity.

The third story of Brant concerns a white man named Jonathan Maynard, who afterwards resided in Framingham, Massachusetts, and was a prominent citizen of that state. He often related his experience with *Thayendanega* to his friends. According to Brother Maynard, he was taken prisoner in New York by a party of Indians and British under Brant. As he was being stripped of his clothes, preparatory to being put to death, Brant discovered the symbols of Masonry marked with ink upon his arms. The Indian brother interceded and Maynard was then sent to Canada as a prisoner. He remained there for several months and was finally exchanged. Maynard, who lived to an advanced age, was greatly respected, and constantly bore testimony to Brant's faithful obligations as a Freemason.

"Granddaddy Told Me" Stories

An example of what might be termed a "hand-me-down" story is told by Karr Shannon in the *Arkansas Democrat* magazine section of June 10, 1954, relating what his grandfather, the late Thomas N. Estes of Lunenburg, told him: The story is of the trials of a caravan of eleven wagon teams and forty men who left a point near Memphis, Tennessee, for California during the gold rush of 1849. They had crossed the plains and the alkali deserts with a loss of seven teams and then . . .

> Suddenly the caravan was attacked by about 100 Indians on ponies who had begun circling the caravan. One rifle shot had been fired by an Indian, taking effect in the skin of the shoulder of a white lad, when something happened which caused the red men to dismount and run toward the wagons, babbling and making many friendly gestures. Soon there was hugging and backslapping and the chief of the Indians, who spoke broken English, ordered four to return to camp for dried buffalo meat and corn. Water had just been found nearby.
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> The caravan, which had been lately following dim trails or no trails, was directed on the best route through the last lap over the Rockies to Sacramento. The leader of the Indians and one of the white men were Masons, a fact revealed by the latter to the former when the Indian had fired the first shot. Grandfather Estes was then 19 years of age and later became a member of *Melbourne Lodge No. 141*, Melbourne, Arkansas.

Another "grandfather" story was printed in the proceedings of the Grand Lodge of California in 1931 and was related through Mrs. George Harrison of Susanville, California, who "clearly remembers" an occasion in 1858 when the party led by her grandfather (it was

actually her husband's grandfather) was attacked by the Indians. Leader Harrison gave the "M.M.S. of D." which was answered by the Indian chief. Amicable relations were established and that evening a council was held, with the white men and Indians alternately seated in a huge circle around the campfire, smoking the pipe. Before the departure of the emigrant train, the chief presented Brother Harrison with a war club, with instructions to display it whenever approached by Indians, and no harm would come to him or his party. The war club, she stated, was used on several occasions to prevent trouble and "never failed to be recognized by the Indians."

We have heard this story with many ramifications. One is that the ax was a maul, which, when set handle up in the first wagon of the train, would be an omen for their safe conduct through the remaining hostile territory.

Lucy Rucker wrote a story for the *Texas Magazine* more than forty years ago entitled, "Masonry Among Southeastern Indians," which was republished in a Masonic journal. Miss Rucker stated:

> The all-important facts in the following adventure have been told from Mason to Mason throughout this state for many years. My father was a charter member of the Graham Lodge and often was asked to relate this story before the lodge meetings. Once he recited it by request before the Grand Lodge of Texas.

She then goes on to relate the following general facts in flowery language. Her father, the Reverend Linsey Powell Rucker, came to Texas in 1838 from Tennessee for his health and spent much time surveying. In 1854 he was surveying the panhandle district when his party was captured by Comanche Indians. He made himself known to the old chief *Powzoko,* who he claimed, told him he was made a Freemason in Mexico City, Mexico, in 1814. The chief then arranged a protecting party of young warriors to escort them out of the area.

Ute Chief—College Educated

Here is one of the most plausible stories we have heard. The details, you will notice, are very specific, and although the original teller is not identified, all the participants, including the Indian, are.

> On the 17th of July, 1849, while crossing the plains, bound for California, and when about 30 miles west of Independence Rock, on the Sweetwater River, a tributary of the North Platte, I made the personal and Masonic

acquaintance of Captain Nelson D. Morse, then California bound, and captain of the largest emigrant train I saw on the trip, to wit, *The Knoxville Train* from Illinois. Being off-road and sightseeing that day, I did not catch my train in time for lunch at noon, and Capt. Morse, seeing my situation, as I was about to pass his train, while nooning, kindly invited me to lunch with him, which I gratefully accepted, my forenoon perambulations having built up for me a solicitous appetite. While we were partaking of the midday repast, Capt. Morse told me whence his train came; that his company intended to go on via Great Salt Lake City, thence to Los Angeles and thence to the mines nearest that place.

He also informed me that he was a Past Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Illinois, and that he had from that Grand Lodge, a "travelling dispensation." After partaking of the good brother's hospitality, and spending nearly an hour in social and fraternal chat over the calumet, we bade each other goodby, and I hastily took my way toward my train, *The South Pass.*

I saw the captain no more, and did not even hear of him until May, 1850, when we met at Long's Bar, Feather River, Butte County (Calif.). Here is what he related to me, and from the description he gave, I incline to the opinion that the locality of the incident was the afterward famous site of the *Mountain Meadows Massacre* under the notorious Mormon, Lee. He said:

"After leaving Salt Lake, we travelled some days without notable incident, until about the middle of the forenoon of the fourth or fifth day, when, while the entire train and all hands were quietly jogging along, as suddenly as a flash of lighting, Ute Indians seemed to rise out of the earth, as it were, all around our whole train and company, and each Indian leveled his rifle on a member of the train.

"Then for the first time in my Masonic experience, I found my own life and those of my company in peril. I thought quickly—it can do no harm, it may do good, I will try the virtue of a certain signal! I gave it, when instantly I heard a loud yell and saw every gun drop as if the hands that held them were paralyzed! I began, dazed though I was, to look around for the one who, by magic as it were, had wrought such a deliverance, when my eyes rested upon one on a horse coming straight to where I stood, transfixed

as the Sphinx. As soon as he knew that I saw him, he motioned me to approach him, which I was glad to do. Arrived at the side of his horse, he took me by the hand, lowered his mouth to my ear, and said in a whisper, 'Are you a Mason?,' and this too, in as good unbroken English as I could command. I replied, 'I am,' and he responded, 'So am I.' He then spoke to his command in the Ute language, and they sat down on the ground with their guns across their laps. He then told me to follow him, which I did, and went out of sight of the Indians and of my company, behind a hill, where he dismounted and proposed to examine me to ascertain if I was a Mason, of which he soon expressed himself entirely satisfied. I then asked him who he was, and how it was he spoke my language as fluently as any white man could speak it. He told me that his name was Walker, and that he was a half-breed Ute; that he had been educated in a New England college, graduated, and then was initiated, passed and raised in a Blue Lodge, and then returned to the place of his nativity to his mother's people, who almost forced upon him their chieftainship. He then inquired of my destination, and on being informed that it was Los Angeles, he told me that it was useless for me to try to get there without an escort of Utes. He then detailed 15 of his best men, gave them instructions to escort us to Los Angeles, without pay or promise of hope thereof, and did it most faithfully."

The above story is factual, giving names, dates and details. Those that can be checked, we find to be true. The reader must not construe "Long's Bar" to be a dispensary for "juniper juice"—it was a settlement. Nelson D. Morse *was* a past grand master of Illinois, serving in 1846. He *did* have the dispensation mentioned which was issued by the Grand Lodge of Illinois in March, 1848, only four months before these two brethren met on the plains. Morse *was* captain of *The Knoxville Train*. He *was* designated as master of *Pacific Lodge* "for the Territory of California." It was constituted at Long's Bar, Butte county, in 1850. He represented Butte county in the legislature in 1852 and later returned to Illinois, where he died in 1854, impoverished, at the age of 39.

Possible Hudson's Bay Company Influence

An interesting story related by John Highman was printed in the *Masonic Tribune* of Seattle, Washington, and if true, might lend authority to the statement that Hudson's Bay Company factors had imparted Masonic honors on selected chiefs, for it happened in the Canadian wilderness. The editor noted that the story came from James Conners, master of *Lafayette Lodge No. 241,* with the assurance that John Highman, who tells the story, was a Freemason whose veracity was unquestioned.

In the year 1874, I was engaged by Professor Selwyn, director of the Geological Survey, to take charge of the mechanical department of that work in the Northwest Territory, as it was then called.

I left Petrolia, Ontario with my outfit on or about the 1st day of May, 1874, and proceeded by Detroit and Duluth to St. Paul, and then on to Brainerd, Minn., and then down the Red River to Fort Garry, Manitoba. I bought my supplies from the Hudson's Bay Company, and then proceeded west as far as Fort Ellis, and commenced operations.

While there, a young man appeared one day with a pack on his back. He had travelled alone across the plains from the Pacific coast. His name was Livingstone, of African fame. On his travels across, he had come upon some Indians who were Masons. When he told me, I thought it very strange that there should be Masons among the Indians; however, I paid no further attention to the matter.

Governor Morris had treated with the Indians as far west as Fort Ellis that year, and finishing my work for the season, I returned home to Petrolia. During the winter of 1875, Dr. Selwyn engaged me for two years to go out as far as Edmonton, and then on to the Peace River prospecting along that river, and if time permitted, to go as far as Great Slave Lake.

On my arrival at Fort Garry, I purchased my outfit from the Hudson's Bay Company, and started with 95 carts, 5 wagons and engine and boiler. I proceeded west as far as the South Saskatchewan, where I met a party of half-breeds who told me not to go any further as the Indians would surely kill every one of us; however, I paid no attention to that and on the fifth day after leaving the half-breeds, we were surprised and surrounded by a number of Indians.

They drove in our cattle and horses. I at once set all hands cooking and gave them a good meal; also gave them sugar and tobacco. A pow-wow followed. On the second day, third and fourth days, two pow-wows each day were held. On the fifth day a grand parade of the Indians was held in all their war paint and feathers. I was ordered to attend with all hands, also my interpreter. They formed a circle with myself and interpreter in the center. The chief, with his son, commenced addressing the Indians in a storming manner, and working them up to slaughter.

The chief's son, who stood by his side was just in the act of throwing his tomahawk at me, when I remembered suddenly what young Livingstone had told me. I gave the sign, and immediately the tomahawk was snatched by the chief, and I was ordered to follow him to his tent with my interpreter. Squaws were occupying the tent and were ordered out. The chief waited until they were at a distance. He asked the interpreter if I was a Mason. I told him I was. He then ordered the interpreter to camp.

After he left, we went through the different signs. When he was satisfied, we went back to the camp with his arm encircling my neck. We walked into the middle of the circle. He then addressed the Indians and told them I was his "blood brother" and any person attempting to injure myself or party, or anything belonging to me would do so over his dead body.

I tried to arrange with them to allow me to proceed further west. They wouldn't consent until such time as the government treated with them, when I would be allowed to go where I liked. I then returned to Fort Carlton, and

obtained permission from Chief Factor Clark to operate inside the Fort, and work there until it was time to return home.

Good Detail

Brother John McCoach delivered an address before the Colorado Springs Scottish Rite Association 1908, in which he told of his experience with a band of Nez Perces in Idaho some years before:

I, with ten others, was employed to drive a large herd of cattle from Gallatin Valley, in Montana, to Willamette Valley, in Oregon. The man in charge was Dr. Hartman, formerly of Ohio. He was a Master Mason, and so were six others, making seven out of the eleven that had received the first degrees of Masonry.

We went down the Salmon River Valley in Idaho; the route was rough, but the hardest part of the trip was herding the cattle at night. We had four wagons to carry our supplies. One day, Dr. Hartman and I were riding some distance behind the outfit. The doctor espied something bright in the dust of the road. He dismounted and picked up a brass penholder with the pen inserted in the barrel. He dropped it in one of his coat pockets and remounted, rode into the camp where the boys were preparing supper.

We unsaddled our ponies and I took both out to the herd. While I was gone, a squaw came to camp with some trinkets to trade, as is their custom. She bantered the doctor, as she did the others, to swap. The doctor pulled the penholder out of his pocket and showed it to her. She held up a pair of moccasins, and a bargain was struck and a trade made. She disposed of her wares on about the same basis of value. Nothing was thought of the occurrence until the next afternoon, when we stopped along side a small creek, preparing to make camp. A roving band of Nez Perces of some 200, stopped on the other side of the creek, and went into camp. Before we hardly knew of their presence, a chief and the swapping squaw of the evening before, came to our camp. The chief spoke some English and accosted the doctor, holding up the brass penholder, asking if he swapped for moccasins. The doctor nodded

he had. The chief told him to get the moccasins, which he did. The chief took the moccasins and hurriedly and angrily pulled the strings out and handed them to the doctor, and the moccasins and penholder to the squaw, as much as to say the strings were the value of the penholder.

The others brought what they got from the squaw. He soon wound up the trades, and I assure you there were no protests, for the band on the other side of the creek looked too formidable for our little squad. The doctor in his effort to get the affair adjudicated, in throwing his arms about, displayed a Masonic pin on the lapel of his vest—a square and campass with the letter G. The chief saw it, and instantly his demeanor changed, and if it is possible for an Indian's countenance to change, his did, for then and there he gave the sign of the first degrees of Masonry, took the doctor by the hand, and they went back by the wagon and talked.

In a short time the doctor called me, and when I went where they were the Chief would not take the doctor's word for it that I was a Mason, but I had to prove the grips and words. We informed him that all our party were not Masons. We went up a side gulch, through a thicket, and found an open space.

I sent for the other five, one at a time, that we knew to be Masons, for we had made ourselves known to each other. He would not take our word for it, and each was obliged to prove himself a Mason. After his examination of us, he appeared to be the best pleased Indian I ever saw, and if I do say it, there were seven white men well pleased, for I am satisfied that he came with the pretext of the squaw's wares and settlement to pick a quarrel, kill us, and take the herd of cattle, and probably the squaw was sent the evening before to make the trades she did, for they wanted an excuse, as they were playing friendly with the whites.

After his examination of us, his talk of pleasure and smoke of peace, we went back to the wagons and the four profanes, who were nearly scared to death. We surrounded our stock and were preparing to send our herders with them. The chief informed us that his braves would take care of all the stock, and his word was law; besides we had confidence in him by this time, so after eating our supper, we turned in and slept; but I fear our four profane friends and comrades slept but little that night. In the morning the stock was all right, and by the time we had our fire started, the chief and two bucks came over and gave us all the trout we could eat for breakfast. Some of the cattle had become sore-footed in travelling over the rough roads, and in the morning, before starting, we tied up their feet in burlap; but this morning, when we commenced to do so, our Brother chief gave a grunt of disgust and said "No good!"; rode over to his camp and in a short time, returned with half-dozen bucks and some raw hides. He cut a circular piece, then punched holes in the edge with his knife, put strings in the holes, then pulled it up around the animal's feet, and by tying, formed a shoe or moccasin. After breaking camp, the chief and his band escorted us until nearly noon.

California, Here We Come!

California has produced an unusual number of Indian-Mason stories. Perhaps this is because the grand lodge has kept such excellent

records. Being a comparatively new jurisdiction, it may have realized the importance of these stories. Most emigrant trains to the west in the 40's and 50's ended in California, and it is logical that these stories emanate from that state. Edwin A. Sherman in his *Fifty Years of Masonry in California* gives several well documented stories, and we quote one:

On one occasion, Bro. Saschel Woods, with a small party of men had diverged from the main line of travel to Santa Fe and proceeded to Taos. This party, having completed their business transactions, started to return across the country in a more direct way than going back by the way of Santa Fe. On the second or third day's journey homeward, they were surprised and surrounded by a large body of Indians, from which there was no escape.

They were captured, disarmed, and taken into the mountains where their captors piled brush around them to be set on fire and burn them, after gratifying their barbarous intentions and mutilation of their victims. While thus bound, and just before the torturing was to commence, Bro. Woods managed to free his arms, and it flashed upon his mind in an instant to give the Masonic sign of distress, though he had not the least hope or expectation that it might be recognized, but he made it as a venture. To his surprise, it was not made in vain. The chief of this tribe of Indians immediately sprang toward him and cut his bonds loose, and all proceedings with the others at once ceased. The chief then informed him that one of his party had killed an Indian of his tribe without any just cause or provocation.

Bro. Woods informed him that there must be some mistake and that if one of his party was guilty of such an act, that at the time it was alleged to have been done, he and every member of his party were at Taos, and stopping all together at the time at the same hotel, and he knew nothing about it whatever. The chief then said to him: "I will keep all your men here prisoners, and I will send a small party of my tribe with you to Taos. If the owner of the hotel says that you and your men were at his place on the same day that you say you were, and they knew nothing about the killing of one of my tribe, then I will spare your lives; but if you have lied to me, then it shall be worse for you and them than we at first intended."

So the captives were untied from the trees while Bro. Woods, with a small party of Indians rode to Taos, and two of the Indians went into town, made inquiry, and brought out the owner of the hotel, who confirmed all that Bro. Woods had stated, and then returned with him to where the rest of the tribe with their prisoners were waiting. The chief, on being informed by the small party of Indians on their return that Bro. Woods had told the truth, immediately gave orders to release all the prisoners. Their horses, guns, ammunition, and everything taken from them were restored, and a strong escort of this tribe was sent to accompany them several days by a circuitous route, so that they might not fall in with that part of the tribe that was still out hunting to gratify their revenge. When they had struck the main road, their Indian escort left them, and they continued their homeward journey in safety.

From the Grand Lodge of California proceedings, 1930, we also

learn that in 1849 Brother James Hodge Watson, founder of Watsonville, was crossing the plains with an emigrant party, when they were attacked by a band of Indians which greatly outnumbered them. It looked as though the band of gold seekers would shortly be annihilated, when Brother Watson, as a last resort, gave the M.S.D. The Indian chief immediately ordered a cessation of hostilities, escorted the entire party to his camp and entertained them royally for three days, finally giving them safe conduct through his section of the country.

The next California story is a dubious one, but should be repeated as a matter of record.

In the early 60's, Fred Peed, a Freemason, was travelling in the vicinity of Fall River, in northern California. He there met a Pit River Indian, who gave him a Masonic sign, and informed him that the Hat Creek Indians intended to kill him. The Indian traveled with him through that section of the country. After leaving this friendly guide, Peed came upon a band of Indians with the chief riding in the lead, their bows and arrows ready for action. His horse was crippled and tired, and his ammunition exhausted. Escape was impossible. In desperation he gave the M.S.D. The leader of the group beckoned him to come forward. He refused to do this. Presently, the leader approached him, talked in a friendly manner, and directed two of his band to guide him on his way north.

Andrew J. Lane, of *Summit Lodge No. 112*, Knights Ferry (he gave it the name), related that his father, while crossing the plains during the 50's, gave the M.S.D. when his party was surrounded by hostile Indians. The savages, recognizing the sign, changed their tactics, and treated the whites with marked respect.

Amasa Wiley of *Corinthian Lodge No.* 69 (now No. 9) of Marysville, said that when he and a small party were crossing the plains in 1850, they sighted a band of Indians approaching in the distance. The whites prepared to sell their lives as dearly as possible, for they were apprehensive that they would be wiped out if the savages should prove hostile, and a battle ensue. When the Indians came within hailing distance, however, Wiley stepped out in front of his party and gave the Masonic signal of distress. Immediately, the chief dismounted, and to the surprise of all gave more Masonic signs than Wiley ever knew existed. After some conversation in sign language, the chief gave them safe conduct through his tribal territory, and additional means of recognition should they encounter any other Indians.

Protecting Masonic Signs

Some instances have been reported in which the *symbols* of Freemasonry have given protection to chattels, or the granting of a favor. One settler in the early days of the west, marked his cattle with a brand representing the square and compass. It was noticed by his neighbors that while the Indians made the most serious depredations upon the stock of others, his were never harmed, nor was hide or hoof ever missing. After the war ended, the Indians admitted that their chief had instructed them to respect that emblem as holy wherever they found it.

Our next story is quite plausible, for it happened in the Oklahoma Territory well after the time that regular Indian Masonic lodges had been established in that territory under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Arkansas.

In September, 1876, Edmund Doyle, later Deputy of the Sovereign Grand Inspector General in Indian Territory, had occasion to journey from the settlement of McAlester, Okla. to Fort Smith, Ark. The most direct route was across the mountains, and the most available means of travel, the saddle. Although he left McAlester under the bright rays of an early autumn sun, night overtook him with a characteristic equinoctial storm before his journey was half completed. In his search for shelter, he followed a dim train which finally brought him to an Indian hut, high in the range of the Kiamichis, and far from the white settlement. In response to his call, an aged Choctaw, who could neither speak nor understand English, appeared in the doorway. Accepting the man's appearance as an invitation to dismount, Doyle approached the stolid figure and endeavored to explain his unfortunate situation. . . .

No welcome seemed forthcoming. The Indian's answer to the white man's greeting was a negative shake of the head. To emphasize a final appeal, as the Indian prepared to shut the door, Doyle unconsciously made a Masonic gesture, which the old Indian recognized. The Red Man's face lit up immediately. He extended his hand, and the two faced each other in an unmistakable Masonic grip.

A Switch

A common trick of the trade among writers, particularly short story authors, is to take a standard situation which has been worn threadbare by repetition and "switch" the situation with a surprise ending. We do not imply the following story is false, but it would certainly qualify as a "switch" story.

Chief *Winnemucca* of the Paiute Indians of western Nevada and eastern California, was on the friendliest terms with Captain Hill,

Isaac Roop, and William H. Hall of Susanville. But when the chief was visiting the town one day, certain citizens decided to hang him. Had his three friends not learned of the plot, he most certainly would have dangled at the end of a rope.

Both Hill and Roop knew *Winnemucca* to be a Freemason, and immediately organized a plot of their own. In company with Hall, a man named John Robinson, and three others, they mounted the chief upon a swift horse and told him to light out down the old emigrant road. They pursued, firing their pistols and rifles to make it appear they were trying to capture him, when actually they were doing nothing but keeping themselves between him and the men bent on hanging him. *Winnemucca* made good his escape!

Just for the Record

We have attempted, in this chapter, to list most of the Masonic-Indian stories that have been found in our research. However, there are a number of lengthy stories which we will condense to the bare facts, and list them as a matter of record.

The first is told by John A. Feris of San Antonio, Texas, and was printed in the *Masonic Review* of Cincinnati in 1895. The language was flowery, the facts hazy, and the claims were not within reason. It was a "second-hand" story told of the experience of one Preston Beck, a trader between Santa Fe, New Mexico, and Independence, Missouri, and although no definite date was given, it would seem to be in August, 1855. Beck and 26 wagons of merchandise from Independence had been captured by the Comanches. Beck, it seems, felt certain that the Comanche chief had received the degrees of Freemasonry in Washington, D. C., in 1853, and gave a distress sign which saved the train. They had, of course, been bound to stakes, and were ready to burn. As the story goes, "7,000 warriors were present." This statement, in itself, is enough to discredit the story, for the *entire Comanche tribe never numbered 7,000*, plus the fact that it was spread out in a number of bands over a large area. In 1904 they numbered 1,400. They were nomad buffalo hunters, constantly on the move, cultivating little from the ground. They were noted as the finest horsemen of the plains and bore a reputation for dash and courage. They had a high sense of honor and held themselves superior to other plains tribes.

Another story is told by the "venerable" Brother Henry King of Perry, Indiana, and printed in the *Evergreen* of Dubuque, Iowa, in 1868. Some 20 odd years previous, the author was present at a refreshment table at which Grand Master E. W. Taylor, of Texas related an anecdote of his experience among the Comanches. (E. W. Taylor *was* grand master of Texas in 1847). Taylor's party was captured while on a buffalo hunt, and before being bound to a stake, he gave a signal which was recognized, and the Indians' enmity turned into friendship.

Major E. H. Cooper, who was a resident of Chicago in 1904, told his story in the *American Tyler-Keystone* of Michigan and Pennsylvania in that same year. Cooper was an early prospector of Colorado and was a member of the Hayden party which made early geological surveys in the 60's. In the early 70's he was investigating ruins left by cliff dwellers just across the Colorado border in Utah when he was taken captive by Paiute Indians. He was bound to a stake. He tried singing to distract the Indians, but *Naraguaynuop,* the chief, merely laughed. As the last resort, he gave a Masonic sign and the chief saved him. The chief later told him how to escape by walking backwards up several canyons, and retracing his steps. In the third canyon, he found a horse waiting for him.

Summary

Having read this somewhat lengthy dissertation concerning Masonic signs and Indians, the reader has been involved in a series of details which may cast a mist on the entire situation. We have listed these stories as a matter of record. Were they all true? Certainly not! Were any of them true? Yes! Fine, but which ones? The compiler of these stories does not pretend to know, although in some instances he has attempted to indicate their fallacies or virtues. It still remains a matter for personal conjecture. However, you will note certain similarities in the stories that may be boiled down to a "mean." The usual story fits a pattern too well known to be original. If you have heard one, you have, perhaps, heard most of them. There are, of course, some notable exceptions.

Most stories happened on the western plains. Most stories happened during the period of 1848-55. Most dealt with immigrant trains going to California for the gold rush. Other standard situa-

tions that follow are: The train was suddenly ambushed by savages; they were outnumbered; they were captured; no shots were fired in the capture; they were prepared for death; this usually meant being bound to a stake; horrible tortures (which never came about) were to proceed the actual death; deliverance came at the last possible moment; they were saved by one man; they were always saved by a chief; he usually conducted a further Masonic examination; after examination, their hostility turned to extreme friendship; this hap-

pened in a matter of minutes; they were usually given an escort towards their destination, or failing in that, some token which would assure them safe conduct.

It is the opinion of the compiler that many of these stories were a fad of that period, and *if you had not* crossed the western plains without being assaulted by Indians, given a Masonic distress sign, and finally saved, you were an exception to the rule. Consider the fact that if you went to California for gold—got none and returned home broke—you must at least give your trip some respectability. Furthermore, your children and grandchildren would have nothing to pass on to their progeny to preserve your memory! The plains Indians saved many a reputation and brought many a candidate to the portals of Freemasonry!

PART II

INDIAN TERRITORY

—From "Around Tahlequah Council Fires" with permission of T. L. Ballenger

FIRST MASONIC TEMPLE OF INDIAN TERRITORY (1853)

The first Masonic temple of Indian Territory was located at Tahlequah, being built on ground donated by the Cherokee National Council and approved by Chief John Ross. Cherokee Lodge No. 21, the first lodge of the Territory met here.

NEW CORNERSTONE OF OLD INDIAN AGENCY BUILDING AT MUSKOGEE

Unique in Masonic history is the Union Agency building of the Creek nation at Muskogee, Oklahoma where the Grand Lodge relaid the cornerstone on August 18, 1955, exactly 80 years from the time it was first laid by the Grand Lodge of Indian Territory in 1875.

James A. Lathim, grand secretary of Oklahoma's York Rite bodies is shown holding the box from the original cornerstone. The location of the old stone was unknown until a bulldozer accidentally knocked loose a single stone disclosing the box. The only recognizable items in the deposit were two coins, one a five cent piece and the other a quarter.

The new cornerstone was laid with Masonic ceremonies at the dedication of the building as the future home of the Five Civilized Tribes Museum.

The Five Civilized Tribes And Freemasonry

TAKE 64,233 square miles of plains; drive in 79,469 Indians against their will; settle ancient enemies side by side; sift in inter-tribal factions; add a large number of soldiers; sprinkle with outlaws, cattle thieves and murderers; and season well with liberal portions of sharpies, boomers and land-jumpers. After stirring with requests for the return of some lands, steep in a few gallons of white man's whisky; bake in a western sun, and slice it in two parts with a civil war. The result would be Indian Territory in 1886.

INDIAN TERRITORY

It would be unpalatable if we stopped here. So we must add a generous portion of Freemasonry with its tenets of prudence, justice, temperance and mercy. It must be basted with brotherly love and soaked with the Christian virtues taught by the early missionary. With the addition of these latter ingredients, we arrived at law and order, civic pride, sound growth and successful integration of the white and red citizens.

Indians and Freemasonry arrived in the Indian Territory at the same time. The principal chiefs brought their Freemasonry with them, most of them belonging to lodges in Washington, D. C., or Fort

Smith, Arkansas. Many of the missionaries, who wielded a wholesome influence on an otherwise wild country, were members of the fraternity. Likewise were many army officers, merchants and traders. In this polygenous society, men of different races, language, and cultural and educational background found a common denominator in the Masonic lodge.

Fond of symbols and ritualistic ceremonies, the Indian embraced Freemasonry with zeal. It was good for him and he was true to it. Within its portals he found vague similarities to his own ancient secret societies, as well as concepts of morality and mortality to which he already subscribed.

No other area in North America can point to the successful integration of the Indian into the body politic as accomplished in the present state of Oklahoma. We shall see the important role that Freemasonry played in this amalgamation. In no other place did the Indian knock at the door of the fraternity in such large numbers. Most of the early lodges of Indian Territory were predominantly Indian in membership and leadership.

To understand the conditions that made this possible, let us briefly examine the background of each of the Five Civilized Tribes before their removal to Indian Territory in the period of 1830-40.

Cherokee

Evidence shows that the earlier home of the Cherokee was in the northern part of our country, but the white man first found him in possession of the southern Allegheny region. This contact was by De Soto in 1540. At one time, this powerful, detached tribe of the Iroquoian family held the whole mountain region of the south Alleghenies, including parts of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee and Alabama.

Their relations with the Carolina colonies began about 1690, and in 1759, under the leadership of *Aganstata,* they began war with the English of Carolina. In the Revolution they took sides against the Americans and fought them later under the leadership of their war chief, William A. Bowles (q.v.). Bowles, although a white man, became war chief of the civilized tribes and was appointed provincial grand master of the *Creek, Cherokee, Chickasaw* and *Choctaw Indians* by the Grand Lodge of England.

During this period, parties of the Cherokee pushed down the Tennessee river and formed new settlements at Chickamauga and other points along the Tennessee-Alabama line. Shortly after 1800, missionary and educational work was established among them, and in 1820 they adopted a regular form of government modeled on that of the United States.

CHEROKEE CHIEF

In the meantime large numbers of the more conservative Cherokee, wearied by the encroachments of the whites, had crossed the Mississippi river and made new homes in the wilderness in what is now Arkansas. A year or two later, *Sequoya,* a mixed-blood, invented an alphabet, which at once raised them to the rank of a literary people.

At the height of their prosperity, gold was discovered near the site of the present Dahlonega, Georgia, within the limits of the Cherokee nation. At once a powerful agitation was begun for the removal of the Indians. Here another Freemason comes into the picture, the great Chief John Ross (q.v.). Ross fought the removal with all his heart and strength, but, after years of hopeless struggle, his tribe was forced to submit. By the treaty of New Echota on December 29, 1835, the Cherokee nation sold its entire remaining territory and agreed to remove beyond the Mississippi river to a country to be set apart for them—Indian Territory—soon to be known as "Oklahoma."

This sad removal was accomplished in the winter of 1838-39. The long journey was made on foot and many were driven out by military force. Of the 16,542 members of the tribe at the time of their removal, nearly one-fourth perished in the move!

When their destination was reached, they reorganized their national government with the capital at Tahlequah, admitting to equal privileges the earlier immigrants, known as "old settlers." During the removal, several hundred fugitives escaped into the mountains where they lived as refugees until, in 1842, through the efforts of

William H. Thomas, an influential trader, they received permission to remain on lands set apart for their use in the foothills of the "Great Smokies" in the western part of North Carolina, where they may be seen today on the reservation centering near Cherokee, North Carolina.

Previous to this time, some of the Cherokees who had migrated to Arkansas reestablished themselves in Texas, where they had obtained a grant of land in the eastern part of the state from the Mexican government. Later, the Texas revolutionists refused to recognize their rights and in spite of the efforts of General Sam Houston, a Freemason who had defended the Indian's claim, a conflict resulted in 1839 and Chief Bowl, with a large number of his warriors, was killed by the Texas troops. The remainder were expelled from Texas.

It is interesting to note that Sam Houston, in his earlier years, became disgusted with his quiet life in a Virginia country store and ran away, living for a time with the Cherokees. He later returned to Tennessee, dividing his time between politics and the army. He was a close friend of Brother Andrew Jackson, with whom he pleaded constantly in behalf of the Indians. Houston was made a Freemason in *Cumberland Lodge No. 8* at Nashville, Tennessee, in 1817. He later became a member of *Holland Lodge No. 36* in Texas, then under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Louisiana. He presided over the convention which organized the Grand Lodge of the Republic of Texas. Houston was at one time an officer of the Royal Arch chapter at Huntsville, Texas. No record has been found of his Masonic activities while he lived among the Cherokees.

For years the Cherokee nation was divided into two hostile factions over the removal to Indian Territory. One faction approved of the move and the other was against it. We shall see later in this chapter how Freemasonry proved to be the guiding light that healed this inter-tribal split.

As soon as they were united again, the Civil war struck them another blow. Here too, Freemasonry acted as a leavening influence among them. It is a little known fact that the Cherokee, as well as the other Five Civilized Tribes, owned many negro slaves. Being slave owners and surrounded by southern influences, a large part of each tribe enlisted in the service of the Confederacy, while others adhered to the Union. Here too, Freemasonry exerted its influence,

and General Albert Pike of the Confederate army, who was later to become the patron saint of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite (S.J.), left his mark.

Following the Civil war, the Indians were forced to free their slaves. In 1885 the Cherokee numbered about 19,000, of whom about 17,000 were in the Indian Territory and 2,000 in the ancient home of North Carolina. Of the 17,000 in the Territory, approximately 6,000 were "adopted" whites, negroes, Delawares and Shawnees, the largest proportion being the negroes, their former slaves.

The Cherokees were the first of the Civilized Tribes to embrace Freemasonry on their arrival in Indian Territory. As we have stated, John Ross had long been a Freemason. His nephew, William P. Ross (q.v.), was an outstanding chief and Freemason, and probably was one of the petitioners for the first lodge in the Territory—*Cherokee No. 21*. The 1850 returns show such illustrious Cherokee names as G. W. Adair, John S. Vann, J. Foreman, J. M. Lynch, and R. J. Mays. H. D. Reese, early secretary of *Cherokee Lodge No. 21,* was clerk of the Cherokee courts, and David Carter, treasurer of the lodge, was judge of the Cherokee supreme court as were Judge Lin Keys and Judge John S. Vann.

Creek

The Creeks were a confederacy, forming one of the largest divisions of the Muskhogean family. Their name comes from the English and refers to the many streams of their country. In early times they occupied the greater portion of Alabama and Georgia, residing chiefly on the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers as well as the Flint and Chattahooche waterways. The territory from the Savannah river to the St. Johns river and all the islands were claimed as their property. They later sold much of this to the English.

Masonically, we hear little about them until they have been relocated in the Indian Territory. There is one notable exception and that was William A. Bowles (q.v.), who was adopted by this tribe, and who, we presume, tried to instill Masonic ideals among them.

The Creeks occupied a leading position in the early days by virtue of their numbers and location and were enabled to resist the attacks from the northern tribes. For more than a century before their removal to the west, between 1836 and 1840, the Creek confederacy

occupied some 50 towns, in which were spoken seven distinct languages.

The history of the Creeks also begins with the appearance of De Soto's army in their country in 1540. Tristan de Luna came in contact with part of the group in 1559. At that time, chroniclers reported them in a deplorable condition. The Creeks came prominently into history as allies of the English in the Apalachee wars in 1703-08, and from that period continued almost uniformly as treaty allies of the South Carolina and Georgia colonies, while hostile to the Spaniards of Florida. The only serious revolt of the Creeks against the Americans took place in 1813-14—the well known Creek war in which General Jackson (Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Tennessee) took a prominent part. The war ended in the complete defeat of the Creeks. The submission of Weatherford, their leader, was followed by the cession of the greater part of their lands to the United States.

CREEK BALL PLAYER

The Creek men have been described as proud, haughty and arrogant; as brave and valiant in war.

The Creek woman was short in stature, but well formed. Perhaps the following note from a brother at Judson, Alabama, to Joseph Samuel Murrow, grand secretary of Oklahoma, at a later date may have referred to this particular tribe:

Dear Brother: You may be surprised at the contents of this letter, but I have heard so much of the women of your country I have a desire to correspond with one about ¼ Indian. I am a widower 45 years old 27th of last May. Now Bro. Murrow, I want you to pick me out a nice one say anywhere from 25 to 40 years. I have two children—my daughter is married and my son is 21. So you see I am by myself. I have been a widower nearly four years, weight 2 hundred lbs., healthy and they say fine looking. Been a Mason 21 years. Served as master 6 years & am Sec.

of my lodge now and King of my chapter & I want one of them prity women of your country. I will exchange pictures with her. . . . I will put my seal on this that you will know am not an imposter please let me hear from you Soon & oblige yours Fraternally.

It would seem that Freemasonry fostered the first "lonely heart club." Unfortunately, there is no answer to this letter in Brother Murrow's files!

Once again we find the problem of slavery in a place overlooked by most historians, for the Creeks also owned negro slaves. In 1904 the "Creeks by blood," living in the Creek nation, numbered 9,905. At the same time the Creek "freedmen" (negroes) numbered 5,473.

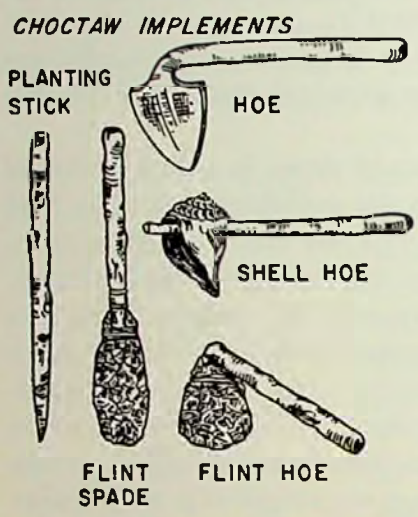
The Creeks soon embraced Freemasonry and established their own lodges. Ben Marshall, national treasurer of the Creek nation, was a Freemason at the time of their relocation. So was George W. Stidham, supreme judge, who led the movement to establish *Mus-co-gee Lodge No. 93*, their first lodge, and later became its master. *Casuthe Yarhola,* judge and national attorney, was a member, as was Brigadier General Alexander McGillivray (Creek-Seminole) who fought with General Jackson in the Seminole war of Florida and was buried with Masonic honors at Pensacola. The present Muscogee Masonic temple is erected on the site of Chief Pleasant Porter's former residence.

Choctaw

The Choctaw were preeminently the agriculturists of the southern Indians. Though brave, their wars in most instances were defensive. They were, like the Creek, Chickasaw and Seminole, of the Muskhogean stock, formerly occupying middle and southern Mississippi. The earliest notice of this tribe was by De Soto in 1540, who found them in the Coosa valley. They became friendly with the French settlers of Mobile, Biloxi and New Orleans at the beginning of the 18th century and were their allies in their wars against other Indian tribes. In the French war against the Natchez in 1730, a large body of Choctaw warriors served under a French officer. They continued this friendship until the English traders succeeded in winning over some of the eastern Choctaw towns. This brought on a war between them and the main body, who still adhered to the French until 1763.

The tribe was constantly at war with the Creek and the Chickasaw. When the French surrendered their American possessions to Great Britain in 1763, members of the tribe began to move across

the Mississippi, where, in 1780, Milfort met some of their bands who were then at war with the Caddo. About 1809 a Choctaw village existed on the Wichita river and another on Bayou Chicot, Opelousas parish, Louisiana. The larger part of those in Mississippi began to migrate to Indian Territory in 1832, having ceded most of their lands to the United States in various treaties.



In early times they practiced the unusual custom of cleaning the bones of the dead before depositing them in boxes or baskets in the bone-houses. This work was performed by "certain old gentlemen with very long nails," who allowed their nails to grow long for this purpose. They also practiced artificial head flattening and in consequence were sometimes called "Flatheads."

The number of Choctaws at the time of their first contact with the French was estimated from 15,000 to 20,000. In 1886 the number in Indian Territory was 18,000. In 1904 their number was 17,805, exclusive of the Choctaw freedmen (negroes).

Most noted of the early Choctaw Freemasons was Peter P. Pitchlyn (q.v.), principal chief whose Indian name was *Ha-tchoo-tue-kee,* or "Snapping Turtle." Other noted Choctaw Freemasons of the early day were David Carter and *Pushmataha,* the philosopher and patriot. Sam Garvin and Basil La Flore were original members of *Doaksville Lodge No. 52,* the first Choctaw lodge.

Chickasaw

From early times the Chickasaw were noted for their bravery, independence and warlike disposition. They were of the Muskhogean tribe and closely related to the Choctaw in language and custom; in spite of this, the two tribes were mutually hostile. The earliest traceable habitat of the Chickasaw was in northern Mississippi, with their villages centered about Pontotoc and Union counties

where the headwaters of the Tombigbee river meet those of the Yazoo river. De Soto placed them here in 1540 under the name of *Chicaza.*

They were constantly fighting with the neighboring tribes; sometimes with the Choctaw and Creeks, then with the Cherokee, Illinois, Kickapoo, Shawnee, Mobilians, Osage and Quapaw. In 1732 they cut to pieces a war party of Iroquois who had invaded their country. They were constant enemies of the French—a feeling intensified by the intrigues of British traders and by their hatred of the Choctaw, who had entered into friendly relations with the French colonists. The Chickasaw urged the Natchez to resist the French encroachments, and gave shelter to them when driven from their home. They defeated the French at Amalahta in 1736, and baffled their attempts at conquest in the war of 1739-40. They combined with the Cherokees about 1715 and drove the Shawnee from their home on the Cumberland. In 1769 they turned against their former allies, the Cherokee, and routed them at Chickasaw Old Fields.

Their relations with the federal government began with the Hopewell treaty in 1786, when their boundary on the north was fixed at the Ohio river. They began to emigrate west of the Mississippi as early as 1822, and treaties for the removal of those who remained in their old settlements were made in 1832 and 1834. By the treaty of 1855 their lands in Indian Territory were definitely separated from those of the Choctaw, with which previously they had been included.

In manners and customs they differed little from the Choctaw. The latter, however, were more sedentary and devoted to agriculture, while the Chicasaw were turbulent, restless and warlike. The Chickasaw appear to have sheltered and ultimately incorporated into their organization the small tribes along the Yazoo river, who spoke substantially the same language. The Chickasaw language served as a medium of commercial and tribal intercourse for all the tribes along the lower Mississippi river.

In 1865, following their removal to Indian Territory, the Chickasaw numbered about 4,500 and in 1904 the official population was given as 4,826, including mixed bloods.

Seminole

The Seminole are of the Muskhogean family, originally immigrants from the lower Creek towns on the Chattahoochee river, who

moved into Florida following the destruction of the Apalachee and other tribes. They were first classed with the Lower Creeks, but began to be known under their present name about 1775. In fact "Seminole" in the Creek language means "separatist" or "runaway."

While under the Spanish rule, the Seminole became involved in hostility with the United States, particularly in the War of 1812, and again in 1817-18, the latter being known as the first Seminole war. This uprising was quelled by General Andrew Jackson, who was elected grand master of Tennessee four years later.

By the treaty of Fort Moultrie in 1823, the Seminole ceded most of their lands, excepting a central reservation. Another treaty was negotiated at Paynes Landing in 1832, by which they were bound to remove beyond the Mississippi river within three years. The treaty was repudiated by a large proportion of the tribe, who, under the leadership of *Osceola,* at once prepared for resistance. They killed General A. R. Thompson and also *Emathla,* the principal signer of the removal treaty, and thus started the second Seminole war. The war lasted nearly eight years, ending in August, 1842, with the movement of the tribe from Florida to the west. The war cost nearly 1,500 American lives and the expenditure of twenty million dollars. The Seminole negroes took an active part throughout the war.

Upon their removal to Indian Territory, they were assigned lands west of the Creeks. In common with the other tribes, they were party to the agreement for the opening of their lands to settlement, and their tribal government came to an end in March, 1906. In 1908 they were reported officially to number 2,138, largely mixed with negro blood. In addition, there were 986 "Seminole freedmen."

Early Indian Lodges in Oklahoma

We are indebted to the *History of Freemasonry in Oklahoma* for much of our information concerning the part played by the early Indian settlers in establishing Freemasonry in the Territory. It was written by a committee consisting of Charles E. Creager, John G. Hough and James A. Lathim and was printed by the Grand Chapter, Royal Arch Mason of Oklahoma in 1935.

The Indian Territory was in its formative period when the first lodges were being organized in Arkansas to the east. The "old settler" Cherokees had established homes; missionaries had built schools and churches; wars had been fought to final conclusion with the Osages and plains tribes, and peace had settled upon the valleys of the Arkansas, Grand and Verdigris rivers. Indians who brought their

Freemasonry with them under the guidance of Ross, *Pushmataha,* Carter, Pitchlyn and others were leaders. The Choctaws and the Chickasaws in the south, and the Creeks, Seminoles and Cherokees in the north, had established stable governments of their own and friendly relations with each other.

There is no record, and no method to determine, how many Masons were in Indian Territory. The powerful influence of those Indians who are now definitely identified as Masons must have attracted many of their followers into the fraternity. The encouragement of missionaries by Indian leaders indicates that the spirit of Freemasonry was potent. Their forms of government, the unswerving integrity of public officials, the swift and unerring trend of justice shown in public activities and in private business show those traits of courage and honesty which are expected and demanded of Masons.

As with other North American tribes, the Oklahoma groups originally had their own secret societies. The *Hussee Vhvke* or "Moon Order" had flourished among the Seminoles long before their transfer to the west. The emblem of the order was a half moon, usually carved from pieces of polished shell. Chief John Jumper, a Freemason, displayed one of them whenever he appeared in his official capacity. Only a limited number were admitted to the order, which seems to have vanished with the death of this great chief.

A secret society which came to be known among the white people as "Horse Masonry" was popular among the early Choctaws. The society's secrets were communicated from father to eldest son. This seems to have been abandoned about 1860 for the better organized Masonic system.

The Cherokees had a society whose ceremonies of initiation, modes of recognition, and declarations of principles were similar to those of accepted Masonry. In later years it was somewhat corrupted by the "Night Hawks," who borrowed many of the symbols and practices of the older organization. The progressive Cherokee preferred the standardized system of the white man's Masonry, and became its votary as soon as the door of the lodge was opened to him.

The First Lodge

At this time the nearest Masonic lodge was in Fort Smith, Arkansas, and due to tedious transportation and slow communication, the

Indian brethren of the Territory tired of the inconveniences and were determined to found a lodge of their own. The Cherokee were leaders in this movement. With the assistance of brethren at nearby Fort Gibson, they petitioned the Grand Lodge of Arkansas for a dispensation to open a lodge at Tahlequah, seat of the dignified Cherokee government. The request was granted and the efforts of the brethren were so satisfactory that a charter was issued from the Grand Lodge of Arkansas to *Cherokee Lodge No. 21* on November 9, 1848. Its jurisdiction under the charter was practically unlimited. The charter itself mysteriously disappeared along with the lodge furniture and property, and has never been found.

Both Indians and private citizens of the Cherokee nation—white men who had come into the country as soldiers, merchants, teachers and missionaries—organized *Cherokee Lodge No. 21*. The leaders, however, were Indian.

The records of the Grand Lodge of Arkansas were destroyed by two fires, so the names of the pioneers who sponsored the dispensation and obtained the charter are lost. Our first record is in the *Fort Smith Herald*, which on August 22, 1849, reported the installation of officers in Cherokee lodge as follows:

W. S. Adair, W.M.
Joseph Coody, J.W.
W. L. Held, J.D.
William P. Ross, Secy.
N. B. Dannenberg, S.W.
T .B. Emerson, S.D.
David Carter, Treas.

Regular communications were held the first Friday of each month. The first grand lodge proceedings available after the issuance of the charter is for the year 1850. It lists the following officers and brethren of Cherokee lodge:

N. B. Dannenberg, W.M.
J. Coody, S.W.
W. S. Adair, J.W.
H. D. Reese, Secy.
D. Darter
J. W. Williams
C. R. Gourd
L. Keyes
G. W. Adair
W. P. Ross
J. G. Harnage
J. M. Lynch
John Candy
T. J. Parks
James Daniel
G. W. Lavender
John S. Vann
M. Tanent
J. Foreman
E. Archer
Thomas Bertholf

The 1850 proceedings also listed the following as "Brethren Not

Members": W. L. Holt, R. J. Meigs, L. DeLano, G. W. Manell, T. B. Emerson, J. Thompson, T. L. Rider, J. L. McCoy, C. M. DeLano and John Ross. The next year the two DeLanos and Thompson had affiliated with the lodge, and additional members were reported as J. Thorn, R. B. Daniel, B. M. Foreman, J. S. Vann, J. S. Adair, R. Keyes, G. W. Harnage and J. H. Clark.

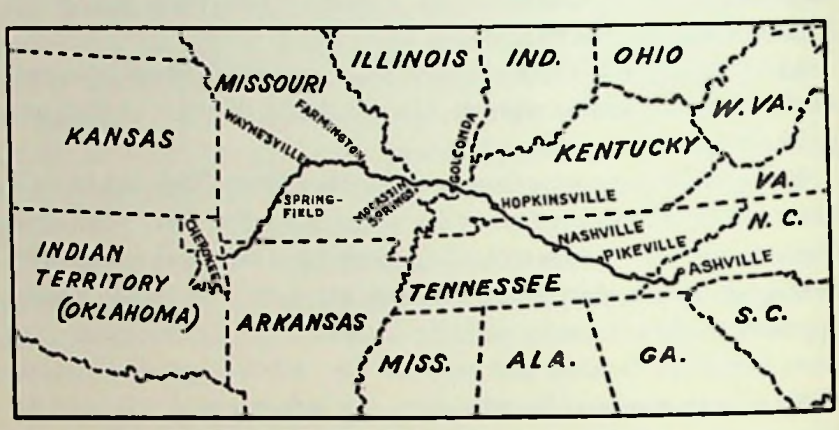
In 1851 Chief William P. Ross (see biography) served as master, H. D. Reese as senior warden, George Butler as junior warden, and J. Thompson as secretary.

These were strenuous days in Cherokee history. They had brought bitterness and factionalism with them from the East. This arose from the treaties which took their lands from them and forced them to migrate into Indian Territory. The "anti-Ross" faction was bitterly opposed to these treaties with the United States. In later years, passions broke all bounds and some of the darkest pages of Cherokee history were written. In retrospect, the influence and principles of Freemasonry can be seen as the greatest healer of these old wounds within the Cherokee family. This fact is emphasized by the thought of Chief William P. Ross, presiding in the East over Cherokee lodge, while the men who surrounded the altar would have thought it a patriotic duty to slay him only a short time before. The roster of Cherokee lodge is a revelation to the student of the times, and, if it were not of undisputed authority, it would hardly be believed in this generation.

The pioneers of *Cherokee Lodge No. 21* represented the best citizens of that day. Brother Dannenberg, the first master, was a native Hollander, whose wife was a member of a prominent Cherokee family. Brother Coody and Brother Adair were prominent in Cherokee affairs as was Secretary Reese, clerk of the Cherokee courts for many years. Twenty years later, Reese was master of another lodge at Tahlequah, a post bellum successor of the original organization.

Brother David Carter, the treasurer, was one of the judges of the Cherokee supreme court. Brother Lin Keys and Brother John S. Vann were also supreme court judges. Brother C. R. Gourd *(C. Rattlinggourd* was his Cherokee name) was a district judge. Brother John Candy and Brother Edwin Archer were printers employed on the *Cherokee Advocate,* official newspaper of the Cherokee nation, and printed in their language.

Edwin Archer, who was of Irish descent, had an unusual background. He had been educated for the priesthood, but rebelled and ran away to learn the printer's trade. He became associated with the Reverend Worcester at Park Hill in the Cherokee Printing Office.



CHEROKEE TRAIL OF TEARS

He married Mary Francis Vann (Cherokee family), February 26, 1845, at the home of her father, Joseph Vann, near Grand river, and in later years wielded a powerful influence for good among the Cherokee people.

Cherokee Lodge No. 21 was the first lodge in Oklahoma to own real estate. The Cherokee National Council, duly assembled on October 30, 1853, by regular act, approved by Chief John Ross, donated Lots 5 and 6 in Square 10 to the lodge, title to be held by a board of trustees. Other property was given to the Sons of Temperance.

The Second Lodge

The interests of Freemasonry in that day was serious business to the brethren. They demanded something more than entertainment. Although Fort Gibson was but 25 miles away, the members could not attend lodge regularly or conveniently without interfering with their occupational duties. Many of them were army men stationed at the post. As a result on November 5, 1850, they chartered their own lodge—*Fort Gibson Lodge No. 35*—with the assistance of their Tahlequah brethren.

The charter officers and members of the Fort Gibson lodge fortunately are known. They were:

William Chapman, W.M.
M. Rudler, S.W.
C. DeLano, J.W.
P. Lugenbul, Sec.
J. C. Robinson
John West
William Whitfield
S. Archer
John Barnwell
C. Perkins
John Greer
Thomas Lanigan
P. A. Farrelly
W. D. Shaw
W. P. Denkla
N. S. Rockwell
R. Hammell
A. Paldi
J. B. Wells
P. H. Raisord
Thomas Duncan
C. L. Stevenson
K. Lewis
B. Wingate
L. DeLano
D. McManus
Samuel Woodhouse
George Butler
W. C. Dickinson

While *Cherokee Lodge No. 21* was predominantly Indian in membership, the Fort Gibson lodge reversed the situation, for most of its members were soldiers and post merchants. It was visited at various times by brethren whose names were distinguished a few years later when the country was plunged in deadly warfare. Because of the difference in membership of the two lodges, they were not rivals in any sense of the word, and no record appears of any clash, even in the matter of jurisdiction. The Grand Lodge of Arkansas did establish a line between Arkansas and the Indian Territory as the limit of jurisdiction, but this was afterwards changed to a point equidistant between the two lodges.

The Third Lodge

The success of the first two lodges in the Territory—at Tahlequah and Fort Gibson—attracted the attention of military men stationed at Fort Gibson as well as several prominent Choctaw Indians who had visited Cherokee lodge, although their membership remained at Fort Smith in Arkansas or in Washington, D. C.

They were convinced that a lodge at their station (Fort Towson) could be as active and as useful as those of the Cherokee country, and petitioned the Grand Lodge of Arkansas for a charter, which was granted on November 4, 1852, for *Doaksville Lodge No. 52.*

So Freemasonry came into full bloom among the Choctaw. In-

dians, soldiers, planters and merchants composed the membership. The original roster of the lodge is not available, but it is known to have included such illustrious names as Chief Sam Gavin, Chief Basil LaFlore, Robert Jones, a wealthy merchant, and the Reverend Cyrus Kingsbury, prominent missionary. Another early member was Wiley Stewart who was born in 1824 in eastern Tennessee and spent much of his early life in Texas; during the Civil war he served with the Confederate Choctaw Militia. Even before the lodge was chartered, there was published in the *Choctaw Intelligencer* of 1851 an obituary of George C. Gooding, a sutler at Fort Towson, listing him as a brother of *Choctaw Lodge U.D.*

E. H. Whitefield, grand master of Arkansas in 1852 and grand lecturer until 1871, paid an official visit to the lodges of the Indian Territory. In his annual address he reported that he had found many intelligent Freemasons among the Indians and at Doaksville had found a good lodge. "The lodge room was elegantly furnished" he said. In this connection, it may be recorded that the beautiful lodge room was, in fact, the pride of the post and community. Social life at Fort Towson was neither brilliant nor interesting, and the lodge afforded a most welcome relief from the humdrum post life. There were many entertainments given in honor of visiting brethren from Fort Smith, Fort Gibson and distant army headquarters.

Indian Territory Lodges Prosper

The three lodges, instruments for the betterment of the Territory, prospered. Within the lodge rooms, plans for the engaging of teachers, the construction and maintenance of schools, and the building of churches were laid. Some of the most enterprising and substantial contributions to the development of the Territory originated in the lodges.

Charity was dispensed without reserve. The year 1858 was marked by a hard dry summer, followed by a most severe winter. The story is often told of a sergeant in charge of a small detail on special duty who had occasion in January, 1858, to penetrate far into the "Potato Hills," a short range of the Kiamichi mountains. Overtaken at night by a bitter storm raging out of the north, the men followed a dim trail which they believed would lead to shelter. They came at last to a small cabin where a Choctaw family had established a home. Passing through a small clearing, they approached the windowless cabin.

Light shone dimly through the crack in the door, which was opened in answer to their call. The Choctaw could not speak English, nor could the soldiers speak his tongue, but they were given to understand that they were welcome to shelter for themselves and their horses, although there was no food.

After putting their horses in the shelter of a small shed, the soldiers reentered the cabin, taking their rations with them. The Indians showed such unusual interest at the sight of food, that after sharing rations with their hosts, the soldiers began an investigation. There was no food in the house except a little corn upon which the Indians had subsisted since the storm began two weeks before. They discovered that a little girl, whom they supposed had been put to bed early, was suffering from a raging fever.

From Bunker Hill to Korea, American soldiers have been known for their compassion, and in true form they went without their meals the next morning in order to leave a generous supply of food with the distressed Indian family. One of the party was a Freemason, who upon his return to Fort Towson, reported the case to the master of Doaksville lodge. Within two hours after the return of the detail, an army surgeon and a Choctaw Indian, both Masons, galloped away from the post into the darkness. Their saddle bags were stuffed with food, extra blankets and medicine. Although Doaksville lodge is long since dead, stories of its acts of mercy will live as long as descendants of its members or beneficiaries survive.

There was no rush of immigration to Indian Territory prior to the Civil war for there was little to attract the white man. No land was available to buy, lease or homestead. The Indians had large herds of cattle and other stock, but little money. The Indians themselves, when they "called the roll" in 1853, found that practically all the people of the Five Civilized Tribes had arrived except a few Creeks in Florida who did not go into Indian Territory, some Choctaws in Mississippi, and scattered bands of the other tribes who successfully resisted enforced migration until after the war. There was very little growth in population from 1848 to 1853.

The Fourth Lodge

The growth of Freemasonry, however, was marked. Grand Lodge proceedings are not available for these formative years, so there is no record of early members or sojourning brethren. On November 9,

1853, the Grand Lodge of Arkansas chartered *Flint Lodge No. 74,* located at Flint Court House, not far from the present site of Stillwell in Adair county. W. S. Adair was the first master. The new lodge naturally decreased the membership of Cherokee lodge, but peace and harmony prevailed between the two lodges. The Flint lodge was necessary for the convenience of those brethren who resided in the southern part of the Cherokee country, as many of the candidates could not make the trip to Tahlequah, and the lodge there already had all the work it could do.

Flint lodge flourished until the early days of the Civil war. Communications ceased to be held, for brother was fighting brother! Some years after the close of the war, Mrs. W. S. Adair, wife of the first master, was visiting in the cabin home of Eli Scott, a young Cherokee. She noticed a curious looking document hanging on the wall beside some pictures of *Sequoyah* and other favorite war heroes. Examining it more closely, she saw it was the charter of Flint lodge. The young Indian had found it in the wooded hills, many miles from Flint Court House. He had no idea what the document was, but thinking it beautiful and unusual, he took it to his home. He readily agreed to give it to Mrs. Adair, who later turned it over to John H. Cannenberg. It was later lost again and has never been found.

The Fifth Lodge

The lodges heretofore organized were composed mainly of Cherokee and Choctaw citizens. The several tribes maintained very friendly relations, but for some reason the Creeks did not affiliate with the established lodges, although most of their leaders were Freemasons.

Supreme Judge George W. Stidham of the Creek nation led the movement to establish a lodge for his people. Ben Marshall, Creek national treasurer, was another who obtained the charter for *Muscogee Lodge No. 93* from the Grand Lodge of Arkansas on November 9, 1855. It was located at "the town of Creek Agency, State of Arkansas, and within three miles." The limitation was made to avoid any conflict of jurisdiction with the lodge at Fort Gibson, across the Arkansas river. Creek Agency at that time was north of the present site of the city of Muskogee. Judge Stidham was first master; William Whitefield, senior warden, and John Barnwell, a native Irishman, junior warden.

Among other members of this lodge were Goliath Harod, a missionary interpreter; Samuel Checote, minister and one time Creek chief; and Casuthe Yarhola, judge and national attorney for the Nation. After the war, William McCombs was a member. McCombs, who was born near Fort Gibson in 1844, took an active part in the establishment of Bacone college. His mother, Susan Stinson McCombs, was an accomplished scholar. At Creek-Cherokee councils she acted as official interpreter, having complete command of both Indian languages as well as English. His father was one of the Tennessee dragoons sent to prepare for the immigration of the Creeks to Indian Territory. Brother McCombs served as adjutant to Colonel McIntosh during the war. He was ordained a minister in 1868 and served as a leader in Indian church work and Indian education until his death in 1929. In 1871 he was elected to the Creek House of Warriors, serving eleven years. He was also superintendent of schools and a member of the Creek supreme court.

The Creek lodge prospered and continued active until 1861, when the Creeks also became involved in the Civil war and ceased to make returns. In 1867 the charter was revoked by the grand lodge.

The Civil War

Freemasonry teaches loyalty to established government. The only government to which the Indian owed allegiance was his own. The impending conflict did not concern his person or his property. He owned slaves, but again that was his own affair and the United States had no control over it at that time or even later, except with his consent.

Individual Freemasons, however, particularly the leaders among the Indians, passed through many ordeals. Chief Ross did his utmost to hold the Cherokee in line. Neither inducements nor threats influenced him in his purpose to let the white men fight their own battles. At a conference attended by Chief Ross of the Cherokee, Chief Jumper of the Seminole, Chief Pitchlyn of the Choctaw and Chief Hopothle Yahola of the Creek (all of them Freemasons), they agreed to remain neutral. The Indian had nothing to fight for, or about, and the sober-minded desired to follow the counsel of their chiefs.

But neutrality for them became impossible; raids and threats of

raids forced them to prepare to protect their lives, their homes and their property—*against both sides!* Military units of Indians formed under both flags. Under the leadership of Confederate General Albert Pike, General Standwaitie and others organized the Cherokee regiments, and Colonel Cooper formed the Choctaws. These two tribes furnished the greater number of troops. Among the Cherokee, several regiments of Union "Home Guards" were under arms, as were companies of Creeks and Chickasaws. All the tribes suffered, but the Seminoles were the hardest hit. Among those who faithfully administered to their distress was General Pike's Confederate Indian agent, Joseph Samuel Murrow, a young missionary who was later to become the most outstanding Freemason of Oklahoma's post-bellum period. He was to become grand master and serve as grand secretary for almost 50 years.

The letters and state papers of Chief Ross and Chief Pitchlyn compare favorably in power and diction with those which came from Washington. These two Freemasons did their utmost to put into practice those principles of temperance, justice and prudence which they had received at the Masonic altar.

Captain A. W. Ballard, a Royal Arch Mason, related an interesting story of this period that was reprinted in the *Trestle Board* (San Francisco) in July, 1899.

Ballard stated that he was requested to visit the home of Chief Pitchlyn near Eagle Town at the close of the war. He was courteously received and, after a formal dinner, was escorted to the chief's library, where the two remained alone, talking into the night. The purpose which the chief had in mind was to explain his position during the war, and to have that explanation thoroughly understood in Washington to avoid any prejudice which might work to the detriment of his people.

Pitchlyn was in Washington when the war was imminent. With assurances that he would either remain neutral or take sides with the Union, he hurried home. At Little Rock he addressed a crowd of 5,000 people from the steps of the Old Anthony House, beseeching them not to secede. He was threatened with mob violence, but was saved by friends who assisted him through the hotel and out a side exit to safety. Seeing the hopelessness of winning the Choctaws to Northern sympathy, he decided upon heroic measures to hold them neutral.

The chief had two bosom friends, both, like himself, Royal Arch Masons. They were James Coulter, a cultured gentleman and a friend of President Lincoln, and Colonel William Henry Hawkins, a graduate of West Point in the class with General U. S. Grant. Both were wealthy planters and owners of many slaves at the beginning of the war. These three companions made a solemn agreement with each other that they would remain true to the Union and do nothing, except for the preservation of their lives or property.

Colonel Hawkins declined a commission as major-general in the Confederate army, but entered into a contract with the Richmond government to furnish certain quantities of grain on condition that he and his property would be protected. Mr. Coulter made a like contract to furnish teams and drivers, and thus the two kept faith with their companion, Chief Pitchlyn. The chief, in the meantime having been almost unanimously elected governor, appointed William Garland, another Freemason, his adjutant general, and placed him in the field in command of the Choctaw army. Strict orders were issued by the governor to keep the Choctaw soldiers within the borders of their own nation. Demands were made by General Pike as well as the Richmond headquarters, but General Garland kept his men at home, fully equipped and ready for duty—*but at home!* Finally a threat was made to overrun the Choctaw country and commandeer all useful property, unless the Choctaws were hurried to support General Price; the latter was preparing to meet General Curtice, who at that moment was moving a large force southward through Missouri, threatening Arkansas.

General Garland joined General Price with about 4,000 Choctaw soldiers who participated in the battle at Pea Ridge. The conduct of the Indians was such as to draw considerable criticism upon themselves and to place General Pike in an embarrassing position.

Reconstruction

The war left Indian Territory Freemasonry in shambles, but just as the farms, homes, schools and churches were rebuilt, so the lodges came back to flourish with new vigor. Some of the old lodges were lost, but new ones took their place. On July 22, 1868, Brother J. S. Murrow was issued a dispensation to open a lodge at Bogey Depot to be called "Ok-la-ho-ma"; *Chapel Hill Lodge U.D.* was chartered at Wheelock on November 23, 1870, but led a short life; a new

lodge was chartered at Doaksville on November 7, 1871, named *Doaksville Lodge No. 279; Caddo Lodge No. 311* was chartered at Caddo on October 14, 1873; and the Grand Lodge of Kansas issued a charter for *Alpha Lodge No. 20* at Fort Gibson on October 16, 1872.

John M. Hodges, the first secretary of *Chapel Hill Lodge U.D.*, was born in Sugar Loaf county, Choctaw nation, in 1850. At the age of 18 he was elected judge of Bok-tuk-kallo county and at 20 was made a district judge. He was appointed revenue collector, then elected to both branches of the Choctaw National Council. In 1889 he was made chief commissioner of the "Net Proceeds Claim," which distributed nearly a million dollars. After retiring from politics, he made his home at Atoka where he owned large interests in real estate and the mercantile business.

William L. Byrd, the first master of the revived Doaksville lodge, was born in Mississippi and came to the Choctaw country while a small boy. He attended the Chickasaw Pine Ridge school and seminary and entered Chickasaw politics at an early age. He served in various official capacities until 1886 when, after a turbulent campaign and subsequent contest, he was defeated for governor by one vote. Two years later, in another close election, he was elevated to the head of the Chickasaw nation by a majority of 48 votes. Governor Byrd first went into business at Doaksville in 1873, but later removed to Stonewall where he remained until his death on April 21, 1915.

All the officers of the revived Doaksville lodge were Choctaw Indians. S. N. Folsom was a colonel in the United States army; William Spring was a stockman and merchant; Sampson Folsom, a Choctaw judge; Henry Harris, a planter; Robert M. Jones, farmer and merchant; Basil LaFlore, a Choctaw chief; Daniel Miller, Indian minister and interpreter; James Usuary, sheriff of Kiamichi (now Choctaw) county; and John Wilson, county judge.

When *Caddo Lodge No. 311* was chartered in 1873, it inaugurated a vigorous campaign against prevailing lawlessness. Caddo was a terminal point for the new M. K. & T. railroad and as many as a hundred teams of mules or oxen left from there daily with freight for the plains country and Texas. Horse and cattle stealing, lynching, murders, gambling and drunkenness were common. Deserters from

both Confederate and Union armies had remained in the country, and fugitives from justice depended upon the vastnesses of the hills for hiding. Frequent raids were made on railroad trains, stores and cattle herds. Jurisdiction over law and order was divided between Indian authority and the United States.

This was the condition found by Granville McPherson, the first master, and public spirited citizens who helped him found the lodge. McPherson went on to become the first grand master of the Grand Lodge of Indian Territory, serving from 1874 to 1876.

Brother H. A. Rich, the first senior warden, who was with the United States Mail service, was murdered by outlaws. Past Master J. B. Jones, a physician and community leader well-known for civic righteousness, was murdered on August 9, 1878, while crossing the railroad tracks. A man named Stewart was afterwards tried at Fort Smith and hanged for the crime.

Other contemporaries at Caddo were C. M. Beck, an Indian farmer and stock man; M. A. Welch, wealthy merchant; Col. J. B. Young, army officer; Wiley Stewart, farmer; D. A. Folsom, Indian stock man; T. B. Trumbull, also an Indian stock man; L. I. W. Folsom; W. H. Ainsworth, merchant; and the Reverend J. B. Lloyd, Presbyterian minister. Their lodge, while by no means a vigilance committee, was, in fact, a potential influence in the community for the suppression of lawlessness and crime in and about Caddo. They also established the Caddo Masonic High school, which was later abandoned because of financial difficulties.

Indian Masons of Reconstruction Period

There were many other active Indian Freemasons of the reconstruction period.

Joseph Garland was raised in 1870. Born in 1836, he was educated in Norwalk Academy. In 1856 he served as sheriff, and as a captain under General Cooper during the war. He was county judge in 1866, supreme judge in 1876, and was a member of the Choctaw national council.

Charles Stewart Vinson was district attorney in 1874 and national attorney in 1879. Born in 1832, he was a Confederate veteran.

George W. Parks, who was born in Tennessee in 1820, came to the territory in 1838 over the "Trail of Tears" as a wagon master under

General Winfield Scott. He returned to his native state and served during the war with Wheeler's cavalry. His fortunes ruined, he again went to Indian Territory, and in 1880 was elected associate justice of the Cherokee Supreme court. He was raised in Tennessee in 1852 and filled all the chairs in lodge and chapter.

Henry C. Harris was born in 1837, educated at Armstrong Academy and served with a Choctaw detachment of the Confederate army. He held various tribal positions including supreme judge; he was also a delegate to Washington and a member of the commission which negotiated the coal leases "west of '98" in 1889.

Wilson N. Jones, one of the organizers of the grand lodge, was born in Mississippi in 1831, arriving with his parents in the westward migration of 1833. He was one of the first victims of the "sharpies" who operated in the Territory in the early days. He formed a partnership with a white man who called himself "Jim Myers." Myers furnished a very small part of the capital to enter the cattle business. Their herd grew to be worth $5,000, and one day in 1867 Myers took the herd to market, sold the cattle, collected the money and disappeared. Brother Jones soon recovered his loss, and in five years owned one of the largest herds in the Territory. Later he established a prosperous store at Caddo. He was chief of the Choctaws in 1890.

Napoleon Bonaparte Moore was born in Alabama in 1828 of Indian parentage, and came to the Territory with his people. When he was 19 years old, his father died, and he became the head of a large family. He served in the Confederate army as a lieutenant under Colonel D. N. McIntosh. After the war, he became a member of the Creek House of Warriors. He later served as a delegate to Washington, where he obtained a payment of $400,000 from the government for Creek lands. This, as treasurer of his nation, he disbursed in per capita payments of $29 without a single discrepancy or loss.

Christopher C. Belcher, although a white man, was made a citizen of the Creek nation by an act of the national council. He was born in Abington, Virginia, on September 10, 1820. After attending Tennessee State university, he came to the Cherokee nation in 1846 and to the Creek Agency in 1848. He was associated in business with John Barnwell, another active early day Mason. He served with

General Albert Pike during the war and engaged in the mercantile business until 1878, becoming postmaster of Okmulgee in 1884.

Formation of Grand Lodge

Three lodges under the allegiance of the Grand Lodge of Arkansas met in convention on Oct. 5, 1874, at Caddo, and formed the Grand Lodge of Indian Territory. Among the representatives of the lodges was George W. Stidham, chief justice of the supreme court of the Creek nation, who was master of *Mus-co-gee Lodge No. 90* at the time. Stidham was born November 17, 1817, in Alabama, of Scotch-Irish-Indian parents. He came to Indian Territory with the Creeks in 1837. He could not speak English until he was 20 years old. His first official position was an interpreter, and later was the Creek's representative to Washington. He was elected principal chief during the war, but under the hectic tactics of the day, his election was contested and he was denied the office. In 1867 he became chief justice, in which office he continued until his death in March, 1891. He was the first grand treasurer of the Grand Lodge of Indian Territory.

Although the Grand Lodge of Indian Territory embraced lodges with distinctly characteristic names, and many Indians had served as officers in lodge, chapter and grand bodies, no one of predominating Indian blood was elected to the high office of grand master until 1896, when Brother Silas Armstrong of *Frisco Lodge No. 24* of Fairland was elected. His active attention to duty, his interest in the craft, his wise counsel and well prepared papers distinguish him as one of the strong men of the grand lodge.

An earlier grand master, Charles E. Gooding, although a white man, was a Choctaw citizen. He was elected to grand mastership in 1881. Born at Portland, Maine, in 1833, Gooding came to Indian Territory as a boy of 12 with his father, an army sutler, who was buried at Doaksville with Masonic honors in 1851. He became a citizen of the Choctaw nation and afterwards served as its national secretary and national treasurer. He was raised in 1867. Ordained as a minister in 1884, he served the Methodist church until his death in 1888.

Indians and Capitular Masonry

Royal Arch Masonry began among the Choctaws, when, on Feb-

ruary 16, 1878, permission was requested from the General Grand Chapter for a chapter at McAlester, Choctaw nation, Indian Territory. *Indian Chapter No. 1* was constituted October 7, 1880, with an illustrious Indian membership as well as many distinguished white pioneers of the territory. The second chapter, *Ok-la-ho-ma No. 2,* was at Atoka, also in Choctaw territory. Its leading promoter was J. S. Murrow, later to be known as the "father of Oklahoma Freemasonry."

The third dispensation for a chapter was issued in 1885 to companions of the Chickasaw nation at Burneyville, then a prosperous village in what is now Love county. The chapter failed to meet the requirements, and the dispensation was revoked in 1887. The fourth chapter at Savanna (later removed to Lehigh) was granted a dispensation on March 12, 1886.

While the Masons of the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations had organized four chapters and were beginning to talk of a grand chapter, the Cherokee brethren were active, but had not attempted a chapter of their own until November, 1887, when they petitioned for a chapter at Tahlequah. Joel B. Mayes, a Cherokee principal chief, was one of the first exalted. He was of Indian-English parentage, and was born October 2, 1833, in Bates County, Georgia, at that time the home of the Cherokee nation. He came to Indian Territory with his parents in 1837. He was a teacher from 1855 to 1857, a soldier in the Confederate army during the war, a district judge, clerk of the district court, and held other public offices. He died December 14, 1891.

The companions of Tahlequah chapter were for the most part prominent Cherokees who were civic leaders. They were in better financial condition than their Choctaw and Chickasaw neighbors and represented the "aristocracy" of the royal craft in Indian Territory.

Charity

There was much charity to be done in the early days of the Indian Territory. Little money was available, and the forced migration known as "The Trail of Tears," followed by the Civil war, left many Indians broken in wealth and spirit. Here Freemasonry accomplished its greatest service, joining hands with the missionaries, tribal chiefs, and influential citizens.

Caddo Lodge No. 311 established the Caddo Masonic High

school, as we have already mentioned. There was no public school system and the committee on education appointed by the new grand lodge acted through the subordinate lodges in finding homes for Indian orphans, supplying books and clothing for Indian school children, and in many instances paying all or part of teachers' wages.

One letter in the grand lodge files is from a well-to-do attorney in Ardmore who asked to be permitted to adopt an Indian baby girl. He promised to take the child into his home, rear her properly and educate her. Subsequent letters from the attorney report the condition of the child's health, her progress in school and the happiness and gratitude of the foster parents.

During the winter of 1898 the venerable J. S. Murrow, grand secretary, was confined to his home most of the time. His recovery seemed hopeless. On a cold, stormy night there was a knock at the door and a stranger asked if he might see "Elder" Murrow alone. His story was that he and a companion had been caught stealing horses and that the other boy had been killed by the angry citizens. The dead youth was, it seemed, an orphan who had been given a home with a Choctaw family residing near Bogey Depot where Brother Murrow had lived. The Indian foster mother, who had done her best to be a real mother to the boy, was one of the Reverend Murrow's "converts." She had never faltered in her faith or in her friendship for "Father Murrow."

"This thing will kill that poor woman," sobbed the outlaw.

"It will be an awful shock to her," agreed the sick man. "Her good husband was a Mason. I raised him myself in the old Lodge, and I preached his funeral. Tell her I will be there; God will give me strength I know. He sees the sparrows fall and He has seen this boy fall. Her boy shall have Christian burial."

Braving the snow and cold, Father Murrow was at the side of his Indian friend the next day to console her. The boy was given a Christian burial as the minister had promised. The tie between the master of the lodge and the brother he loved was not broken by death nor by the unlawful deed of a wayward boy.

Lo, the Poor Indian!

Freemasonry in the Indian Territory did well within its own jurisdiction, but due recognition elsewhere was slow and painful.

The following correspondence report from the Grand Lodge of

Louisiana in 1879 aroused the ire of Grand Secretary Murrow, although he did admit it was correct:

> The total receipts of the Grand Lodge are ridiculously small, being only $312.30 for the year 1879. Masonry is a respectable institution, and Grand Bodies cannot expect to command respect and obedience while their revenues are unworthy a tramp's consideration.

The Indians were misunderstood and unappreciated. True, where Indian Masons were known, they were respected and honored. But the Indian had come into direct contact with very few of his white brethren except in Washington, Fort Smith and Little Rock. The eastern, southern and northern Freemasons had not enjoyed the opportunity of meeting such men as Pitchlyn, Ross, Yahola, Stidham and others. Their knowledge of Indians was gained from the popular romantic literature of the day, which maligned rather than depicted the true Indian character. So a grand lodge in an Indian country, composed largely of "savages," "heathens" and "barbarians," could scarcely be considered legitimate by such staid grand lodges as Maine and Maryland. In fact, at first, Kansas, their next door neighbor, refused to recognize them.

When an attempt was first made to organize a grand chapter, General Grand High Priest Larner flatly refused to countenance the movement. Said one of his supporters:

> The ethical tendencies of the Masons out in that wild country hardly commend them to membership in such a Body as this.

The territorial companions called a conference and agreed to send J. S. Murrow, who was later to become their first grand high priest, to the triennial convocation at Atlanta on November 20, 1889.

The very appearance of the man was a surprise. He was known to be a man of ability, judged by his reports on fraternal correspondence and by the manner in which he had rescued the young grand lodge from threatened ruin. But he was supposed by some to have been an Indian; by others, an ex-Confederate soldier, rough, uncouth and typical of the popular idea of a westerner. When the fine-appearing, mild mannered clergyman, as sedate and worthy as any among them, begged for a hearing, the dignified companions settled back in their seats for a few minutes of entertainment. They received that and more.

When he had finished his plea, there was a deafening applause

and the motion for the new grand chapter was carried with only one dissenting vote.

The Modern Indian

Dr. Arthur C. Parker, the Seneca who distinguished himself in archaeology and ethnology, wrote the following in *The Builder* of March, 1922:

> Today literally hundreds of prominent Oklahomans of Indian blood, either fully Indian or of a certain degree, are Masons. One sees the Square and Compass, the Cross and Crown, and the Double-Headed Eagle everywhere among these Indians. Such prominent Indians as Senator Owen, Congressman Carter, and Gabe E. Parker, former Registrar of the Treasury and now Superintendent of the Five Civilized Tribes, are Master Masons and members of concordant orders.
>
> Many an Indian in the old Indian Territory has served as Master of a lodge. The same may be said of the Indian country in Kansas, and the Dakotas. In traveling through the Indian country the prevalence of Indian Masons interested me. I once pointed to a Consistory charm worn by a Pawnee Indian (a banker, by the way) and asked what it was. He replied "Oh, that's a sign I can't get along without down here. It's a sign a man is on the square."
>
> To revert to the question propounded at the beginning of this article as to what extent Freemasonry has contributed to the civilization of the Indian, let me state that the strongest contacts were through the lodges, though we must not forget the school for the youth and the army for the older men.
>
> Many of the officers of the frontier posts were Masons, as were many of the government officials, and some of the missionaries. Masonic influence was gradually developed until it became a real power for constructive good. Masons fostered missionary effort, and particularly education. They founded schools and established hospitals. For example, Dr. Robert W. Hill, an early official in Indian Territory, busied himself on one hand by establishing Indian missions and schools, and in the other in Masonic work. He became the Deputy for Oklahoma for the Commander of the Scottish Rite and a leading Knight Templar. He tells me that the first 32° Mason that he made, and the first Knight Templar, in Oklahoma, were Indians.
>
> Masons and Masonic support have done many valuable things for the Indian race, and the part of Masonry in the civilization of the red man is no small one, though it is largely unrecorded, for Masons do not flaunt their charities. It would not be an overstatement, however, to say that Masonry has been, and is now, a tremendous power for education and enlightenment among the Indians. Of all secular influences none gives greater support to the vital needs of the race than Masonry. It is not done in an organized way, of course, but it is done none the less by Masons.

In 1936 a shrine was erected to the memory of *Sequoyah,* noted Cherokee leader, at his old home some 12 miles northeast of Sallisaw, Oklahoma. The cornerstone was laid on June 12 by the Grand Lodge

of Oklahoma, and John D. Acorn, a full-blooded Cherokee, was appointed grand chaplain for the occasion. He gave the prayer in the language of his tribe. The ritual was interpreted for the benefit of a great many of the Indian Masons present who were unable to speak English.

George Washington Finley *(Te-wah-guah-ke-mon-goh)* was a celebrated Indian of the southwest, and chief of the Piankeshas. He was born October 7, 1858, near Paola, Kansas, and became a member of *Miami Lodge No. 140* at Miami, Oklahoma, in 1913. He served this lodge as tyler for 15 years. He received the 32 degree AASR at McAlester in 1917, and in April, 1918, became a member of Akdar Shrine temple at Tulsa. He died November 16, 1932.

McAlester, Oklahoma, is named for the father of James Burney McAlester, a Scottish Rite Mason, whose mother was a Choctaw woman.

Indians petitioning lodges in Oklahoma in the present day are almost invariably referred to as "F.B.I." (full blooded Indian). The late W. W. Hastings of Tahlequah, for many years congressman from that district, was a Freemason, as was Brother William Stigler (Choctaw) who served in the same capacity. Former governor Johnston Murray (Chickasaw) is a Freemason, as is W. W. Keeler (Cherokee), vice president of the Phillips Petroleum Company. The late Bro. Will Rogers, famous humorist, was proud of the Cherokee blood in his veins.

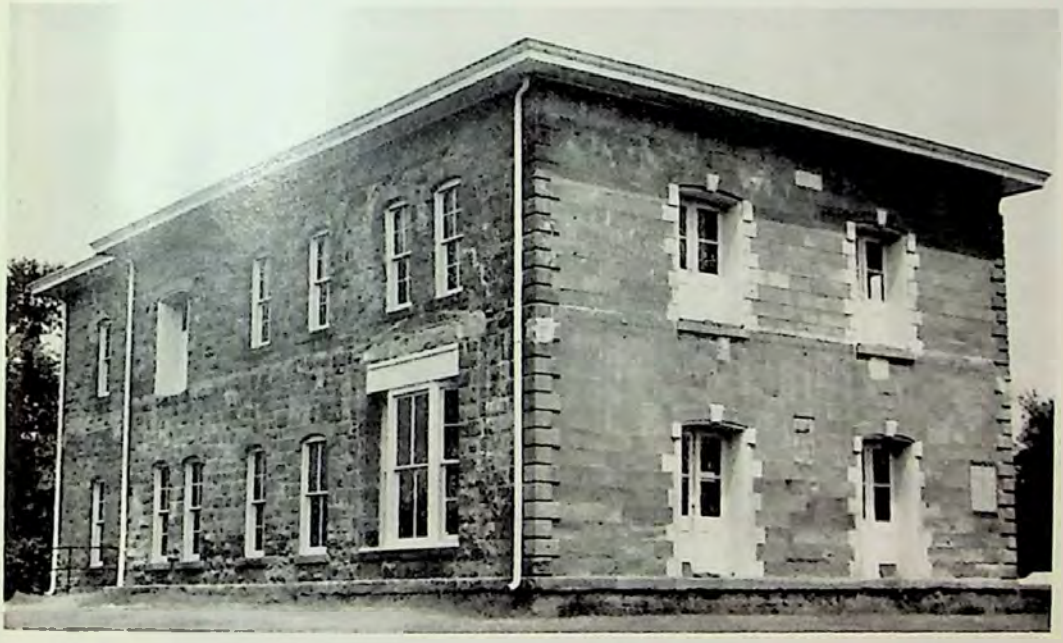
The Akdar Shrine temple of Tulsa has an all-Indian patrol headed by Brother Leggus Island.

In 1952 several Masonic periodicals published the story of Charles *Ma-shun-ka-shey,* a fullblooded Osage who became a member of the Knights York Cross of Honor. This organization is composed of brethren who have served as head of all four York Rite bodies. *Ma-shun-ka-shey* has served as master of *Wah-shah-she Lodge No. 110,* high priest of *Horeb Chapter No. 63,* master of *Omega Council No. 29,* and commander of *Palestine Commandery No. 35.*

From the beginning until the present day Freemasonry and the American Indian have gone hand in hand to establish and preserve the unusual traditions of the great state of Oklahoma.

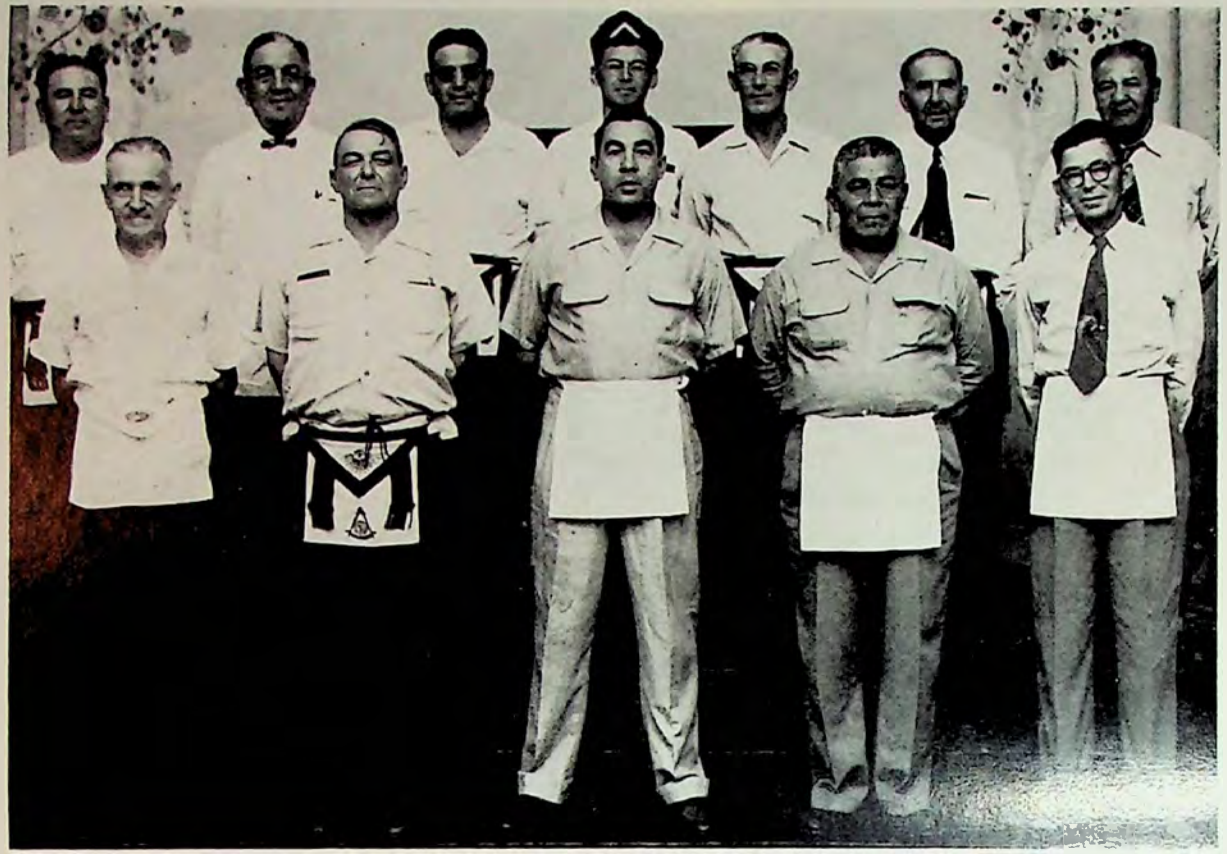
PART III

FAMOUS INDIAN FREEMASONS



UNION AGENCY BUILDING, MUSKOGEE, OKLAHOMA NOW FIVE CIVILIZED TRIBES MUSEUM

"A called meeting of the Grand Lodge was held in the church house at Muskogee, Creek Nation, under the instructions of the Grand Master, for the purpose of laying the cornerstone of the Union Agency Building. Special Deputy G.M. J. S. Murrow in the Grand East. Legal Masonic steps were taken to ascertain if all present were Master Masons. The Grand Lodge was then opened in form, and proceeded to the site of the building of the Union Agency of the United States, where the ceremonies of laying the cornerstone were performed in the usual Masonic manner. The Grand Lodge then returned to the place of opening, and was closed in form" . . . from proceedings of Grand Lodge of Indian Territory, August 18, 1875.



ALL INDIAN DEGREE TEAM IN OKLAHOMA

On September 28, 1954 the above team conferred the third degree in Oriental Lodge No. 430, A.F. & A.M., Muskogee, Oklahoma. Upper row (l. to r.) Frank Conseen, Roy Frye, Jack Clark, Richard Chuculate, Walter Shoemake, W. T. Thorne, D. F. Bruner. Lower row (l. to r.) A. E. Robertson, John Horn, Dannie Elliott (candidate), Ben Porter and E. R. Sanders.

Chief Joseph Brant—First Indian Freemason

TWO MEN STOOD eye-to-eye with hate in their breasts!

The white man was General Nicholas Herkimer of the Continental army. The Indian was Joseph Brant—*Thayendanegea The Terrible*—principal chief of the Six Nations and leader of the Indians under the British in the American Revolution. It was June, 1777.

Three years earlier they had been friends and neighbors. Herkimer was a member of *St. Patrick's Lodge No. 8,* Johnstown, New York. The savage who faced him with steady eye numbered his closest friends among the members of the same lodge. Brant, himself, was a member of *Hiram's Cliftonian Lodge No. 417* of London, England.

Each knew the other to be a Freemason, but their hatred transcended the bounds of brotherhood. Four months later Herkimer was to die at the hands of his Indian brother when they next met at the Battle of Oriskany.

The present meeting, however, was a stand-off, and in spite of the intense passions of the day, we may presume that the "brotherhood of man" played a part in the grim drama of this particular meeting, which took place near Unadilla, New York. The gist of their conversation has been recorded:

"I have come to see my brother on a friendly visit," stated Herkimer, who had several hundred soldiers in his party.

"And all these have come on a friendly visit too?" replied Brant, referring to Herkimer's armed party.

"Do they all want to see the poor Indians? It is very kind!" said Brant, with a sarcastic curl of the lip.

The conversation became heated and Brant eventually declared: "We are in concert with the King as our fathers have been; the King's belts are yet lodged with us and we cannot violate our pledge. You have joined the Boston people against their sovereign. Although these people are resolute, still the king will humble them. Finally, we have made war on the whites when they were united. Now they are divided. The Indian is not now frightened!"

At this point Brant took offense at a remark made by one of Herkimer's officers and the conference broke up. By agreement, it was resumed the next morning.

When Brant, the egotistical warrior, entered the conference circle, he drew himself up with full dignity and announced:

"I have 500 warriors with me, armed and ready for battle. You are in my power; but as we have been friends and neighbors, I will

BRANT AND HERKIMER

not take advantage of you." He then advised Herkimer to return home.

The bluff had been called, and Herkimer meekly withdrew, realizing he had been outbested, both oratorically and militarily. Brant was the tactician and Herkimer was the bungling major-general of a hastily formed militia. Within three months Colonel Brant outgeneraled Herkimer, who died as a result of their next encounter at Oriskany.

Brant—The Enigma

Joseph Brant is an enigma of American history, both sacred and profane. So many myths have been written about him that it is difficult to separate truth from fantasy. Although he has been a favorite subject for Masonic journals for the past 150 years, many of the stories are ill-founded. In fact, his Masonic membership has only been verified within the past 60 years.

Future years and future writers will undoubtedly add to our knowledge. The author has compiled a chronological history of the life of Brant (see at end of this chapter). Most events are without dispute. Others, particularly during the years of 1775-76, are highly controversial.

The Young Brant

Brant, the most singular and powerful chief of the Revolutionary period, was born on the banks of the Ohio river in 1742 while his parents were on a hunting expedition. Their home, however, was at Canajoharie Castle in the Mohawk Valley of New York. His father, *Tehowaghwengaraghkwin,* was a full blood Mohawk of the Wolf gens.

He was named *Thayendanegea,* which according to the several interpretations means "he who sets or places together two bets," "two sticks of wood bound together" or "a bundle of sticks." His father died while he was young, and his mother married an Indian whose Christian name has been variously given as Barnet, Barnard and Brant. His elder sister, Mary, was more commonly known as "Molly." She became the mistress of Sir William Johnson, the superintendent of Indian Affairs for the British, whose life was closely entwined with Brant's.

Brant-Johnson Association

Sir William Johnson, Brant's benefactor, was born in County Meath, Ireland, in 1715. He came to America in 1783 to manage the property of his uncle, Admiral Sir Peter Warren, which was located about 24 miles west of Schenectady. Sir Peter called it "Warrensburgh." Johnson soon began trade with the Indians, whom he always treated with honesty and justice. His manner was dignified and affable, and he cultivated their friendship by learning their language, assuming many of their manners, and even their dress. His influence, which was greater than any other white man had possessed, earned him the Indian title *Wariaghejaghe,* or "he who has charge of affairs," and he was made a sachem of the Mohawk tribe. Johnson also fared well with the Crown; in 1744 he was appointed colonel of the Six Nations by Governor George Clinton, and in 1746 he became commissioner of New York for Indian affairs. During this time he had been active against the French in border warfare, and in Febru-

ary, 1748, he was placed in command of all New York colonial forces for the defense of the frontier. On April 14, 1755, he was appointed "sole superintendent of the affairs of the Six United Nations, their allies and dependents," a position he held until his death on July 11, 1774.

The first record we have of Joseph Brant is as a 13-year-old youngster with Brigadier General William Johnson at the Battle of Lake George on September 8, 1755. Johnson utterly defeated the French Baron Dieskau, thus saving the British colonies. For this, Johnson was created a baronet and voted £5,000.

Brant next appears at the Battle of Fort Niagara on July 25, 1759, as a 17-year-old, under Johnson who was second in command to General Prideaux. Prideaux was accidentally killed in the action and Johnson took command, continued the siege of the fort, routed the French reinforcements under Aubry and forced the surrender of the fort.

Sister Molly

It is not known whether Johnson became interested in Joseph Brant through his sister Molly, or whether he first knew Joseph and thereby came into contact with the Indian girl. In 1739 Johnson had married Catharine Wisenburgh, daughter of a German settler on the Mohawk, who died young, leaving him with three children, a son, John, who was later knighted and became provincial grand master of New York, and two daughters, Anne and Mary. Anne married Colonel Daniel Claus, who was the first junior warden of *St. Patrick's Lodge No. 8*. Mary was wed to Colonel Guy Johnson, her first cousin, who was first senior warden of St. Patrick's, and succeeded Sir William as commissioner of Indian affairs. Sir William never married after the death of his wife, but had several mistresses, both white and Indian. Molly Brant seems to have been the last of them, for after he took her to Johnson Hall, she bore him eight children and they lived together until his death. She assumed the responsibilities of his household and was a pleasant hostess as well as virtual ruler of the baronial estate. Her influence among the Indians was great. Although nothing is heard of the children in later years, Johnson provided for them in his will, calling them "natural children."

Hayden in his biography of Brant relates the following romantic tale:

The traditions say that no Iroquois maiden was more sprightly and beautiful than she (Molly) at sixteen, at which age she was present as a spectator at one of Sir William's reviews. As a field-officer was riding past her, on parade, on a fine horse, she playfully asked his permission to allow her to ride along with him upon the same horse, behind. To this he gave his assent, without supposing she would have the courage to make the attempt. She, however, sprung with the swiftness of a gazelle upon the horse behind him, while the animal was at full speed, and clinging to the officer, with her blanket and dark hair streaming in the wind, she rode about the parade-

ground to the great merriment of herself and all present, except the young officer, who was somewhat abashed at the unexpected maneuvers of the Indian girl. Sir William, who was a witness of the spectacle, admired the spirit of the young squaw, became enamored with her person, and, as he was somewhat of a Solomon in some of his domestic relations, took her home with him as his wife in a manner consistent with Indian customs. . . ."

Thayendanegea Goes to School

Sometime between the years of 1759 and 1763, Sir William sent Joseph, his protégé, to Moore's Charity School for Indian Children at Lebanon, Connecticut. It was under the direction of Dr. Eleazer Wheelock, whose primary interest was to make Christian missionaries of the Indians. Most of his students were drawn from the Iroquois nations of upper New York and lower Canada. Here Brant learned to speak and write English and acquired a general knowledge of literature and history. Wheelock did not succeed in making a

missionary out of Brant, but the religious education must have had some effect on the young Indian, for in 1765 he married the daughter of an Oneida chief and settled at Canajoharie, New York, where he joined the Episcopal church and for a time led a peaceful life.

In 1771 Joseph Brant became chief sachem of the Six Nations, at the age of 29. It was also in this year that his wife died, leaving him with a son and daughter. The following year Brant married his first wife's half-sister.

St. Patrick's Lodge No. 8

Thayendanegea was not a member of *St. Patrick's Lodge No. 8* at Johnstown, New York, and was never a visitor at any of its meetings, as the original minutes of this pre-revolutionary lodge will attest. The lodge, now No. 4, still has the minutes from its first meeting on August 23, 1766, to its last on May 5, 1774. Indirectly, however, it must have had considerable influence on him through his many friends who were members, and may have eventually caused him to petition the *Hiram's Cliftonian Lodge No. 417* in England.

It may never be known why he did not belong to the lodge headed by his benefactor and attended by his friends. However, little is heard of Brant during this period of the lodge's activity; he may have been at such a distance from Johnstown that membership would have been impractical. It is also possible that the members regarded no Indian as their social equal and would not allow them to join, for there is no apparent record of any Indian name on the minutes. In the latter part of the lodge's existence, there would be a good reason why Brant's petition would not have been presented. Members of the lodge found themselves lining up in two factions as the threat of war enveloped the land. Many revolutionary heroes, both British and American, were members of the lodge, and it is certain that those who favored the colonies would not allow so famous a warrior as Brant into their midst, knowing his fierce allegiance to the British crown.

It is significant, during these early lodge meetings before the American Revolution, when the brothers divided into two camps, that the lodge record is free from reference to political or sectarian disputes behind its tiled doors. There is but one exception and this appeared in the minutes of March 7, 1771:

. . . at the desire of several of the members that, to prevent in future the possibility of any disputes or quarrels arising, the body should from thence forward be circumspect in its behavior as well after the lodge was closed and whilst they were together as during lodge hours. It was therefore unanimously resolved that any one who is a Mason in this body, who shall at any time use any provoking language to another or appear disposed to enter into disputes that may effect the harmony of the lodge, that such person so offending shall be immediately ordered to be silent and, in case of his refusal or revival of such disputes, they may be compelled to retire for that time of the meeting and afterwards be delt with as the case may require."

Sir William Johnson was raised in *Union Lodge No. 1* of Albany, New York (now Mt. Vernon No. 3) on April 10, 1766, and it is quite possible that many of the other fifteen charter members of St. Patrick's were raised there about that time.

On May 23, 1766, George Harrison, provincial grand master of New York issued a charter to *St. Patrick's Lodge No. 8* (now 4) "to constitute a regular lodge to be held at Johnson Hall in the county of Albany and the province of New York in America." The first officers named in the charter were Sir William Johnson, W.M.; Guy Johnson, his nephew, S.W.; Daniel Claus, his son-in-law, J.W.; and John Butler, of Revolutionary war fame, secretary. The first meeting was not held until August 23, three months later, with fourteen members present. Sir William had set aside a room on the second floor of his baronial mansion for a meeting place. It may be seen today with the original furniture used by this lodge 23 years before the adoption of the constitution of the United States.

The secretary of St. Patrick's Lodge recorded the following on May 4, 1769: "The Master (Sir William) observed that he had received a commission as Master of a Lodge of superior degrees, which would require his attendance occasionally at Albany." This reference would tend to prove the assertion that he was one of the early founders of the Scottish Rite in America as he is said to have been master of the "Ineffable Lodge" (of Perfection) at Albany from 1769 to 1773.

Samuel Kirkland

The Reverend Samuel Kirkland became the fourth member to be initiated into St. Patrick's Lodge on February 7, 1767. A graduate of Princeton, he became a missionary to the Six Nations, spending 40 years among them. During the Revolution he attempted to preserve

the neutrality of the Six Nations, making several long journeys among the tribes. After the Battle of Lexington, the provincial congress requested him to obtain the friendship of the Indians for the colonies.

He succeeded in attaching the Oneidas to the colonies, but the other tribes joined the British through the influence of Sir William Johnson and Joseph Brant. Washington said of him in a letter addressed to congress in 1775: "I cannot but intimate my sense of the importance of Mr. Kirkland's station, and of the great advantages which have and may result to the united colonies from his situation being made respectable. All accounts agree that much of the favorable disposition shown by the Indians may be ascribed to his labor and influence."

Kirkland became brigade chaplain to General John Sullivan in 1779, and was with him on the Susquehanna expedition, the purpose of which was the "chastisement of the savages." Sullivan was a member of *St. John's Lodge No. 1* of Portsmouth, New Hampshire and was later to be the first grand master of New Hampshire. It was indeed a strange quirk that placed the Reverend Kirkland as spiritual advisor to a military force that was seeking to destroy his Six Nations friends to whom he had dedicated his life. It is equally strange that in 1788, just nine years later, these same Indians gave him a valuable tract of land where he founded the present town of Kirkland. It was during the Sullivan expedition that Brant turned Lieutenant Boyd over to Walter Butler (son of John) for protection, who in turn allowed the Senecas to torture and kill him. In 1793 Kirkland established Oneida college for the Indian youth. It is now Hamilton college.

Sir John Johnson

On December 5, 1767, the minutes of St. Patrick's report: "Sir John Johnson, Knight, son of the Worshipful Master, being lately arrived from London, where he had been entered, passed and raised to the degree of a Master Mason at St. James and had received his constitution as Provincial Grand Master of New York, applied to visit the lodge, and being examined, was admitted agreeable to his degree."

Thus did son John take over Sir William's position as provincial

grand master of New York. He was also the last provincial grand master. This did not end his Masonic career, however, for he became grand master of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Quebec in 1789.

Sir John distinguished himself in the Revolution as a major general in the militia, a rank which he inherited from his father at the latter's death in 1774. Brant was with him on most of his expeditions, including Fort Stanwix, Oriskany, and the Cherry Valley massacre. Both were outstanding military tacticians and close friends. Both he and Brant moved to Canada following the Revolution, and Johnson was appointed superintendent-general of Indian affairs in British North America.

Colonel Guy Johnson

Like his uncle, Sir William, Colonel Guy Johnson was initiated early in 1766 at Albany in *Union Lodge No. 1,* and was a charter member and first senior warden of St. Patrick's Lodge. He was about the same age as Brant, having been born in County Meath, Ireland, in 1740. He was not only a nephew of Sir William, but a son-in-law as well, for he married Mary, one of Johnson's two daughters.

On February 7, 1771, he succeeded his uncle as the second master of St. Patrick's Lodge, and the minute books of the installation read: "with the usual ceremonies, on which occasion, he addressed the body with a few words, expressing his thanks for their suffrages and the late election and his hopes that it might not deprive them of the visits of their late Worthy Master, to whom he returned the thanks of the body for a good government of them during his Mastership and assured them that he would make it his study to the utmost of his ability to promote harmony among them while he should have the honor to preside in the chair. Sir William then addressed the lodge in return, and assured them that he would return to visit them as often as his convenience would permit, and assured them that he had nothing at heart but the happiness of the members of that society and hoped that they would attend diligently and improve in Masonry under their new Master."

Whereas son John inherited the family titles and military rank of his father on his death on July 11, 1774, Guy found himself replacing his uncle as superintendent of Indian affairs for the British in New York. He also appeared to take Brant under his wing, just as

his uncle had done, for Brant was immediately made his secretary. Guy and John are sometimes confused in history.

At the outbreak of the Revolution, Guy fled from his residence near Amsterdam, New York, to Montreal by way of Oswego. From Montreal he sailed for England in the company of Brant, presumably in late 1775. It was Guy who undoubtedly used influence or paved the way for Brant to become a member of the Masonic fraternity on this trip. The date of their return from England is controversial and will be discussed later.

INDIAN TACTICS

Colonel John Butler

The first secretary of St. Patrick's Lodge was Colonel John Butler, a lifelong friend of Brant, who fought with him in many battles. He was with Brant and Johnson at the Battle of Lake George and again at Fort Niagara where he saw action as a lieutenant colonel. He was probably raised in *Union Lodge No. 1,* Albany.

An expert at the Indian type of woods fighting, he organized "Butler's Rangers" and participated in many battles and raids with them. He frequently was assigned to lead Indians during the Revolution, as he understood their language and modes of warfare. He was at Oriskany in 1777 and led the force that desolated Wyoming in the famous "Wyoming massacre." He fought Sullivan in central New York, and was in Sir John Johnson's raids on the Schoharie and Mohawk settlements in 1780.

Butler's barbarities, though great, have been exaggerated. Some of the most atrocious deeds of the massacre in Wyoming were due to his son Walter (not a Freemason), a captain in the British service. Colonel Butler professed to be grieved by his son's conduct, par-

ticularly on the occasion of the Cherry Valley massacre. At one time Walter was sentenced to die as a spy, but was reprieved at the intercession of some American officers who had known him as a law student at Albany. He was killed in October, 1781, in an action on the Mohawk.

Just before the war, Colonel Butler was made deputy superintendent of Indian affairs in New York, and after his removal to Canada was given the position as Indian agent. He became a charter member of *St. John's Lodge of Friendship No. 2* in the township of Newark, Upper Canada, served as its master and became the first grand senior warden of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Upper Canada.

Brant and Butler remained close friends after the war, and one August Jones recorded in his journal that Brant and Butler were with Governor Simcoe at York in 1793 where Butler's rangers were building a road.

Other Close Associates

Many other early members of St. Patrick's lodge played a part in Brant's life. Gilbert Tice was a charter member of the lodge and proprietor of a tavern on South William street. Local Masonic tradition states that for some time the lodge held its meetings in his tavern. It is also claimed that Tice accompanied Johnson and Brant to England in 1775. This has not been proved. We do know that Tice supplied the liquor for the lodge meetings from the following recommendations recorded by the secretary on March 7, 1771:

1. That there be a proper person appointed to order in what liquor the body wants and he only be applied to for the same.
2. That Bro. Tice be ordered to keep a regular book for the use of the lodge only, and to put in a regular bill as soon as called for.
3. That the bill was to be called for at or before 11 o'clock every lodge night.

Nicholas Herkimer, as has been stated, was a friend and neighbor of Brant's, and lost his life in the Battle of Oriskany in which both were leaders of the opposing forces. Peter Ten Broek and Jules Fonda, both members of St. Patrick's, were also in this battle. Herkimer was initiated on April 7, 1768.

Colonel Daniel Claus was the first junior warden of St. Patrick's lodge, and a son-in-law to Sir William Johnson, having married

Johnson's daughter Anne. Claus collaborated with Brant in translating the *Book of Common Prayer* into the Mohawk language.

Lieutenant Augustine Prevost, a half-pay English officer, was initiated in St. Patrick's on December 5, 1767. Brant's association with this officer has been described in *Leaflets of Masonic Biography* by C. Moore as follows:

> These wild noblemen of the forest had themselves their own mystic organizations, some of whose features and ceremonies were so akin to the Royal Art that they have been denominated Indian Freemasonry. They, at times, admitted their white friends into these associations with initiatory rites, and gave them Indian names. There was also a kindred custom among them of selecting some bosom friend, whom they afterward, on all occasions regarded as their counterpart, and whose joys and sorrows became a part of their own.
>
> Brant himself held that romantic relationship with a Lieutenant Prevost, a half-pay English officer, who resided in the Mohawk Valley, and who was a member of the Masonic Lodge at Johnstown. The lieutenant was subsequently removed to his regiment in the West Indies, and his Indian friend was advised to drown his sorrow by choosing another white friend as a substitute; but he declared that no such transfer of his affections could take place, and he continued through life to cherish the memory of this chosen brother, sending him, at times, presents of the richest furs he could obtain.

Brant's First Trip to England

It may thus be seen that among the whites Brant's dearest friends and most hated enemies were members of *St. Patrick's Lodge No. 8*. Why he was not a member of this lodge will probably never be known. We have established Brant's background, his friends, and his activities previous to the Revolution. His greatest fame, however, was subsequent to this, as we shall soon see.

The date and departure point of Brant's sailing for England is disputed, as well as his traveling companions. It is a certainty that Guy Johnson accompanied him, but it is also claimed that Gilbert Tice made the trip. It is thought they sailed from Montreal, and the most probable time is in the latter part of 1775. Other sources, however, say it was early in 1776.

There are two dates that are certain. Brant was presented at court on February 28, 1776, as recorded in the *Annual Registry* for that date. Also the date of his visit to Lord George Germain, the secretary for the colonies, is known to be March 14, 1776.

The purpose of his visit is obvious. The Battle of Lexington had

fused the Revolutionary war, and the colonies had united against the rule of Britain. As in all wars, political fences were to be mended and possible allies cultivated with every favor possible. Brant was the chief sachem of the Six Civilized Tribes and his active participation in the coming conflict was greatly needed. Brant may have wavered between the pleadings of his brethren—the Johnsons, to side with the British, and the Reverend Kirkland and others, to remain neutral or stay with the colonies.

His London visit obviously turned the trick.

The exact date on which he received his Masonic degrees and the date when he returned to the American continent are further points of dispute in the story of Brant's life.

Hiram's Cliftonian Lodge No. 417

Brant received his degrees in *Hiram's Cliftonian Lodge No. 417,* which in 1776 met at "The Falcon" tavern on Princes St. in London. *Hiram's Cliftonian Lodge No. 417* of the Moderns was chartered on October 12, 1771, and first met in the White Hart tavern on Fore Street, London. In 1774 it moved to the Royal Oak tavern on Vauxhall. Sometime in 1776, probably very early, it moved to The Falcon tavern on Princes Street in Soho, London. It was here, and in this year, that Brant received his degrees. Some authorities have given his lodge as "The Falcon," which is erroneous for that was merely the name of the tavern in which it met; the name and number of his lodge was not specified in the warrant signed by the grand secretary of the Grand Lodge of England. It stated only that his lodge met at that place. In 1779, Hiram's Cliftonian Lodge moved to The Angel tavern on Wardour Street in Soho, London. In 1780 its number was changed to 325, and the following year to 326. It was "erased" from the grand lodge roll on February 6, 1782.

Another error made by Masonic historians is in stating that Brant was raised on April 26, 1776. This is due to the fact that the only available record, signed by James Heseltine (grand secretary of the Moderns from 1769 to 1780), states that Brant *had been made a Freemason,* and it was signed in London on April 26, 1776. This was merely a standard form which a brother could apply for if he wished, with the payment of five shillings. It was, so to speak, similar to a Scottish Rite patent, and the logical reason Brant received one was

because he wished to prove his Masonic membership when he returned to the North American continent, realizing that hereafter he would have little to do with a lodge in England. It was a standard form, not mandatory, adopted by the grand lodge of England on July 24, 1755, and the money received therefrom was to go to "the General Fund of Charity." Jean Paul Marat, the famous French revolutionist, received the identical certificate dated July 15, 1774. Brant's certificate reads thus: (his name is incorrectly spelled).

"That Brother Joseph Thayeadanegee was made a Mason and admitted to the Third Degree of Masonry as appears by the Register of the Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons regularly constituted and meeting at the Falcon, Princes Street, Leicester Fields. Signed by the Master, Wardens & Secretary of the said Lodge, hereunto annexed and you are desired to receive him as a Brother—after examination. Given under the seal of the Grand Lodge, Jas. Heseltine, Grand Secretary, London, 26 April, D 1776 A.L. 5776."

The Return Home

The Crown, anxious to impress the Indian chief, had pulled all the stops on the organ. He had been presented at court, he had a personal conference with the colonial secretary, his picture was painted by one of the outstanding artists of England, and he was wined and dined, undoubtedly at the expense of the government (he stayed at the "Inn of the Swan with Two Necks" at his own request).

The British government, since the inception of Freemasonry, has realized its potential, and working hand in hand with the grand lodge, has freely bestowed degrees and Masonic titles on political personages who might wield influence throughout the empire. On good authority it is stated that Brant received his Masonic apron at the hands of King George III.

When did Brant return from England? The fact is of utmost importance, because his participation in the battles of The Cedars and the subsequent familiar story of his rescue of McKinstry depends upon this date.

W. L. Stone in his *Life of Joseph Brant* (1838), states that Johnson and Brant left England in late March or early April, since Brant was present at the Cedars' Point fight on May 20, 1776. An item in

the *London Universal Magazine* of July, 1776, states that Brant and Johnson left England in "early May."

Capt. E. Cruikshank in *Transactions of the Canadian Institute* (1896-7) says Brant and Johnson left Falmouth, England, "early in June" on a ship named *Harriet,* arriving at the port of New York on July 29, 1776.

Further credence is lent to this item by a biography of Colonel Guy Johnson in *Appleton's Cyclopedia,* which states that Johnson "returning the following year (1776) remained several months in New York, during which time he was one of the British officers who managed the John street theatre in that city. In 1778 he was with Brant in his raids upon the Mohawk valley."

The McKinstry Incident

Brant has gone down in Masonic legend chiefly for the "McKinstry incident." There are others, similar in nature, but this story which is alleged to have happened at the battle of The Cedars on May 20, 1776, is the granddaddy of them all.

Was Brant present at "The Cedars," or was he in England—or on the way back home? Or did this incident happen at the battle of Oriskany as other authors have stated? First, let us examine the story. It has been written and rewritten, but we quote it from a chapter of *Leaflets of Masonic Biography* by Sidney Hayden, who in turn, gives the story in quotes, but does not identify his source.

"At the battle of The Cedars, thirty miles above Montreal, in 1776, Colonel McKinstry, then a captain in Patterson's regiment of Continental troops, was twice wounded, and afterward taken prisoner by the Indians employed in the British services. The previous bravery and success of Captain (John) McKinstry had excited at once the fears and resentment of his Indian conquerors, and, in accordance with the customs of savage warfare, he was doomed to die at the stake, accompanied with all those horrid and protracted torments which the Indian knows so well how to inflict and endure. Already had he been fastened to the fatal tree, and the preparations for the human sacrifice were rapidly proceeding, when, in the agony of despair, and scarcely conscious of a hope, the captive made the great mystic appeal to a Mason in the hour of danger. It was seen and understood by the Chieftain Brant, who was present on the occasion. Brant at once interfered in his behalf, and succeeded, by the influence of his position, in rescuing his American brother from his impending fate. Having freed him from his bonds, he conducted and guarded him in safety to Quebec, where he placed him in the hands of the English, by whom he was permitted to return to his home on parole.

It is said that Brant's friendship with McKinstry continued throughout their lives, and that he visited him at his home in Greendale, New York. We last hear of Brant in 1805 when he attended *Hudson Lodge No. 7,* at Hudson, New York, with McKinstry, who was a charter member of the lodge at its founding on March 7, 1787. W. L. Stone who wrote *The Life of Joseph Brant* (1838), knew McKinstry, and reported that he always spoke in glowing terms of his Indian benefactor.

Befriends Lieutenant Maynard

The second account of Brant's charity is told by Hayden:

> Johnathan Maynard, Esq., who afterward resided in Framingham, near Boston, and was a prominent public citizen of Massachusetts, often related to his friends that, in the war of the Revolution, he was taken prisoner in the State of New York, by a party of the enemy, composed chiefly of Indians under Brant. According to the custom of the Indians, he was about to be put to death by torture, and preparations were being made to that effect. As they were stripping him of his clothes, Brant, who was present, discovered the symbols of Masonry marked with ink upon the prisoner's arms. All the dark passions of revenge at once forsook the warrior's breast, and he interposed and saved his captive brother. Mr. Maynard was then sent as a prisoner to Canada, where after remaining for several months, he was finally exchanged, and returned home. He lived to a great age, universally respected, and constantly bore testimony to Brant's faithful devotion to his obligations as a Freemason."

A similar account of the same incident was told by the Reverend Josiah H. Temple, in *The Family Herald and Weekly Star,* of Montreal, Canada, on November 8, 1921. It differs in the mode of recognition:

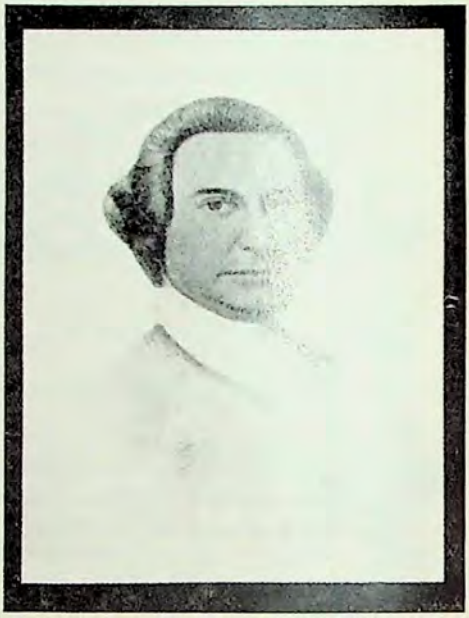
> While his regiment was stationed at or near West Point on the 30th of May, 1778, Lieutenant Maynard, a Harvard graduate, with a small party went on a foraging expedition to a considerable distance from the camp, when they were set upon by a scouting band of Indians, and after a sharp skirmish were taken prisoners. They were conducted to a distance of several miles away from the American line, when a halt was made, and all but the lieutenant were tomahawked and scalped. As he wore a sword, he was considered a greater prize and was carried to the camp of Brant, their chief.
>
> After a brief consultation it was decided to burn the captive. The faggots were selected, he was tied to a tree and the fire was about to be kindled. Although a stranger to all in the groups, and ignorant of the fact that the Indian chief was a Free Mason, as his last hope, Lieutenant Maynard gave a Masonic sign. It was recognized by Brant, who was standing near, and he ordered the execution to be postponed. Maynard was put under guard and

MASONIC CERTIFICATE OF JOSEPH BRANT

America's first Indian Freemason received the above certificate from the Grand Lodge of England. Although issued on April 26, 1776, it indicates that Brant received his degrees previous to that date. Note spelling of his name.

CHIEF JOSEPH BRANT

The First Indian Freemason



SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON

Friend and benefactor of Chief Joseph Brant. First Master of St. Patrick's Lodge No. 8.

JOHNSON HALL AT JOHNSTOWN, NEW YORK

Baronial estate of Sir William Johnson and first meeting place of St. Patrick's Lodge No. 8. The lodge met in the room at the upper left, indicated by check mark.

in due time, with other prisoners, was sent to Quebec, where he was held in captivity until December 26, 1780, when he was exchanged.

The Major Wood Story

On July 19, 1779, Brant led a detachment on a raid against Minisink, a village on the Neversink river, which he burned and plundered. When news of this outrage reached Goshen, a force of militiamen set out in unwise pursuit of the wily Brant. The second day they came upon the camp where Brant had spent the night, and even though they knew from the number of fires left that they were outnumbered, they pushed recklessly on. A small scouting party, sent ahead, fell into an ambush, and its leader was shot down. Nevertheless, the entire body advanced to the Delaware river, near where Port Jervis now stands, where they saw the Indians and Tories about to cross at the Lackawaxen ford. Colonel John Hathorn led his men to the right to intercept the enemy before they got to the ford, thus losing sight of them. Brant, however, was not sleeping and he countermarched to the right and took a position in the rear of Hathorn's party, cut off about 50 from the main body, and engaged the others in a musket battle from ten in the morning until late afternoon. When Brant rushed a weak spot in their hastily defended square, the Americans broke and fled, pursued by the Indians who relentlessly cut them down.

Major John Wood was one of the wounded that made his way to the river to quench his thirst, where a friend found him and placed him in some tall grass, temporarily hidden from the Indians. Here he was discovered by Brant and a party of his Indians.

In June, 1884, Solomon P. Wood (then in his 91st year), son of Major John Wood, gave an interview to the editor of the *Port Jervis Gazette*. He gave an account of the adventure as he had heard his father relate it many times:

"I swear, by God, that you shall die," said Brant.

My father pleaded humanity and that he was unarmed. An Indian made a thrust at him with a spear which he fended with his arm and the spear glanced off and struck his head, cutting it open. The Indian was about to make another thrust when father raised his hands imploringly, which Brant mistook for a Masonic sign of distress. Brant caught the spear with one hand and took his other hand and gave him the grip, and that confirmed the chieftain that they were about to murder a brother Mason.

Subsequently Brant accused him of playing the hypocrite in giving a

Masonic sign. My father replied that he knew nothing whatever of Freemasonry, and if he had given the sign it was entirely accidental. It is evident that Brant believed him.

His son does not indicate how Major Wood further convinced Brant by giving him a confirming grip. Lossing tells of the same incident in his *Field Book of the American Revolution:*

During the battle Major Wood, of Goshen, made a Masonic sign by accident, which Brant, who was a Freemason, perceived and heeded. Wood's life was spared and as a prisoner he was treated kindly until the Mohawk chief perceived that he was not a Mason. Then with withering scorn Brant looked upon Wood, believing that he had obtained the Masonic sign, which he had used, by deception. It was purely an accident on the part of Wood. When released he hastened to become a member of the fraternity by whose instrumentality his life had been spared."

Hayden related the story with several changes of fact. He stated that while Wood was not a Mason, he had in some way learned the signs. He also says that Wood became a Mason in a British military lodge while a prisoner at Niagara, and that Brant, who was present, advanced his initiation fee.

The Death of Boyd

On September 13, 1779, during General Sullivan's "burnt earth" expedition into the land of the Iroquois, Lieutenant Thomas Boyd of Derry, Pennsylvania, a member of Morgan's rifles, met with disaster. Sent out with a small party to reconnoiter Genesee, he was ambushed; 22 of his men were killed, and he was captured along with Sergeant Parker and taken to Little Beard's Town.

The Indians were at this time infuriated by the successful depredations of Sullivan's army. They had swept through the Six Nations country burning Chemung, Newtown, Catherine's Town, Appletown, Kanadaseagea, Schoyere and Canandaigua. All the houses, corn crops, vegetables and fruit trees had been systematically destroyed and only the Seneca capital of Genesee was left. The Red Man was in little mood for mercy.

Lieutenant Boyd, so it is claimed, appealed to Brant as a Mason for protection. Brant promised him his life, but left to attend to other duties. Some accounts state that he turned Boyd over to Colonel John Butler; others say it was his son, Captain Walter Butler—or both. They attempted to elicit information from the captive as to the

strength and plans of General Sullivan, and, when Boyd refused to divulge any information, turned him over to the Senecas for torture and decapitation "too horrible for print."

Colonel John Butler, of course, was the secretary of St. Patrick's Lodge. No record of Walter Butler's membership has ever been found, and it is doubted if he was a Freemason.

The remains of Lieutenant Boyd were buried with Masonic honors by *Military Lodge No. 19,* under warrant from the grand lodge of

Pennsylvania. Colonel Proctor was master of the lodge and for that reason it was often known as "Proctor's Lodge." It accompanied Sullivan's army throughout the campaign, holding frequent meetings.

Unlikely Incident

T. S. Parvin, noted Iowa Masonic historian, published a biographical sketch of Judge Thomas S. Wilson in the 1894 proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Iowa, in which the following incident is mentioned:

> A very pleasing incident or episode occurred at the raising of Brother Wilson. Upon his admission into the Lodge, he saw an Indian (half breed) present, sitting with the members. Upon being introduced to him, he learned that he was the grandson of the celebrated Col. Brant, the Indian chief who commanded the Indian allies of the British forces during the war of our Revolution.

In one of the battles which occurred in Pennsylvania, the grandfather of Judge Wilson was, with others, captured, and the company of which he was a member turned over to the Indians as their share of the trophies of victory. With a view to having some sport with their captives, the Indians would cause the American soldiers to kneel down, when an Indian would mount his back, compel him to creep to the water and crawl in, when the Indian would duck his head, sometimes strangling them to death. When it came soldier Wilson's turn, being a very stout man, he rose and threw the Indian over his head into the water, which, while it amused the Indians upon the bank, very much incensed the one victimized, whereupon he demanded that he and the remaining soldiers who had survived the ordeal should be tomahawked.

Accordingly they were ranged in line, when Wilson said to his companion that he was going to appeal to the Indians and make the Masonic sign of distress. His companion laughed at the idea, but joined in and gave the sign, when instantly the Indian chief rushed to their rescue and they were saved. The Indian chief proved to be the celebrated warrior Brant, the grandfather of the one present who witnessed the introduction into Masonry of the grandson of the soldier whose life his grandfather had saved, many years later, and in a territory wholly unknown to the civilized world at the time of the incident to which we have referred.

Brant Settles in Canada

After the treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States in 1783, still retaining his commission in the British service and drawing half pay, Brant was granted a tract of land six miles wide on each side of the Grand river in Ontario, on which he settled with his Mohawk and other Iroquois followers. Here he continued to rule over them until his death on November 24, 1807.

After the war his influence with the different Indian tribes was a great aid to both Canada and the United States. In July, 1793, he visited the Miami Indians at the solicitation of Washington and Clinton, and materially assisted the Indian commissioners in obtaining a treaty of peace between that tribe and the United States.

On December 9, 1792, Brant visited the home of John Graves Simcoe, the first governor of Upper Canada, in Newark. Mrs. Simcoe, who kept a detailed diary, recorded her impressions of Brant on that date:

Capt. Brant dined here. He has a countenance expressive of art or cunning. He wore an English coat with a handsome silk blanket, lined with black and trimmed with goldfringe, and wore a fur cap; round his neck he had a string of plaited sweet hay. It is a kind of grass which never loses its pleasant scent. The Indians are very fond of it. It smells like the Tonquin Bean.

The Religious Brant

Brant was deeply religious, having edited the Mohawk translation of the Church of England *Prayer Book,* to which in 1787 was added the *Gospel of St. Mark* which Brant had translated sometime between 1776 and 1782. He was responsible for the building of the first Protestant church in Canada at the Mohawk Village near Brantford in 1785. In April, 1784, Sir John Johnson, writing to Governor Haldimand concerning the boundaries of the grant of land to the

Indians, stated that "Brant has applied for a place of worship, and for a bell that is now at Carleton Island," and recommended that it be granted. The Brant family had a pew on the west side of the church, and at either side of the west end, facing the altar were two pews for the white members of the congregation, the remainder of the seats being for the Indians.

When Brant went to England in 1785-86 for his second visit, he secured the bell, together with other furnishings, from the government. It was placed in the steeple in 1787, but was removed to a new church at Kanyenga in 1866. It has been said that Brant's trip to England at this time was to obtain a church for his people, but this is not true, for the church had been completed by the time he left. A letter from Salisbury, England, dated December 12, 1785, stated that "On Monday last, Col. Joseph Brant, the celebrated King of the Mohawks, arrived in this city . . . etc."

Later Masonic Activities

Brant's first recorded Masonic association in Canada was as a charter member of *Barton Lodge No. 10* (now 6). His name is listed in the first minutes extant of the lodge, dated January 31, 1796, at a meeting which was held at Smith's Tavern, Barton township. His name was listed under the list of members as "Bro. Capt. Brant." He did not, however, sign the by-laws adopted at this meeting.

The lodge consisted, in the main part, of former British soldiers who served in the Revolution. Many of them were of Butler's Rangers. Brant's close friend, Davenport Phelps, was the first master of the lodge and also grand secretary of the provincial grand lodge.

There is no record of Brant attending the lodge again until St. John's Day, June 24, 1803, when the minutes state that "Lodge No. 10 was called to refreshment and at half-past eleven walked in procession to the house of Bro. Richard Beasley, Esqr., and heard a sermon given by Br. D. Phelps, and returned to the lodge room."

It is not known whether Brant was a member of No. 10 at this time, or of No. 11, which he served as master in 1798. He had undoubtedly come from his home at Wellington Square to honor his old friend, Davenport Phelps, and to have a reunion with his brethren. Those who remembered Brant as late as 1850 declared that he always enjoyed himself at Masonic meetings.

As Master of No. 11

The first clue to the origin of the lodge at Mohawk Village was discovered in January, 1899. True, a reference to this lodge had been

1-BRANT HOUSE 2-COUNCIL HOUSE 3-MOHAWK CHURCH

found in the minutes of Union Lodge at Flamborough West for 1816, alluding to a brother who was permitted to affiliate "without a certificate" as "it could not be procured on account of Lodge No. 11 being broken up, which he formerly belonged to." In the official lists of 1797 and 1800 it was listed as meeting at "Mohawk Castle." Again in a return issued by Sylvester Tiffany, the grand secretary at Niagara, on the 20th of January, 1800, under the list of lodges within the jurisdiction of the provincial grand lodge of Upper Canada, there is "No. 11, Mohawk Village."

Although the lodge is given in the return of 1797, its warrant, which was in the usual form of the period, was not issued until the 12th of February, 1798. It names the first officers as:

Captain Joseph Brant, Master
Thomas Horner, Senior Warden
William K. Smith, Junior Warden

On April 6, 1801, a return issued from Niagara giving a list of the lodges includes "No. 11, Mohawk Village, G.R.," the initials indicating the Grand river. In the return of March 9, 1802, "No. 11, Burford" is given. This last entry shows that either the location or the name was changed. According to Robertson, the general belief is that No. 11 was removed to Burford in Brant township, nine miles southwest of Brantford, sometime in the summer of 1801.

Brant and Phelps

As we have stated, Brant was present when his friend Davenport Phelps was installed master of Barton Lodge in 1796 and again walked with the brethren to a private home in 1803 to hear Phelps deliver a sermon. Phelps was a lawyer, notary public and noted lay-preacher in the Anglican church, and became grand secretary of the provincial grand lodge of Upper Canada.

He was closely associated with the Brant family. The Indians' attachment to Phelps induced them to present him with a large acreage of land, on one occasion, but the claim was lost through neglect.

Robertson states that Brant visited England in 1796 and at that time had a conversation with the Archbishop of Canterbury on the subject of appointing a clergyman for the Six Nations Indians. Brant not only recommended Phelps, but made application to the Bishop

of Quebec through Sir John Johnson for his ordination after he had been duly examined. Brant wrote:

> He is a person whom we would wish to have and it is also the wish of several respectable inhabitants in the neighborhood and he has sufficient testimonials of his moral character and loyalty.

Brant had gone over the head of the bishop as well as President Russell of Upper Canada. In February, 1798, Russell wrote the bishop a confidential letter that was highly antagonistic to Phelps in which he mentioned:

> . . . I deem it right to mention the cause of my doubts with respect to Mr. Phelps, which I beg leave to do in confidence that I may not hereafter be exposed to the necessity of further explanations to Captn. Brant. Your Lordship will therefore be pleased to keep this communication to yourself. . . ."

Seemingly Brant lost his argument. One of the statements made against Phelps was that he was pro-American. This may have been true, for he returned to the United States in 1803 and died there in 1813. No one can doubt Brant's power in high places, however, for before the matter was settled, it was laid in the lap of King George himself by the Duke of Portland.

John Brant

On the death of Joseph Brant, the widow selected John, or *Ahyouwaighs,* the fourth and youngest son, to succeed his father as the *Tekarihogea,* or principal chief of the Six Nations. This was in accordance with the Mohawk custom by which the inheritance rights descended through the eldest female of the family. She could nominate any one of her sons or grandsons to the hereditary rights and honors of the deceased.

John was also a Freemason. He was born at Mohawk Village on the Grand river, Upper Canada, on September 27, 1794, and received his education at Ancaster and Niagara, where he was said to be an attentive student with an amiable and manly disposition.

He served the British with distinction in the War of 1812, and at the battle of Beaver Dams, together with Captain William Johnson Kerr, led a party of Mohawks who successfully ambushed the American force. Captain Kerr, a grandson of Sir William Johnson, married John Brant's sister Elizabeth in 1828.

In 1821 *Ahyouwaighs* visited England on a mission to settle the

differences between the Mohawks and the provincial government of Upper Canada with respect to land titles. Correspondence of that period also shows that he was commissioned by the brethren of the grand lodge at Niagara to place the state of the craft before the English Masonic authorities. While in England he stoutly defended his father in the charge of war atrocities made against him by the poet Campbell in his poem, *Gertrude of Wyoming*, pointing out that his father was not at the Wyoming massacre.

It is supposed that John Brant was initiated about 1815 in *Union Lodge No. 24*, which first met in Flamborough Village and afterwards at Dundas and Ancaster. He was present on the night of May 10, 1818, and received his second degree, paying three dollars as fees for passing.

On November 7, 1818, Brant was acting secretary of the lodge and on December 20, 1818, after the lodge had opened and proceeded with business, the minutes state that "Bro. John Brant arrived." On December 27, 1819, Brant was present at the meeting of the lodge in Dundas village and was elected junior warden for the six months ending June, 1820.

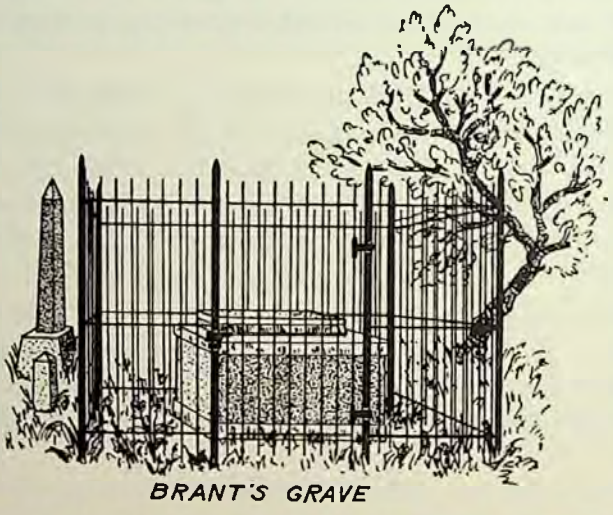
John never married, but lived with his sister Elizabeth in the family home at Wellington Square until her marriage. He died in September, 1832, of Asiatic cholera, still a young man. He had been elected to the parliament of Upper Canada only shortly before.

Other Children

We are told that Brant's first wife died in 1771 leaving him with a son and a daughter, but they cannot be identified. He had no children by his second wife but seven by his third. We know that John, who succeeded him as chief, was the fourth and youngest son. Catherine (Brant) Johns, a daughter born in 1800 is said to have been the last survivor of the Brant children. She died at the family home at Wellington Square, Canada in 1867. A short distance from Brant's grave is another tombstone, the inscription stating that it was erected in memory of his grandson, Peter Brant Johns.

Even after the death of the principals, the families of Johnson and Brant continued to cross and recross. In 1828, William Johnson Kerr, son of Dr. Robert Kerr, physician to Sir John Johnson's 2nd battalion, and of Elizabeth Kerr, daughter of Sir William Johnson

and Molly Brant, married Elizabeth Brant, daughter of *Thayendanegea.* Thus the elder Elizabeth Kerr (b. 1763 d. Jan. 24, 1794) was not only the aunt, but the mother-in-law of the younger. She died before the latter was married. Dr. Robert Kerr was a past deputy grand master of the provincial grand lodge of Upper Canada, and William Johnson Kerr was master of Barton lodge at Hamilton in 1841. This was the same lodge of which his father-in-law, Chief Joseph, had been a member in 1796. Catharine, daughter of W. J. and Elizabeth Kerr, married John Osborne of Hamilton, who was grand secretary of the Grand Lodge of Canada in 1856-57.



BRANT'S GRAVE

In 1899, Robertson reported in the *History of Freemasonry in Canada* that the grave of Brant at Mohawk Village was on the south side of the old church and was surrounded by an iron railing. The original vault of the Brant family was of wood, and being out of repair, was replaced in 1850 by one of stone. The services at the completion of this monument were attended by a large number of persons, including the Masonic fraternity from Brantford. In 1879 the grave was desecrated by a physician and some medical students; however, most of the bones, including the skull, were restored at a later date. The tomb, which also contains the remains of his son *Ahyouwaighs,* or Capt. John Brant, bears the following inscription:

This Tomb
Is erected to the Memory of
Thayendanegea, or
Capt. Joseph Brant
Principal Chief and
Warrior of
The Six Nations Indians
By his Fellow Subjects,
Admirers of his fidelity and
Attachment to the
British Crown,
Born on the banks of the
Ohio River, 1742, died at
Wellington Square, U.C., 1807

It also contains the remains
of his Son Ahyouwaighs, or
Capt. John Brant,
Who succeeded his father
as Tekarihogea, and
Distinguished himself in
The War of 1812-15
Born at the
Mohawk Village, U.C., 1794
Died at the same place, 1832
Erected 1850

On October 13, 1886, a heroic statue of Chief Brant was unveiled at Brantford, Ontario, for which the Canadian government gave thirteen bronze cannon. The foundation stone of the monument was laid by the council of the Six Nations Indians.

Such is the story of *Thayendanegea*. He was called "The Terrible" by some, and referred to by the poet Campbell as "The Monster," but history has shown him to be cautious, sagacious and brave as a warrior; adroit and accomplished as a diplomat; chivalrous and faithful as a friend; and loyal and zealous as the first Freemason of his race!

Chronological History of Events Affecting the Life of Joseph Brant

1738 William Johnson arrives in America.
1742 Joseph Brant born on the banks of the Ohio river.
1744 William Johnson appointed Colonel of the Six Nations Indians.
1746 Johnson made commissioner of Indian affairs of New York and active against the French.
1748 (February) Johnson placed in command of all New York colonial forces.

1755 (September 8) Brant is present with Johnson at battle of Lake George.
1759 (July 25) Brant with Johnson at Fort Niagara.
1759 Sometime between 1759 and 1763 Brant is sent to Eleazar Wheelock's school by Johnson.
1763 Brant with British in Pontiac war.
1765 Brant married daughter of Oneida chief and settles at Canajoharie.
1766 Early this year, Johnson is raised in *Union Lodge No. 1,* Albany, N.Y.
1766 (May 23) Charter issued *St. Patrick's Lodge No. 8* at Johnstown naming Sir William Johnson as master; Guy Johnson, S.W.; Daniel Claus, J.W.; John Butler, secretary.
1766 (August 23) First meeting of St. Patrick's Lodge held with 14 members present.
1767 (September 1) Rev. Samuel Kirkland initiated in St. Patrick's.
1767 (December 5) Sir John Johnson visits St. Patrick's as new provincial grand master of New York. Lt. Augustine Prevost, Brant's "chosen" friend, initiated the same evening.
1768 (April 7) Gen. Nicholas Herkimer initiated in St. Patrick's.
1769 Sir William Johnson is master of Lodge of Perfection (AASR) at Albany until 1773.
1771 (February 7) Col. Guy Johnson succeeds Sir William as master of St. Patrick's.
1771 (October 12) *Hiram's Cliftonian Lodge No. 417* chartered in London. Met at "White Hart" tavern.
1771 Joseph Brant becomes chief sachem of the Six Nations; age 29.
1771 Brant's first wife dies, leaving son and daughter.
1772 Brant marries first wife's half-sister.
1774 (May 5) Last meeting of St. Patrick's before the Revolution.
1774 (July 11) Sir William Johnson dies at Johnstown, N.Y.
1774 Brant is made secretary to Guy Johnson, who succeeded Sir William as superintendent of Indian affairs for British.
1775 Several sources state Brant left for England.
1776 (Early) Hiram's Cliftonian Lodge moves meeeting place to The Falcon tavern in London.
1776 Capt. Gilbert Tice, charter member of St. Patrick's, is said to have accompanied Brant to England.
1776 Guy Johnson and Brant sail from Montreal to England "early in 1776." Brant stays at the Inn of the Swan with Two Necks.
1776 (February 28) Brant is presented at court.
1776 (March 14) Brant visits Lord George Germain, secretary for the Colonies.
1776 (April 26) Brant's Masonic certificate signed by James Heseltine, grand secretary of the Grand Lodge of England.
1776 London magazine of July, 1776, states Brant and Johnson left England "early in May."
1776 W. L. Stone, biographer of Brant, states Brant and Johnson left England "in late March or early April."
1776 (May 20) Brant said to be present at battle of Cedar Point and saved life of McKinstry.
1776 (Early June) One source states that Brant and Johnson left England "early in June" aboard the ship *Harriet.*

1776 (July 29) Ship *Harriet* lands in New York with Johnson and Brant.
1777 (August 6) Brant leads Indians at battle of Oriskany against Herkimer; Herkimer killed.
1778 (May 30) Brant said to have saved life of Lt. Maynard near West Point.
1778 (November 11) Col. Brant with Butler at Cherry Valley massacre.
1779 Brant leads Hurons against Ft. Stanwix.
1779 (July 19) Brant leads Indians and British at Minisink.
1779 (July) Brant alleged to have saved Maj. Wood in skirmish following battle of Minisink.
1779 (September 13) Brant turns Lt. Boyd over to Butler; Boyd killed.
1782 (February 6) Hiram's Cliftonian Lodge "erased" from roll.
1783 Revolutionary War ends and Brant and his Mohawks move to Canada, settling on a six-square-mile grant on Grand river in Ontario.
1785 Brant visits England in connection with the land grant.
1785 (December 12) Letter identifies Brant being in Salisbury, Eng., "on Monday last."
1787 (March 7) *Hudson Lodge No. 7* chartered at Hudson, N.Y. McKinstry a charter member.
1793 (July) Brant visits the Miami Indians at the request of Washington and Clinton.
1794 (September 27) Son, John, born to Brant.
1796 (January 31) Brant presented at first meeting of *Barton Lodge No. 10* and listed as a member.
1796 Robertson states Brant visits England and talks with Archbishop of Canterbury in regard to appointment for Phelps.
1798 (February 12) Warrant issued to *Lodge No. 11*, Brantford, Mohawk Village, names Joseph Brant as first master.
1800 Daughter, Catherine Brant (Johns) born.
1803 (June 24) Brant attends meeting of Barton No. 10 and walks to home of Richard Beasley to hear his friend Phelps preach a sermon.
1805 Brant visits Capt. McKinstry at the latter's home in Greendale, N.Y., and they attend Hudson Lodge together.
1807 (November 24) Brant dies at the old Brant mansion in Wellington Square, Ontario; age 64.
1807 John Brant succeeds his father as principal chief of the Six Nations.
1812 John Brant serves with British in War of 1812.
1812 John Brant initiated in *Union Lodge No. 24.*
1828 Elizabeth, daughter of Joseph, marries William Johnson Kerr, grandson of Sir William Johnson.
1850 Original wooden vault of Brant's grave replaced with one of stone.
1867 Catherine Brant (Johns), last surviving child of Joseph, dies.
1879 Grave of Brant desecrated and bones stolen, but returned.
1886 (October 13) Monument to memory of Brant unveiled at Brantford, Ont.

William Augustus Bowles Indian Chief and Provincial Grand Master

LITTLE KNOWN and little publicized in American history, William Augustus Bowles is one of the most colorful characters of our early eastern frontier. Although a white man, he was an Indian chief, soldier, adventurer, statesman and provincial grand master of the four civilized tribes*—these are but a few of the roles played by this exceptional man.

Bowles was born in Frederick county, Maryland, in 1763, or perhaps early in 1764. His father's name is not known, but his brother, Carrington Bowles, was a print-seller in St. Paul's Churchyard, Ludgate Hill, London. Bowles' father, whoever he was, emigrated to America and settled in Maryland, where for several years he was a schoolmaster in Frederick country. He was evidently possessed with some wealth, measured by the standards of the time, for he acquired a plantation and later served as clerk, or deputy clerk, of the county.

Amazingly, William Augustus served with the British forces in the Revolution when only 13 years old. This concept of "dangerous living" continued with him until his death in the infamous Morro Castle at Havana, Cuba, on December 23, 1805, while a prisoner of Spain.

As the eldest son, he doubtless received instruction from his father, the schoolmaster. It must have been meager at the most, for education in that day was confined to the rudiments. Later his commanding officer described him as "an artless schoolboy, perfectly unacquainted with any mode of life beyond that what he had learnt at his father's farm." His commander's statement is partially contradicted by another which shows him to have had a great natural aptitude—which his subsequent life story amply demonstrates—for "every de-

* Although named as chief of the *four* civilized tribes, designated by the Grand Lodge of England as the "Creek, Cherokee, Chickasaw and Choctaw Indians," this group later became known as the *five* civilized tribes with the addition of the Seminoles.

ficiency of this kind (i.e., lack of education and experience in life) has been in some measure supplied by the natural talents of this untutored native of the back settlements of America."

These were early comments on his character. They were probably true inasmuch as Bowles left his father's protection at the age of 13, and after surmounting many difficulties, arrived at the British camp in Philadelphia, unknown and without a friend. He enlisted in a foot regiment of the Maryland Loyalists, then being recruited. It was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel James Chalmers, and Bowles accompanied it as a junior officer during the retreat of the British from Philadelphia to New York, fighting with one of the flank companies at the battle of Monmouth.

In the fall of 1778, when only 15 years old, he sailed with his unit from New York to the island of Jamaica, and from there to Pensacola, Florida, where he lost his commission and was dismissed from the army for absence without leave. It is difficult to understand how a 15-year-old could hold a commission in the British army.

His desertion was the turning point in his life. At Pensacola, he joined a party of Creek Indians, who had come there to receive their annual presents. This act was to eventually lead him into the chieftainship not only of the Creeks, but the Cherokees, Choctaws and Chickasaws. When these tribes later combined forces, they exercised a sovereignty over virtually a fourth of the United States. Their removal by the United States government to the Indian Territory, which is now Oklahoma, has been told in an earlier chapter.

He did not stay long with the Creeks, but made his way back to Pensacola alone where he found himself destitute and according to a contemporary historian:

> When he arrived on the opposite shore of the bay, he found a hogshead which some British ships had left behind them; and Bowles, impatient of delay, without waiting for any other conveyance, like an Exkimaux, with the difference of a hogshead for a boat, the branch of a tree his mast, a blanket his sail, and a few stones his ballast, navigated the extensive shores of the harbour; in the day procuring the food of life and beguiling the tediousness of time by fowling and fishing, and at night regaling on his prey, the sky his canopy and the earth his bed.

A series of killing frosts which swept over the Floridas in 1779 compelled the lad to seek shelter. A baker of the town, taking pity on his situation, gave him a bed and a job as a baker's apprentice.

With the return of the Creeks on one of their periodical visits to Pensacola, he forsook the opportunity of becoming a baker and joined them for a second trip to their native haunts, remaining with them this time for two years. This sojourn accomplished the final transmutation of Bowles from a white man to an Indian. He now lived as an Indian and thought as one. He married the daughter of one of the chiefs and she bore him several children, although the number is not known. From this time on he devoted his life to the Creeks and associated tribes, leading them in war, teaching them agriculture and arts, attempting to save their lands, and finally dying in their cause.

His devotion to the Indian's cause is the probable reason why history has not dealt with him more gently or at greater length. The Americans disliked him for "inciting" the Indians against them. The English court-martialed him for taking scalps and the Spanish had a standing offer of $6,000 on his head.

The confederacy of the Creeks formed one of the largest divisions of the Muskhogean family. They received their name from the English because of the numerous streams in their country. During early times they occupied the greater portion of Alabama and Georgia, residing chiefly on the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers as well as the Flint and Chattahoochee. The Creek woman was short in stature but well formed, while the warrior, according to Picket, in his *History Alabama,* was "larger than the ordinary race of Europeans, often ve 6 feet in height, but was invariably well formed, erect in his iage, and graceful in every movement. They were a proud, ughty and arrogant race, brave and valiant in war."

Bowles himself might fit the above physical description, as his portrait shows. His record proves that he was haughty and brave in war. At the outbreak of war between Britain and Spain, he joined the fighting men of his warlike adopted nation. His conduct throughout the war was distinguished for coolness and vigour in action and venerable chiefs pointed him out as an example worthy of imitation. It was only three years before that he had found himself dismissed from the British service, but here he was once again fighting on their side.

In January, 1780, Bowles marched on Mobile, in charge of the Indians whom he had brought there to assist the British in attacking that Spanish fortified village. He distinguished himself in its capture.

William Augustus Bowles

Indian Chief and Provincial Grand Master, Grand Lodge of England

RED JACKET

"Last of the Seneca"

After the fall of Pensacola, however, the whole of West Florida was surrendered by the British to the Spanish on May 9, 1790. Bowles chose to return to New York with the British troops on parole.

Once in New York he was subjected to court martial charges by some of his brother officers, who were jealous of his growing popularity. Some 20 or 30 specifications were set forth. The only charge proved was that he had been seen bringing in scalps during the siege of Pensacola. Through the intervention of his friends, he was acquitted of these charges—which, incidentally, he did not deny. We must temper our own justice with mercy and remember at the time in question, Bowles was a naked savage fighting side by side with his Indian brethren who would have considered his withholding his hand from such a battlefield prize a mark of cowardice, and would have treated him accordingly.

The petty jealousies and conventions of civilization soon began to gall him, and he yearned once more for the free life of the woods. Consequently, he sought and received permission from Lord Dorchester to visit his father. He did not remain with him long, but rejoined his adopted brethren, the Creeks, in east Florida. A biographer tells of this period:

> With these he resided during the whole twelve months, and, although no more than 19 years of age, he appears at this period to have meditated schemes of ambition, which conducted him at length to the important function of leader of his nation. Even now he acquired their esteem by his knowledge of military discipline and European tactics, and left them deeply impressed both with respect to his talents and affection for his person.
>
> After exploring the coasts of the two Floridas, he first visited the southern states of America, and then repaired to the Bahamas, where he displayed the versatility of his talents by acting plays chiefly for the relief of families of the American loyalists who had been forced to take shelter there. On this occasion he actually ornamented the scenes with his own hand, and when his resources failed, he supplied his wants by assuming the character of a portrait painter; but as New Providence did not at that time possess the proper colours for his likeness, he himself turned chemist, and created them. In addition to the accomplishments of acting and painting, this self-taught genius made himself master of the rudiments of music, and became tolerably proficient in that science.

From other sources we learn that such light distractions did not occupy his whole time. Although his sojourn in the Bahamas lasted almost four years, he revisited his Indian friends on the continent at

frequent intervals. He obtained quantities of warlike stores which he carried to the Florida shores, where they were received by the Creeks and Cherokees who sent expeditions down the coast for that purpose. These supplies were to build up a reserve to wage war against the Spaniards—a nation against whom both Bowles and the Indians bore a smouldering hatred. On one of his return voyages to the Bahamas, Bowles took five Indian chiefs with him. These supplies were undoubtedly financed by the British and may account for Bowles' existence without any obvious means of support. It would also explain his title of "Ambassador of the Creek and Cherokee nations." Several chiefs also accompanied him on a subsequent mission to London in his capacity as "Ambassador."

Bowles was preparing to launch an attack on the new American states in the north and on Spain in the south, both of whom he regarded as having violated the treaty rights of the Indians. It is not generally known that a treaty of alliance between the King of England and the Creek nation had been entered into as early as 1700 and was successively renewed in 1752, 1764, 1768, 1773 and 1778. The Indians had fought the Spaniards for years under the treaty, and later the American colonies. In one of the few manuscripts he left behind, Bowles said:

> In the year 1783, a treaty of peace was concluded between the belligerent powers, and the British colonies in America were declared free and independent states; but, although the Creeks were engaged by Great Britain in the war as allies, yet no terms were made for them, nor their name mentioned in the treaty of peace. On the contrary, the minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty, with the American and Spanish ministers, drew a line west from the lakes of Canada to the river Mississippi, down the middle of said river, to the 32nd degree of north latitude; then due east through the Creek country, to the head of the River St. Mary's, down the said river, to the Atlantic ocean, saying that "all the land to the north of said line we do cede to the United States of America, and to the south we cede to his Majesty the King of Spain," without attending to the local situation of the Creeks, and without regarding in any manner the treaty of alliance subsisting between his Britannic Majesty and the Creek nation; without defining what right his Majesty had over said territory, or what he ceded to the two powers; thereby creating a mystery, and furnishing the enemies of the Creeks with a pretence to provoke wars, disseminate discords, to make parties in order, if possible, to dispossess the Creeks of the territory they inherited from their ancestors, and of which by the laws and dispositions of Providence they were the sovereign lords and owners.
>
> The Creek nation has defended its country against the alternate attacks

of the Spanish and French nations, previous and after the conquest of Mexico, until the present time; and, although they were left by their allies, they, confiding in their own force, with the assistance of the Great Ruler of the World, determined not to give up any part of their territory or rights, but to defend them against all nations that might attempt to dispossess them.

. . . At my return from the British army in New York (at which I had been for two years and had obtained some knowledge of European tactics), my youth did not permit me to a seat among the chiefs of the national council. I employed myself in encouraging agriculture, and in infusing a spirit of honest industry into the minds of the more moderate around me; I also instructed the young men in the use of the different instruments of war, as well as the advantages of military disicpline. . . . I also established a manufacture of porcelain or earthern-ware, for house use; and thus, by dividing my attention to a number of objects, and appearing steady to none, I avoided creating jealousies. People were pleased with my pipkins (pots), while they thought me a flighty young man, who never once seriously reflected upon anything, therefore was never dangerous.

His stay in the Bahamas was during the years 1786-1790 while he was between the ages of 23 and 27. Now came the necessity to make real preparations for war. He tells of it in his own words:

. . . I proposed uniting all the Indian nations in one common cause against the common enemy. The policy was adopted, and persons were appointed and sent to negotiate with the nations as far as the lakes of Canada. In the meanwhile, with as much privacy as possible, I examined the state of our magazines, taught some of our people the art of making saltpetre, establishing a small manufactory for the purpose, collected all the money I could, and went first to St. Augustine and thence to Providence, where I purchased all the powder and ball I could procure, and in April 1787 landed it safe in my country, after which it was deposited in the different magazines. This little expedition made much noise; exaggerated accounts of it were published in the Bahama newspapers, and one of the partners of the house of ———— went so far as to say that I had connected myself with Lord Dunmore, the governor of the Bahamas, and that he had furnished me with a quantity of arms and ammunition from the King's forces, etc.

It would seem that Bowles first saw Masonic light in the Bahamas. This is conjecture, but circumstances indicate it to be the most logical deduction. His birth and early childhood are laid in Maryland, and it is only recorded that he returned once to visit his father after leaving the army in New York, and that when he was 19 years old. When he first left home, he went to Philadelphia, then to New York and subsequently to Florida. During this period he was, of course, a minor, and the Masonic histories of those states do not mention his name. There is a possibility that he may have petitioned *Lodge No. 4*

in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in December of 1783 for the minutes of *Lodge No. 2* of the same city has the following in its transactions of February 9, 1784.

> An E. A. Lodge open'd in due form, when a letter from Lodge No. 4, directed to the W.M. was read, which was in the words following "Brother, I am order'd by the W.M. of Lodge No. 4 to acquaint your Body, that a certain W. A. Bowles petitioned our Lodge and was rejected by Eleven Black balls—Jno. Henderson Sec'y. Dec. 25, 1783."

William Augustus Bowles would have been about 21 years old at that time. It is difficult to account for his movements between the surrender of Pensacola in 1781 and his removal to the Bahamas in 1786. Most of it, we presume, was spent in the New York area and it is quite possible that he sojourned in Philadelphia.

From the time he attained his majority until he went to the Bahamas, he lived almost continuously with the Indians, where opportunity was lacking to have acquired Masonic affiliation. On his arrival in England in 1790 he was received as a Freemason, so it would seem most likely that he was initiated in the Bahamas where he had resided the four previous years. At that time relations between England and Spain were nearing the breaking point and war seemed inevitable.

When the chief of the combined Creeks and Cherokees learned of the impending conflict he called a meeting of his own and neighboring tribes, who, influenced by their traditional hatred of Spain and their friendly feeling towards the English, resolved to send a deputation to the nearest British colony with an offer of their services.

General Bowles, who had now become their military chief, was selected for the purpose and was accompanied by three other chiefs. They arrived in the Bahamas, and waited on Lord Dunmore, the governor. It was important for the English to retain the friendship of the Indian tribes bordering on the Spanish settlements, and undoubtedly they were well received.

The threatened rupture between Spain and England did not take place, of course, but the Spaniards were fully informed of the activities of Bowles, which only served to increase their hatred and eventually to inspire their revenge.

Evidently part of Lord Dunmore's policy of ingratiating himself with the Indians through their chiefs consisted of sending a delegation headed by Bowles to England. His exact time of arrival is a mat-

ter of uncertainty, but we know he was in London in 1791 because at the very beginning of that year he was made a member of the *Prince of Wales Lodge No. 259*. He probably arrived sometime during the previous year.

The *Prince of Wales Lodge No. 259* was instituted in 1787 under the Grand Lodge of England by His Royal Highness, Prince George. The lodge was originally intended to consist only of those who were honored with appointments under His Royal Highness, or men firmly attached to his person and interests. In the lodge minutes of January 20, 1791, we find the following:

> General William Augustus Bowles, a Chief of the Creek nation, whose love of Masonry had induced him to wish it may be introduced into the interior part of America, whereby the cause of humanity and brotherly love will go hand in hand with native courage of the Indians, and by the union lead them on to the highest title that can be conferred on man, to be both good and great, was proposed by the R.W.M. with the approbation of the Prince to be admitted an Honorary Member of this Lodge. He was seconded by the Secretary, and received the unanimous applause of the whole Lodge.

The membership of this lodge was divided into two classes—those who were *initiated* and those who *joined*. From the foregoing, it would be clear that General Bowles was already a Freemason on his arrival, as he *joined* the lodge on the occasion.

Bowles returned to America where he again assumed the role of commander-in-chief of the Indians. After disturbing the peace of neighboring states for some time, he was eventually taken prisoner by the Spaniards through a cleverly planned ruse.

On February 20, 1792, two Spanish officers, Don Joseph de Havia and J. Rosseau, arrived with dispatches from the governor of Louisiana. They were addressed to General Bowles. It seems that the Creeks had written the Spanish authorities relative to their trade, and the governor replied that no answer could be expected in less than six months as the document had been sent to Count Florida Blanca, minister of state, in Madrid for his examination and approval. However, orders had arrived in the interim to form a treaty with the Indians which would remove all doubts and jealousies.

To effect such a treaty, the dispatches stated, the governor had sent a vessel with two officers to bring General Bowles to New Orleans where they could treat on terms favourable to both nations. This, it was explained, was necessary because it was impossible to negotiate

by letter, and other means of conveyance were uncertain. It was intimated in a most flattering manner that His Excellency derived great pleasure from the hope of a personal communication. The vessel had been provided with everything for his comfort and the two Spanish officers had received the governor's express injunction to treat Bowles with every mark of distinction during the passage to New Orleans.

Bowles immediately called a council of Indians, presented the Spanish officers to them and made known their requests. Bowles was in favor of opening negotiations with the Spaniards. A long debate followed, during which many of the sachems foretold what would occur and endeavored to dissuade the war chief from trusting the visitors. When the two officers pledged the faith and honor of their nation that Bowles would return within forty days, the council agreed to the trip.

Bowles embarked on the Spanish ship under the most friendly atmosphere and shortly arrived in New Orleans. After some discussion the governor pretended that his own powers were insufficient to treat on matters of such great importance, and that Bowles must therefore be sent to Spain. In short, the minister plenipotentiary of the Creek nation was seized, put on board an armed vessel and sent to Spain as a prisoner!

The general was detained for some time at one of the seaports, but was eventually taken to Madrid where negotiations actually commenced—while he was in confinement. All this time he was assured of the high respect in which he was held by the King's ministers and actually offered a commission in his Majesty's service. When he rejected it, the guard over him was doubled and it was insinuated that he had acquired too great a power among the Indians to ever be permitted to return to the Floridas.

Harsh treatment did not produce the desired effects, for Bowles only stiffened his neck in stern and uncomplying conduct. Realizing this, his captors turned to another method. His table was now crowded with all the luxuries that the capital afforded. Awkward apologies were made for his recent treatment, and it was intimated that the ministers now wished to treat with him in earnestness. Bowles adroitly observed that the idea of treating with a prisoner who was deprived of all communication with the outside world was exceedingly absurd, and that the first step to restore good faith would be to give him full liberty.

On December 18, 1793, he was informed that his Catholic Majesty had appointed two persons to meet him at Cadiz and that he must journey there to adjust the differences between the court of Spain and the Creek nation. Accordingly, at 5 o'clock in the morning of the first day of January, 1794, a carriage drew up, attended by a party of soldiers on horseback. An officer introduced himself with great politeness, stating that he was at his service for the trip. The journey lasted 14 days, during the course of which, Bowles stated, he enjoyed a "pantomimical appearance of liberty." Once in Cadiz, however, he was again held close prisoner. He remained at Cadiz a whole year before being transferred to the Philippine Islands. The events leading up to this move are best told in Bowles' own words:

> . . . I was told that if I would write to the minister, the Duke of Alcudia, and accuse the Counts d'Aranda and Florida Blanca as being the cause of my detention and sufferings, he would recall me to court, and arrange my affairs to my own satisfaction. I confess that I was sensibly hurt that so dishonorable a proposition should be made in the situation I was then in. The Count de Florida Blanca was a prisoner in Navarra; and d'Aranda in the Alhambra at Granada, under a prosecution carried on by the minister. I stated to the person in question that I would never prosecute myself to satisfy the views of any man; to which he replied, that if I did not comply, I should be sent to the Philippine Islands; at this my indignation was fired, and I ordered him to leave my presence, and not return to me with any more proposals of this nature, or I would make him feel my resentment.
>
> He left me, and shortly after the return of the post from Madrid, I was embarked on board a ship, by the Duke de Alcudia's orders, without knowing whither it was bound, while all my baggage was artfully detained on shore; and in that situation I made the voyage, in the most inclement season of the year, round Cape Horn to Lima, where I was again informed, that if I would accept the offers of his most Catholic Majesty, I might remain there and return to Spain by Panama and Carthagena, which I, refusing as before, was again embarked, and arrived at Manila on the 27th of November, 1795.
>
> The day after my arrival a paper was shown and read to me, setting forth the reasons for which I was detained a prisoner, and sent to that distant part of the world, which were as follows—that I had intentions to attack and possess myself of his Majesty's colony of Louisiana, and declare the ports of the same, free ports to all nations not at war with me and my nation; that for the good of his Majesty's service, I must be detained in the isle of Luz, until further orders from his Majesty; that I should be allowed any office or employ that I would ask or accept of, otherwise that I must maintain myself at my own expense, etc.

General Bowles was in Manila from November 27, 1795, to February 2, 1797, a matter of 14 months, during all of which time

he appears on the rolls of the Grand Lodge of England as the duly accredited provincial grand master of the Creek, Cherokee, Chickasaw and Choctaw Indians.

At 10 o'clock on the morning of February 2, 1797, Bowles was informed that he was to be returned to Europe and at two o'clock the same day, sailed out of the bay of Manila on board the ship *La Purisima Concepcion*. When the ship touched at the Isle of France, he first heard of the war between Great Britain and Spain, and learned that Spain had ceded the Mississippi and Floridas to the French. He then laid plans to seize the ship while at sea and proceed home with it. The governor of the Isle of France had granted a convoy of two

Morro Castle, Havana, Cuba.

frigates to accompany them, and the moderate weather made it impossible to elude the men of war and as he said "deterred me from putting my design in execution."

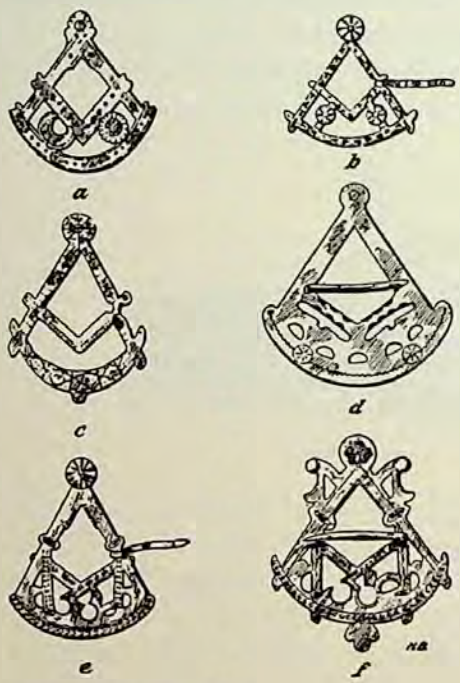
Word leaked out of the plan, and on April 16, when near the Cape de Verde Islands, several participants were seized and imprisoned on the frigates. Bowles managed to get ashore and made his way to Sierra Leona, where the governor, Zachary Macauly, gave him passage on a boat to London, sailing June 6. This ship suffered severe damage in a storm, and Bowles, being ill, was transferred to his Majesty's ship, *Isis*, and brought to London.

He arrived in London destitute. His first act was to call upon Mr. Pitt and recapitulate his adventures. He was once again among friends and in due course returned to his original haunts in West Florida where he again made preparations to attack the Spanish settlements in that neighborhood. His enforced imprisonment had increased his hatred of Spain, yet he was cautious enough to make detailed preparations. He succeeded in rallying around his standard a formidable

confederacy of the five nations and other war-like tribes. He carried on a desultory warfare until 1804 when he was again captured by Spain, taken to Havana, Cuba, and imprisoned in the infamous Morro Castle until death released him on December 23, 1805.

Red Jacket the Entered Apprentice

RED JACKET is often referred to as "the last of the Senecas." Born at Old-Castle, near Geneva, New York, in 1751, he died at Seneca Village, New York, on January 30, 1830. Before his elevation to chieftainship of the Wolf clan his name was *Otetiani,* meaning "prepared" or "ready." On his advancement he was named *Sagoyewatha,* or "he who keeps them awake." The name was a good one, for he became a noted orator and champion of the Indian tribal customs, language, dress and religion. He had a deep hatred of white men and refused to speak English. He was particularly antagonistic to missionaries and the Christian religion.



Forms of ceremonial and decorative brooches of silver, used by the Seneca Indians. Red Jacket wore the brooch marked a.

It is not known whether Red Jacket was a Freemason, although he has been referred to as such for many years. The general belief is that he was an Entered Apprentice. He did own a Masonic medal (see picture), which passed down through his family. Our best authority on this is Brother Arthur C. Parker (q.v.) whose grandfather, Nicholson H. Parker, was a grandnephew of Red Jacket, and brother of the famous General Ely S. Parker (q.v.). Dr. Parker wrote the author on November 2, 1953, as follows:

My teen-age book on Red Jacket did not mention many things; the publishers restricting me to 60,000 words and specifying the nature of the text. I cannot find that Red Jacket was a Mason or discover where he was initiated. However, the common rumor among the Indians is that he was an Entered

Apprentice, and some have suggested that it was conferred in an army lodge, possibly British. His widow had his Masonic brooch and it was later acquired by Mrs. H. M. Converse from Red Jacket's step-daughter.

Red Jacket met William Morgan about 1827, and indeed lived near him in the Batavia, N. Y. area. When Morgan spoke to him, Red Jacket refused to respond or shake hands except to say that he did not recognize traitors. I believe this statement is to be found in a Batavia pamphlet by Wyman. Not a few early Masonic books have been found on the Tonawanda Indian Reservation, and in an ash pit with scraps of metal and some buttons, a Batavia man about 25 years ago found a ring with the initials "W.M." on it. It may be that Morgan tried to find a hide-out with the Seneca Indians, but was not allowed to stay. At any rate, Red Jacket was a favorite with Masons and a foe of the Morganites.

General Ely S. Parker, grandnephew of Red Jacket, who inherited his tribal honors as chief, believed that his illustrious ancestor was a Freemason. In responding to a toast and introduction at a meeting of Knights Templar in Owego, New York, on June 24, 1853, General Parker made this reply:

Sir Knights and Brothers: I would hesitate long ere I would respond to the sentiment just proposed by the worthy Sir Knight if I supposed he had offered the same as a mere compliment to me personally, but when I am assured that it is intended as an expression of the deep and lasting sympathy this Order feels for my race, and as a mark of respect to the few who linger about the ancient hunting grounds of their fathers, I will not hesitate a moment to return my thanks.

With his race, Red Jacket was truly a great man. The extraordinary power and the unlimited resources of his native intellect commanded the respect of your great men. He was a personal friend of General Washington. From him he received a medal as a token of his friendship and good will. His people, now that he is no more, venerate and revere any relic he may have worn as much as your people respect and cherish anything that bears reminiscences of the "Father of his Country."

I feel highly flattered that the sentiment comes from so distinguished a Mason as the Worthy Sir Knight who proposed it (Finlay M. King). His high official position as a Grand Officer of the Grand Encampment (senior grand warden) entitles him to high consideration from me and all good Masons. He has made reference to the Masonic character of my illustrious predecessor and kinsman, Red Jacket. I thank him for the reference. Were Red Jacket before us, he could bear strong testimony to the great moral influence the principles of the Order exerted over him. Though chief of one of the most warlike Indian tribes, willing and ready to do his bidding, yet Masonry made him most eminently a Peace Man. And to this testimony of the benefits of Masonry, I could add mine, by saying that in no other organization or association of men, organized under whatever principle, does the Indian find more genuine and heartfelt sympathy than among the Masons. The Indians ever find them with their hearts in their hands, and arms out-

spread, ready to receive and sympathize for him; with ears ever open to hear his story of repeated wrongs and oppression, and always ready to alleviate his distresses without malice or deceit. . . .

Red Jacket fought in two wars without distinction. In the Revolutionary war he was with the British, serving as a dispatch carrier, and his name is derived from a scarlet jacket given to him by an English officer, which he took great pride in wearing. In the War of 1812 he served with the American forces.

He was a contemporary of Joseph Brant (q.v.) and on Brant's death, Red Jacket became the man of greatest importance among the Six Nations. Brant, the warrior, had only contempt for Red Jacket, the orator, and nicknamed him the "cow-killer" from an incident during the Revolution, when it is said that after exhorting his fellow warriors to behave with courage in an approaching battle and promising to be in the thick of the fight himself, Red Jacket was found cutting up a cow belonging to an Indian, while the battle was in progress. After the Revolution, Brant openly blamed Red Jacket for causing him trouble and embarrassment during Sullivan's invasion "being," he asserted "the principal cause of the disasters of his people." He was also rebuked by the famous fighting chief, Cornplanter, during an encounter in 1779 on the shore of Canandaigua lake. At the approach of American troops, a number of Indians, including Red Jacket, began to retreat. In anger Cornplanter turned to the orator's young wife and exclaimed, "Leave that man; he is a coward!"

Towards the latter part of his life he became a confirmed drunkard and sank into imbecility. His fight against Christianity led him into trouble with his own race, and when the majority of the chiefs became Christians (even his own wife joined the church in 1827), they relieved him of his chieftainship in September, 1827, with a document signed by 26 of their sachems. The document charged many things including lying, treason, stealing and creating unrest among his people. He was afterwards relieved of this humiliation by his reinstatement through the mediation of the Office of Indian Affairs.

He was completely Indian in his costume as well as in his undisguised contempt for the dress and language of the whites and anything else that belonged to them. He was of a tall and erect form,

and walked with dignity. His eyes were keen, and his address, particularly when he spoke in council, was almost majestic.

His character was singularly contradictory. Lacking firmness of nerve, he nevertheless possessed remarkable tenacity of purpose and great moral courage, and his intellectual powers were of a high order. He was a statesman of sagacity and an orator of surpassing eloquence, yet he was capable of descending to the lowest cunning of the demagogue and egotist.

Eleazer Williams
Indian and "Lost Dauphin"

EVEN UPON his deathbed Eleazer Williams believed he was the "Lost Dauphin" of France. Williams was not a Frenchman, nor even a white man. He was an American Indian, born of Indian parents and reared by Indians. He had only a trace of white blood in his ancestry. His story is a romantic one for he was one of the most famous charlatans the world has ever known, and because he was a Freemason, his story is related in this volume.

Williams was an early member of Wisconsin's first Masonic lodge—*Menomonie Lodge No. 374* of Green Bay. The lodge was organized on September 2, 1824, and chartered on December 3, 1824. Between its dispensation and charter, Williams submitted the following petition in his own handwriting. It is preserved by the Wisconsin Historical society in Madison.

To the Master and Brethren of Menomonie Lodge:

The petitioner humbly states that having long had a favorable opinion of your ancient institution, he is desirous of becoming a member thereof if found worthy. He was born at Sault St. Louis, is thirty-two years of age by profession clergyman.

Green Bay, 7 October 1824.

(Signed) Eleazer Williams

EARLY LIFE

Eleazer was the son of Thomas *(Tehoragwanegen)* and Mary Ann Rice *(Konwatewenteta)* Williams. Some authorities have given his place and date of birth as on the shore of Lake George, New York in May, 1788. However, the same authorities stated that most of the other children of the family were born at Caughnawaga, Quebec

(Sault St. Louis), which birthplace Williams also gave in his Masonic petition, and we are inclined to take the latter statement. His early Indian name is not known, but when he was made an Iroquois chief in 1812, he was given the name *Onwarenhiiaki,* meaning "tree cutter."

His father, *Tehoragwanegen,* was a famous war chief of the Caughnawaga-Mohawk of Quebec, who on the death of his mother had been adopted by his aunt Catherine, the wife of a noted Caughnawaga chief, X. Rice. He was reared in the Catholic faith and fought from the beginning of the American revolution, although then only about 17 years old. On various occasions he prevented the massacre and torture of defenseless women and children. Serving under Burgoyne in 1777, he remonstrated with him for his needless cruelty towards the colonists and fell out with Sir John Johnson (q.v.) for the same reason.

After the peace of 1783, *Tehoragwanegen* visited his relatives in New England, where he met the Reverend Samuel Kirkland (q.v.), the celebrated missionary. In 1789, with two others of his tribe, he took steps toward negotiations which resulted in the treaty of New York in 1796, between the state and the Six Nations of Canada, by which these Indians were compensated for lands of which they had been deprived.

Eleazer's great-grandmother was reputed to be Eunice Williams, daughter of John Williams, early American clergyman. His entire family was carried into captivity by the Indians in 1704 and although John was ransomed, his daughter, Eunice, continued to be held. She eventually became a devout Catholic, forgot the English language, married an Indian named John de Rogers, and refused to adopt civilized customs.

Eleazer was said to have been one of 13 children, most of whom were born at Caughnawaga, Quebec, the home of their parents. One of the early playmates of Eleazer relates that he was subject to a scrofulous taint in his family which left scars when he was cut and bruised. In later life he claimed the scars were made by shackles while being held by the jailor, Simon of the Tower of the Temple, in Paris where he was imprisoned as the Dauphin.

In 1800 his father took Eleazer and his brother John to Long Meadow, Massachusetts, to be educated among distant relatives of

the father. His mother, who was a devout Roman Catholic, was greatly opposed to this. At Long Meadow the boys were left with Nathaniel Ely, who had undertaken to educate them at his own expense, but financial reverses compelled him to appeal to missionary societies and to the state legislature for aid. Eleazer wrote a history of his father entitled *Life of Te-ho-ra-gwa-ne-gen Alias Thomas Williams.*

Becomes a Missionary

In 1807 his friend and benefactor, Mr. Ely, died. He lived at Mansfield and Long Meadow until December 22, 1809, when he was placed under the tuition of the Reverend Enoch Hale, of Westhampton, Massachusetts, where he remained until August, 1812. During this period he was commissioned to make a visit to the St. Louis (or Caughnawaga) Indians to learn what prospects there were of introducing Protestantism among them. In 1810, due to his poor health, Williams abandoned his studies and traveled in the south where he met a future friend and bishop, Dr. Hobart. Again visiting his family in Quebec the following year, he conversed with their Indian neighbors about the Protestant faith, but the Roman Catholic priests warned them not to listen to his instructions. Nevertheless, the attention he received encouraged him to enter on what was to be his life work.

Early in 1812 Williams went to Canada as an agent of the American Board of Missions, arriving at Sault St. Louis on January 18 and returning to Westhampton in July. At the beginning of the War of 1812, Williams, being regarded as a suitable person to aid in preventing the Indians of his tribe from siding with England, was appointed superintendent general of the Northern Indian department. He was assigned to duty with General Dearborn, but was transferred to service with General Jacob Brown, under whom he acted in a confidential capacity, obtaining information on British troop movements through the Canadian Indians. He was wounded at the battle of Plattsburgh, New York, September 14, 1814.

Trouble Starts

For three years, Eleazer lived with the Oneida Indians and by his persuasive eloquence in the native tongue, induced the old Pagan

party, numbering about three fourths of the tribe, to renounce paganism. He further induced them to grant him 100 acres of land for his own use and to sell several hundred acres more to the state to provide a fund to build a church and a school. The proceeds of the sale amounted to about $4,000 and were placed in the hands of Judge Williams and Judge Miller of Utica by the governor. Williams, however, managed to obtain control of the expenditure of the money and erected a church at a cost of $1,200 or $1,400 for which he submitted bills amounting to $4,000. When the trustees examined the flimsy building, they resigned in protest. For many years the Oneida charged Williams with malfeasance, but the matter was never adjusted nor explained.

The Western Move

In October, 1820, the Reverend Jedidiah Morse, who had traveled through the northwest as far as Green Bay, Wisconsin, presented a project to Williams for removing the New York Indians to the western country near Lake Michigan. Williams was ripe for such a venture, even claiming later that he was the originator of the scheme. In a council with the Oneida, which Morse called to discuss the proposal, Williams acted as interpreter. After the council was over, Morse asked Williams for a copy of the speech of the Oneida chief in reply, which was strongly adverse to Morse's suggestions. Several days later Williams completed a fictitious speech, misrepresenting the answer of the Oneida, to which he forged the names of their chiefs. In the following year the chiefs, again in council with Morse, when Williams was not present, repudiated the Williams interpretation of the speech as "a lie from beginning to end." At this time Williams was in Green Bay, Wisconsin, with a self-constituted delegation of Oneidas, Onondagas, Tuscaroras and Stockbridges, negotiating a project for the removal of all the New York Indians to the country between the Mississippi river and Green Bay, and the establishment of an empire with a single supreme head.

The Indians Split

In 1821 Williams visited New York and entered into negotiations with the Ogden Land Company which then held the preemption right to most of the Indian lands in western New York. From them

he received sums of money from time to time for the purpose of advancing the interests of their company. He also busied himself at this time in enlisting the aid of missionary societies in establishing a church among the Indians at Green Bay, and carried on a voluminous correspondence with the war department in order to obtain recognition for his schemes. Aided by the Ogden Land Company, he finally obtained official permission to lead a delegation of Indians to Green Bay, representing to them that the affair was "under the patronage, protection and assistance of the government." When his proposals were made to the New York Indians in council, the Seneca and the other tribes, through the famous Red Jacket (q.v.), emphatically refused their assent to the project. Nevertheless, through Williams' machinations and the powerful influences behind his schemes, a treaty was made in 1832 by which his plan was partially realized. Most of the Oneidas removed to Wisconsin, but the Senecas, followed by the Tuscaroras and Onondagas, resolved to hold their lands in New York.

Fired by the Missions

When Williams moved to Green Bay in 1823, he married Mary Jourdain, a 14-year-old Indian girl. He promised schools to the Indians and the French traders in return for their consent to establish the New York Indians among them. When he failed to fulfill these pledges, the missionary societies disavowed their confidence in him and in 1827 appointed Richard F. Cadle to replace him. Cadle, incidentally, built the school.

With the failure of the Green Bay land scheme, Williams realized that he was ruined, and withdrew to his home at Kaukalin. He continued to receive aid from some of the missionary boards, since he represented himself as the missionary of the Oneida at Duck Creek, Wisconsin, although he did not perform the duties. About 1832 the Oneida, becoming wearied with Williams, held a council to which they invited Colonel George Boyd, United States Indian agent, in order to show him that for years Williams had failed to carry out any of his many promises. They stated that owing "to his want of good faith, his fraud and deceit, they were in the wilderness utterly abandoned, without schools, churches, or religious privileges of any kind; and worse than all, that the little fund provided by the kindness of

the Christian public in the east was anticipated, caught on its way to them by him and consumed for entirely contrary purposes."

At the Indians' request, the agent notified the governor of New York, the United States government, and the missionary societies, warning the authorities that the Oneidas had forever repudiated Williams, and asked that he should not be recognized as acting for them in any capacity. This indictment was so disastrous to Williams that he dropped out of sight until 1853, when he reappeared in a new role—that of the Dauphin of France, The Lost Prince, Louis XVII!

The Lost Dauphin

In February, 1853, an article by the Reverend John H. Hanson, doctor of divinity, appeared in *Putman's Magazine* entitled "Have We a Bourbon Among Us?" The author had seen a paragraph to the effect that "Eleaser Williams was none other than Louis XVII, the son of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, who was born at Versailles, 27 March, 1785, and was supposed to have died in the Temple."

Dr. Hanson sought an interview with Williams, who assured him that he was convinced of his royal descent. In an interview he told Dr. Hanson that, until he was 13 or 14 years old, his mind was a blank. A fall recovered his intellect, but not his memory. He stated to Hanson that, in 1841 on a steamboat, the Prince de Joinville urged him to sign a solemn "abdication of the throne of France." As a result, Hanson issued a volume entitled "The Lost Prince" (New York, 1854), intending to prove the identity of Williams as Louis XVII. Hanson's arguments in favor of Williams' Bourbon descent were that his baptism was not registered and that his putative mother once admitted that he was an adopted son. Many physicians attested

that Williams was not an Indian, and he had a remarkable resemblance to the Bourbon family. Other arguments in favor of his royal lineage were that the Dauphin was removed from prison and brought to America. *Skenondough,* an Indian, had made oath that the youth was brought by two French gentlemen to Lake George. Other reputed evidence was that money was sent from an unknown source to educate him; the de Joinville interview, which Williams recorded in his diary; and the marks on his body, which the Dauphin also was presumed to bear. On the other hand, many Indians denied *Skenondough's* story and Bishop Charles F. Robertson, Williams' literary executor, refutes from Williams' own papers the statement that he was educated with funds that were supplied by unknown persons, and produced the original bills in evidence. Prince de Joinville denied the alleged interview with Williams in a letter addressed to John Jay of New York.

Probable Explanation

In 1806 Eleazer went to Boston where he was questioned by several ministers regarding his studies. While here, he met Father Chevreux, to whom he was introduced as an Indian youth studying for the ministry. The father questioned him, it is said, as to the practice of the Indians in adopting French children, for Williams appeared to him as having French blood. It is possible that at this interview Williams first conceived the idea that he could successfully impersonate the Dauphin of France.

In spite of the fact that Williams was an ordained minister, his life demonstrated no virtues—only fraud. Up until the time that he made his claim as the Lost Dauphin, there was no mitigating circumstance of character that would prove him to be a man of honor. In fact, the reverse was true.

Eleazer had a proud, haughty and impressive bearing. He was an egotist and opportunist as his record indicates. The probable explanation is that he was a psychopathic case; a very clever and interesting one. After his many defeats in life, he undoubtedly withdrew into himself, establishing a new personality in his mind that was royal and awe-inspiring. This he lived with perfect honesty to himself, aided and abetted by friends who believed his absurd claims. Just when this madness set upon him was not known, but certainly his petition to *Menomonie Lodge No. 374* wherein he stated that he was born at

"Sault St. Louis" (Quebec)—where his brothers and sisters were born—would refute his latter claims and make a psychopathic liar of Brother Williams.

Intelligent? Yes. He was an authority on Indian history, manners and customs, and was thoroughly familiar with the labors of the early French missionaries. In 1846 he became a corresponding member of the New England Historic-Genealogical society. He was the author of *A Spelling-Book* in the language of the Iroquois (1813) and also translated into Iroquois *The Book of Common Prayer* (1853).

We are told that in his later years he was destitute and that he lived on the charity of his Masonic brethren of New York, many of whom believed his claims. It is further stated that when the members of the fraternity arrived to bury him, an Indian woman stood at the head of the coffin, fanning the corpse. In his delirium as he died, she said, he had told her the dress of embroidered silk which hung on the wall above him "was a gown once worn by his Queen Mother, Marie Antoinette."

He was buried with Masonic honors in the old cemetery north of the village of Hogansburg, New York, near the St. Regis Indian reservation where he died. At the head of the grave stands a plain, white stone on which is cut "Eleazer Williams" and below, the square and compass with the date August 8, 1858.

Ely S. Parker
Indian Chief—United States General

ELY SAMUEL PARKER (1828-1895) was a dedicated Freemason and perhaps the best known Indian of the latter part of the 19th century. Born on the Tonawanda Indian reservation of New York in 1828, he was the son of Seneca Chief William Parker, whose wife was a descendant of a Huron captive. His Seneca name was *Hasanoanda,* meaning "coming to the front." When he became a sachem and the eighth chief of the tribe, this name was dropped, as was the Indian custom, in favor of the name *Donehogawa,* or "he who holds the door open." In speaking of his change of names, Parker wrote in 1885:

> . . . All Iroquois names are clan names, and those given to and which appertain exclusively to children were never regarded as of much consequence. Children's names and adults' names were not necessarily continuous from generation to generation. Old ones were dropped and new ones adopted at any time. The only Iroquois names to which a perpetuity is attached are those of the fifty sachems or league officers, and these only because they are so nominated in the organic law of the league, which our fathers taught us were immutable and unchangeable. To make myself more clearly understood, but with no intention of egotism, I will cite my own case. From my earliest recollection, and up to the day I was promoted and installed as one of the fifty sachems, I bore the name *Hasanoanda.* That name was then shed or cast off, and as completely forgotten by the Indians as if it had never been, and I have never heard that it has ever been deemed worthy to be bestowed upon any other young Indian."

Parker received an academic education, studied law and civil engineering, and at the outbreak of the Civil war was employed as engineer on a government building project at Galena, Illinois, then the home of Ulysses S. Grant. A friendship sprang up between the two which continued after both joined the Union army at the outbreak of the Civil war. Parker's distinguished service in the Vicksburg campaign led to his selection by Grant as a member of his staff. In May, 1863, he became assistant adjutant-general, with the rank of captain, and was afterward secretary to General Grant until the close of the war.

On April 9, 1865, he became brigadier general of volunteers; in

1866, a first lieutenant of cavalry in the United States army; and on March 2, 1867, a brigadier general. By reason of their intimate relations, as well as of Parker's excellent handwriting, Grant entrusted him while his secretary with both his personal and official correspondence. It was thus that, at Lee's surrender, Parker engrossed the articles of capitulation.

Although a lodge of only fifty members, *Miners' Lodge No. 273* of Galena, Illinois, supplied five generals to the Federal army during the Civil war. Among them were Parker; John A. Rawlings, later secretary of war; William R. Rowley, of Grant's staff; and John Corson Smith, who later became grand master of Illinois.

General Parker resigned from the army in 1869 to accept the appointment as commissioner of Indian affairs from President Grant. He retired in 1871, but subsequently held several positions under the city government of New York, and at the time of his death at Fairfield, Connecticut, on August 31, 1895, was connected with the police department of New York City.

Parker was an intimate friend of Lewis H. Morgan, the ethnologist, and his efficient co-worker in preparing his *League of the Iroquois*, first published in 1851. The authority and value of this book is due to the work of Parker as well as to Morgan. As a sachem, Parker had full knowledge of the institutions of his people, and as a man of education and culture, he had both the interest and ability necessary to make those institutions known to civilized man as no ordinary interpreter could have done.

Parker and Red Jacket

Red Jacket (q.v.) was Parker's great uncle. From him he inherited three things: a gift of oratory, the Washington medal, and a belief that the Indians had been shamefully mistreated by their white conquerers. He took great pleasure in showing the medal, which he, like Red Jacket, always wore, and would soar to the heights of eloquence in defending his beloved Iroquois. At a Knights Templar banquet in Chicago in 1859, he delivered an impressive speech from which this oft-quoted section is a part:

> Where shall I go when the last of my race shall have gone forever? Where shall I find home and sympathy when our last council-fire is extinguished? I said, I will knock at the door of Masonry, and see if the white race will recognize me, as they did my ancestors when we were strong and the white

man weak. I knocked at the door of the Blue Lodge and found brotherhood around its altar. I knelt before the great light in the chapter, and found companionship beneath the Royal Arch. I entered the commandery and found valiant Sir Knights willing to shield me here without regard to race or nation. I went further. I knelt at the cross of my Saviour and found Christian brotherhood, the crowning charity of the Masonic tie. I am most happy to meet you in the grand councils of this gathering, and sit with you at this festive board to share these greetings and hospitalities.

I feel assured that when my glass is run out and I shall follow the foot-

THE RED JACKET MEDAL

steps of my departed race, Masonic sympathies will cluster round my coffin, and drop in my lonely grave the evergreen Acacia, sweet emblem of a better meeting. If my race shall disappear from this continent, I have the consoling hope that our memory will not perish. If the deeds of my ancestors shall not live in story, their memories remain in the names of your great lakes and rivers, your towns and cities, and will call up memories otherwise forgotten.

After he had taken his seat, he again rose to show the historic medal Red Jacket had received from President Washington. He took great pleasure in his inherited medal (now in the Buffalo Historical society) and would show it whenever the occasion presented itself.

I have in my possession a memento which I highly prize—I wear it near my heart. It came from my ancestors to me, as their successors in office. It was a present from Washington to my great uncle, Red Jacket, when

your nation was in its infancy. You will be glad to see and handle it, and I should do wrong were I not to give you an opportunity.

Several Masonic writers have stated that on the reverse of the famous "Washington-Red Jacket" medal were "Masonic emblems." This is not true. Red Jacket did have a Masonic brooch (see cut) which may have been mistaken as being part of the government medal. The medal is described by a non-Masonic, authoritative source as follows:

Of the early United States medals possibly the most interesting is that known as the Red Jacket medal, presented to this celebrated Seneca by Washington at Philadelphia in 1792. This was one of several similar medals, one of which is dated 1793. They were made in the U. S. Mint when Dr. Rittenhouse was director (1792-95).

Obverse—Washington in uniform, bareheaded, facing to the right, presenting a pipe to an Indian chief who is smoking it; the Indian is standing, and has a large medal suspended from his neck. On the left is a pine tree, at its foot a tomahawk; in the background, a farmer plowing; in exergue, *George Washington President 1792*—all engraved. *Reverse*—Arms and crest of the United States on the breast of the eagle, in the right talon of which is an olive branch, in the left a sheaf of arrows, in its beak a ribbon with the motto *E Pleuribus Unum;* above, a glory breaking through the clouds and surrounded by 13 stars, size 6¾ by 4¾ inches.

Champion of the Red Man

General Parker, like Red Jacket, was a champion of his race in spite of his education and life among the whites. As a sachem of his tribe, it was his undisputed duty to uphold its rights and honor whenever possible. His speeches and writings were generously sprinkled with Masonic words and idioms indicating his familiarity with lodge, chapter and commandery ritual. He expressed his memories of the past glory of the Iroquois at a Knights Templar banquet in Owego, New York on June 24, 1853, with the following:

The history of our country and the progress of the age seems to mark the Indian race as destined to certain annihilation. The history of my own race, the Iroquois Confederacy, confirms this theory. Respecting them, history and tradition agree in assigning to them a superior position among the Indians of this country. As councilors they exceeded in wisdom, forethought and prudence all Indian tribes around them. As warriors the extent of country they had under tributary subjection is evidence of their warlike prowess and skill. There was a time in their history when they had more tributary territory than was embraced in the 13 original states which first composed

the United States. They extended from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, and from the Hudson Bay to the Gulf of Mexico.

But that Indian band, whose courage in war, and wisdom in council, had made it so famous and dreaded by the pale faces as well as the red man, is now no more. They live only in memory and history. The country which once claimed them as its own, the rivers whose silvery bosoms were so intimate with the light bark canoe, know them no more. A small remnant yet survives. They have ceased to struggle against the immense tide of civilization which seems destined to overwhelm and obliterate them in its resistless flow. Every valley and hilltop of your beautiful state gives evidence of the existence, at some former time, of the race to which I refer. Your own delightful valley is replete with Indian history and reminiscences. The plowman in his daily pursuits cannot fail to bring from beneath the green sward many relics of the Indian race.

The few surviving Indians of this ancient Confederacy delight to retreat into the shades of their forests, and there relate the traditions of the prowess of their forefathers and to repeat the many wise maxims that have been handed down from father to son from time memorial. With woeful countenances will our old men speak of our certain destiny long ago foreshadowed —with heavy steps they do linger around the national burial grounds where for ages have reposed undisturbed the bones of their kindred—with tearful eyes will they gaze upon their children, as, unrestrained, they sport in all the amusements of youth, for young and guileless they are, happy in the ignorance of their future destiny. When I see all this, I am bowed down by the most melancholy feelings, and as a lover of my race and the Great Spirit whom they crudely and sincerely worship, I sometimes wish that the day might hasten when the Great Spirit shall take his Indian children to their happy hunting grounds in the spirit-land from whence they will never be driven more by avarice or power.

Sir Knight, I have detained you too long, and I beg your pardon for saying so much upon a subject which can only concern and interest me alone. I thank you for your kind attention, and the manifest sympathy you entertain for my ill-fated race. May the Honorable and Ancient Order of Freemasons never bestow its sympathies upon objects less worthy than the Indians of our country.

Parker was one of the chief sachems among those present from the United States and Canada at the final reinterment of Red Jacket's body on October 9, 1884, at Buffalo, New York. In death his body had received no more peace than it had known in life. First buried in the old Indian burial grounds within the present city limits of Buffalo, it was removed by white men, and spent some time in the basement of a nearby house. It was rescued by some Indians and turned over to his step-daughter, who secretly buried it and would tell no one until near her own death, when she revealed the spot for fear that it might again be desecrated. It was then placed in a bank

vault in Buffalo, and finally given burial by the Buffalo Historical society in the white man's cemetery, with a fitting marker. Parker made a speech at the final interment.

His Masonic Record

Brother Parker was made a Freemason in *Batavia Lodge No. 88,* Batavia, New York, in 1847 and affiliated with *Valley Lodge No. 109,* same city, on May 6, 1850. He dimitted from there on September 6, 1858, to become one of the founders and first master of *Miners' Lodge No. 273,* Galena, Illinois, serving from 1858 to 1860. In 1862 he dimitted from the Galena lodge to become the first master of *Akron Lodge No. 527,* Akron, New York, under the warrant dated June 3, 1863. His lodge membership remained here until his death in 1895. He was named as grand orator of the Grand Lodge of Illinois in 1861, but was unable to be present at the 1861 session, as he was at that time in the service of the government and away from the state. He was grand representative of the Grand Lodge of Iowa near the Grand Lodge of Illinois. *Ely Parker Lodge No. 1002* of Buffalo, New York, is named for him.

He was exalted to the Royal Arch in *Hamilton Chapter No. 62,* R.A.M. at Rochester, New York, on March 6, 1851, and upon his removal to Illinois, became the first high priest of *Jo Daviess Chapter No. 51,* serving from the date of his installation June 9, 1859, through 1861.

His petition for the orders of knighthood was received by *Monroe Commandery No. 12,* Knights Templar, Rochester, New York on April 8, 1853, and he received the orders on April 22, 1853. In 1855 he received the cryptic degrees in the council of Royal and Select Masters at Elmira, New York, and was made an honorary member of that body. *Ely S. Parker Council No. 60* R. & S. M., at Galena, Illinois, chartered in 1873 but now defunct, was named for him.

While master of *Miners' Lodge No. 273* at Galena, Illinois, Parker raised another Civil War general—John Corson Smith—on May 21, 1859. Smith became grand master of the Grand Lodge of Illinois in 1887 serving through 1888; grand treasurer of the Grand Council of Illinois from 1889 to 1910 inclusive; and author of *History of Freemasonry in Illinois, 1804-29.* Parker also exalted Smith in the chap-

ter on March 15, 1860. Smith, who was venerable chief of the Illinois Masonic Veterans association in 1895 always referred to Parker as "my Masonic father."

General Parker was a bachelor, and from the report of one Masonic gathering seemed to have been a favorite with the ladies:

> Sir Knight Parker was an invited guest at the banquet table. Being called on for a sentiment, the ladies vied with the brethren in closing up the ranks around the valiant Bachelor Chief, that they might hear the eloquent outpourings of his generous heart. Among the crowd, near the speaker, were many of the Knights from Canada, veterans of the British army, who had seen service in the field, and were not easily discomposed, yet they could not suppress a tear of sympathy.

He had one sister, Caroline G. Parker, *Gahano,* or "hanging flower," who was sometimes referred to as "Queen of the Senecas." She married John Mountpleasant, a Tuscarora. She attended the normal school at Albany, New York, and later taught in the Indian school.

In 1873 when General J. C. Smith was master of *Miners' Lodge No. 273* at Galena, a portrait of Parker was unveiled on the evening of May 16 in the lodge room. A portrait of General John A. Rawlins, secretary of war, was also presented at the same time.

> The Craft had long known that the W. M. was engaged in obtaining the portraits of those who had long and faithfully served the Lodge, whether on the checkered floor or in the East, hence were prepared for any new picture or working tool of the Craft which might greet their eyes. None however were prepared to see so magnificent a painting as that which beamed down upon them from the East on Friday night last. No second look was needed to tell the older members that it was a faithful likeness of their honoured craftsman and brother, General Ely S. Parker, the first Master of Miners' Lodge.
>
> The picture is a large oil painting 3 x 4 feet, handsomely framed in gilt and black walnut. The painting was executed by artist Swaim, of the firm of Armitstead & Swaim, photographers, and is pronounced by all who have seen it to be an accurate likeness of Gen. Parker and a credit to any artist. Well may the craft be proud of this new addition to the list of paintings which now adorn their Hall, and which received a further enlargement the same evening, by adding a beautiful portrait of that honored Brother and renowned soldier, the late Gen. John A. Rawlins, Secretary of War.
>
> The attendance at the Lodge was good, and after the work of the evening was ended, the W. M., Gen. J. C. Smith, in a few appropriate remarks, presented the pictures. Referring to the fact that three lodges had preceded the present one, each having but a brief existence, he proceeded to say that these lodges had been organized under the auspices of earnest and active

Masons. Galena being at that time a frontier post, and the population of an adventurous spirit, the Mexican War, California and other mining fevers taking away the active membership, the lodges ceased to work. Without a Masonic home when Bro. Parker came here, he earnestly set himself to work to organize a lodge. Ably assisted by Bros. Gear, John E. Smith, Wann, Rowly, Snider, and others now deceased or dimitted, he succeeded in organizing Miners' Lodge No. 273 of which he was elected W. M., and reelected for several years in succession. . . .

Parker on the Iroquois

Always a believer in the virtues of his race, Parker gave the following sketch of the Iroquois at Buffalo, New York, on October 8, 1884:

Much has been said and written of the Iroquois people. All agree that they once owned and occupied the whole country now constituting the State of New York. They reached from the Hudson on the east to the lakes on the west, and claimed much conquered territory.

I desire only to direct attention to one phase of their character, which, in my judgment, has never been brought out with sufficient force and clearness, and that is the fidelity to their obligations and the tenacity with which they held to their allegiance when once it was placed. More than 250 years ago, when the Iroquois were in the zenith of their power and glory, the French made the mistake of assisting the northern Indians with whom the Iroquois were at war. They never forgot or forgave the French for the aid they gave their Indian enemies, and the French were never afterward able to gain their friendship. About the same time the Holland Dutch came up the Hudson, and though, perhaps, they were no wiser than their French neighbors they certainly pursued a wiser policy by securing the friendship of the Iroquois. The Indians remained true to their allegiance until the Dutch were superseded by the English, when they also transferred their allegiance to the new comers. They remained steadfast to the faith they had given, and assisted the English people to put down the rebellion of the American colonies against the mother government. The colonies succeeded in gaining their independence and establishing a government of their liking, but in the treaty of peace which followed the English entirely ignored and forgot their Indian allies, leaving them to shift for themselves.

A portion of the Iroquois under Captain Brant followed the fortunes of the English into Canada, where they have since been well cared for by the provincial and home governments. Those who remained in the United States continued to struggle for their homes and the integrity of what they considered their ancient and just rights. The aid, however, which they had given against the cause of the American Revolution had been so strong as to leave an intense burning hostility to them in the minds of the American people, and to allay this feeling and to settle for all time the question of rights as between the Indians and the whites, General Washington was compelled to order an expedition into the Indian country of New York to break the Indian power. This expedition was under the command of General

Sullivan. The Indians, left to themselves and bereft of British aid, made Sullivan's success an easy one. He drove them from their homes, destroyed and burned their villages, cut down their corn fields and orchards, leaving the poor Indian homeless, houseless, and destitute. We have been told this evening that the "Long House" of the Iroquois had been broken. It was, indeed, truly broken by Sullivan's invasion. It was so completely broken that never again will the "Long House" be reconstructed.

At the end of the Revolutionary war (1783) the Indians sued for peace. They were now at the mercy of General Washington and the American people. A peace was granted them, and small homes allowed in the vast domains they once claimed as absolutely and wholly theirs by the highest title known among men, viz, by the gift of God. The mercy of the American people granted them the right to occupy and cultivate certain lands until some one stronger wanted them. They hold their homes today by no other title than that of occupancy, although some Indian bands have bought and paid for the lands they reside upon the same as you, my friends, have bought and paid for the farms you live upon. The Indian mind has never to this day been able to comprehend how it is that he has been compelled to buy and pay for that which has descended to him from time immemorial, and which his ancestors had taught him was the gift of the Great Spirit to him and his posterity forever. It was an anomaly in civilized law far beyond his reasoning powers.

In the treaty of peace concluded after Sullivan's campaign, the remnants of the Iroquois transferred their allegiance to the United States, and to that allegiance they have remained firm and true to this day. They stood side by side with you in the last war with Great Britain, in the defense of the frontier, and fought battles under the leadership of the able and gallant General Scott. Again, the sons of the Iroquois marched shoulder to shoulder with you, your fathers, your husbands, and your sons in the last great rebellion of the South, and used, with you, their best endeavors to maintain the inviolability and integrity of the American Constitution, to preserve unsullied the purity of the American flag, and to wipe out forever from every foot of American soil the curse of human slavery. Such, in brief, has been their fidelity to their allegiance."

Burial of Parker

Although Parker had expressed the opinion or hope that on his death "Masonic sympathies will cluster round my coffin and drop in my lonely grave the evergreen Acacia," there were no Masonic rites at his grave. A newspaper account gives this description of the ceremonies:

When Mrs. Harriet Converse, who had been adopted into the Six Nations under the name of Yaiewanoh, heard of Gen. Parker's death, she sent word to the various tribes and clans to have their chief men attend the funeral. In former days the spreading deer horns were placed on the remains of dead sachems as a symbol of their authority, and removed at the grave, to be

bestowed on the new sachem. Instead of the horns Mrs. Converse used two strings of valued wampum beads, tied with a little piece of black ribbon. Around the coffin sat six full-blooded Indians, silent and stern.

Across the hall in a darkened room were four Indian women, who had come to carry back to the tribe the sachem wampum beads that lay on the coffin. The men uttered not a word from the time they entered the presence of the dead until the earth had fallen on his coffin. The women disputed in occasional whispers as to who should be the successor of the dead sachem and receive the beads. An Episcopalian minister read the church service for the dead. Comrades from the Loyal Legion, the Grand Army of the Republic, and the society of Colonial Wars were among the mourners, and the Rev. Alexander Hamilton, chaplain of the last-named society, read a special service at the grave.

Philip Deloria, Sioux Chief Episcopal Priest, Freemason

IN A NICHE in the marble reredos of the Jerusalem High Altar of the National Cathedral in Washington, D. C., stands the statue of an Indian chief who became an Episcopal priest and a Freemason. He was the Reverend Philip J. Deloria, known to his own people as *Tipi Sapa* (Black Lodge).

His father, Francois des-Lauriers, *Saswe,* of French and Indian descent, was the most powerful of Yankton-Dakota medicinemen and was regarded by many as possessed of supernatural powers. His mother, *Sihasapewin,* was the daughter of a chief of the Blackfoot band of Dakotas. Both parents wielded great influence on their son. They taught him well: he must not think evil; he must never forget the Great Spirit. His duty was to hunt and obtain food for the sustenance of life. He must learn to be brave and must accomplish those deeds which became a real man. The Indians had great respect for men with these virtues and their renown lingered in tribal legends.

Many facts of Deloria's life have been misquoted or dis-

General Ely S. Parker

PHILIP DELORIA *(seated)* AND REVEREND EDWARD ASHLEY

The story of Philip Deloria, Indian chief and Episcopal priest is told in this volume. His close friend and brother standing by his side is Reverend Edward Ashley, an Episcopal missionary to the Sioux Indians for 57 years. Born in Road Hill, England, December 12, 1853 he was deputy in South Dakota and chaplain for the Southern Supreme Council, A.A.S.R. He died May 30, 1931.

torted and in compiling this article we are most fortunate to have the advice and guidance of his daughter, Miss Ella Deloria. As an example, one source states:

> In those turbulent days of 1870, a young chief seemed to have the opportunity to accomplish what his fathers could not. Red Cloud had won a war against the United States Army's best—and had treaties to prove it. The daring young Crazy Horse was winning a reputation as one of the most brilliant cavalry leaders in history. Wily Sitting Bull was winning more and more converts to his cause of Indian supremacy (the Ghost Dance, q.v.).

But according to Miss Deloria's impression from her father's remarks, the Yanktons were too remote from the roaming Tetons far off in the west to be fully aware of what went on there; consequently, they were not moved to make common cause with them. Philip Deloria was only 18—or perhaps 17. He was carefree and content with his life, as an average youth. If news of Red Cloud, Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull leaked through, those were just names to him. The implication of their involvement might well have troubled his father *Saswe,* but a boy in his teens would hardly be seriously disturbed by them.

One morning in the early 1870's as *Tipi Sapa* rode past the new log chapel, he heard singing, and the tune of the hymn he came to love all his life reached his ears, *Yus amayan ye, Jehovah* (Guide Me, O, Thou Great Jehovah). In his own words, "It caught me and held me like a rope around a bronco."

Upon entering to hear the completion of the hymn, he felt rebellious over the words. He thought "I know my way; I do not need guiding. I know this country where I have hunted and ridden —it is entirely familiar to me. How could I lose my way?"

Another line to which he took exception followed. It was: "I am weak but Thou are mighty; hold me with Thy powerful hand."

He knew he was not weak. He was strong, virile, free, and was enjoying his status as a budding chief, both by heredity and popularity.

Tipi Sapa stayed through the sermon. The White Robe,* the Reverend Joseph Cook, said, "You, my friends, are living in great darkness, but I shall show you the true light." The insulting words hit the young chieftain as though an arrow had pierced his heart.

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* Episcopal priests were known as "White Robes"; Catholic priests as "Black Robes."

"What nonsense in this? We are not blind: we see the same light that you do. It is the sun. What other true light can there be?" he thought to himself.

"Nevertheless," Deloria later told his children, "many days passed while I stayed away, yet I could not quite sing that tune nor lose it; snatches of it returned to tease me. Finally, one morning—it must have been a Sunday—I was again riding past the log chapel when I heard the tune through the open windows. It was even more pleasant to hear. I wanted to learn it and make it mine. So I went to church the next three Sundays, but my tune was not sung. On the fourth Sunday, however, it was sung. I stood next to a man who could read and was singing from the book. From him I caught the words of the first stanza and learned them by heart. When I left the chapel that day, I felt I was the possessor of a great treasure. From then on I attended regularly."

On the following Christmas Day, *Tipi Sapa* was baptized as "Philip Joseph." The name "Joseph" was in honor of the priest who baptized him. They remained lifelong friends. Upon offering himself for baptism, *Tipi Sapa* asked the missionary how he might better serve his new Master.

"You must cut off your hair, wear the clothes of the white man and go away to school," was the cleric's answer.

Reluctant to make an immediate decision, he went away like the rich young ruler in the Bible to weigh the matter slowly.

The Right Reverend W. Blair Roberts, who became Bishop of South Dakota during the closing years of Philip Deloria's life, commented, "I do not suppose that anyone except Almighty God knows the struggle that must have been going on in his heart during those weeks that followed."

Tipi Sapa, a youth of rare personal charm and prestige, and with great potential leadership as a young chief, was asked to sacrifice whatever he must for the sake of Jesus Christ.

"Sometime later," related Deloria, "I made my decision—after much serious private deliberation. My wise father did not help or hinder me. 'You are a man now: think carefully, and whatever you decide, stick to it as becomes a man,' he told me."

"Going to the Reverend Mr. Cook, I submitted to having my hair cut short and put on the dress of the white man. It was not

easy to go forth and face my comrades. I feared they would say of me, jeeringly, 'He isn't so brave after all. He chooses the easy way of life; he does not dare go to war.' " Those who knew him well state that this might have been his own thoughts at the time, but if any of his tribe held such ideas, they would have been a fool to mention it to his face. Philip Deloria was a strong man both morally and physically.

But did he choose the easy life as some of his brothers had said?

The Reverend Deloria declared, "During those years a great many temptations came to me. I tried to overcome them through my own power and courage. Many times I failed. Then I put my trust in the Higher Power and found help."

Records of the Dakota Episcopal mission reveal how through baptism *Tipi Sapa* became Philip Joseph. He changed the French spelling of his family name to Deloria, because the silent s's were puzzling to his people—but this was later. After his own conversion, his parents accepted Christianity and in due time were baptized and confirmed. They lived as he lived and died—devout Christians.

As a young man, after his conversion, he went first to Nebraska City to school, almost dying of pneumonia there. Later he attended Shattuck Military school at Faribault, Minnesota, telescoping four years academic work into two. Returning, he became a lay-reader and missionary teacher, at the new St. Paul's School for Indian Boys. In the meantime he was privately tutored for the ministry under the great William Hobart Hare, first bishop of South Dakota. He was then ordained a deacon, and in due time priested.

In 1890 he became superintending presbyter of all the Episcopal church's work at Standing Rock reservation, laboring there for 40 years. He founded mission after mission, going wherever his bishop directed him. He dealt with Sitting Bull shortly before the end of that man's stormy life and converted Chief Gall, as well as many of the Indians who had taken part in Custer's defeat. He steadied many of his people during the fanatical "Messiah" or "Ghost Dance" cult of the 1880's and 1890's.

In recognition of his long service, he was given the coveted *Cross of Sangrael* in 1925 with the following citation:

Because you have heard the voice of God while still the chief of an Indian tribe, and through forty years have built and kept lighted an altar

to God in a primitive land and have never ceased to show, by precept and example, the True Light of the Glory of God.

Brother Deloria's unswerving devotion to Christianity brought him great respect from his countrymen. He knew how to sway men through words. He was a master of the Dakota tongue, and as an orator there was never an equal in his tribe even to the present day. His daughter, Ella, states that there is little pure Dakota spoken anywhere today (except by very old people) as it has been mixed with English and scant attention given to grammatical rules.

Tipi Sapa addressed many great audiences during his life in such large cities as Washington, New York, Boston and Philadelphia. One Boston newspaper gave this report on a sermon: "The Rev. Mr. Deloria as a preacher is most dramatic in gesture, remarkable in vigor and fluency of language, and full of inspiration. His sermon abounded in striking story, allegory and vivid illustration. He may be styled as the Phillips Brooks of the Indian people."

In 1911 Mr. Deloria became a Freemason in *Aberdeen Lodge No. 38* at Aberdeen, South Dakota. His date of initiation is not known, but he was passed on May 16, and raised on June 27, 1911. Subsequently he received his 32° in the Scottish Rite.

Death came to Philip Deloria on May 8, 1931, at Mission, South Dakota. His body lies in the church cemetery there.

Bishop Roberts, who conducted the funeral services of the great "native clergyman," said of him: "He was held in the highest esteem by his people and by the white man. Even in failing health, he carried on until the age of 77. No member of the native clergy ever converted more people to Christianity than did Mr. Deloria. Through the power of a completely unselfish life in which he stood ready at all times to give up everything, if need be, he served his Master, and won others to allegiance to Him."

The chief and priest lived to see his son, the Reverend Vine Deloria, D.D., become an ordained clergyman and carry on the work of the church among his people on the Pine Ridge reservation. Vine, born October 6, 1901, at Wakpala, South Dakota, was initiated October 26, 1934, in *Pioneer Lodge No. 219* of Martin, South Dakota; passed November 30, 1934, and raised January 4, 1935. On December 7, 1943, he affiliated with *Sisseton Lodge No. 131* at Sisseton, South Dakota, and served as grand chaplain of the Grand

Lodge of South Dakota in 1946. He now resides in New York City and heads all Indian work of the Episcopal church at its national headquarters there.

One daughter, Ella Deloria, is an anthropologist and presently acting principal of St. Elizabeth's school (Episcopal) of Wakpala, South Dakota. She is the author of several books including *Dakota Texts, Speaking of Indians,* and joint author of a grammar of the Dakota language prepared for the technical use of scholars. In 1939 she was the only woman member and the only Indian on the Navajo enquiry party of four experts, under the sponsorship of the Phelps-Stokes Fund of New York City. In 1943, Miss Deloria received the medal awarded annually by the Indian Council Fire of Chicago to the American Indian whose achievements are worthy of national recognition. Vine Deloria received the same award in 1954.

Another daughter, Mary Susan, is a commercial artist who works under the professional name of "Mary Sully," her mother's maiden name.

Peter Pitchlyn
Knight Templar and Choctaw Chief

ONE OF THE most famous characters in the history of Oklahoma is Peter Perkins Pitchlyn (sometimes spelled Pitchlynn), a prominent Choctaw chief of mixed blood, who was born at the Indian town of Hushookwa, Noxubee County, Mississippi, on January 30, 1806. His Indian name was *Hatchootuekee,* meaning "snapping turtle."

His lodge and chapter are not known, but he was probably a member of both in Washington, D. C., as he was knighted in *Washington Commandery No. 1,* Washington, D. C., on May 27, 1854. His name is mentioned in the by-laws of said commandery in the editions of 1857, 1859, 1869 and 1893.

In 1854 he addressed the Grand Lodge of Georgia and in the proceedings of that body it is recorded:

> The Most Worshipful Grand Master presented to the Grand Lodge Colonel P. P. Pitchlyn, a Chief of the Choctaw Nation of Indians, who addressed the Grand Lodge in a most interesting and elegant manner, giving good evidence that he felt and understood the true principles of the Order of Masonry; and also gave a very favorable account of the conditions of the Craft in his tribe, which he considered a convincing proof of their progress in civilization.

He was also a Scottish Rite Mason, having received his 32° at the hands of Albert Pike, founder of the Southern Jurisdiction, A.A.S.R., in the spring of 1860. Four of five head chiefs of the Civilized Nations received the 32° at the same time. They were Pitchlyn, Choctaw; Elias C. Boudinot, Cherokee; and Holmes Colebert, Chickasaw. These tribes had always taken a great interest in Freemasonry.

A warm friendship developed between General Pike and Pitchlyn, the bonds of which grew stronger after the Civil War. It was he who delivered the eulogy over the Indian at his death in Washington, D. C. on January 17, 1881 at the age of 75.

It was Pike's intention to elevate Chief Pitchlyn to the Honorary 33° as is born out in a personal letter from Pike to Pitchlyn under the date of December 7, 1865. Pike wrote from Memphis, Tennessee as follows:

I hope you may remain in Washington until the 3rd Monday of February, when the Supreme Council meets there, and I shall propose you for election to the Honorary 33° degree.

His father, John Pitchlyn, a white man, was commissioned as an interpreter by General Washington. His mother, Sophia Folsom, was a Choctaw woman. Peter's first wife, incidentally, had the same last name—Miss Rhoda Folsom. She was also a Choctaw, and their marriage ceremony was performed by a Christian minister. Through Pitchlyn's example and influence polygamy was abandoned by his people.

When a youngster he observed a semi-educated member of his tribe write a letter, and resolved that he too would become educated. Although the nearest school was 200 miles away from his father's cabin in Tennessee, he managed to attend it for a season.

Returning home at the close of the first quarter, he found his people negotiating a treaty with the United States. He considered the terms of this treaty a fraud perpetrated against his tribe and refused to shake hands with General Jackson (a past grand master of Tennessee), who was in charge of the matter for the Washington authorities. Subsequently he entered an academy at Columbia, Tennessee, and eventually graduated from the University of Tennessee. Although he never changed his opinion of the treaty, he became a strong friend of Jackson, who was a trustee of the latter institution. On his return to his Mississippi home, Pitchlyn became a farmer, built a cabin and married.

He was selected by the Choctaw council in 1824 to enforce the restriction of the sale of liquor according to the treaty of Doaks Stand, Mississippi, dated October 18, 1820, and in one year the traffic ceased. As a reward for his services, he was made a captain and elected a member of the National council when the United States government decided to move the Five Civilized Tribes west of the Mississippi.

His first problem as a member of that body was to establish a school. That the students might become familiar with the manners and customs of the white people, he located it near Georgetown, Kentucky, rather than within the limits of the Choctaw country. Here it flourished for many years, supported by funds from the federal government.

Pitchlyn was appointed as one of the delegation sent to Indian

Territory in 1828 to select the lands for their future homes and to make peace with the Osage. His tact and courage made it successful. He later immigrated and built a cabin on the Arkansas river in 1828. At this time he was only 22 years old.

He was an admirer of Henry Clay (past grand master of Kentucky), whom he met for the first time in 1840. He was on an Ohio river steamboat when Clay came on board at Maysville. The Indian went into the cabin and found two farmers earnestly engaged in talking about their crops. After listening to them for more than an hour, he turned to his companion and said: "If that old farmer with the ugly face had only been educated for the law, he would have made one of the greatest men in this country." He soon learned that the "old farmer" was none other than Henry Clay.

Pitchlyn must have traveled considerably for on another occasion, on an Ohio river steamboat in 1842 he met Charles Dickens, who mentioned him in his *American Notes,* calling him a chief. Actually Pitchlyn did not become a chief until 1860. Dickens described him as a handsome man with black hair, aquiline nose, broad cheekbones, sunburnt complexion, and eyes that were bright, keen, dark and piercing. "As stately and completely a gentleman of Nature's making as I have ever beheld," said Dickens.

As a chief he went to Washington to protect the interests of his tribesmen and to prosecute their claims against the government. At the outbreak of the Civil war he returned to the Indian Territory, and, although anxious that his people remain neutral, found it impossible to induce them to maintain this position. Three of his sons espoused the Confederate cause. He, himself, remained a Union man to the end of the war, notwithstanding the fact that the Confederates raided his plantation of 600 acres and confiscated all his cattle (see his comments on the Civil war under chapter dealing with Freemasonry in Oklahoma).

His ability as an orator was proved by his address to the president at the White House in 1865; his speeches before the congressional committees in 1868; and a speech delivered before a delegation of Quakers at Washington in 1869.

In an article published in the *Masonic Review* of 1889, Henry Inman, a close personal friend of Pitchlyn, wrote, in part:

He was a wonderful orator, as a perusal of his speeches will confirm, a

genuine Christian, and a perfect gentleman. He was thoroughly versed in all the lore, superstitions and curious traditions of his tribe and to hear him talk on these strange subjects was a literary and archeological treat.

In 1865 he returned to Washington where he remained as the agent of his people until his death on January 17, 1881. Primarily he devoted his attention to pressing the Choctaw claim for lands sold to the United States in 1830. In addition to the treaty of 1820, he signed the treaty of Dancing Rabbit, Mississippi dated September 27, 1830; the treaty of Washington, June 20, 1855, and also witnessed, as principal chief, the treaty of Washington, April 28, 1866.

After Pitchlyn's first wife died, he married Mrs. Caroline Lombardy of Washington, D. C. All children of his first marriage had died. The second Mrs. Pitchlyn was a daughter of Godfrey Eckloff, and survived her husband with two sons and one daughter. Pitchlyn became a member of the Lutheran Memorial church in Washington and was a regular attendant until his last illness.

Pitchlyn was well read and well versed in the use of the English language, both in speaking and writing. He was held in high esteem by the members of his tribe as well as his white acquaintances. He was given a Masonic burial in the Congressional cemetery in Washington, conducted by his personal friend, Albert Pike. The Choctaw nation erected a monument over his grave. It is unusual, but most profane sources give full credit to his Masonic membership.

Louis Annance—Indian Chief And Freemason

BENEATH a venerable tamarack in the cemetery at Greenville, Maine, is a modest stone which marks the resting place of one of Greenville's most unusual citizens—Louis Annance, Indian chief and Freemason. It bears the following inscription:

> Louis Annance, a member and for some time chief of the St. Francis Tribe of North American Indians. Born at St. Francis, Canada, August 25, 1794. Became a member of North Star Lodge No. 8 of F. and A. Masons at Lancaster, New Hampshire, and removed to Greenville, November, 1853, where he died December 25, 1875.
>
> In memory of his virtuous and honorable life and as a tribute of respect and affection, this stone is raised by his Brethren of Masonic Fraternity, 1876. Aged 81.

It is fitting that Louis Annance should find repose in this hallowed spot by the great Moosehead lake, for the soil belonged to his forefathers before the white man inhabited the region. Although Annance lived near Greenville for more than 40 years, he was born in the Province of Quebec, at St. Francois-du-lac in Pamaska county, the son of Captain Francis Annance, a sachem of the St. Francis tribe of Indians.

The St. Francis tribe, also called Malecites, was a nomadic race of Abnani that ranged southern Canada and northern Maine. They were of the Algonquin cultural stock and derived their name "St. Francis" from the Catholic mission located on the St. Francis river near Pierreville in Quebec. The mission consisted of Abnaki and Pennacook Indians as well as Arosaguntacook and Saticook. Most numerous, however, after 1724, were the Abnaki who had been driven there from New England by the advance of the English settlements.

They retaliated upon the New England settlers at every opportunity and soon became noted as the bitterest enemies of the English

colonies. In 1759 a force under Major Robert Rogers was sent against the village which then consisted of about 700 inhabitants. The village was burned and 200 Indians killed. The remainder scattered, but afterward returned. The fall of their allies, the French, in America put an end to further hostility on the part of the Indians.

Rogers, incidentally, was raised in *St. John's Lodge No. 1*, Portsmouth, New Hampshire on April 9, 1756. He was famous for the raids of his Roger's Rangers before the Revolution. At the outset of the Revolution he negotiated with both the British and Continentals and was imprisoned by Washington as a spy, but later escaped to England, returning to Canada to lead the Queen's Rangers.

Some of the tribe settled around the great Moose Hills lake in Maine, which they called *Sebaygook*. Others came periodically to hunt and fish in the region, and it may be that Louis Annance accompanied his family on such a journey into the Moosehead territory as a child.

We may suppose he helped with camp chores, played with Indian comrades, and learned to hunt and fish. But his carefree days were soon to end, for, long before his birth, forces were set in motion which were to shape his life. Annance was a man of marked natural ability and superior intelligence. He was noted for his kind and generous disposition, his genial and pleasant manner and unimpeachable integrity and strict morality. Let us consider the background for his mental and moral training.

Sometime before 1743, in Lebanon, Connecticut, an itinerant preacher named Eleazar Wheelock conceived the idea of converting and educating young Indian boys and girls recruited from New England, southern Canada and New York state for the purpose of returning them to their respective tribes as teachers and missionaries.

Wheelock believed that since many white missionaries had proved unsatisfactory because of Indian prejudices regarding the English, and knowing that the Indians could be trained at less expense than whites, the project was not only feasible, but highly desirable.

Furthermore, Wheelock was convinced that his plan had divine inspiration and that the Heart of the Redeemer was set upon the project. Other attempts at Indian education had failed because of attendant temptations and factors which disrupted discipline, but the preacher decided to open a school in his own parish where his charges

might at all times be under his watchful eye in an environment of law-abiding whites.

With the backing of influential citizens and the support of the *Scottish Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge,* he was able to advance his plan. Aiding him was Colonel Joshua More of Mansfield, Connecticut, who contributed a house and schoolhouse. From this association came a school which was known as More's (later Moore's) Charity school. In 1754 it enrolled 29 Indian boys, ten Indian girls and seven white boys—all supported by charity. The famous Mohawk chief Joseph Brant (q.v.) attended this school some time between 1759 and 1763.

That year Wheelock "graduated" ten children as missionaries and schoolmasters to the Six Nations (Iroquois tribes). He had his troubles, however. Some Indians became ill and died, victims of the white man's diseases. Others were dullards or at best unwilling pupils with little aptitude and no use for Latin, Greek or Hebrew, much less a desire for the strict Calvinistic religion.

A Congregationalist, Wheelock was often at odds with the Church of England from which he drew much of his financial support. It was his wish to remove to a new environment where he might enlarge his "great design" and have a clear field for his project. This was achieved in 1769 when he obtained a charter and grant of land in Hanover, New Hampshire, where he established Dartmouth college, named for the Earl of Dartmouth. Wheelock became its first president. At the same time he reopened his charity school at the new location where it continued until after his death in 1779. It was to this school that Louis Annance came.

Why Annance attended this school may never be known. One source states that he received a Catholic education from the Jesuits in his St. Francois-du-lac neighborhood, and they subsequently procured his admission to the school in Hanover. Nevertheless, it was his turning point from savage to civilized man; from Catholic to Protestant, and from one with meager learning to a scholar of the standards of that period.

Although the dates are not verified, Annance entered Dartmouth college after his preparatory training at the charity school, leaving college to participate in the War of 1812 on the British side with his tribe. He did not graduate.

Documents in the archives of Dartmouth speak glowingly of Francis Annance, a renowned member of the St. Francis tribe. He was interested in the education of Indian children, and accordingly sent his son to More's school. There is also a letter from Captain Francis Annance (there is no explanation of his title of captain) to his son Louis, at Hanover, which he wrote upon learning that the boy had tried to leave school without permission. He stressed the importance of an education and pleaded with the 11-year-old to continue his studies. Many years have passed since the writing of this letter, but one is moved to sympathize with small Louis, far from his native haunts, homesick, lonely, and forced to apply himself to the fundamentals of Greek and Latin when he would rather have been fishing or hunting.

This was also a period of Annance's transmutation from a Catholic to a Protestant which was to have a great influence on his later life.

Years later, John Wheelock, who succeeded his distinguished father as president of Dartmouth, sent the following recommendation to the Reverend Jedediah Morse concerning Annance: "He manifested a good disposition and moral habit while at school and it is reported that his conduct has been good and regular since. He is about 18 years old and resides with his father. I was informed that he appeared to be an agreeable, obliging and worthy young man." This manuscript may also be found in the college archives.

Similar endorsements could have come from those who knew Annance. He was respected and admired by his tribesmen. He was elevated to chieftainship sometime prior to 1817, when he publicly renounced the Roman Catholic faith and joined the Congregationalists. By tribal laws, he was successor to his father as chief of the St. Francis tribe. His Protestant conversion left him in an embarrassing situation as his family and tribe had long been under the domination of the Jesuits. This subjected him to much persecution and annoyance and he resigned his chieftainship, moving to Hanover, New Hampshire in 1818.

At Hanover he connected himself with the Methodist church and was made a Freemason in *North Star Lodge No. 8* at Lancaster, New Hampshire, in 1834. In 1835 or 1836 he moved to Greenville, Maine, being charmed by the wild and unbroken forest around Moosehead lake, where he had perhaps visited as a child.

His position as a scholar has been established through his interest in the dialects of the numerous tribes east of the Rockies. He devoted much time and research to the study of the Indian language. It was his belief that all tribes sprang from the same source and were descended from a more advanced race than those present when the white man discovered the new world. It was his idea that the arts of this race had become corrupt and demoralized and had lost much of their meaning.

Annance was described as having been a particularly handsome man. His picture, which hangs in the social rooms of *Columbia Lodge No. 200,* A. F. & A. M., at Greenville, Maine, bears out this description. He was tall, straight, with large expressive eyes and delicately chiseled features. He possessed superior intelligence, while retaining the natural instincts of his race. He loved the forests, delighted in the hunt and found pleasure in fishing.

Chief Henry Red Eagle (Henry Perley), Indian author, lecturer and director of boys and girls camps in Maine, has studied the movements of Annance as to when he came to Greenville, and where he lived. He reports that Annance first built a log cabin near the old Capino place (now Dutchy Murray's) on the Cove road. Next he moved into a small house built on the site of Tornquist's storehouse, back of the liquor store, and later lived on the site of the old Ronco House at Main and Village streets.

Another source states that he lived in the woods by himself, and when asked why, would reply by tapping his forehead with his index finger saying, "Too much Indian here."

What brought Annance to Greenville? Why did he choose to live among the whites? It may be answered by an article in *Maine Indians in History and Legend,* which suggests that he left the tribe because they lost much of their identity as a race and were no longer true Indians. It is true that his particular tribe began intermarrying with the French settlers on the St. John river in Quebec early in the 18th century and that by 1884 they numbered only 767, of whom 584 were in New Brunswick and the remainder in Quebec. But to Louis Annance the ways of his white brothers were acceptable and he was, at all times, a respected member of the community. He was a devoted husband and the father of several children. Late in life he was sometimes referred to as "Old Annance" as distinguished from his son, Louis, Jr.

Arthur C. Parker—"Talking Leaves"

DR. ARTHUR CASWELL PARKER, whose Indian name was *Gawaso Waneh,* or "Talking Leaves," died New Year's Day, 1955. He was 73 years old.

Although the author never met Dr. Parker, he had corresponded with him extensively on the subject of Indians and Freemasonry. Parker was an outstanding authority in this field as well as many others. It was through his encouragement that the author determined to complete this volume, after submitting the early chapters to Dr. Parker for criticism.

"Let me say first," Dr. Parker wrote in 1953, "that your *Secret Societies of the American Indian* is the soundest and most sensible I have seen."

His letters contained many helpful suggestions. "Keep up the search," he encouraged, "I am anxious to have all the facts, too. The western and central states need study, but this is rendered difficult because most educated Indians have baptismal names that are either after the English or French, and because they no longer 'look' like the circus Indian. There are probably more than 50,000 of our First Americans living in urban centers as mechanics, structural steel workers, educators, doctors, lawyers and the like. Fourteen hundred are listed by the North American Indian Club as living in Detroit. In Brooklyn, New York, there are so many that they have a community church to which all denominations go, whether Romanists or Protestants. Chicago probably has more than 500. Others are scattered abundantly in towns and cities throughout the land. We just don't know our Indians, thinking of them as they were in 1492 and not in terms of three centuries of acculturation."

As a scientist and scholar in his own right, Dr. Parker contributed original data to several specialized fields. He was an anthropologist, archaeologist, ethnologist, historian, folklorist, dramatist, journalist, public speaker and museum administrator.

His genealogy was unique, for he was one quarter Seneca Indian and three quarters Anglo-Saxon through descent from early New England settlers. His father, Frederick Ely Parker, and his mother,

Geneva Griswold Parker, lived on the Cattaraugus Indian reservation at Iroquois in Erie county, New York when Arthur was born on April 5, 1881. His father, a graduate of Fredonia Normal school, was at the time a station agent on the New York Central railroad. His father's father, Nicholson H. Parker, a leading Seneca chief and civil engineer, had for 20 years been secretary of the Seneca Indian nation. This grandfather was a brother of the more famous Brigadier General Ely S. Parker (q.v.), who had been military secretary to General Ulysses S. Grant. His paternal grandmother, Martha Hoyt, a white woman, was a Congregational missionary to the Senecas. His mother was a Sheldon whose family lived at Springfield, Massachusetts, at the time of the massacre by Algonquin Indians which led Dr. Parker to say, "I suppose it's a bit ironical that two hundred years later a descendant of a survivor of that horrible massacre married into a western New York Indian family."

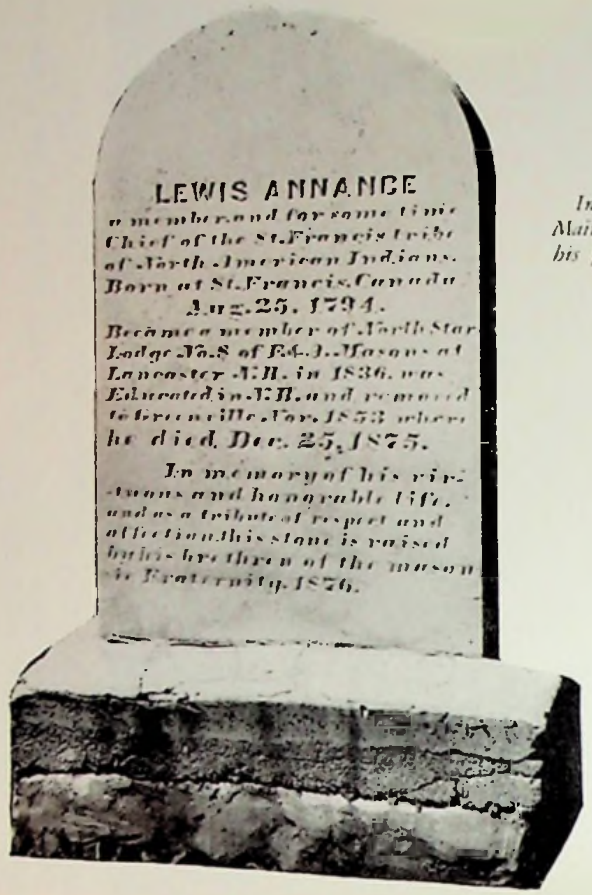
Four "greats" back, one of his ancestors was the Seneca sachem and religious leader, *Skaniadariio* or "Handsome Lake" (1735-1815). A great grandmother on the paternal side was a lineal descendant of *Jigonsaseh,* the "Peace Queen" of the Neuter Indians, who together with *Hiawatha* and *Dekanawida* founded the League of the Iroquois about 1550.

An avid Freemason, he was a member of *John Hodge Lodge No. 815,* Naples, New York, and an honorary member of *Ely Parker Lodge No. 1002,* at Buffalo. He was raised in *Masters Lodge No. 5* at Albany. He was a member of both the York and Scottish rites, being a Knight Templar and a 33° in the A.A.S.R., (N.J.). He received his 33° on September 16, 1924. He was a member of the Royal Order of Scotland. At the time of his death, he had just finished one article for the New York *American Lodge of Research* and was working on another for *The Philalethes* magazine. His stories of Indians and Freemasonry have appeared in hundreds of Masonic periodicals over a long period.

As a boy, Arthur Parker roamed the woods and fields of Erie county. Nurtured in a rural environment, he played with Indian boys and girls and listened to the history, legends and folklore which later had such influence on his future. On the reservation, young Arthur spent time in the home of Nicholson, his grandfather, who was a spiritual force.

LOUIS ANNANCE

Chief of St. Francis Indians. From oil painting now hanging in social rooms of Columbia Lodge No. 200, A.F. & A.M., Greenville, Maine.



ANNANCE TOMBSTONE

In cemetery at Greenville, Maine. All other references spell his first name "Louis."

ARTHUR C. PARKER

"Nicholson Parker," Dr. Parker wrote, "besides being a clerk of the Seneca nation, United States interpreter, census agent, marshal of the nation, orator, agriculturist and civil engineer, was the drum major of the Seneca Indian Silver Cornet band. He was a versatile and useful citizen of the Seneca Republic. Like his brother, Ely, he could never completely accept civilization's teachings or wholly neglect the philosophy of his fathers. Seeing true virtue in each, according to his mood, he argued for each. Many Indians have this same characteristic and often appear vacillating and uncertain in judgment when in reality the quality is merely the involuntary mental struggle between hereditary impressions and proclivities and those acquired."

As early as his ninth year, he was interested in natural history and became an ardent birds' egg collector. He graduated from high school at White Plains, New York, in 1897, and from 1900-1903 was enrolled in Williamsport Dickinson seminary at Williamsport, Pennsylvania, studying for the ministry. He did not complete his studies, however, for in the summer of 1903 he started an archaeological survey on the Cattaraugus reservation with his future brother-in-law, Dr. Mark R. Harrington.

It was at this point in his life that he became associated with another Freemason who was later to become an eminent anthropologist and writer on the subject of "Indians and Freemasonry," Alanson R. Skinner. After an interlude as a reporter for the *New York Sun,* he was employed by the State of New York, first as ethnologist in the state library and then as state archaeologist at Albany.

Aside from his curatorial and exhibit work, the period from 1905 to 1924 was the richest one from the point of creative research and writing. He produced eight major monographic works of from 100 to 150 pages and 132 papers, addresses, articles and essays. It was during the Albany period of Arthur Parker's career that he began his zealous course of action in behalf of the Indians, particularly those in New York state. One of his associates, writing of him recently, said:

His genetic and nurtural background left its indelible impress on the man. To many of his friends and colleagues, he seemed to be essentially Indian in his emotional and psychological reactions. From this course, too, sprang

his intimate and sympathetic comprehension of the beliefs, customs and problems of the contemporary Seneca, which consistently characterized his whole life. His keen concern with the political, social and economic well-being of the American Indian was manifested in many directions.

He was an organizer of the Society of American Indians, and served as secretary from 1911 until 1915, in which year he became president. In 1911 he founded American Indian Day, the second Saturday in May. He was founder and editor (1911-1916), of the *American Indian Magazine*. The end he sought was a fighting chance for the Indian to make good, to demonstrate ability, and to take a place side by side with other elements of the American people.

In reviewing his work as New York State archaeologist, he said: "We have been able to defend the Iroquois from harmful influences and notify them of impending legislation. That a musem of archaeology should do this is most fitting and demonstrates that we are capable of acting as an intermediary not only between the Indians of today and their past history, but between the Indian and the white man of today."

It was quite fitting that he should have served as New York State Indian commissioner, 1919-20, and as president of the New York State Indian Welfare society. At various times he was personal advisor on Indian affairs to presidents Theodore Roosevelt, William H. Taft, Woodrow Wilson and Calvin Coolidge. The secretary of the interior appointed him chairman of a committee of 100 to investigate prevailing conditions among the reservation groups in 1923.

In 1924 he assumed the position of curator at the Municipal Museum in Rochester, New York. It was, perhaps, the greatest challenge in Arthur Parker's life. Some were surprised that a person of Dr. Parker's eminence in archaeology would accept such a limited venture as it appeared to be. He took over his duties with enthusiasm, but was confronted with an untrained staff, a low budget, poor physical location of the building and apathy on the part of the public. He at once decided upon the fields of interest of the museum, determining them to be the anthropology, biology, culture, history and industrial arts of Genesee county. He early recognized the needs of the schools and in 1926 established a school service division with circulating collections. In the same year, he issued a printed bulletin, *Museum Service,* which in 1936 became

a 26-page illustrated stimulus in museum administration and philosophy, nationally recognized.

Dr. Parker drew around him a small but energetic staff whom he trained and developed, inculcating in them the best principles of the "museist"—a word, incidentally, that he coined. When he retired in 1946, he left his own monument in the great Rochester Museum of Arts and Sciences which has achieved international fame as a model community institution.

In view of the vast amount of research writing accomplished by Dr. Parker, his Indian name *Gawaso Waneh* or "Talking Leaves" was very appropriate. Among his best known works are *Erie Indian Village; Maize and Other Plant Foods; Code of Handsome Lake; Constitution of Five Nations; Life of General Ely S. Parker; Archaeological History of New York; Seneca Myths and Folk Tales; The War of 1812; Indian How Book; History of American Archaeology; Gustango Gold; Red Jacket; Last of the Seneca;* and *Manual for History Museums.* In the last eight eventful years of his life, *Gawaso Waneh* wrote at a prodigious rate, composing three books and putting final touches on his master work, a three volume ethno-psycho-history, *The Amazing Iroquois.*

Tecumseh—Was He a Freemason?

DOZENS of references in Masonic literature state that *Tecumseh*, the Indian Napoleon, was a Freemason. Some say that by his own admission he "was made a Mason while on a visit to Philadelphia."

The grand secretary's office of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania reports there is no record of his membership. The author doubts his membership but presents his story because it is so often quoted. *Tecumseh* had an inborn hatred of the white man and it is hard to believe that he would welcome a fraternal tie with them.

Robert G. Scott, past grand master of Virginia, in an address before that grand lodge in 1845 related the following anecdote, which he stated "is well authenticated, and vouched for by several witnesses now living":

During the last war between this country and England (1812), a large detachment of the Northwestern Army, under the command of General Winchester, was attacked at the river Raisin, and after a sanguinary engagement, was overcome by a superior English and Indian force. The ammunition of the Americans being nearly expended, and all expectation of succor vain, they surrendered, on the assurance of their conquerors that the prisoners should be treated with humanity. But they had scarcely laid down their arms, when the Indians commenced stripping them of their clothing, and beat and insulted all who ventured to complain of such treatment.

At length the passions of the Indians becoming excited, many of the Americans were tomahawked and scalped. "It was," says Brother Roberts, "in the midst of such an exciting scene an Indian Chief with a lofty bearing, and the expression of gratification and vengeance marked on his countenance, looked on this work of carnage and blood. Many of his best warriors had fallen by the sure fire of the Kentucky riflemen. He was chafed and maddened by the recent hot contest. In such a frame of mind he discouraged not the bloody tragedy.

But behold now this red man of the forest. What superhuman influence has

wrought such a change? Whither has gone that vengeful, that demon exultation? It is the cry of a Mason and a Brother which has reached him, a cry asking for mercy, and speaking in a language which he comprehends and obeys. He springs from the cannon on which he is resting, and with the swiftness of the deer of his native forest, he bounds among his followers and warriors, his tomahawk uplifted, and with a look and gesture which never disregarded by his savage soldiers, utters the life saving command—"let the slaughter cease—kill no more white men." This was *Tecumseh,* a Mason, who, with two other distinguished chiefs of his tribe, had years before been united to our order while on a visit to Philadelphia.

The Perry Anecdotes record another instance of the attention of *Tecumseh* to what has been called his "Masonic obligations":

An officer, in a skirmish with a party of British and Indians, in the late war, was severely wounded and unable to rise; two Indians rushed towards him to secure his scalp as their prey; one appeared to be a chief warrior, and was clothed in British uniform. The hatchet was uplifted to give the fatal blow—the thought passed his mind that some of the chiefs were Masons, and with this hope he gave a Masonic sign—it stayed the arm of the savage warrior—the hatchet fell harmless to the ground—the Indian sprang forward —caught him in his arms, and the endearing title of Brother fell from his lips. That Indian was Tecumseh.

Chief *Tecumseh* was born in 1768 at the Shawnee village of Piqua on the Mad river, near the present Springfield, Ohio. He was killed at the Battle of the Thames on October 5, 1813. His name meant "one who springs." His father, *Puckeshinwa,* was also a chief, and died at the battle of Point Pleasant in 1774. Two of *Tecumseh's* brothers were later killed in wars.

Together with his brother, *Tenskwatawa,* or the Prophet, he was an ardent opponent of the advance of the white man, and denied the right of the United States government to make land purchases from any single tribe. On the refusal of the government to recognize this principle, he undertook the formation of a great confederacy of all the western and southern tribes to hold the Ohio river valley as the permanent boundary between the two races.

To this end he visited every tribe from Florida to the head of the Missouri river, and it was while on a visit to the southern tribes that the premature battle of Tippecanoe took place in his home village on November 7, 1811. His brother, the Prophet, led the Indians; General William Henry Harrison directed the American forces. Although the white losses were far greater than the Indians, it was claimed as an American victory, mainly for political reasons.

On the outbreak of the War of 1812, *Tecumseh* joined the Brit-

ish, with 2,000 Indians under his command. He was commissioned as a brigadier general. When the British kept retreating, he accused them of cowardice. Finally tiring of retreat, he compelled British General Proctor to make a stand on the Thames river near the present Chatam, Ontario. In the bloody battle which ensued, the Indians and the British were completely defeated by General Harrison, and *Tecumseh* fell at the head of his group. Because of a presentiment of death, he had discarded his British uniform before the battle and dressed himself in his Indian deerskins.

He was noted for his humane character and success in persuading his tribe to discontinue the practice of torturing prisoners. At the battle of Fort Meigs he saved the American prisoners from massacre.

Tecumseh Lodge No. 487 of New York City is named for him.

John Ross—Scotch-Indian Chief

JOHN ROSS, chief of the Cherokee, was born in Rossville, Georgia, on October 3, 1790. His father was an immigrant from Scotland and his Cherokee mother was three-quarters white. His boyhood name was *Tsanusdi* or "Little John." This was exchanged when he reached manhood for that of *Guwisguwi* or *Cooweescoowee,* which referred to a large white bird of uncommon occurrence such as the egret or swan. He went to school in Kingston, Tennessee, where he received a good education.

In 1809 he was sent on a mission to the Cherokee in Arkansas by the Indian agent, and from this time on he remained in the public service of his nation. He was adjutant of the Cherokee regiment in their war with the Creeks in 1813-1814, and was with them at the Battle of the Horseshoe and other engagements.

In 1817-1819, Georgia attempted to induce the Indians to remove west of the Mississippi, and a liberal bribe was offered to Ross by William McIntosh, a half-breed Creek. Ross refused it and McIntosh was publicly disgraced. The action of the Georgia legislature in 1829 led to an appeal on the part of the Indians to the Supreme Court of the United States. Ross acted as their agent. The decision was rendered in their favor, but Georgia refused to obey, and aggressions upon the Indians increased.

A treaty was made with the Cherokees in 1835, when a portion of the tribe agreed to surrender their lands and move west within two years. Nearly 1,200 remained to become citizens of the states in which they resided and were known as the Eastern band. Ross and more than 15,000 of his followers protested in an appeal to the president saying that the treaty had been obtained fraudulently. In answer, the government sent a force under General Winfield Scott to see that the Indians complied. The Cherokees yielded, and, with Ross at their head, removed to their new home, a moderate allowance being made to them for their losses.

George Catlin, the famous Indian artist, painted Ross' picture in 1836 and wrote in his notes:

John Ross, a civilized and highly educated and accomplished gentleman is

head chief of the tribe. This man, like most of the chiefs, as well as a very great proportion of the Cherokee population, has a mixture of white and red blood in his veins.

The Cherokees amount in all to about 22,000, 16,000 of whom are yet living in Georgia, under the government of their chief, John Ross, whose name I have before mentioned. With this excellent man, who has been for many years devotedly opposed to the treaty stipulations for moving from their country, I have been familiarly acquainted; and, notwithstanding the bitter invective and animadversions that have been by his political enemies heaped upon him, I feel authorized, and bound to testify to the unassuming

and gentlemanly urbanity of his manners, as well as to the rigid temperance of his habits, and the purity of his language, in which I never knew him to transgress for a moment, in public or in private interviews.

Ross was, without question, a Freemason, but his initiation dates and lodge have not been pinned down. The proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Arkansas for 1850 (p. 66) give him as a member of *Cherokee Lodge No. 21,* Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation, Indian Territory. In 1850 the minutes of Cherokee lodge list him under the title "names of brethren, not members." In his capacity as chief, he approved the action of the Cherokee National Council when it gave the ground for the first Masonic temple at Tahlequah. It consisted of lots 5 and 6 in square 10, the title to be held by the board of trustees. At

his death on August 1, 1866, in Washington, D. C., he was given Masonic burial.

From 1828 until the removal to Indian Territory in 1839, he was principal chief of the Cherokee nation, and headed the various national delegations that visited Washington to defend the right of the Cherokee to their territory. After the arrival in Indian Territory, he was chosen chief of the united Cherokee nation, and held that office until his death with the exception of a short time during the Civil war when he was deposed by federal authorities due to the dissensions over slavery within the tribe.

Ross at first resisted all movements connected with the Civil war, issuing a proclamation of neutrality on May 17, 1861, but on August 20 of the same year, he called a council at Tahlequah and formed an alliance with the Confederate states. His wife opposed this union until the last moment, and when an attempt was made to raise a Confederate flag over the council-house, her opposition was so spirited that the act was prevented.

Shortly after the movement to Indian Territory, Catlin again wrote of Ross:

> In the movement for the civilization and adoption of an independent government among the Cherokees, John Ross, Elias Boudinot, John Ridge, and other Cherokees were pioneers from 1820 to 1848. The most prominent man of this movement was John Ross, a Cherokee of mixed blood. We must speak of him in general terms as the leader of his people in their exodus from the land of their nativity to a new country, and from the savage state to that of civilization. Through the whole of this interesting and exciting movement he has been an efficient actor, and, of some of the most important events the prime mover. He has no fame as a warrior, nor do we know that he has ever been in the field. His talents are those of the civilian. Plain and unassuming in his appearance, of calm and quiet deportment, he is a man of great sagacity and of untiring energy. Assiduous in the pursuit of his objects, he has spent many of his winters at Washington, where he was well known to all the leading statesmen and to the philanthropists who concern themselves about the affairs of the neglected aborigines, while the remainder of his time had been actively employed among his own people. So far as we can judge of his character by his acts, we believe him to be an able man, who has done good service for his people.

He educated his nephew, William P. Ross (q.v.) who also became a noted Cherokee chief and served as the first secretary of *Cherokee Lodge No. 21* and was one of its early masters.

George Copway—Chippewa Chief And Methodist Missionary

GEORGE COPWAY'S INDIAN NAME was *Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowh,* meaning in his native Chippewa tongue, "he who stands forever." He was born near the mouth of the Trent river in Ontario, in the fall of 1818. His parents had journeyed there from their home on Rice lake for the annual distribution of presents from the government. His father, a tribal medicine man until his conversion to Christianity, was of the powerful Crane clan. His mother, whom he described as "a sensible woman and as good a hunter as any of the Indians," was of the Eagle clan. Of his birthplace he says:

> I remember the tall trees, and the dark woods—the swamp just by, where the little wren sang so melodiously after the going down of the sun in the west—the current of the broad river Trent—the skipping of the fish, and the noise of the rapids a little above. It was here I first saw the light; a little fallen-down shelter, made of evergreens, and a few dead embers, the remains of the last fire that shed its genial warmth around, where all but fir poles stuck in the ground, and they were leaning on account of decay. Is this dear spot, made green by the tears of memory, any less enticing and hallowed than the palaces where princes are born? I would much more glory in this birth-place, with the broad canopy of heaven above me, and the giant arms of the forest trees for my shelter, than to be born in palaces of marble, studded with pillars of gold!

Both Copway and his father became chiefs of the Rice lake band of the Chippewas. In 1841, Copway married Elizabeth Howell, daughter of Captain Howell of Toronto, Ontario. The Howells were English and had migrated to Canada. Copway was often irked by the questions asked him by white friends, concerning his wife and marriage: "How did you obtain your wife?"; "Where were you married?"; "Did her father consent?" and "How many of your people have married our white women?"

Elizabeth Copway shared with her husband the hardships of a native Methodist missionary among the Indians. On one journey of over 2,000 miles by canoe, horseback and foot, they almost starved to death and were rescued by a roaming band of Indians. One of

their party died. Later on the same trip they were almost killed by the Sioux—mortal enemies of the Chippewa. On this trip, as well as others, they were accompanied by his wife's maiden sister, Caroline Howell. Of his wife, Copway stated:

My wife has been a helpmate indeed; she has shared my woes, my trials, my privations; and has faithfully labored to instruct and assist the poor Indians, whenever an opportunity occurred. I often feel astonished when I reflect upon what she has endured, considering that she does not possess much physical strength. I can truly say that she has willingly partaken of the same cup that I have, although that cup has often contained *gall.*

Copway was converted to Christianity when 12 years old. The Methodist missionaries were active among the Chippewas and his own conversion followed that of his father and mother by three years. His father loved the white man's whisky which Copway referred to as *devil's spittle.* His story of his father's conversion would delight the heart of Carrie Nation herself:

The missionaries first visited us, on the island called *Be-quah-qua-yong,* in 1827, under the following circumstances. My father and I went to port Hope, to see our principal trader, John D. Smith, in order to obtain goods and whisky, about 12 miles from Rice lake. After my father had obtained the goods, he asked for whisky. Mr. Smith said, "John, do you know that whisky will yet kill you, if you do not stop drinking? Why, all the Indians at Credit River and Grape Island, have abandoned drinking, and are now Methodists. I cannot give you any whisky."

"*Tah yah,* it cannot be. I must have whisky to carry home. My people expect it," said my father. He wished to buy a barrel, but only obtained, after much pleading, about five gallons.

The whisky was taken home where the Indians were awaiting their arrival. While they were seated on the grassy lake shore drinking and smoking, one of their number shouted that the missionaries were approaching by canoe. Copway's father ordered that the whisky keg be covered by a blanket. The missionaries were converted Indians who had been sent to invite the Rice lake band to Cobourg for a camp meeting. They exhorted, prayed and sang to the half-drunk Indians, many of whom were so overcome with religious fervency that they sat with tears streaming down their faces.

My father arose, and took the keg of whiskey, stepped into one of the small canoes, and paddled some thirty feet from the shore; here he poured out the whisky into the lake, and threw the keg away. He then returned and addressed us in the following manner: "You have all heard what our

Brother said to us; I am going with them this evening; if any of you will go, do so this evening; the children can attend the great meeting some other time."

Everyone ran at once to the canoes and in a few minutes were on the water. They traveled all night and arrived at the campsite just before daylight on the Sabbath morning. Copway himself arrived on the scene during the third day of the camp meeting and found many of the Indians lying on the ground shouting *Jesus nin ge shah wa ne mig* (Jesus has blessed me). His father was among them.

After his own conversion in 1830, young George went to school

for two years and on July 16, 1834, set forth with three other Indians of the Rice lake band in answer to a call for native Indian preachers and teachers to serve among the Ojibways to the west. Later he was sent to school at Ebenezer seminary about two miles north of Jacksonville, Illinois, where as he stated "At this institution I passed some of the happiest seasons of my life. Many who were with me at this school are now ministers of the Gospel, both among the whites and the Indians." He returned to his own people as a Wesleyan missionary.

It was Copway who called attention to Red Jacket's neglected and despoiled grave and brought about a renewed interest in that famous Indian orator (q.v.).

Copway looked with disfavor on the Mide society of the Chippewas, although he did approve of many of their moral teachings. At one time while at Aunce Bay he had converted an old medicine man, *Kah-ge-wah-be-ko-kay* (Spearmaker) who ranked high in the Mide society. When the time for the spring ceremonial came, his

brethren of the Grand Medicine Lodge called to include him in their ceremonies. He refused to go. As soon as they found that they could not prevail on the old man, they sent word to all that they could excel Copway and the missionaries in worshiping the Great Spirit and that they intended to hold their regular spring Grand Medicine Lodge. Copway tells of the competition:

Every night we held meetings. They commenced with their singing and beating of the drums on the other side of the bay, and continued it for a whole week. We kept up our usual meetings; and at the end of the week, their drumming, singing and dancing ceased. We continued our meetings for two months. The Chief of this place was yet unconverted.

In his writings, Copway has referred to Freemasonry several times. In his autobiography, published at Albany, New York, in 1847, he made a comparison with the Mide society and Freemasonry:

Our religion consisted in observing certain ceremonies every spring. Most of the Ojibways around us, used to come and worship the Great Spirit with us at Rice Lake. At this festival a great many of the youth were initiated into the medicinal mysteries of the nation. We were taught the virtues of herbs, and the various kinds of minerals used in our medicine. I will here describe the *Me-tac-we-gah-mig*, or Grand Medicine Lodge. It was a wigwam 150 feet long and 15 feet wide. The clan of medicine men and women, alone, were allowed to be inside, at each sitting, with their medicine badge, on each side of the wigwam. Then there were four old men who took the lead in singing, and beating the drum, as they stood near the center. Before them were a company who were to take the degrees. There were four grades in the institution; and as I have often thought, somwhat similar to the Masonic institution.

After the singing commenced, the whole company arose and danced, as they moved from one end of the wigwam to the other. As they go round, one-half of them cast their heads down upon their bosoms, as if affected by the medicine, which was kept in small skins, and which they pretended to thrust at each other; this was done to deceive the ignorant. These forms were continued several days. The party to be made medicine men and women, looked on in the meantime, to see what thy would have to do themselves. Then they are taken to another place with our medicine men, and are taught the science of medicine. After receiving instructions, another day was allotted to give them instruction on morality. They were advised on various subjects. All were to keep silence, and endeavor to retain what they were taught. I will here give some of the sayings of our medicine men:

If you are a good hunter, warrior, and a medicine man when you die, you will have no difficulty in getting to the far west in the spirit land.

Listen to the words of your parents, never be impatient, then the Great Spirit will give you a long life.

Never pass by any indigent person without giving him something to eat. *Owh wah-yah-bak-mek ke-gah-shah-wa-ne-mig*—the spirit that sees you will bless you.

If you see an orphan in want, help him; for you will be rewarded by his friends here, or thanked by his parents in the land of spirits.

If you own a good hunting dog, give it to the first poor man who really needs it.

When you kill a deer, or bear, never appropriate it to yourself alone, if others are in want; never withhold from them what the Great Spirit has blessed you with.

When you eat, share with the poor children who may be near you, for when you are old, they will administer to your wants.

Never use improper medicine to the injury of another, lest you yourself may receive the same treatment.

When an opportunity offers, call the aged together, and provide for them venison properly cooked, and give them a hearty welcome; then the gods that have favored them will be your friends.

Copway received his degrees in *Federal Lodge No. 1*, Washington, D. C., sometime prior to 1848, as his name is listed as a member on page 18 of the by-laws of that year. He appealed to Masonic lodges on several occasions to help support educational institutions for Indian children. For many years he was connected with the press of New York City and lectured extensively in Europe and the United States, but he is chiefly noted as one of the few Indian authors.

Among his published writings are: *The Life, History and Travels of Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowh* (George Copway); *The Life, Letters and Speeches of Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowh; The Traditional History and Characteristic Sketches of the Ojibway Nation; Recollection of a Forest Life; Indian Life and Indian History; The Ojibway Conquest, a Tale of the Northwest; Organization of a New Indian Territory East of the Missouri River; Running Sketches of Men and Places in England, France, Germany, Belgium and Scotland.*

He also wrote a hymn in the Chippewa language and cooperated with the Reverend Sherman Hall in the translation of the *Gospel of St. Luke* and the *Acts of the Apostles.*

Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowh was a man of pronounced likes and dislikes, and wrote on them at length. He loved his family, his tribe, nature, the Christian religion, fellow Methodists and missionaries. He abhorred whisky, tobacco, the Sioux and cash payments to the Indians by the government.

Other Indian Freemasons

WILLIAM P. ROSS

WILLIAM PORTER ROSS, Cherokee chief, was an active Freemason throughout his life. He was elected in *Federal Lodge No. 1*, Washington, D. C., on April 4, 1848, and received his Entered Apprentice degree on that date. He was passed April 18, 1848, and raised April 25, 1848. He was also a member of *Columbia Chapter No. 15*, Washington, D. C., but was listed as withdrawn from the chapter in the 1850 proceedings of the Grand Chapter of Maryland and District of Columbia.

Ross and Federal lodge played an important part in uniting the Cherokee nation which was split over the removal from Georgia to the newly created Indian Territory. The history of Federal lodge states that "He (Ross) and other headmen of the Cherokee nation were at the capital to arrange a treaty made necessary by the late enforced removal of the tribe from Georgia to the Indian Territory. These headmen were arrayed in two hostile factions, and the negotiations were at a standstill. But at one of the meetings of Federal lodge, the rival leaders, all Freemasons, were brought together by the exertions of Worshipful Master S. Yorke Atlee and other members, and the treaty was then successfully concluded."

Ross was born August 28, 1820, a nephew of Chief John Ross, who bore the expense of the boy's liberal education. He graduated from Princeton university in 1842. In the Cherokee country he taught school, was clerk of the senate, and in 1844 became editor of the *Cherokee Advocate*. He frequently was sent to Washington on official errands. He participated in the grand council of Indian tribes at Okmulgee in 1871, becoming chief of the Cherokees in 1874. He was editor of the *Indian Journal* at Muskogee, *Indian Chieftan* at Vinita, and *Indian Arrow* at Fort Gibson.

Ross was a charter member of the first lodge in Indian Territory —*Cherokee Lodge No. 21* at Tahlequah—and served as its first secretary in 1849. He served as master of the lodge in 1851. For details on this historic lodge see "First Lodge" under the chapter "Five Civilized Tribes and Freemasonry."

Ross died July 28, 1891, while a member of the Cherokee senate.

ALEXANDER McGILLIVRAY

IT IS NOT KNOWN where General Alexander McGillivray, the Creek-Seminole chief, received his degrees, but upon his death on February 17, 1793, he was buried with Masonic honors in Panton's Garden at Pensacola, Florida.

McGillivray was born in 1740. His father was a native of Dunmaglas, Scotland, and his mother was a half-breed Creek of the influential Wind family, whose father had been a French officer of Spanish descent. Thus McGillivray had the blood of four nations in his veins and his character reflected the traits of all. He possessed the polished urbanity of the Frenchman, the duplicity of the Spaniard, the cool sagacity of the Scotchman, and the subtlety of the Indian.

He received a classical education from his father's brother, a Presbyterian clergyman of Charleston, but on reaching manhood returned to his mother's people, where he was given an exalted position in the tribe due to his education and family influence. He assumed a semi-barbaric pomp, being constantly attended by a retinue, from whom he exacted all the deference due to royalty. He had several wives. On the deposition of *Oconostota,* the head chief, McGillivray became the autocrat of the Creeks, and their allies, the Seminoles and Chickamaugas. Thus he could bring 10,000 warriors into the field.

He sided with the British in the Revolutionary war, and in retaliation, Georgia confiscated all of his lands which lay within its limits. This excited his bitter enmity, and he led a long war against the western settlers. After the Revolution, he sided with the Spanish of Florida and aided them with many raids along the Cumberland river. The United States made repeated overtures for peace, but he would listen to none until he was invited to New York in 1790 to hold a personal conference with George Washington. Seeing an opportunity for display, he went, attended by 28 of his principal chiefs. Before departing for New York, he wrote a letter to the Spanish governor at New Orleans stating that even though he should conclude a peace treaty with the United States, he would remain faithful to his old friends, the Spaniards.

He was received with great ceremony by the federal officials who restored to the Creeks a large territory, paid McGillivray $100,000

for his confiscated property and gave him a commission as major general in the U. S. Army. On his return home, he at once began new raids, continuing them until his death.

He was a skillful speculator, a shrewd merchant, an astute politician, and an able writer of state papers. He was a British colonel, as well as a Spanish and American general, skillfully playing each nationality against the other, always to secure his own interest and that of his nation. He is chiefly remembered for his savage delight in blood, his treacherous diplomacy, and the duplicity by which he hid the most fiendish designs under the guise of fraternal kindness. He had a powerful intellect divorced from moral principle. General James Robertson who opposed him militarily on many occasions, and knew him well, said of him: "The Spaniards are devils, and the biggest devil among them is the half Spaniard, half Frenchman, half Scotchman, and altogether Creek scoundrel, McGillivray."

AMOS ONEROAD

On November 10, 1923, *Kenwood Lodge No. 303,* Milwaukee, Wisconsin, conferred the Master Mason degree on Amos Oneroad, a full-blooded Sioux, whose native name was *Jingling Cloud.* It was conferred at the request of *Hiawatha Lodge No. 434,* Mount Vernon, New York. Brother Oneroad came from a distinguished Indian family. His grandfather, Blue Medicine, was the first of his tribe to welcome the white man to his country, and his chief's medal, together with an American flag with thirteen stars and a certificate of good character, are still treasured by his descendants. Amos's father, Peter Oneroad, was a warrior of great distinction, having earned practically every honor that was possible in the Sioux and Dakota nations. It is related that once, at the head of a small group, he completely overwhelmed a large war party of Poncas and personally killed both their chiefs. In other accounts it is stated that he dared the fire of the enemy to rescue a wounded comrade. Again he rescued an Indian girl from freezing, carrying her 90 miles on his back over the snow swept plain.

Brother Oneroad had the advantage of a good education, graduating from Haskell Institute at Lawrence, Kansas, and from the Bible Teachers' Training school in New York. He became an ordained minister of the Presbyterian church. He was a good and

steadfast friend to Freemasonry. In fact, that is the literal meaning of his name, for *One Road* signifies *steadfast* among the Sioux.

JOSEPH J. CLARK

Rear Admiral Joseph James Clark received his Master Mason degree on December 6, 1945, in *Chelsea Lodge No. 84,* Chelsea, Oklahoma. Many of the old time Cherokee leaders were present for the raising, and the candidate was treated as plain "Joe Clark," Indian boy in his fifties, who had returned home to be a Master Mason in his home lodge. Admiral Clark was wounded in World War I and walks with a limp. He was born on November 12, 1893, at Pryor, Oklahoma, the son of William Andrew and Lillie Belle (Berry) Clark. He studied at Oklahoma A. and M. college for three and a half years and graduated from the United States Naval academy in 1917. He served through the first World War as an ensign, advancing through the grades to vice admiral, commanding the 7th Fleet in World War II. He is now retired and is vice president of Radio Receptor Co., Inc., Brooklyn, New York. He has been awarded the Distinguished Service medal, Navy Cross, Silver Star and Commendation ribbon.

GEORGE WASHINGTON FINLEY

George Washington Finley, *Te-Wah-Guah-Ke-Mon-Gah,* chief of the Piankeshas, was raised in *Miami Lodge No. 140,* Miami, Oklahoma, on September 24, 1913. He received his 32° Scottish Rite at McAlester, Oklahoma, on January 25, 1917, and was a member of Akdar Shrine Temple, Tulsa, Oklahoma. He was born October 7, 1858 near Paola, Kansas and died November 16, 1932. Finley served his lodge as Tyler for 15 years.

N. T. STRONG

N. T. Strong, chief of the Seneca Indians, was raised in *Manhattan Lodge No. 62,* New York City, New York, on April 15, 1840.

CHIEF CRAZY BULL

Chief Crazy Bull, a great grandson of Sitting Bull, was a member of *Suffolk Lodge No. 60,* F. & A. M., Port Jefferson, New York.

LOUIS BENNETT

Louis Bennett, the athlete known as "Deerfoot" who became the

first Indian champion long distance runner, became a Freemason during the Civil war period.

NICODEMUS BAILEY

NICODEMUS BAILEY, chief of the Tonawanda-Seneca Indians, has served as head of his chapter, council and commandery. Chief Bailey was raised in *Akron Lodge No. 527,* Akron, New York. Another famous Indian Freemason, General Ely S. Parker (q.v.), was the first master of this lodge, chartered in 1863 by the Grand Lodge of New York. Brother Bailey has served as high priest of *Western Star Chapter No. 35,* Royal Arch Masons, at Batavia, New York; illustrious master of *Nundawage Council No. 92,* Royal and Select Masters at Warsaw, New York; and on January 28, 1954, was installed as commander of *Batavia Commandery No. 34* Knights Templar, State of New York. He is also a member of the Buffalo Scottish Rite bodies and Zuleika Grotto.

LEWIS DEER

LEWIS DEER, the famous Mohawk Indian baritone known as *Os-ke-non-ton,* became a Master Mason in *Putnam Lodge No. 338* of New York City in 1917, and received the 32° Scottish Rite in the Buffalo, New York, Consistory in 1923.

JOHN KONKAPOT

KONKAPOT, AN ONEIDA, who was a member of the "Munsey" division during the Revolution was initiated in a lodge at Newburyport, Massachusetts, and it is claimed he impoverished himself to help the American cause. He later received Masonic aid as shown by the minutes of *King Solomon's Lodge* of Charlestown, Massachusetts, dated October 11, 1803:

> Brother John Konkapot, son of the Chief of the Six Nations, visited the lodge, and on his petition, was presented with five dollars to assist him in returning to his tribe.

JOHN WAUTUHQUANT

THE MINUTES of *Independent Royal Arch Lodge No. 2,* New York City, New York, as of June 29, 1802, state:

> In consequence of an application being made by Bro. Holmes (Rev.) in favor of an Indian linguist and chief of the Mohegan tribe, named John Wautuhquant, who wished to be initiated into the mysteries of this fra-

ternity, and to receive the three degrees in one night, a dispensation for this purpose having been applied for and granted by the M.W. Grand Master, this person was pursuant thereto brought forward and had those three degrees conferred upon him.

Early minutes of other lodges have referred to Indian brethren, oftentimes in a vague way. The minutes of *Apollo Lodge No. 13,* Troy, New York, state for February 15, 1842:

Brother Powles, an Indian chief was examined and admitted as a visitor.

On October 7, 1851 the minutes of *Mahoning Lodge No. 243,* New Castle, Pennsylvania read:

Three Indians from the Black Hills country visited the Lodge. They were on their way East to visit the Great Father at Washington concerning the affairs relating to their tribes.

CHARLES MA-SHUN-KA-SHEY

CHARLES MA-SHUN-KA-SHEY, an Osage, is one of the few, if not the only, full blooded Indian to become a member of the Knights York Cross of Honor (an honor reserved for those who have served as head of all four York Rite bodies). He is past master of *Omega Council No. 29,* R. & S.M.; past high priest of *Horeb Chapter No. 63,* R.A.M.; past commander of *Palestine Commandery No. 35,* K.T. and in 1952 was master of *Wah-Shah-She Lodge No. 110,* all of Pawhuska, Oklahoma.

ELIAS C. BOUDINOT

COLONEL ELIAS CORNELIUS BOUDINOT, lawyer, editor, farmer and politician, was one of the most noted characters of Indian Territory. He was born August 1, 1835 in the Cherokee nation, near the site of Rome, Georgia, son of Elias (1803-1839) and Harriet Ruggles Gould.

His father's Indian name was *Galagina* (pronounced *Kill-ke-nah),* but when sent to a missionary school at Cornwall, Connecticut in 1818, he took the name of the benefactor of the school—Elias Boudinot. The elder Boudinot was bitterly opposed to Chief John Ross, who fought against the removal of the Cherokee from their home lands. In 1835 Boudinot joined his cousin, John Ridge, in signing an unauthorized treaty for removal, and on June 22,

1839, after arrival in the Indian Territory, Boudinot was murdered in revenge for his part in the transaction.

Young Boudinot's mother died in 1836 and following the assassination of his father, all the children were sent to Cornwall, Connecticut and distributed among their mother's relatives, Elias C. going to Manchester, Vermont. He first tried engineering and spent one year with a railroad in Ohio, but gave that up and settled in Fayetteville, Arkansas, where he studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1856.

While practising law he did part-time editorial work on the *Arkansian,* and in 1860 when he became chairman of the Democratic state central committee, he moved to Little Rock and became chief editorial writer for the *True Democrat.* In 1861 he was elected secretary of the secession convention of Arkansas and after the state seceded he went to the Indian Territory, where he helped General Standwaite raise an Indian regiment, in which he rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel. In 1863 he was elected delegate for the Indian Territory to the Confederate congress and served until the end of the war.

After the war he took part in restoring peaceful relations between the Cherokee and the United States. Soon after this he started a tobacco factory in the Territory, but in 1868 it was seized by the government under an act of that year. Boudinot then spent many years in Washington, trying to recover his property and working for the good of the Indians. The court of claims finally allowed a part of his claim. He was an ardent advocate of education for the Indians, of breaking up the tribal relations, and of allotting the lands in severalty. For this he incurred the enmity of his tribe, but lived to see his policy put into partial effect, and to regain the good will of his people. He was a man of striking appearance, a very forceful speaker, a good writer, and an amateur musician. In Washington he became acquainted with many distinguished men.

It is said that in 1886 General Albert Pike conferred the 32° on Boudinot as well as several other important Indian chiefs. There is no confirmation of Boudinot receiving this degree, in the records of the Southern Supreme Council, but it is entirely probable the statement is correct. Pike was traveling in those years, conferring the degrees, and sending the reports back to Washington. How-

ever, at the end of 1886 Pike discovered to his horror that Ireland, the grand secretary general, ill, had been completely neglecting the job, and the returns and records were in chaos.

Boudinot died September 27, 1890 at Fort Smith, Arkansas and was buried with Masonic honors under the direction of *Belle Point Lodge No. 20* the following Sunday. Approximately a thousand persons participated in the procession and ceremonies. The *Fort Smith Times* gave the following melancholy account of the funeral:

> Before the open grave knelt the devoted wife, sobbing with grief. Beside her stood the brother and nephew of the deceased, whose hearts melted at the scene. The brotherhood of Free and Accepted Masons formed in a circle about the grave. J. H. VanHoose, Fayetteville, past grand master of the state, conducted the ceremonies. A more solemn and impressive scene can hardly be imagined. The open grave, the kneeling widow, the uplifted hand of the speaker as he uttered in deepest earnestness those sad, sad words which ring in the ears like the tolling tones of eternity, constituted a picture worthy of the hero it honored. Reverend Mr. Lotz uttered a brief prayer and all was over. The evergreen and the roses had been covered by the cold clod. The mourning friends turned tearfully away and the freshly covered mound was left to await the flowers of spring, the snows of winter.

CHRIS TYNDALL, JR.

MANY THOUSAND INDIANS and part Indians have been and are now Freemasons. They have become so intermixed with our body politic that many are no longer identifiable as "Indian." There are probaby more than 50,000 of our first Americans living in urban centers as mechanics, steel workers, educators, doctors, lawyers, and the like. Fourteen hundred are listed by the North American Indian Club as living in Detroit. In Brooklyn, New York, there are so many that they have a community church which all denominations attend. Chicago probably has more than 500. Others are scattered abundantly in towns and cities throughout the land. Brother Chris Tyndall, Jr. is a good example of the modern Indian. He was the last master of *Tuscurora Lodge No. 21* of Tuscurora, Nevada, serving in 1947-1948 just before it consolidated with *Elko Lodge No. 15*. He is also the only Indian past master in the state of Nevada.

Tyndall is a great grandson of Chief Fontenelle, the last chief of the Omahas, and while Tyndall is listed as a full blood, it is well known that his great grandfather, Fontenelle, was part French. This would give Brother Tyndall between 3/4 and 4/4 Indian blood.

This year he finished thirty years with the Indian Service. Presently being with the Nevada Indian Agency at Stewart, Nevada. He is a member of the Scottish Rite and of Kerak Shrine Temple in Reno, Nevada.

Brother Tyndall has written the author relative to secret societies among the Omahas:

In my early years as a boy, I was told of these secret lodges, to which I belong to one. I have some material that has been passed on to me by one of my aunts. I have been away from my people for a long time, due to the fact that my work has made it impossible to live with them.

So much of what I have learned in Freemasonry goes back to the secret lodges of the Omahas. I am sure that lodges existed in other tribes besides the Omahas, as I sometime meet with Indians of other tribes and they greet me with words and signs that are used by the Omahas.

I shall try to find some material relative to Masonry among the Indians here if I can. I have been among these people for a long time and I should take the time to get around and visit with the older people and find out what they have stored in the back of their minds.

PART IV

MELODY AND HIS INDIANS

Melody and His Indians

George Henry Curzon Melody (1793-1860) was one of Missouri's most outstanding Freemasons in the early days of that state. He served as deputy grand master of the Grand Lodge of Missouri, grand high priest of the Grand Chapter of Missouri as well as grand lecturer for both organizations for many years. He was present at the founding of both the grand lodge and grand chapter, and it was mainly due to his efforts that Freemasonry in Missouri survived the anti-Masonic period prior to the Civil war.

Melody was a man of modest means whose income was derived chiefly by giving lectures and instruction to lodges and chapters in Missouri. He lacked business experience and most of his ventures led him into debt. In 1826 he became stranded in New York City, and appealed to the Grand Lodge of New York for assistance in the amount of $100, agreeing to transfer "to the trustees of your charity fund the deed and full title to 544 acres of land in Pike county, State of Illinois, as security until he shall repay you." Several times he petitioned the Grand Lodge of Missouri for advances to cover his business losses. Funds were usually granted him.

He was poor only in the monetary sense. He had friends on both shores of the Atlantic and he was greatly loved by his Masonic brethren of Missouri. It was Melody who presided over the Grand Lodge of Missouri when General Lafayette was received in 1825. He was a confidant of Governor Dewitt Clinton of New York. He was a friend of Disraeli, Victor Hugo and King Louis Philippe of France. He was an associate of such famous Missourians as Frederick and Edward Bates, Judge Nathaniel B. Tucker, Dr. Hardage Lane and Governor Hamilton R. Gamble.

Although Melody endeared his name to Missouri Masonry, he will perhaps be remembered far longer for two unprofitable years he spent in chaperoning a party of fourteen Ioway Indians on a trip to England and France in the years 1844-45.

It is improbable that any of the Indians taken on this trip were Freemasons (although Catlin mentions one as giving Masonic grips to a friend); but due recognition is given in this volume to Melody's

close association with both Indians and Missouri Freemasonry, plus the fact that the story is interesting, amusing and tragic. Since this work is being written for the *Missouri Lodge of Research,* it is fitting to include this portion of American history.

To London

It is not known specifically why Melody attempted this unusual expedition at a period when intercontinental travel was most difficult. The actual facts are lost in the haze of history. It might be reconstructed logically by this reasoning: Melody's home was at Rocheport, Missouri, which was on the east bank of the Missouri river in the northwest part of the state. The Ioway tribe of Indians had settled across the river in the territory now known as Kansas. Melody's finances were meager and he was constantly looking for some means to improve them. The idea of taking a representative group of these Indians to Europe and exhibiting them for admission fees would seem to be a profitable one, as there was much curiosity about the American Indian in Europe at this time. The fact that both Melody and the Indians expected a financial return is attested to by a statement from one of the Indians that will be mentioned later.

The plan seemed logical on the surface, but there were several laws in it. First, Melody was not a P. T. Barnum, and in fact had very little business judgment. Second, the Indians became homesick and insisted that the trip be cut short. Third, three of them became ill and died on the trip.

In 1844 permission was given Melody to take the band of Ioways to Europe by Secretary of War J. M. Porter. It was approved by Vespasian Ellis, commissioner of Indian affairs. They left in May, 1844, and traveled to Washington, D. C., by route of the Ohio river, and from there to New York, arriving in London on July 15.

At this time the Ioways were one of the smaller tribes of Indians, located north of Fort Leavenworth, Kansas Territory. Their tribal home is in that area even today. They formerly lived a nomadic existence, but had settled down to crop cultivation and were considered one of the more docile, yet primitive, tribes.

In number, they were variously estimated to include from 1,400 to 2,000. We are indebted to George Catlin, the famous Indian authority, for the names of those making the trip.

Members of Party

Mew-hu-she-kaw (White Cloud), first chief of the nation, was also known as Ma-has-ka. He was the hereditary chief and son of another famous chief of the same name. He was in his early thirties, 5 foot 10 inches in height, with Roman features and a benign expression. He was embarrassed by a defect in one of his eyes. He was loved by his people and it was he who selected the members of the party to make the trip.

Neu-mon-ya (Walking Rain), third chief, or war-chief, was the tallest of the party, being 6½ feet in height. He was 54 years old, more distinguished as a warrior than White Cloud, and one of the most celebrated men of the nation.

Se-non-ty-yah (Blister Feet), the great medicine man was 5 feet 11 inches in height and about 60 years old. He had quite a sense of humor and was always referred to as "the Doctor" by Melody and Catlin. Tribal medicine men were so important that their influence often transcended that of the chief. In all councils they had a seat by the chief. They accompanied war and hunting parties as physician, soothsayer, astrologer, conjurer and caterer for everything that needed to be procured through the supernatural aids of incantation and hocus-pocus.

Wash-ka-mon-ya (Fast Dancer), a warrior, was also called "Jim." He was a great pal of "the Doctor" at whom he constantly poked fun. More eager to learn than the others, he kept voluminous notes in pictographs, measurements by knotted strings and counts on notched sticks. He was anxious to learn English and did quite well considering that the only words he knew on his arrival in England were "How do do" and "God damn."

No-ho-mun-ya (One Who Gives No Attention), was known as Roman Nose. He was a warrior who had received a medal from President Tyler for saving the lives of a party of ten Omaha Indians from being ambushed by his own tribe. The medal, incidentally, was sent to Melody for presentation. Roman Nose died at Liverpool, England, of tuberculosis.

Shon-ta-yi-ga (Little Wolf), a brave who had participated with Roman Nose in saving the band of Omahas, was also the recipient of a presidential medal. Other males of the party were *Wa-tan-ye*

(One Always Foremost), a brave, and *Wa-ta-we-bu-ka-na* (Commanding General), the 10-year-old son of Walking Rain.

Of the four squaws of the party, three were married and the fourth was a girl of 15. *Ruton-ye-we-ma* (Strutting Pigeon), was White Cloud's wife and *Ta-pa-ta-me* (Wisdom), his 15-year-old daughter. *Oke-we-me* (Female Bear That Walks on the Back of Another), was the wife of Little Wolf. To them was born a papoose while crossing the Atlantic, and it was named *Corsair,* after the ship. The papoose died at Dundee, Scotland, and its mother, *Oke-we-me,* died in Paris, France. The two remaining squaws were *Ruton-we-me* (Pigeon on the Wing), and *Koon-za-ya-me* (Female War Eagle Sailing).

The two non-Indians of the party are best described by Catlin:

> Mr. Melody, though a stranger to me, bearing the high recommendations contained in the letter of the Secretary of War, at once had my confidence (which I am pleased to say his conduct has kept up) as an excellent and honest man. Their interpreter, Jeffrey Doroway, a mulatto, and who had been one of the first to recognize and hail me, had been an old friend whom I met while traveling in that country (Missouri river country), and that acquaintance had several times been renewed in St. Louis and New York. He had been raised from childhood in the tribe, and the chiefs and all the party were very much attached to him, and his interest seemed to be wholly identified with that tribe. He was of a most forbearing and patient disposition, and temperate habits, and as he was loved by the chiefs, had great influence with them and control over his party.

Catlin, Indian Artist

The story of the trip has been well documented by George Catlin as part of his "Indian Gallery" published by the Smithsonian Institution in 1885. Melody joined up with Catlin in London where he was exhibiting his paintings of American Indians. They agreed that live Indians, with their dances and songs, would increase the gate receipts which would be split between them. Catlin knew several of the Indians and had painted portraits of their leading men. When he first entered the room, he was immediately recognized by them and greeted with:

"How! How! How! Chip-pe-ho-la," the latter being the name given Catlin by the Indians while on his journey through the West. It meant "Medicine Paint."

Rooms had been engaged for the party before their arrival, but

the landlady had no idea as to how her transient guests would look. Her consternation can be imagined when she beheld the fourteen Indians—war paint, feathers, and all. Her mind reverted to the clean sheets she had placed on her beds. She acquiesced, however, when assured that they removed the paint each night and that instead of using her beds would spread their buffalo robes on the floor and sleep by the side of, or under, the beds.

During their stay in London, the medicine man disappeared. Jeffrey, the interpreter, inquired of the janitor if there was any passage that led to the roof. He was informed there was such.

"Well, then," said Jeffrey, "we may be sure that he is there, for it is a way he has; he always gets uneasy until he gets as high as he can go, and then he will stay there all night if you let him alone.

They found him on the roof, standing on one corner of a parapet, overlooking Piccadilly, wrapped in his buffalo robe and still as a statue, while a crowd below gazed up at him. Several times afterwards they had to bring the Doctor down from the roof. Even in the stagecoach he always rode on top with the driver. When they visited the York Cathedral, they had difficulty getting him down from the roof of the highest spire. He observed that here he had been "nearer the Great Spirit than he had ever been before," and the war chief replied with some sarcasm that "it was a pity he did not stay there, for he would never be so near the Great Spirit again."

On one occasion they spotted some East Indians sweeping the streets, and everyone was greatly concerned. They thought they were American Indians and could not understand why any of their race would lower himself to sweep the white man's streets. They finally rationalized that they must be Ojibwas—their traditional enemies—for no other Indian could fall so low. At another time they found two more "Ojibwas" as they insisted on calling them, and stopped the bus to talk with them. In limited English Jim asked them if they were Ojibwas and they replied that they were not, but Mussulmen from Bombay.

"You sweep dirt in the road?" Jim asked.

"Yes."

"Damnfool!" said Jim, contemptuously, then gave them a handful of pennies and drove off.

Every stranger in a foreign land frequently is asked his impres-

sions of that country. The Doctor made this reply to an audience who had asked how the Indians liked London:

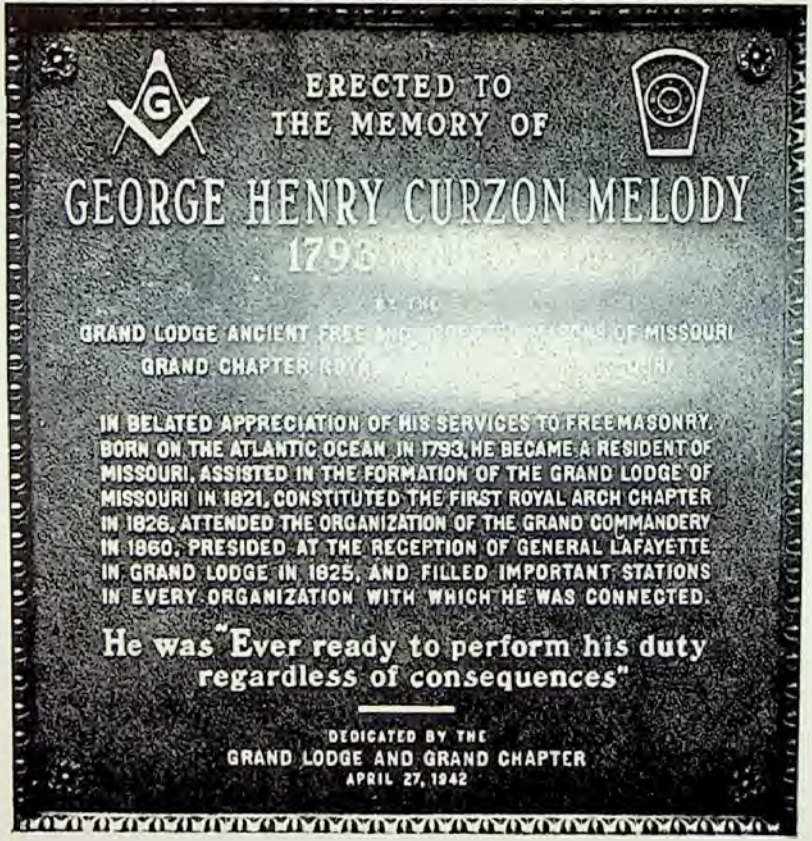
"My friends, this is a large village, and it has many fine wigwams; we rode a large carriage the other day and saw it . . . there were many things to please us, and I think that *before the trees were cut down it was a very beautiful country.* My friends, we think there Indians and buffaloes in this country then."

Paganism vs. Christianity

It seemed that every Christian denomination in England was bent on saving the poor savages. They were first called on by "two reverend gentlemen" whose church affiliations were not mentioned by Catlin. They explained the death of our Savior to them in a friendly manner and urged upon them the necessity of their taking up this belief for salvation from hell, even though it might be difficult for them to understand at first. White Cloud asked *Neu-mon-ya* to reply for him as he did not feel well. This the war chief did in a statement of classic simplicity:

> My friends: The Great Spirit has sent you to us with kind words, and he has opened our ears to hear them, which we have done. We are glad to see you and to hear you speak, for we know that you are our friends. . . . As to the white man's religion which you have explained, we have heard it in our country many times. . . . We do not think your religion good, unless it is so for white people, and this we don't doubt. The Great Spirit has made our skins red and the forests for us to live in. He has also given us our religion, which has taken our fathers to "the beautiful hunting grounds," where we wish to meet them. We don't believe that the Great Spirit made us to live with pale-faces in this world, and we think He has intended we should live separate in the world to come.
>
> My friends, we know that when white men come into our country we are unhappy—the Indians all die, or are driven away before the white men. Our hope is to enjoy our hunting grounds in the world to come, which white men cannot take from us. We know that our fathers and our mothers have gone there, and we don't know why we should not go there too.
>
> My friends, you have told us that the Son of the Great Spirit was on earth, and that he was killed by white men, and that the Great Spirit sent him here to get killed. Now we cannot understand all this. This may be necessary for white people, but the red men, we think, have not yet got to be so wicked as to require that. . . .
>
> My friends, you speak of the *good book* that you have in your hand; we have many of these in our village; we are told that "all your words about the Son of the Great Spirit are printed in that book, and if we learn to read it, it will make good people out of us." I would now ask you why it don't make

GEORGE H. C. MELODY



Melody marker in family plot of Rocheport, Missouri, dedicated April 27, 1942.

THE IOWAY INDIANS, MELODY, AND INTERPRETER

From an engraving made in 1845, showing the Ioway Indians taken by Melody to Europe. Melody stands at the right, with Jeffrey Doroway, his interpreter, in the rear.

good people of the pale-faces living all around us? . . . In our country the white people have two faces, and their tongues branch in different ways. We know that this displeases the Great Spirit, and we do not wish to teach it to our children.

The Christian gentlemen then asked them if they thought they had done all that the Great Spirit asked of them, explaining they could never know all that was expected unless they read the *good book*. After a few puffs of the pipe *Neu-mon-ya* answered:

We believe the Great Spirit requires us to pray to Him, which we do, and to thank Him for everything we have that is good. We know that he requires us to speak the truth, to feed the poor, and to love our friends. We don't know of anything more that he demands; he may demand more of white people, but we don't know that.

They then reminded him of the small-pox plague that had reduced his nation by half a few years before and suggested that it might have been brought upon them by the Great Spirit to punish them for their wickedness and their resistance to His Word. The war chief replied again:

My friends, we don't know that we have ever resisted the word of the Great Spirit. If the Great Spirit sent the small-pox into our country to destroy us, we believe it was to punish us for listening to the false promises of white men. It is white man's disease, and no doubt it was sent amongst white people to punish them for their sins. It never came amongst the Indians until we began to listen to the promises of white men, and to follow their ways; it then came amongst us, and we are not sure but the Great Spirit then sent it to punish us for our foolishness. There is another disease sent by the Great Spirit to punish white men, and it punishes them in the right place—the place that offends (syphilis).

Later they were visited by a Catholic priest. Although reluctant to listen to any more religious discussions, they were very polite—with the exception of Jim and the Doctor, who fell asleep on the floor. When the priest had finished with his version of the white man's religion, the war chief again answered for the group:

My friends, we have talked many times on this subject, and some of our talks have been long; but at this time our words will be few, for we are weary, and as we have before said, we are poor, and our wives and children are hungry, and we have come over here to try to make some money to get them warm clothes and food to eat. . . . The Great Spirit has made our religion good and sufficient for us if we do not in any way offend him. We see the religion of the white people dividing into many paths, and we cannot believe that it is pleasing to the Great Spirit. The Indians have but one road

in their religion, and they all travel in that, and the Great Spirit has never told them that it was not right.

My friends, our ears have been open since we came here, and the words we have heard are friendly and good; but we see so many kinds of religion, and so many people drunk and begging when we ride the street, that we are a little more afraid of the white man's religion than we were before we came here. . . . The Indians never urge white men to take up *their* religion; they are satisfied to have them take a different road, for the Indians wish to enjoy their hunting grounds to themselves in the world to come.

The Indians were amazed when a third group appeared for a religious discussion. Jeffrey told them that he was quite sure, "from the cut of their coats," they were Methodists. They were quite amused to learn that there were Baptists, Jews and several other religions left to come. Although the old war chief, who was their speaking oracle on the subject of religion, remained sad and contemplative, there was much daily conversation and levity among the rest of the party on the subject of the "six religions of the white man," which they had discovered. Jim, who was forever making notes and pictographs, executed a sketch of the "white man's paradise" and the six modes of getting to it. The six ladders reaching from churches with crosses on them to a nebulous heaven with a picket fence around it is shown at the bottom. There is also a long line waiting to be tossed into the fires of hell at the bottom left. The upper left represents the Indians' one ladder to the happy hunting ground which leads direct from his tipi.

The Indians were taken on many sightseeing rides through London, and were much impressed with the poverty they saw as well as the "gin-palaces," drunks and beggars. Jim said there was one street they had come through where he hoped they would never be taken again. It made his heart sore to see so many women and little children all in dirty rags; they had never seen any Indians in the wilderness half so poor or looking so sick. He was sure they did not have half enough to eat. He said it was wrong to send missionaries from there to the Indians' country when there were so many poor creatures here who wanted help, and so many thousands going into the *chickabob-booags* (saloons) to drink fire-water.

Charity of the Indians

The charity of the Indians was unbounded. On one trip alone they threw an estimated 30 shillings to the poor. At Manchester these

kind-hearted people performed many acts of benevolence. The Doctor, spotting one particularly poor looking woman and child, attempted to give her some money, but she was afraid and would not take it. He then secured the services of one of his white friends to have the lady brought to their room where all the Indians were seated on the floor, and placed five shillings in her hand.

"The Lard be with your honors" she replied, "for your loving kindness and may the Lard of heaven bless you to all etarnity, for ee niver e thaught af sich treatment fram sich fraightful-lukin gantlemin as ee was a tankin you to ba."

They then asked her to tell them why she was so poor, and when the wretched woman had completed her story of poverty, the Indians, women and all, looked upon the shivering object of their pity, in the midst of the wealth and luxuries of civilization, as a mystery they could not understand. The women opened their trunks in search of items for the child, and by White Cloud's order, filled her lap with meat and bread sufficient to last a day or two. The good old Doctor then escorted her to the door and told her to appear there at the same time every day and she would receive food as long as they were in Manchester—and made it his special duty every morning to attend to his pensioner at the appointed hour.

It was also in Manchester that they gave a benefit performance that netted $360 (American) for charity. Catlin estimated they gave hundreds of dollars from their own pockets to the poor.

In the midst of one of their noisy dances during their last exhibition in London, the war chief threw himself with a violent jump and a yell of the shrill war-whoop to the corner of the platform where he landed on his feet in a half-crouching position with his eyes and one of his forefingers fixed upon something that attracted his whole attention in a distant part of the crowd. The dance stopped and the eyes of both Indians and whites sought out the object of his excitement. He remained in the crouched position during a minute or two of dead silence while the thoughts of 30 years ran through his mind, and slowly straightened up to a more confident position and pronounced the bewildering word of *"Bobasheela!"* and repeated it *"Bobasheela?"*

"Yes, I'm *Bobasheela,* my good old fellow!" came a reply from the audience, and an Englishman pushed his way toward the plat-

form while the war chief gave another yell and leaped toward him.

Catlin tells of the meeting, which he witnessed:

> He took his faithful friend *Bobasheela* in his arms, and after a lapse of 30 years, had the pleasure of warming his cheek against that of one of his oldest and dearest friends—one whose heart, we have since found, had been tried and trusted in the midst of the dense and distant wildernesses of the banks of the Mississippi and Missouri. . . . The old chief by appealing to this gentleman's familiar Indian cognomen of *Bobasheela,* brought out an instant proof of the correctness of his recognition; and as he held him by both hands, to make proof doubly strong, he made much merriment amongst the party of Indians by asking him if he ever "floated down any part of the great Mississippi river in the night astride of two huge logs of wood with his legs hanging in the water" to which *Bobasheela* instantly replied in the affirmative. After which, and *several medicine phrases, and Masonic grips and signs had passed between them* (italics ours), the dance was resumed.

Catlin did not explain the "Masonic grips and signs" he alluded to above, and, although he gave a long story of the Englishman's wanderings on the plains, he did not identify the man except by his initials, "Mr. J. H." He had been a friend of both Zebulon Pike and William Clark, who were Freemasons. After this recognition, *Bobasheela* accompanied the party on many occasions. It seems that he had been accepted as a "brother" by the Indians and possibly had been initiated into one of their "lodges."

France and Home

Many important personages were pointed out to the Indians on the streets. Often they were riding horseback, and were followed by a servant in livery. This amused the Indians and they reasoned that they "didn't know how to ride—that they were obliged to have a man riding a little behind them to pick them up if they should fall off." They were entertained by many famous persons including Disraeli and members of the court.

The Doctor and Jim, the everlasting cronies, compared their estimates on the number of royal crests they had seen on the houses. The Doctor said he believed the white people had taken this custom from the Indians, as it was the habit of great chiefs and warriors to put their totems over their wigwam doors, but when they did so, they always put out scalps on certain days to show what they had done. He had watched the totems in London, as he had been riding, in all sorts of weather, and as he had seen no scalps or anything hung out

by the side of them, he couldn't exactly see how all these people were entitled to them; still it might be all right.

From London they went to Birmingham, Edinburgh, Dublin and Liverpool, visiting many Scottish and Irish cities. The child, Corsair, and Roman Nose died during this part of the trip and the Indians mourned them.

They had hoped to gain an audience with Queen Victoria while in England, but the invitation never came.

From England they went to Paris where they were presented at the court of Louis Philippe and met most of the royal family. They were very much impressed by this honor, particularly, when the King told them that he had once been in the wigwams of the American Indians when he was a young man, mentioning specifically the Senecas, Oneidas, Shawnees, Delawares, Creeks and Cherokees, for he had once made a voyage down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers to New Orleans more than 50 years previously. They also met Victor Hugo and Madame George Sands, and were escorted through the Louvre by Baron von Humboldt.

One evening the Indians called an unexpected pow-wow. After meeting by themselves, Melody was called in and informed that they had resolved to sleep only six nights more in Paris and they would expect him to start home at that time. This unexpected move almost caused both Catlin and Melody to go broke, as they needed another month or two in Paris to realize any profit. But, good to his word that he would allow them to return any time they wished, Melody made sailing arrangements and the party arrived back in Boston on the *Versailles* in September, 1845.

Appendix

Chippewa Version of the Midewiwin Society

For those who are interested in more detail, we give this account of the Chippewa *Midewiwin* Society.

Masonic ritual varies from jurisdiction to jurisdiction in wording and details, but the main points, or landmarks, remain the same

CHIPPEWA HOME

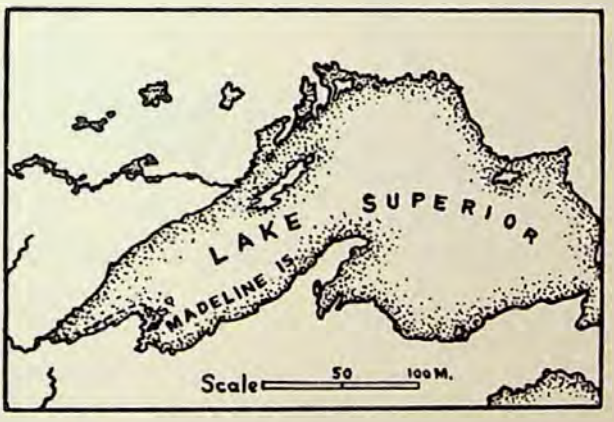
throughout the world. The same is true of the Indian secret societies. They differed from tribe to tribe in the execution of the ritual, but the general beliefs were the same.

In Part I we have given a brief version of the Menominee *Midewiwin* society, and we now turn to their relatives, the Chippewas, who were of the same Algonquian cultural stock, for a more detailed account. We are indebted to the *Bureau of American Ethnology* for our information. The bureau is a part of the Smithsonian Institution and has been long active in research on the American Indian. Its annual reports are gems of original research. In 1908-09

Miss Francis Densmore did extensive research on Chippewa music under the direction of the bureau. In making her analysis of the Chippewa songs from the land of the pine trees, lakes and hills of northern Minnesota, she necessarily became familiar with the rites of the *Midewiwin* society for its songs formed a large part of the music of this tribe. Her findings are reported in the Bureau's *Bulletin No. 45* of 1910. We draw heavily from this interesting and accurate research project for our story of the Chippewa *Midewiwin* society.

Chippewa Origin of Society

The Chippewa version of the origin of the society is related by *Nawajibigokee* (woman dwelling among the rocks), who in 1907



was a prominent member of the *Midewiwin* on the White Earth reservation in Minnesota. The narrative was interpreted by Mrs. Mary Warren English, sister of William Warren, the author of *History of the Ojibwa,* and is given in the exact words of the interpreter.

The Chippewa believe in many *manido,* or spirits. The highest of them all is called *Kijie manido,* literally translated, "uncreated spirit." Those connected with the *Mide* are (1) *Mide manido,* the Mide spirit, and (2) four *manido,* one at each point of the compass. These are called *Wabununkdaci manido,* the East spirit; *Cawanunkdaci manido,* the South spirit; *Ningabianunkdaci manido,* the West spirit; and *Kiwedinunkdaci manido,* the North spirit. In the *Mide,* it is also the belief that there are four "layers" beneath the earth and four more above it. These "layers" or planes, are distinct from each other.

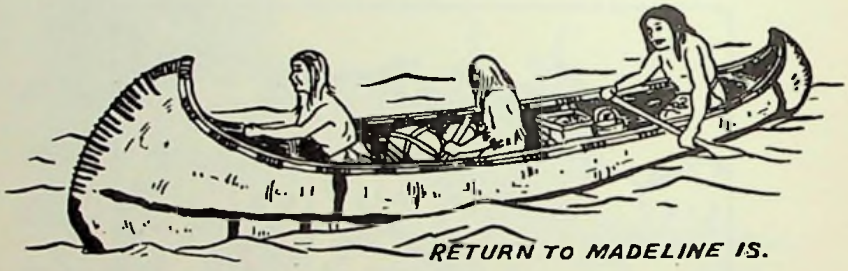
Originally all the inhabitants of the earth (Chippewas) who were to

learn of the *Mide* lived on Madeline Island, in Lake Superior, and in that portion of the country. They were selected by the *Mide manido* to be taught the *Mide* religion.

There was first a consultation among the four *manido*. This took place at the center of the earth, not under the earth, but at some place far away. There they sat together and talked and decided to teach the *Mide* to these particular Indians.

So the East *manido* was selected to go among these Indians and teach them. Before he left the others he told them that they must get everything ready and decide exactly how the *Mide* should be taught to the Indians. Of course the East *manido* could not approach the Indians in his spirit form, so he was born of an old woman who had lived with her husband all her life, but had no children. This old couple lived on Madeline island.

The people were astonished and said, "He must be a wonderful person to be born in this way," so both mother and child were treated with great respect.



RETURN TO MADELINE IS.

He was indeed a wonderful child. Whatever he said came true. He would say to his father "Go and get a bear," and the father would find one without any difficulty. It was no effort at all for the family to get enough food. The child grew up rapidly, and when he was a young man he had as his friend and companion one who was his mother's brother's son—his cousin.

When he grew up he began to consider "I must begin to instruct these Indians in the *Mide;* that is the purpose for which I came."

After thinking this over he said to the old man, his father, "We will go on a journey to the end of the lake." His mother went with them. The point to which they went was not where Duluth now stands, but where Superior is located. This was the location of the old town of Fond du Lac.

They reached this place and stayed four days. On the fourth day a terrible storm came from the northeast, sweeping across the lake. During the storm the East *manido* said to his father and mother, "My cousin at Madeline Island is very ill; we must go back."

His father said, "It is impossible to even put the canoe in the water in such a storm."

Then the East *manido* said, "Put the canoe in the water and the waves will at once subside."

As soon as his father put the canoe on the water, the storm subsided.

It was about noon when this happened, and the distance to Madeline Island was about 80 miles, but they paddled so fast that they reached there

before sundown. When they arrived they found that the cousin had been dead four days, but the body had been kept so that they could see him.

"The East *manido* told his father and mother and their friends not to weep for the young man. Then the next morning he told the people to make a long lodge extending east and west, such is now used for the *Mide*. He showed them how to make it with the top open and the sides of birchbark and leaves, and he said that they must all bring tobacco and cooked food. In the center of the lodge he placed a *Mide-pole*, and told the Indians to sit in rows around the lodge; he also made a *Mide-drum* and rattles, such as are still used.

DRUMMING AND SINGING

West of the pole and a few feet away he placed the hewn coffin of the dead man; on the south side of the lodge he seated the relatives and friends.

He then told his father to take the *Mide-drum* and sing.

The old man said, "I do not know how to sing."

His son said, "Just try; make the effort and you will be able to sing!"

Then the East *manido* spoke to the parents of the dead man and to his own parents, saying, "I am about to leave you. I will be absent four days. You must stay here continuously and do every day as I have told you to do today." The old man promised to sing the *Mide* songs and do everything he had been told to do.

Then the East *manido* took vermilion paint and also blue paint and made marks across the faces of the parents of the man and also his own parents—streaks across their foreheads, the lowest red, then blue and red alternately. Then he started away and said he would return on the morning of the fourth day. He went through the air toward the eastern sky. They could see him go.

After he disappeared, the old man took the *Mide-drum* and sang more and more *Mide* songs. They came to him one after another. He was assisted by his son. Even while his son was absent, he directed him spiritually.

During the four days that the East *manido* was absent the sun shone constantly. There was not a cloud in the sky and the wind did not blow.

On the morning of the fourth day they looked at the east and saw the sky streaked with colors like those he had painted on their foreheads. The Indians all looked in that direction with expectation.

All this time the old man had been drumming and singing.

A little before noon they heard a peculiar sound in the sky. It was from the east. Someone was calling *Wa, hi, hi, hi,* as they call in the *Mide* ceremony. They watched the sky and saw four Indians walking toward them in the sky, giving this call. Each Indian had a live otter in his hand.

The East *manido* came to the *Mide* enclosure, lifted the drapery, and allowed the others to pass in. The four *manido* came in and took their stand

in the east end of the lodge. A little beyond the center was the coffin of hewn logs in which lay the body of the young man, who had now been dead eight days.

The four *manido* held the otters with the right hand near the head and the left hand below. These otters were their medicine bags.

THE MANIDOS APPEAR

The East *manido* stood first in line. He began to sing, went half-way to the coffin, blew on his medicine bag, and "shot" from there to the coffin. Then the top of the coffin burst open, and the East *manido* marched around the lodge and took his place at the end of the line.

Then the next one, the South *manido,* did exactly as the East *manido* had done. When he had "shot," the young man opened his eyes and breathed. Then the South *manido* took his place at the end of the line.

Next came the West *manido.* When he had "shot," the young man raised up and looked at the *manido.*

Last came the North *manido,* and when he had "shot," the young man raised up entirely well in every respect.

Then these four *manido* began to talk to the Indians, and to tell them that this was the method by which they were to treat the sick and the dead, and that the East *manido* would instruct them in all they were to do.

"Then these *manido* told the Indians that they would never see them again. The *manido* would never come to earth again, but the Indians must offer them gifts and sacrifices, which would be spiritually received. They must always remember that the *Mide* was given to them by the *manido.*

The East *manido* taught them the religion of the *Mide* and put souls in their bodies and arranged how these souls should live in the next world. A great many times some of these *Mide* people have a trance in which they follow the spirit path and see their dead friends. They also receive messages in dreams. They are especially liable to do this when sorrowing for their friends.

It is told to *Mide* members that about halfway to the Spirit Land there is a punishment place where fire burns out all that is evil in them. Sometimes there is so little left of the person that he turns into a frog. There are many little frogs in that place, but the good pass through it unharmed. This is the only place of punishment taught, except that if a person dies while drunk, he will remain drunken forever and his punishment will be an eternal and unquenchable thirst.

"Those initiated into the *Mide* are instructed how to lead a good life. These instructions are given only to the members. Less heed is paid to the instructions than in the old days, but very sick people are still restored by the means of the *Mide.*

Nawajibigokwe, the narrator, further stated that she had taken four degrees in the society and received four "great instructions," and that she tried to live according to them. She stated that she "could blow on her medicine bag and produce evil results upon those who displeased her, provided they were not of the *Mide,*" and that she "would be powerless against a member of the *Midewiwin.* She would not, however, exert any of her so-called evil powers for it would displease the *Mide manido,* and said that those who did so found that it always reacted evil upon themselves.

Beliefs, Meetings, and Ritual

The *Mide,* or Grand Medicine society, was actually the native religion of the Chippewas as well as many other tribes. It taught that long life is coincident with goodness, and that evil inevitably reacts

on the offender. Its chief aim was to secure long life and health for its adherents.

The life enjoined on the members was one of rectitude. They were taught that membership in the society does not exempt a man from the consequences of sin. Lying and stealing were strictly forbidden as was the use of liquor.

Both men and women were eligible for membership. A male member was called *Midewinini* and a female member, *Midewikwe*. Among the Chippewas there were eight degrees, and the advancement was primarily based on the financial ability to progress.

Meetings were generally held in the spring of each year, new members being initiated at that time. It was also permissible to hold ceremonies in the fall. All members were expected to attend one meeting each year for the renewal of their "spiritual power." Smaller gatherings were held for the treatment of the sick and it was also permissible for a few members of the society to meet at any time for the purpose of singing the songs and strengthening their faith in the beliefs of the *Mide*. A feast and an offering were inseparable features of all gatherings.

Ritual exactness was not obligatory. Its ceremony of initiation had a general outline which was universally followed, but the details varied in different localities. There was nothing that corresponded to a hereditary priesthood, the leaders of a ceremony being men who held high degrees in the society, and who were chosen for the office at each meeting of the order.

Preparation for Initiation

The preparations for initiation were long and involved, requiring more time and effort than the initiation ceremony itself. The information which follows is compiled from statements made by several members of the society who were of the Mille Lac band of Chippewas at the White Earth reservation in Minnesota. It has been checked by several members following its translation from Chippewa.

The first duty of the novitiate is to notify the old man whom he desires as a leader of the ceremony. This man consults with the novitiate and selects four others to assist in the ceremony of initiation. These do not usually hold high office, but are expected to give part of the instructions and are familiar with the duties of their office. A man

is also selected to act as herald and general director of the ceremony. This officer is called the *ockabewis*.

Duties of the Officers

The first duty of the *ockabewis* is to announce the ceremony to the members of the society and invite them to attend. He carries tobacco, notifies the people that the ceremony is to be held, tells them to smoke the tobacco, and also mentions, in the order of their importance, the persons who will take part in the ceremony.

At the appointed time, the people move their lodges and camp near the place where the ceremony is to be held. The initiators and friends of the candidate have been preparing for the ceremony and have built the sweat lodge. This building may be constructed wherever desired, and there is no prescribed direction for its opening. Four poles are used in its construction, if the candidate is to be initiated in the first degree. Six poles would be used if the second degree were to be taken. These four poles are firmly planted in the ground at points corresponding to the four corners of a square. They are diagonally opposite and are then fastened together, forming the framework of a roof. The binding together of the two poles into one symbolizes the lengthening of life which is to be accomplished by the *Mide*. Sheets of birch bark are then spread over the poles to form the sides and roof.

The first ceremonial act on the part of the initiators consists of entering the sweat lodge. A fire is built outside the entrance. Stones are heated and laid in the center of the lodge and frequently sprinkled with water by means of a wisp of brush, the steam enveloping the bodies of the men. It frequently happened that one or two women were among those who were to assist at the initiation. They did not enter the sweat lodge, but stood outside, joining in the songs. *Mide* songs were sung in the sweat lodge, accompanied by the *mitigwakik* (Mide-drum). The leader of the entire ceremony was usually the leader in the sweat lodge also. There was no prescribed length of time for remaining in the sweat lodge, but several days were allowed for this portion of the ceremony. At least four days were consumed if four men holding high degrees were in attendance.

On the first evening and on each succeeding evening before the initiation, the men who were to assist in the ceremony sang in their

lodges, and all who desired might enter and dance. The leader of the entire ceremony sang first in his own lodge, drumming on his *mitigwakik*. The man next in importance answered from his lodge, and when he had finished, the other men who were to take part sang in their lodges, in order of importance, "to show how glad they were that this person was to join the *Midewiwin*."

Each *Midewinini* had his own set of songs, some of which he had composed and others which he had purchased for large sums of money or equal value in goods. It occasionally happened that two men had the same song, but this was a coincidence. It was not permissible for one man to sing a song belonging to another unless he had purchased the right to sing it. The songs owned by individuals were those connected with the use of medicine, and when a man bought a song, he also received some of the medicine for his use.


BARK KETTLES

During the evenings which preceded the initiation ceremony, it was customary for the members to enter the lodges of the leaders and ask for instruction or information regarding the *Mide*. For this purpose, if possible, the person would go to the *Midewinini* who initiated him, as the oldsters took more interest in those whom they had initiated and required smaller gifts from them. The novice desiring instruction brought a kettle of food or other gift as payment.

After all were in the sweat lodge, a council of the initiators was called by the leader. This was held for the purpose of deciding what part each was to take in the initiation ceremony. The person to be initiated was present at this council. When all were assembled, a discussion was held as to who would be best adapted to give certain parts of the ceremony. After the selections were made, each was expected to sing several *Mide* songs, the number depending upon his importance. This council was a lengthy one.

Before the initiation, the candidate was taken into the woods by the initiators and given an "instruction," each man talking to him for a long time. Only one such instruction was given to a candidate for the first degree, the number of "instructions" corresponding to

the degree to be assumed. In the first degree it was chiefly of a moral nature, the candidate being enjoined to lead a virtuous and upright life. He was taught also the names and uses of a few simple herbs which he was expected to secure and carry in his *Mide-bag*. He might find these herbs for himself or procure them from some other member of the order. In the higher degrees, the instructions pertained to the mysteries of the *Mide,* the properties of rare herbs, and the nature of vegetable poisons.

During the days which preceded the ceremony, it was customary for the leading members of the *Midewiwin* to hold preparatory meet-

ings. Any man might prepare a feast and invite others to attend, each guest bringing a pan or plate in which he carried away a portion of the food.

At the close of such a meeting the host would rise and say, "We will all sing and dance before you go." The principal guest lifted his pan of food, then all rose and sang the song entitled "I Am Raising It Up" (which referred to the pan of food). This was an offering to the *manido*. After the singing and dancing, the principal guest led the way out of the lodge and all followed him.

On the day before the initiation a feast was given in his own lodge by the candidate for initiation. Invitations were delivered by the *ockabewis,* and most of the guests were women. A man was ap-

pointed leader of the feast, and when it was time for the guests to depart, he led in the singing of two songs, shaking his rattle as he sang. Anyone who knew the songs could join the leader in singing.

During the first song the guests stood in line, the leader being next to the door. They danced standing in their places, the step being a rhythmic transference of the weight from one foot to the other. Each of the songs was sung only once.

Before singing the first song, the leader might say "I have learned this song from an old man, and I will sing it as well as I can." Before the closing song, he would probably announce, "I will now depart

BUILDING THE MIDI LODGE

and announce that the feast is ended." At the close of this song the leader laid down his rattle, raised his hands with the palms extended and motioned the people to follow him as he danced out of the lodge.

It was expected that those invited to this feast would build the *Midewigan* (Mide-lodge), where the initiation ceremony would be held. This was done soon after the close of the feast, and required only a short time as there were many hands for the work of cutting the poles and bringing up the brush and hay.

The Lodge Room

The *Midewigan,* or lodge room, is made of a framework of poles interlaced overhead to form a roof whose arch suggests the dome of

the sky. In unfavorable weather this framework is covered with branches. The size of the lodge varies according to requirement. It is usually 50 to 100 feet long and 12 to 15 feet wide and about 8 feet high. In the old days, several hundred people attended the ceremony and the lodge at that time is said to have been so long that a person at one end could not hear voices at the other end and could judge the progress of the ceremony only by the sound of the drum.

For an initiation into the first degree, the lodge extends from east to west, with a door at each end. For initiation into the fourth degree, the lodge is built with four doors—east, west, north and south. If necessary for warmth, two fires are made, one in front of each door. A large stone is placed a short distance west of the first which burns near the eastern door. This stone symbolizes the power of the *Mide* as a defense; one man stated that the *Mide* was like "a stone to throw at an enemy." West of the center of the lodge was the pole belonging to the person to be initiated and known as his medicine pole. If he is to take the first degree, this pole is decorated with a narrow blue band at the top, below which there is a broad band of red, the remainder of the pole being unpainted. For an initiation into the second degree, the pole would be decorated with a broader band of blue, the width of the band of red remaining the same. It is also placed nearer the west door. For the third degree, a crossbar was placed in the same position, and for each succeeding degree there was a prescribed form of decoration.

The Day of the Ceremony

On the day set for the initiation ceremony, just before sunrise, the *ockabewis* and the person to be initiated go to the lodge carrying on their backs the gifts which the latter will present to the initiators. They go around the lodge four times, enter the east door, and hang the gifts upon poles provided for the purpose. These gifts consist of blankets and cloth as well as tobacco and food. The *ockabewis* remains in the lodge to complete the arrangements.

Next a dog is killed for the feast. There is nothing ceremonial in either the selection or the killing of the dog—the latter takes place at some distance. The body of the dog is laid at the door of the lodge

and the entire procession steps over it, after which it is carried away and cooked.

Early in the morning, before the hour set for the ceremony, the person to be initiated goes to the lodge again, accompanied by the leader, the four initiators and the *ockabewis*.

The next event is the sending of the *ockabewis* with the invitations to the members of the society. They are in the form of round sticks about the diameter of a lead pencil and about six inches long. From one lodge to another he goes, distributing the sticks to those members of the society who are entitled to attend. Only members of the *Midewiwin* are allowed to be present in the lodge during the initiation. The company of people have a leader appointed by the man in charge of the ceremony. They assemble a short distance from the *Midewigan,* each carrying his medicine bag, and an empty pan in which to carry away a portion of the feast. All are dressed in their finest except two who are called *zagimag,* whose duties will be explained. At the proper time, the leader moves toward the lodge followed by the company in single file. They march once around the lodge singing the "processional song."

During the song, the leader pauses at the eastern door and makes a plea to the Mide *manido,* with right hand extended and left hand shaking his rattle. Three times he advances as though to enter the lodge, and as many times withdraws as though in fear. The fourth time he puts his head and shoulders through the opening and looks about as though in search of danger. Then he enters the lodge, followed by the company. He presumably impersonates the bear, who is intimately connected with the society.

As the company marches around the lodge, the leader extends his hands toward the stone, the *mitigwakiki,* and the medicine pole in an act of reverence. They march three times about the lodge singing a song entitled "My heart fails me as I am about to enter the spirit lodge." On the fourth circuit they sit down wherever they like.

The following diagram shows the arrangement of the *Midewigan* and the position of the occupants during the ceremony. The oblong represents the lodge. At each side of the eastern entrance are two figures. The first pair are "fiery dragons which disappear into the ground if the candidate has the proper offering." The pair nearest the entrance are "servants of the Mide *manido*," who may refuse to admit the candidate if they are not satisfied with him. The footprints at the entrance indicate that the man who entered impersonated the bear. The candidate sits next to the eastern entrance. Beside him are

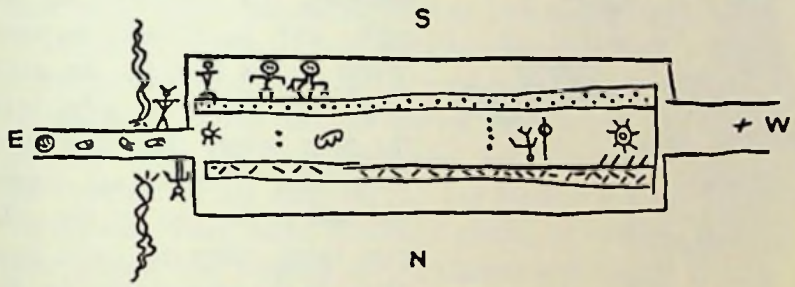


Diagram of First Degree as drawn by a Chippewa.

the leader and the *ockabewis*. The four initiators sit near the western entrance on the north side of the lodge; their position is, however, arbitrary. Along the sides of the lodge sit the members of the society. A fire burns near each entrance. The stone near the eastern entrance is shown, also the medicine pole and the pile of gifts beside it. The figure east of the pole shows the second position taken by the candidate for initiation. The dot west of the stone is where the drum is stationed during the initiation. The two dots east of the stone show the position of the drum after initiation, at which time it is played by the old leader and the *ockabewis*. The four dots near the center of the lodge represent *migis* and will be explained later.

After an introductory song, all are seated and the invitation sticks are collected, counted, tied in a bundle and laid at the foot of the medicine pole. Next a feast is served, each person receiving his or her portion in the pan brought for that purpose. At this feast the dog is served. Portions of rice or other food may be carried away, but it is required that all of the dog be eaten in the lodge.

Halfway down the lodge sit the *zagimag*. Their faces are not

painted. As the leader moves about the lodge, he leaves the *mitigwakik* (ceremonial drum) in front of the two *zagimag,* who begin to sing the *nimiwug* (dancing songs), during which all persons who wish may rise and dance in their places. These songs are many in number and are greatly enjoyed by the members of the society. At the conclusion of the dances, the *zagimag* carry the drum around the lodge and place it west of the stone, where it remains during the rites of the initiation.

The leader then encircles the lodge four times, with right hand extended, left hand shaking the rattle, and head bent forward. When he has finished, the *ockabewis* take down the gifts from the place where they have been hung. The blankets are folded and laid at the foot of the pole, care being taken to have them placed in the proper order for distribution. The other gifts are conveniently placed on the ground.

The person to be initiated is then escorted to the pole by the leader, moving along the dotted lines indicated in the diagram. The leader moves slowly at first, then very rapidly, ejaculating *"hi, hi, hi"* and shaking his rattle. The candidate is seated on the pile of blankets facing the east. While the candidate is being escorted to this position, a song entitled "Escorting the Candidate" is sung.

After escorting the candidate to the pole, the leader summons the men previously selected to perform the rites of initiation. These men move along the northern side of the lodge and take their places at the south side of the eastern door, the man designated as *nemitamaun* being first in line and the man designated as *wedaked* last. Each of these men has a *migis* (small white shell) in his mouth. The *nemitamaun* then blows on his medicine bag and dances, standing in his place. He then walks toward the candidate, ejaculating *"we, ho, ho, ho, ho,"* and extends his medicine bag with each ejaculation. As he

reaches the candidate he "shoots" him, thrusting the medicine bag toward him and ejaculating with great vehemence.

The candidate thus "shot" is said to feel the force of it in some part of his body and indicates his responsiveness by laying his hand on his shoulder, knee, or whatever part may be affected. The *nemitamaun* then passes along the northern side of the lodge and takes his place at the end of the line. After each "shooting," the candidate indicates in what part of his body he feels the effect.

This "shooting" draws heavily on the resources of the person performing it and is very exhausting. A man often calls upon his brethren to assist him. They do not leave their places, but are expected to exert their power in his behalf. A woman frequently finds herself unequal to the exertion, although she has been appointed one of the initiators. In that case, she may ask a man to take her place by doing the more exhausting part of the work. She breathes on her medicine bag and hands it to him for his use. They move forward together, he walking close behind her, uttering the ejaculations and moving the medicine bag in the prescribed manner.

Before the *wedaked,* or last of the initiators, moves toward the candidate, he may turn to the leader and say, "I will now stir up the spirit that is in me; I will stand and dance and I ask your assistance." He then dances in his place. In his hands he holds all four of the medicine bags and breathes on them that the power may be intensified to the greatest possible degree. He extends his right arm to its full length and moves toward the candidate, raising the medicine bags as he calls: *"Wa, a, hi, hi, hi; wa, a, hi, hi, hi!"* throwing all the strength of his being into the motion and the rhythmic sound. Slowly he moves forward. It is the climax of the entire ceremony and the members of the *Midewiwin* wait in tense silence until the candidate falls prostrate on the ground, overcome by the "spirit power" of the initiators.

Here he lies with arms extended while the four initiators gather around him, place their medicine bags on his back, and sing a song, roughly translated, "I have shot straight." Following the song, the initiators raise the candidate to a sitting posture and a *migis* comes

from his mouth. One of the initiators then takes the *migis* and walks once around the lodge. Pausing near the candidate, he breathes on the *migis* and extends it toward the east, breathes on it again and extends it toward the south, repeating the process to the west, north and zenith. This being done, the shell is said to disappear again into the body of the person being initiated, who falls prostrate as before. While lying on the ground, a medicine bag corresponding to the degree he has taken, is fastened to his back. In the first degree, this bag is made of the white skin of a weasel. The initiators then raise the candidate to his feet and withdraw to the eastern end of the lodge.

The novice then takes his medicine bag and goes toward the four initiators, "shooting" first the *wedaked,* who sits down. After encircling the lodge, he "shoots" the next in line, and so on until all are seated, the lodge being encircled after the "shooting" of each man. When all are thus seated, the candidate takes the gifts on his arm and presents the proper articles to the leader, the initiators and the *ockabewis,* personally thanking each for his share in the ceremony. It is considered that after the distribution of these gifts the candidate is fully initiated.

The next event is the showing of their *migis* shells by the four men who have performed the ceremony. This is done at the request of the leader. A blanket is spread on the ground east of the medicine pole and a man is appointed to stand beside it and receive the migis. As they approach the blanket, each man in turn makes a rasping noise in his throat and takes a migis from his month. These shells are received by the man appointed, who lays them in order on the blanket. When all the shells have been deposited, the *nemitamaun* looks along the line to see that all are ready. They are watching him, and at his signal they all replace the shell in their mouths with a uniform motion.

The initiators then return to the *mitigwakik* (drum) and sing. The *nemitamaun* holds the stick and plays the drum first, the others shaking their rattles. He then hands the stick to another of the group,

and so on until all have played the drum. Four *cicigwan* (rattles) are used in this portion of the ceremony. No two have the same tone.

The drum is then removed to a position between the stone and the eastern entrance. The leader takes his place at one side of it, beating the drum, and the *ockabewis* at the other side, shaking the rattles. When they begin to sing, the members sitting on the south side of the lodge spring to their feet, advance toward those on the north side, and "shoot" them with their medicine bags. The latter fall insensible, but in a short time recover consciousness and advance toward those now seated on the south side "shooting" at them with their medicine bags. These, in turn, fall insensible, and the "shooting" is continued until all present have been "shot" with the medicine. The ceremony of initiation usually lasts until late in the afternoon.

The Social Hour

Food has been cooked outside the lodge, and when the ceremony has finished, a feast is served. Anyone who likes may freely enter the lodge now. This is the social feature of the initiation. Only members of the society are present at the actual initiation, but all the members of the tribe may share in the feast and dance which follows. After the feast, the men who have received gifts carry them to their own lodges with their portion of the feast, later to return and join in the dance which is entirely social in nature.

When it is time for the company to disband, the four initiators stand together at the southeast corner of the lodge. The music is very lively and everyone is in the best possible humor. The initiators are the first to leave the lodge, dancing out the western door, followed by the company and newly initiated person. The leader is the last to leave.

The novice takes the medicine pole and the stone with him, as they are now his personal property. These he carries to his lodge and makes a feast in their honor. After the feast he takes both the pole and the stone to some secluded place in the woods known only to himself. There he often goes, keeping the place clear of rubbish and undergrowth. The stone remains there always, but the pole may be removed by its owner for use in future ceremonies.

The candidate also retains as his personal property any songs which he can remember from hearing them sung during the ceremony, it being considered that his gifts to the leaders are sufficient to entitle him to these without further payment.

Each of the men who assisted at the initiation ceremony and received gifts is expected to make a feast after the ceremony and invite the newly initiated. At this feast he gives the novice the *migis* which he exhibited at the ceremony. Thus the initiate receives one *migis* from each of the men who assisted at the ceremony. These he keeps in his mide-bag, adding from time to time such medicines as he has learned to use.

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