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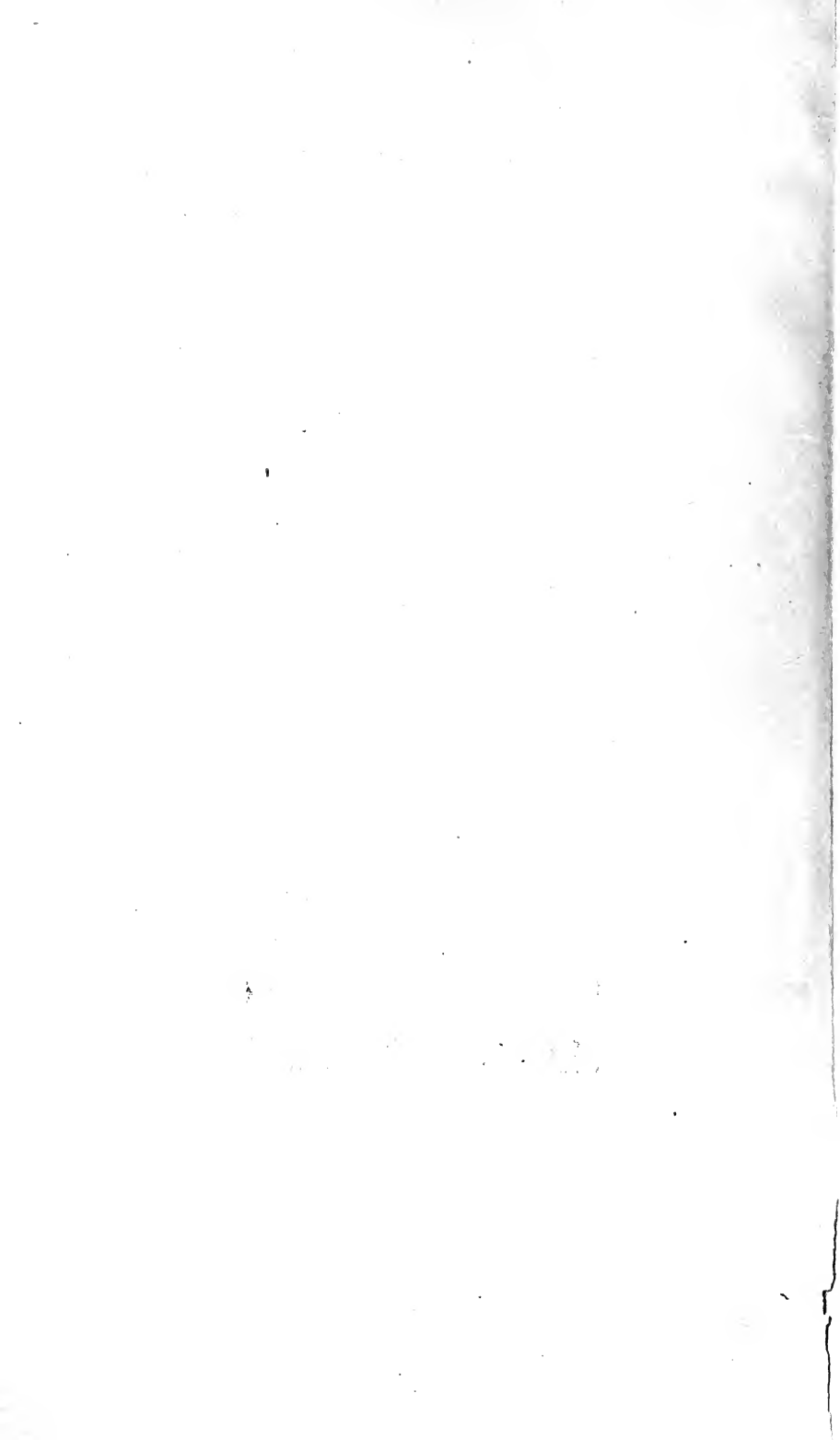


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THE RED MAN AND THE WHITE MAN
IN NORTH AMERICA

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THE RED MAN AND THE WHITE MAN

IN

NORTH AMERICA

FROM

ITS DISCOVERY TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY

GEORGE E. ELLIS

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BOSTON

LITTLE, BROWN, AND COMPANY

1882

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THIS VOLUME

IS RESPECTFULLY AND GRATEFULLY INSCRIBED TO

FRANCIS PARKMAN,

WHOSE GENIUS AND ATTAINMENTS; WHOSE PATIENT AND LABORIOUS STUDIES FOR NEARLY TWO-SCORE YEARS; WHOSE EXTENDED TRAVELS THROUGH THE WILDER PARTS OF THIS CONTINENT FOR PERSONAL INTERCOURSE WITH THE INDIANS; AND WHOSE PERSEVERING RESEARCH THROUGH FOREIGN ARCHIVES, HAVE MADE HIM A MASTER OF THE GREAT THEME WHICH HE HAS ALREADY ILLUSTRATED IN SEVEN VOLUMES, — STILL AWAITING OTHERS, — COVERING THE PERIOD OF

EXPLORATION, ENTERPRISE, AND DOMINION OF FRANCE
IN NORTH AMERICA.

PREFACE.

THE study and research given to the preparation of the contents of this volume have occupied much of the time of the writer for more than ten years. Portions of it, under titles indicated by those of its chapters, were the substance of a course of Lectures delivered between February 18 and March 28, 1879, before the Lowell Institute of Boston.

I have been disinclined to present, in such a number and array of foot-notes as would have been necessary, all the sources of information, the authority for statements, or the grounds for opinions and conclusions on which I have relied. To have done this would have required something but little short of a complete bibliography of the copious and multifarious literature relating to our aborigines. What may be classed as the Public Documents illustrative of it are very voluminous, and are of course of the highest authority and value. General and local histories have from time to time given sometimes thorough, but often only superficial, attention to the

more important relations of this interesting theme. Travellers, tourists, hunters, explorers, scientific commissions, military officers, missionaries, traders, and those who have lived among the Indians many years, as captives taken in youth, have contributed volumes of great variety in style, contents, views, opinions, and judgments, all of them mutually illustrative, helpful, and instructive, though by no means in accord in their representations of the character and habits, condition, capacity, religion, and general development of the various tribes of the red men, at different periods and in different parts of the country. A single paragraph, sometimes a single sentence, in the following pages, is a digest or summary of facts, statements, or opinions, gathered from several volumes, after an attempt at a fair estimate of the fidelity and judgment of their authors. Considering how rich in material, incident, and character the whole subject is for the literature of romance, it is surprising how little it has prompted of that character. Probably this is to be accounted to the stern reality in fact and record, which has disinclined writers and readers to idealize its actors and incidents. Indians, as subjects for romance, may engage a class of writers in an age to come.

For the reason stated above for limiting the number of foot-notes, I have given only such as authenticate the more important statements and sources

of information indicated in the text of the volume. The opinions which I have ventured to express on contested points I must leave to be estimated for their weight or wisdom by different readers.

Occasional repetitions in references to persons, incidents, or facts may be noticed in the following pages, as they present themselves in some different relations to periods or subjects under which the contents of the volume are disposed.

Boston, June 1, 1882.

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INTRODUCTORY.

GENERAL SURVEY OF THE SUBJECT.



“WHY do you, White Men, call us Indians?” This was a question asked many times, on many occasions, in widely distant places, by the aborigines of this country, when they began to converse familiarly with the new comers from across the sea. The question was a very natural one under the circumstances. The name “Indians” was a strange one to those to whom it was thus assigned. They did not know themselves by the title. They had never heard the word till the white men addressed them by it. Courtesy, in a wilderness as well as amid civilized scenes, would have seemed to allow that when nameless strangers met to introduce themselves to each other, each party should have been at liberty to name himself. But the savage curiously inquired of the white man, “Why do you call us Indians?” If, before giving an answer, the white man had asked, “What do you call yourselves?” he too would have received but little satisfaction. It does not appear that our aborigines had any one comprehensive name, used among themselves, to designate their whole race on this continent. They contented themselves with tribal or local titles.

Nor is it likely that every white man to whom the red man put the question, “Why do you call us Indians?” would or could have given the intelligible and true answer

to it. The name applied to the aborigines of this continent perpetuates for all time the original illusion and lure under the prompting and impulse of which this continent was first brought to the knowledge of Europeans. There is myth, there is poetic legend, there may be something which looks like testimony, about visits by dwellers on the Old World to this so called New World, before the historic voyages of Columbus and his successors. But there is nothing which can stand the severest tests of evidence for those visits as matters of positive fact. At any rate, if there were such visits they bore no fruits, left no tokens of use or occupancy, and did not bring the dwellers on either hemisphere into intercourse. Nor did Columbus when on our soil, not even to the day of his death, know that he had opened a new continent, with a new race of men. The America that we know, as substantially two continents, — both of them together stretching to a greater length than Europe, Asia, and Africa, — floating between two vast oceans, was a realm that he never sought, nor ever dreamed of, nor knew that he had reached when he stood upon it.

Columbus held this globe of earth to be much smaller than it is, — to be in fact of the size which it would have been if America and the Pacific Ocean had been left out of it. What he had sought for, after fourteen years of importunate pleading for patronage from European monarchs, what he supposed he had found, as he lay upon his death-bed, was a sort of back-door entrance to the Indies. That gorgeous realm, — the slender positive knowledge of which to Europeans was heightened by all the inventiveness of human fancy and all the glow and craving of greed, investing it with fabulous charms and glitter as a vast mine of gold and gems awaiting the spoiler, — had been opened vaguely and invitingly to here and there a land traveller and a venturesome mariner, on its western edge. It was a long and perilous route to it, either by land or sea. Columbus believed that by sailing westward upon the Atlantic he could

strike it upon its rear coast, on its eastern shore. That is precisely what he thought he had done, first by touching some of its outlying islands, then on its main. And his constant questions on the spot were for Cathay, for the realm of Prester John, the treasures of Indian mines. He was looking, not for America, but for India. And he was, as he believed, not in a new world, but on an edge of the old familiar world. India it was to be all the way, and India it was at the end. On his fourth and last voyage, Columbus wrote from Veragua, to Ferdinand and Isabella, that he was within nineteen days' land journey of the Ganges. And so everything on his way and at the end of his way took a name from the lure and illusion under which he won a higher renown of glory than he knew. The islands which he first reached became, as they are now, the West Indies. The royal council in Spain which managed, or rather mismanaged, all that came of the great enterprise, became "The Council for the Indies;" and the aborigines on these superb domains of forests, mountains, lakes, and rivers were called, and, if ever they shall have all vanished away, will be known in history, as "Indians."

It is to be noted, however, that the French, who so soon after followed the Spaniards by voyages to the southern and northern bounds on the mainland of our domain, did not adopt or use the word "Indians" as a name for the aborigines. I do not recall a single case of its use by any of the French explorers. They uniformly spoke and wrote of the natives as "*les Sauvages*,"—the savages. Occasionally a reference may be found in which a French writer will use the expression, "The Indians, as the English call the savages."

Deferring to future discussion the leading topics which this large subject will present to us, as we follow up the subsequent relations between the people of the Old World and those of the New, we may occupy ourselves in these introductory pages with a general view of the field before

us. We read with the historic interpretation of the past what nearly four centuries ago was veiled in the mystery of the unknown and the future. For what were possibilities then we have now realities. The most interesting and exciting questions now held under discussion about our aborigines are, whether the race is destined to absolute extinction, and whether irresistible processes are working to that result. A modification of the opinion that such must needs be the fate of the red man suggests to us, that the only condition which will arrest that result is such a transformation of his habits, mode of life, and even of his nature, that those who in three or four generations may represent the stock, in pure or mixed descent, will have wholly parted with the original and distinctive characteristics of the race. If such an extinction of an aboriginal people is to be realized, their history ought to be well searched and attested before they pass away.

Our knowledge of the natives of this continent must be taken strictly as beginning with the first contact with them by Columbus on the islands, and by himself and his followers on the main. Of the legendary and mythological Sagas of the alleged visit of the Northmen there is, as has been said, no contemporaneous record, and no extant monument or token. The one hundred and twenty white men who formed the company of Columbus were the medium for introducing the people of the Old World to those of the New. Columbus carried some of the natives to Spain on his first return voyage, and in 1508 the American savage was seen for the first time in France.

Those who now represent the native race on this continent are but little serviceable to the historian who seeks to investigate its antecedent state and fortunes. The fundamental questions for the archæologist are, whether man is autochthonic or exotic here, and whether in ethnic unity or diversity. Agassiz told us that geologically this continent was the first part of the globe fitted for human habitation,

and there are scientists who claim that the isthmus was the cradle of the world's civilization. But Sir John Lubbock assures us that there are no physical or scientific tokens of human existence on the continent back of three thousand years. Of course it is not within the limited and appropriate design of these pages to enter into the substance and arguments of archæological science, as it opens its rich and profoundly interesting, though bewildering, discussions of prehistoric times and people on this continent. A half century ago the mounds and other earthworks in the great Western valleys engaged a curious interest, as tokens of the presence of a more advanced and intelligent representation of human beings than were those who were found in occupancy of the soil, and who were wholly ignorant of the builders or purpose of those mysterious works. But within quite recent years a far richer, yet still no less baffling and hardly more communicative, field of inquiry, research, and scientific theorizing has been opened to archæologists, and, strangely enough, on the mainland of the continent nearest to the islands first visited by the Spaniards. The pyramids and tombs of Egypt have found their rivals in the architectural remains of Palenque, in Chiapas, and in all the regions of the Isthmus and of Central America. It is claimed that these, and other tokens and relics associated with them, afford evidences of an ancient prehistoric civilization rivaling that of Europe in the Middle Ages. The assumption falls as yet far short of proof. In the interest of historical and archæological science, scholars are left only to the expression of their murmurs and regrets that the first representatives of European civilization and intelligence, when opening a new world and an unknown stock of their own race to intercourse and inquiry, should have manifested not even an ordinary curiosity about those questions concerning the American aborigines which modern inquirers pursue with such diligence. Some of these questions, we naturally infer, might have been relieved of a part of the mystery and

obscurity which they have for us, had they drawn attention and investigation from the first and most intelligent of the Europeans who came into contact with the natives of the soil. But in this, as in so many other cases, it would have been easier to ask questions than to obtain satisfactory answers to them. It is utterly impossible for us now to reach anything more than proximate and conjectural estimates of the probable number of the aborigines, of their distribution over the continent, the density of the population in some favored spots, the extent of wholly lonely and uninhabited expanses, and the length of time during which any one tribe or confederacy of tribes had occupied the same regions. No satisfactory information is on record of anything more than the most trivial traditional account of the fortunes of any tribe among them covering more than two generations previous to those then in life. Of course many of the questions which we are prompted to ask concerning the primitive and prehistoric races on this continent, as if it were a fresh and wholly independent field of inquiry, are problems equally for the dwellers on the old continents themselves, with all their histories and monuments. The theory of the development or evolution of the human race from a lower order of animal is to be subjected to the same tests, illustrated by the same analogies, and met by the same arresting difficulties and challenges wherever specimens of that race are found. It is to be observed also that the first white comers here seem to have assumed what has ever since been substantially taken for granted,—that, though diversities of climate and of natural features and products over the breadth and length of the continent might result in differences of resource and advancement among various tribes, all the aborigines were essentially homogeneous in type, character, and condition of life.

Let us for a moment seize and hold in our minds the gorgeous dream of wealth and glory by which this continent was opened to Europeans, and improve it by an added touch

of fancy of our own. Suppose that this half of the earth, ocean-bounded, stretching from pole to pole, with all its wealth of material, its vast and mighty resources, its scenes and furnishings for the life, the activity, and the happiness of man,—suppose that, as concerned its human inhabitants, it had proved to be directly opposite to what it was. Suppose that it had been peopled by a superior race, advanced in civilization, refinement, art, culture, science, far at least, if not immeasurably, beyond the race whose curiosity and greed had for the first time bridged the way between them. It might have been so. Taking into view the general average civilization of Europe at that time, we know that it was but rude and rough, with many elements of barbarism, heavily burdened with ignorance and superstition, and convulsed year by year by local and extended wars. It might well have been that, folded within the depths of this continent, a people under the training and development of centuries, protected and fostered rather than disadvantaged by lack of commerce and intercourse with other peoples, should have enjoyed and improved this realm as we do now. Instead of the hordes of wild and naked savages, cowering in the forests, living by the chase, burrowing in smoky and filthy cabins, without arts, letters, laws, or the signs or promise of any advance in their generations, there might have been men and women enjoying and enriched by all that can adorn and elevate human existence. And these, when the ships of curious and craving adventurers touched their shores, or strangers trespassed on their well guarded domains, might have had the will and the knowledge, the skill and the engineering of battle and defence, to repel the invaders, to sink them in the sea, or leave them to starvation, keeping the ocean cordon inviolate around them. One other element must come into our supposition. It is that of religion. Whatever religion that race imagined for this continent might have had and believed, however pure and elevating in its influence, how-

ever firmly and devoutly held, so that the proffer to change it for another would be scorned and utterly withstood,—if that religion had not been in name or symbol Christian, it would at once have decided what must be the relations between the people and their visitors. As we shall see, the very axiom and conviction of right and duty for all European discoverers of that day was that those of every race and clime who were outside of the fold of the Roman Church were heathen, uncovenanted and damned, and must come into it or perish.

The fancy which I have ventured to suggest,—that the first European adventurers here might have found a continent and people advanced above their own in intelligence, civilization, and all the ministering resources of life,—may find a semblance approximating to reality in the reception which has been accorded to the Mongolians from China. Those immigrants have certainly found here a land preferable for their wants and uses above that which they have left. They certainly cannot congratulate themselves on the warmth of the welcome which they have received. Interested parties, those whose individual gains in commerce or labor are served by these destitute and hungry and humble people,—who thrive on stinted wages and refuse food,—have been pronounced public enemies for favoring the incoming of the Chinese. Among those directly concerned in the exciting question there is a bitter controversy whether this Mongolian race shall make further increase on our continent, and whether those already here shall not be driven out. It is easy by the imagination, helped by some ready statistics and calculations, to forecast deplorable consequences from such an unchecked immigration. We are told that there are more of wretched and starved millions of population in China to-day than there are of all whites and Europeans in the United States, and that, if the way were left open and free for them to come, with their habits of industry and thrift they would soon have predominance here. The

future must provide for that, as for many other serious problems, social and political. We can only comfort ourselves with the fact that this continent, especially under Anglo-Saxon sway, has shown a wonderful power of digestion and assimilation of various peoples and nationalities. We have digested a large part of Ireland, and a considerable portion of Germany, — not, however, without some symptoms of a social and political dyspepsia. Dutch, Swedes, Scandinavians, French, Italians, have also furnished us with a stimulative and an alterative diet; and we must leave to the wisest councillors of our nation to dispose of the Mongolian element.

But, instead of finding in this New World a people in a measure advanced in civilization, and capable of defensive resistance to invasion, those who were the first of Europeans to introduce themselves to another division of their own human race encountered only such as we still call savages, or, at least, barbarians.

Even long after the lands discovered on this side of the Atlantic were known to form a new continent, no longer a part of India or Asia, America was regarded as simply an interposed barrier on the course westerly from Europe to the fabled realm. Not for more than a hundred years following upon the first voyage of Columbus was this continent sought or occupied solely for the magnificent ends which it has been realizing for nearly three centuries. The continent was bound to open a water-course to India, — a new and shorter route to its wealth and wonders. That shortened route, which even to this day we have not given over seeking, was then a beguiling and constraining lure, which turned all considerate thought aside from the inviting shores and the inner depths of this splendid realm for toil and harvesting. The Spaniards pursued the search for that Indian highway near the south of the present bounds of our nation, and in so doing beheld the Pacific Sea, and opened California and Oregon. French, English, and Dutch

navigators have pounded at the barriers of Polar ice in the vain attempt to pierce a passage, and have left the names of capes and bays for their epitaphs.

The Spaniards might still ply their cupidity in drawing out the treasures from the mines of their El Dorado in Mexico and Peru, and the efforts of the less greedy pioneer navigators from the other nations of Europe might still be spent upon finding a northern route opened for them to India. But at last the thrift and practical sagacity, chiefly of the English adventurers, began to rest upon the value and promise of this upper section of the continent for itself alone. "Why go further? Why not stop here, and see what other forms of wealth and good beside gold and pearls may be found here?" These were questions then asked by those best able to answer them. From the moment that the capabilities and the attractions of the new realm fixed the thoughts and engaged the energies of wise and earnest men, these fair expanses began to open themselves—as, by a continuous course of adventure and exploration, they have been doing ever since—to the noblest uses of man. Nor from the first wiser, yet hardly chastened, view taken of them by those who looked on them for themselves alone, did they lack eyes and minds appreciative of their grandeur, their beauty, and their fascination. With almost the sole exceptions of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, who first beheld their bleak and sandy land-fall under the desolation of its wintry aspect, the first Europeans who came with a view to stay in some part of North America, visitors or colonists, so timed their voyages as to arrive at a destination or to skirt the shores in the beauty of the opening spring-time, the gay aspects of summer, or the golden glory of the autumn. The pages of their journals gleam and glow with their enthusiastic pictures of the lovely aspects of Nature here, and the winning charms which beckoned them on to trace her from the shore through the river and the lake up into the recesses of

meadow, forest, and mountain. As we read the quaint epithets and the unskilled, though wonderfully expressive, terms and phrases—sometimes really gems of language—by which in short, strong touches they present the features of some new scene which first of civilized men they beheld, with all their senses quickened to joy, we become oblivious of the stern hardships and the ways of peril through which they had passed, and long that we too might share in the surprises and delights which they portray to us. After long and tempestuous voyages so unlike those by which we pass like shuttles across the ocean,—stived together in cramped vessels, seldom much exceeding, often not reaching, half a hundred tons burden; most generally with scurvy and ship-fever among them; weary of each other's company and the dreary monotony of days and nights, of storms and calms; subsisting upon odious food and stagnant water, while in vain craving something fresh and green,—the signs of bank and shoals and drifting weeds betokened the end of their sea course. Their compass was bewildered: they had no charts. Then the small boat must be put to service, with its watchful crew, to sound the way on, to search for a passage, between reefs and rocks, with eyes ever open for each whitened tuft of water that crowned a breaker. Meanwhile they tell us of the fragrant breathings that came from the wooded and bushy shore, and how they drank in the odorous airs from sassafras and piny groves, and how they filled their water-butts at fresh springs, and gathered from shrub or bough or root the rich, green, juicy fruit or berry so racy in its flavor to the landed seaman. And then their pages fairly sparkle with tales of the vine-clad trees, the fields strewed with the white blossoms of the strawberry, the aroma of the juices of pine and fir and juniper, and all the luxurious vesture and charms of a teeming virgin soil. Nor were they insensible to the solemnities of the primeval forests, the depths of their solitudes, the sombreness and

awe of their profound silence, broken only by the water-fall, the rushing deer, the rustling bough, the buzzing insect, the croaking frog. We shall soon read the charming description which Columbus gave of the scene that first opened on the eyes of the Spaniards. The first adventurers, landing at the mouth of James River, in the very glory and gush of summer beauty in 1607, were in an ecstasy of exuberant delight at the scene, its sights and odors for the senses. The oysters, says George Percy, brother of the Duke of Northumberland, "lay on the ground as thick as stones, many with pearls in them; the earth all flowing over with fair flowers of sundry colors and kinds, as though it had been in any garden or orchard in England; the woods full of cedar and cypress trees, which issue out sweet gums like to balsam." And the veritable John Smith, whose prowess may cover his whole posterity by name, averred that "Heaven and earth never agreed better to frame a place for man's habitation."

Governor Winthrop, reaching our own rude coast in June, 1630, wrote: "We had so pleasant a sweet air as did much refresh us; and there came a smell off the shore like the smell of a garden."

While our domain is arraying itself in the garb and finish of civilization, with its cities and manufactories, there is one of its ancient glories which our near posterity will never behold. It is that of the endless forest shadowed with a deeper than a dim religious light, — a sombre and awful solitude, silent in the calm, but reverberating with Æolian blasts in summer or winter tempests.

What a boon was offered to humanity in the Old World when the veil that had hidden this New World was pierced and lifted! Here was opened for humanity a fresh, fair field, substantially we may say untried, untilled, unpenetrated, and, as the new comers chose to regard it, in larger part unpeopled. We who live upon it have not yet taken the inventory of our possessions; we know but little more

than its surface, nor can we cast the horoscope of its future. This we do know, that while humanity was trying its experiments with rising and falling empires in the Old World, exhausting as it seemed the zest and the possibilities of life, jaded and weary and foul, and often sinking in despair, here was a hidden realm of virgin earth, of forests, lakes, rivers, and mountains, of fields and meadows, of mines and cataracts, with its secrets and marvels of grandeur and beauty, all glowing and beaming as with the alluring legend, "Try once more what you can do with, what you can make of, human life!" It was as when one turns from a melancholy stroll in a decayed town or ruined city, with its crumbling and mouldering structures, its sewers choked with foulness, and its festering graveyards whose inscribed stones only vary the tale of woe and vanity and falsehood, and mounts a breezy hill in our fairest regions of yet lonely space, and gazes upon the prospect.

Such was the boon and gift offered to humanity on the opening of this continent. Profoundly penetrating and solemn is the thought, that never again on this globe will this transcendent privilege and proffer be repeated. We have got the whole, in all its parts. Australia has discouraged the hope which beamed at its first welcome. Though it is the largest island on the globe,—itself a continent,—having an area of nearly three million square miles, only the skirts of its coasts appear to be profitable for cultivation, while the surveys of its interior, so far as they have with difficulty been made, reveal enormous deserts of sand and rock. We note that the British men of science, at the annual meetings of their Association, offer their measurements of the yet remaining capacities of the mines of coal and iron and other metals, and forecast the date when England must yield the power and glory of being the workshop of the world. It requires no abstruse mathematics to deal with the facts of a larger and more august problem. What shall men, in the steady increase of our race, do when all

the desirable stretches of the habitable earth, on continent and island, are occupied? We know how festering diseases and a devitalized blood track the long abode of a crowd of men in one spot; we know how the life-stock in our cities is renewed by new comers from rural homes. What resources will humanity have for its long future refreshment and purification as it uses up, exhausts, and defiles its old scenes and seeks fresh fields and pastures new? The only meet answer we can give to that question is in the fidelity and economy with which we use man's last and largest continent.

It is not admitted, however, that men are less vigorous in an old country than in a new one. While we attribute to the length of their ages the decays of some Eastern people, Germany has not lost its power for producing men of noblest energy and talent, by any lapse of centuries. And it has even been affirmed that our race has physically deteriorated since its transfer here.

Notwithstanding the mystery which overhung the continent on its discovery, it was from the first delighted in and gloried over as a land of infinite possibilities. The wealth and prosperity which have been wrought from it may not answer in kind or form to the fashionings of the exalted imaginations of its hidden treasures, because there was a halo investing at first the vast unknown. It was at once found that everything here was on a magnificent scale of size and grandeur. What the Old World from which the adventurers came had only in miniature, in toy shapes, this continent presented in sublime magnitudes. Its rivers were bays, its ponds were seas, and its lakes were oceans. Where did the continent begin, and where did it end, and how was it to be opened? The early comers listened to and repeated some legendary and monstrous stories of the sort of men which were to be found deep in these forests. Columbus saw mermaids in the sea. Jacques Cartier, in Canada, had heard of men with the convenient accomplishment of living without a particle of any kind of food;

and Lafitau reported another sort of people whose heads,¹ if they really had any, were snugly buried between their shoulders, and others still who had but one leg.

This grand and majestic scale on which the objects and features of the continent were proportioned, gives a tone of expanse and of unbounded, vaguely-defined locality in the designation of vast territories. Such terms as "the head-waters" of one or more rivers, or their valleys, or a "stretch" of plains, are used as if defining the range for a pleasant walk, while months of toil and risk would be requisite for coursing them. One of the charms which will always invest the perusal of the journals of the old explorers, deep in the recesses of the continent, will be found in noting these large epithets of description and locality, and in comparing them with the reduced terms, the definite and detailed bounds and limits, by which we find it necessary to refer to them. The Alleghanies and the Rocky Mountains represented once uniform and comprehensive lines of elevation, longitudinally continuous and compacted as barrier walls. They are distributed now into irregular ranges, distinguished by peaks and valleys, while skill and fancy are tasked to give them titles.

The new comers, however, knowing well what they came for and what they were in search of, very soon set upon the prizes for which they were seeking. It is curious to mark how, from the very first, different aims and objects, respectively characteristic of the Europeans of the three leading nationalities, were manifested and pursued here, and were followed down to our own times. The aim and greed of the Spaniard were for gold, silver, and pearls, the spoils of the heathen; not at all for laborious occupancy of

¹ This learned writer in his "Moeurs des Sauvages Americains," gives us an engraved figure of one of these *Acephales*, as he calls them. The face and head, comfortably settled, as the breast, present quite a benignant expression. The subject would be an impracticable one for the gibbet or guillotine. Planche, iii.

the soil. The Frenchman was content with the fur-trade, in pursuit of which he needed the aid of the Indian, whom he was disposed therefore to treat with friendliness, and with whom he consorted on such equal terms as to be still represented, all over our north and west, by a race of half-breeds. The staple of the English stock, after some random ventures in Virginia, when they came to be represented by the Puritan element in Plymouth, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, though they had fallen upon the least kindly and the most rugged soil of the continent, accepted the condition of hard work and frugal ways, earning their living by cod-fish and corn. And that may be the reason why—the Spaniards having vanished with the age of gold, and the French with the wasteful fur-trade—the English, though the last comers, are the hard workers and the opulent on this land.

The red men will always have a tender, touching claim upon our sympathetic regrets in the fact that we succeed to their heritage. We fill the places from which they have vanished. The more enduring, the unchangeable features of the scenes of our life-time—the mountain, the valley, the river—are those which are forever identified with them. The changes and improvements which we have introduced are wholly ours, and would be simply indifferent or offensive to the wild forest rovers. However we may palliate or justify, with reasons or from the stress of necessity, their removal from before us, we cannot forget that they were once here; and that whatever was the sum or substance of the good of existence for them was found in the same aspects of Nature, under the same sun and moon and stars, on the same soil, as the same seasons passed over it, where we find our own. An ancient burial-ground, with its decaying memorials, does not lose the pathos of its suggestiveness for us in the reflection that the covered human dust is very ancient, and was of necessity deposited there.

There are occasions and places when the regretful re-

membrances of a vanished race come upon us with a depth of sympathy so true that we love to yield to it. When, under the fairer auspices of Nature, in our vacation or holiday moods, we visit spots in harmony with our ideals of the romance of savage life, we are easily beguiled into workings of remorse or pity for the wasted and extinct tribes who once roamed here before us. On the mountain slopes, with their deep, wild coverts, never yet disturbed by the woodman's axe, and where wild creatures still linger in their haunts, we feel that a few of the native stock might still find a refuge. In the shaded valleys, coursed by babbling brooks or rushing rivulets, on the green and pebbly shores of tranquil lakes, into which push out the sedgy and wooded tongues of land, circled with creeping vines and the mild fragrance of the wild-flowers,—we should meet without surprise the dusky loiterers whose moccasoned feet might tread noiselessly before us. By the summer seaside, on beach or cliff, where we pitch the canvas tent, in mimicry of the native wigwam, we may share in fancy the company of those to whom the scene on earth was the same three hundred years ago as it is to us to-day. Then, if ever, we are responsive to the feelings of compunction over the wrongs of the red men. We call them back as to their own outraged and stolen heritage. We reknit their untutored hearts to the scenes and objects which we feel they must have intensely enjoyed and loved, because they shared the human sensibilities which give to the sunlight and the breeze, to the lapping sea-wave and the aroma of the forest, their entrancing spell for us. The wealth of sentiment in them, unrefined and untutored as it was, was of the endowment of their nature. It must all have gone in concentrated, appreciative strength, to spend itself within the narrow range of their emotional being. Among the more engaging subjects of interest and curiosity which within quite recent years have been discussed by our more philosophic students, and which we shall have to note fur-

ther on, is the inquiry as to the range and degree of what we call mental development among savages generally, or in any particular portion of them favored by condition and opportunity. On the whole it may be said that fuller observation, closer intercourse, and a keener study of them have greatly qualified the first impressions and the first judgments of them as wholly imbruted, stolid, vacant in mind, inert, without food and exercise of thought. The very closeness of their relation to Nature, its aspects and products, and the acuteness of their powers of observation, must have quickened them into simple philosophers.

It is on record, and there it must remain, that to the first comers from Europe, at every point of our mainland and islands, the natives extended a kindly and gentle welcome. They offered freely the hospitality of the woods. Yet more: they looked on the whites with timid reverence and awe as superior beings, coming not so much from another region of this same earth as from some higher realm. It is to be confessed, moreover, that their visitors very soon broke the spell of their enchantment, and proved themselves human, with charms and potencies for working harm and woe. The white men cheaply parted with the marvel and glory with which the simple natives invested them, and became the objects of a dread which was simply horror. Relations of hostility and rancor were at once established, in a superlative degree, by the Spaniards, in their ruthless raids upon the natives, to whom they made the basest returns for an overflow of kindness, whom they tasked and transported as slaves, and on whom they visited all the contempt of their own superstition and all the ingenuities of torture. The expresses and the telegraphs of the children of the woods transmitted through the continent, as effectively as do our modern devices, the mingled impressions of bewilderment and rage, and opened the since unvaried and intensified distrust which the red man has of the white man.

We are often, sometimes very solemnly, forewarned of

the judgment which later times and loftier standards of right than our own will pronounce upon our country for our treatment of the Indians. Occasionally, with prophetic burden, the stern seer into the future denounces a curse forever to rest upon this land, evoked by the silent, spectral forms of the vanished red men over whose hunting-grounds and graves in the hands of the spoiler no permanent blessing can ever be enjoyed. But, through any and all future time,—when, if it should be so, the red race has vanished,—two very different pleas in relief or vindication of the white man will be offered. We can anticipate those pleas, for they can be no other than are spoken earnestly and urgently in our own present time. One of them will urge, as it now urges, inevitable fate, irresistible destiny, as appointing absolute extermination and extinction for a race of men either incapable of, or wilfully hostile to, civilization. The other plea of defence will rest in firmly and eloquently insisting that the wisdom and conscience of the white man were thwarted, by circumstance or inherent obstacles, in all the humane and earnest and costly work which he attempted for the good of the red man.

In the broad sweep of historic retrospect, that has indeed been a direful and tragic work as regards the red man and the white man which has been wrought on this continent; sad and shocking it is, whether we contemplate it in the interests of a humane civilization, or in sympathy with the Indian. But with no intent to prejudice the whole issue, to plead for wrong, or to palliate iniquity, there are two stern facts of which we may remind ourselves. First: during the more than three centuries of struggle between Christian and heathen races on this continent, every wrong and outrage to humanity, all the woe and suffering involved in it, have been more than matched in the methods by which so-called Christians have dealt with each other in the Old World, by wars, massacres, persecutions, and all the enginery of passion and folly, and hate and vengeance. And,

second: if all the losses and inflictions — in pain, in actual visitations of every sort of distress and agony — could be summed up and brought into comparison, it would be found that the cost of getting possession of this continent has been and will yet be to the whites more exacting in toil and blood and in purchase-price than the defence of their heritage has been to the Indians. Sad and harrowing as has been the sanguinary conflict between a civilized and a barbarous race on this continent, how trivial has been the sum of its woes compared with those of contemporaneous passions on the other side of the ocean, in religious, civil, and dynastic wars, — wars of succession, seven years' wars, thirty years' wars, wars of the Netherlands, of the Fronde, of the League, of the Peninsula, of the Napoleons, of the Holy Alliance, of every European nation, — all Christian!

Yet if full vengeance settles the account of the wronged, vastly more in number of the whites than of the Indians, and by sterner and ghastlier methods of death, have fallen in the conflict. Nor has Christian civilization, in its restraints upon the exercise of arbitrary and vengeful power by the strong against the weak, withstood, down to our own times, the grossest acts of oppression and outrage when national or commercial aggrandizement or thrift was the object in view. When all the naval and military power and policy of Great Britain have been engaged to thrust opium down the throats of the Chinese at the point of the bayonet, and Sepoys have been blown from the mouth of cannon, we cannot deal with like enormities as stains upon merely the annals of the past.

The relations between the red and the white men on this continent, from their very first contact to this present year, may be traced historically in two parallel lines, reproducing, repeating, and illustrating in a long series the same facts which characterize each of them. First, we have in a continuous line a long series of avowed intentions, of sincere purposes, and of earnest, often heroic, designs, plans, and

efforts to protect and benefit the savage; to secure his rights, to advance his welfare, to humanize, civilize, and Christianize him. Second, we have, in another unbroken but always steady series, a course of oppressive and cruel acts, of hostile encounters, of outrages, wars, and treacherous dealings, which have driven the savage from his successive refuges on plain or mountain fastness, in forests or on lake shores, till it would seem as if this unintermitted harassment must make certain his ultimate extinction.

How this second course and series of oppressive, cruel, and exterminating measures got prevalence and sway, and has effectually triumphed over the really sincere purposes and professions, over the earnest and costly efforts made to protect and benefit the savage, it is the office of a faithful and candid historian to explain.

Of course, it is of all things the most requisite that one should start on this inquiry in a spirit of perfect impartiality. Yet no one can pursue it far without yielding much or little to a bias that has prejudiced the inquiry for most who have engaged in it, and will be sure to present itself to all. That bias is the accepting what is called the inevitable, in the form of a theory about races, which assumes or argues the utter impossibility that two races of men can exist in harmony and prosperity together. It is enough to say that this theory is in no case to be assumed, but must be tested and verified on each occasion that suggests it.

As to these two parallel lines of facts which illustrate the relations between the red and the white man here, it may be observed that there is in our libraries and public archives a most voluminous collection of books and documents in which they are followed out. We have unnumbered journals and narratives, relations of individuals who, anticipating or sharing in each successive advance of frontier life, have written for us Indian chronicles. We have tales of adventure, stories of captives, reports of heroic missionaries, records of benevolent societies, and Government docu-

ments,—indeed, a perfect mass of partial and impartial guides.

It is but just that an adequate and emphatic statement should be made of the avowedly good intentions and purposes, and of the really earnest and costly schemes and efforts of the whites for the benefit of the aborigines from the very first intercourse between them. True, the insufficiency and failure of nearly all of these purposes and efforts, and the almost mocking futility of them when compared with the steady, grasping, and well-nigh exterminating progress of the whites over the continent, may seem to throw back upon these measures a character of insincerity and unreality. But it would be untrue, as well as unfair and uncharitable, so to judge. There were profound integrity, rectitude, and strong resolve in many of the professions of commiseration and intended right dealing towards the Indians. Benevolent and manly hearts have beat in tender sympathy for them. Benevolence, in its single rills and in the generous flow of its gathered contributions, has poured forth its kindly offices to them, and the sternly consecrated lives of patient and heroic men, roughened and perilled by all the dismal exigencies of the work, have been spent with the savages and for the savages, to secure for them the rights of humanity and the blessings of civilization and pure religion.

We may regard as mere empty forms the conditions and commands, looking towards the interests of the natives, introduced into the patents or charters with which the colonists from Europe were empowered to take possession of the country. We may ridicule the commissions and instructions given to governors and magistrates as to the treatment of the Indians, of which so little came in practice. The labors of philanthropists, humanitarians, and missionaries in their single efforts, or in their associated benevolent organizations, drawing bounties from all Christendom to benefit the savages, may sink into insignificance when compared

with the cunning, the greed, the violence, the ruthless and un pitying vengeance, and the steady havoc of war which have made the red men yield all but their last refuges, on an almost boundless continent, to the white man. But none the less are there witnesses, memorials, and full confirmations of the fact that the Indian has had his friends and benefactors among the whites. Always, and with bright and gracious tributes for sincerity and gentle humanity, must the name of Isabella of Castile be reverently honored, because, while her own royal consort, her nobles, her people, and even many of her highest ecclesiastics, indifferent to the subject,—either from thoughtlessness over the first signs of a stupendous iniquity that was to follow, or from absorption in prospective ambitions or commercial interests,—connived from the first in the enslavement, oppression, and destruction of the natives of the New World, she was the first of women or of men to protest, as a Christian, against any spoiling of the heathen. Nor was it from a mere feminine tenderness that she pleaded and wrote with such constraining earnestness that the children of Nature, as we shall soon read, described so engagingly by Columbus, should be treated with all the more of Christian love and mercy because, not being Christians, this was the only way to make them Christians. Of all European sovereigns, Isabella alone wrought from the dictation of the heart, and not with merely mocking formalities of profession in behalf of the savages. To the close of her life, in deep afflictions and in bodily sufferings, and in dictating her last wishes and commands, that saintly queen pleaded for gentle pity and for Christian equity and love in behalf of her subjects of a strange race. One of her ecclesiastics caught her spirit; others of them gave their counsel for measures which thwarted her purposes.

The President and Council of the Virginia Plantation in 1606 were instructed “to kindly treat the savages and heathen people in those parts, and use all proper

means to draw them to the true service and knowledge of God.”

In the patent for Nova Scotia, in 1621, James I. speaks of the countries “either inhabited or occupied by unbelievers, whom to convert to the Christian faith is a duty of great importance to the glory of God.”

In the charter of Massachusetts Bay, 1628, the colonists are warned to lead such good lives as “may win and invite the natives of the country to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Saviour of mankind, and the Christian faith, — which in our royal intention and the adventurers’ free profession is the principal end of this Plantation.”

In full accord with this royal form of instruction the Governor (Cradock) of the Bay Company, in 1629, writes to Endicott, its first resident officer here: “We trust you will not be unmindful of the main end of our Plantation, by endeavoring to bring the Indians to the knowledge of the Gospel; which, that it may be the speedier and better effected, the earnest desire of our whole Company is, that you have a diligent and watchful eye over our own people, that they live unblamable and without reproof, and demean themselves justly and courteous towards the Indians, thereby to draw them to affect our persons and consequently our religion,—as also to endeavor to get some of their children to train up to reading and consequently to religion, whilst they are young: herein to young or old to omit no good opportunity that may tend to bring them out of that woful state and condition they now are in,—in which case our predecessors in this our land sometimes were, and, but for the mercy and goodness of our God, might have continued to this day.” Endicott was further instructed: “If any of the salvages pretend right of inheritance to all or any part of the lands granted in our patent, endeavor to purchase their tittle, that we may avoid the least scruple of intrusion.”

In the charter given by Charles II., in 1681, to William

Penn, we read of the "commendable desire to reduce the savage natives by gentle and just manners to the love of civil society and the Christian religion."

It is observable, however, that in these and many other similar royal and public avowals and instructions as to the rightful claims of the natives upon the colonists, but little is said about remunerating the Indians or purchasing from them any territorial rights. It was always complacently assumed that the whites might quietly take possession. Whatever then was the intent or the degree of sincerity of these royal instructions, they all rested upon the assumption that the invaders might rightfully override, by a claim of superiority, the tenure of barbarians on the soil.

It is noteworthy also, that, from the very earliest settlement of the English colonists, the intent and effort to benefit the natives took the ambitious form of providing for them schools and even colleges, in which they should enjoy the highest advantages of education with the whites. While the issue was as yet uncertain, whether the English would maintain their hold as planters in Virginia, Sir Edwin Sandys, as treasurer of the Company, proposed, in 1619, to found a college in the colony for English and Indian youth in common. He received an anonymous gift of £500 for the education of Indian youth in English and in the Christian religion. Other gifts were added, and the prospect seemed promising and hopeful. By advice of the King and the Bishops £1,500 were collected in England. The Company appropriated for the purpose ten thousand acres of land at Henrico, near Richmond. But the massacre of the whites by the Indians, in 1622, soon after a beginning had been made in the work, effectually annulled it.

The first brick building on the grounds of Harvard bore the name of the Indian College. It was built by funds gathered in England. Its design was to furnish rooms

for twenty Indian youth, who, on a level with the English, might pursue a complete academic course, for which they should be prepared by a "Dame's school," and by "Master Corlet's Grammar School." The attempt was earnestly made and carried through its various stages, with but slender and wholly unsatisfactory results. That work of marvellous toil and holy zeal, Eliot's Indian Bible, was printed in that consecrated college hall. The excellent Robert Boyle and the beloved and gentle Bishop Berkeley both bore labors and sacrifices in planning colleges for the Indians,—alike in vain.

Dartmouth College took its start as "Moors' Charity School for Indians," for the education of their youth and of missionaries to them. The motto on the college seal is *Vox clamantis in Deserto*. A very remarkable list is still preserved of subscriptions made in its behalf from two hundred places in Great Britain, chiefly gathered by the preaching there of an ordained Christian minister, Sampson Occum, an Indian. President Wheelock gave his devoted labors to the school and college, and once had twenty-one Indian boys under instruction. But the missionaries sent forth from the college were not welcome or successful, and the whites soon monopolized the advantages of the institution. In each of these enterprises some malign agency came in to thwart all well-intended purposes.

In view of all these royal covenants and solemn avowals made in the interest of the red men, and of all these associated and individual efforts through costly outlays and devoted sacrifice to serve and help and save them, no one can fairly affirm that the European colonists from the beginning until now have failed to recognize the ordinary claims of a common humanity which the aborigines had upon them. We certainly have to take note of the fact that the best feelings and purposes towards the Indians were cherished in anticipation of what would and ought to be the relations of the whites as Christians, when brought

into intercourse with them. Closer acquaintanceship, intimacy of intercourse, and indeed the results of the first friendly and helpful efforts of the whites, soon raised and strengthened a feeling of discouragement, which was very ready to justify itself when alienation and open hostility embittered the relations of the races. The conviction that it was very difficult to convert and civilize an Indian received from most of those who listened to its avowal the response that the labor was by no means compensated by the result. In other words, the strong persuasion was that the Indian was not worth converting. This was so manifestly allowed in the case of reprobates among the whites, as to sound like an axiom when said of the red men.

“Men without knowledge of God or use of reason,” is the royal description given of the Indians by Francis, in his commission to Roberval. The monarch does not appear to have been aware of the hopelessness of any effort to deal with those who in seeming only were men, while they lacked the endowment which distinguishes man from the brute. He might, however, have qualified his description of the Indian by affirming that it was the use, not the possession or the capacity, of reason which was wanting. Had he known some of those whom he thus described; had he been left to their guidance in the lakes and streams, the thickets and coverts of the wilderness, and noted their fertility of resource, their ingenuity in emergencies, and the skill with which they interpreted Nature,—he would have found at least that they had compensating faculties as well adapted to the conditions of their life as are the trained intellectual exercises of the masses of ordinary men. That monarch and his successors were well represented among the natives by those, whether priests or adventurers and traders, to whom we owe the best knowledge of the aborigines, in the early years of intercourse. The lack of reason, or even of its use, was not the special defect of an Indian in the view of a Frenchman.

The fruitful subject of Christian missions to the Indians, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, will be treated by itself. But brief reference must be made to the long, and up to this day continuous, series of efforts, beginning with the first European occupancy here, through incorporated and associated benevolent societies and fellowships; through consecrated bequests of funds; through public and private appeals generously answered; and through the heroic and self-sacrificing labors and sufferings of individuals who have shrunk from no extremities of pain and trial,—all given to civilize and Christianize the aborigines of this soil and their representatives. The advocates in our days of the peace policy with the Indians may trace their line of descent through an honorable roll of predecessors. There are funds sacredly kept, the income of which is now, year by year, distributed by the terms of old charters and trusts, for the secular and religious welfare of the Indians. Nor is it strictly true, as has often been said, that the Indians have no standing in our courts. Though the standing which they have may be hardly distinguishable from that of wards, idiots, lunatics, and paupers, it has at least secured to them many individual and common rights, with penalties on such as wrong them. There are regions now in some of our oldest States which were set apart for Indian ownership and residence in Colonial and Provincial times, with trust funds for their maintenance, independent of those which have been established by the national Government. Representatives of the race are still found in those places. To what experiences and results these few remnants of the aborigines on these spots have been brought, must be noticed further on in these pages.

In the minds of some among us, who most regret and condemn the general dealing of our people and Government with the Indians, there floats an ideal conception of what might have been, and what should have been, the relations between the two races from the first up to this day,—rela-

tions which would have withstood a giant injustice, and forbade countless atrocities, massacres, and wars. This conception, in the interest of right and reason and humanity, suggests that the stock and lineage of the original red men, with those of the colonizing white men, might easily have begun an amicable and helpful coexistence on this continent, and shared the heritage; and that they might, according to circumstances or their own wills, have become amalgamated, or kept themselves distinct. And the relations between the English residents and the natives in their East Indian dependencies are pointed to as affording some sort of a parallel.

By that facile method by which we often shape conditions which, as we assume, might have been and ought to have been realized, while we leave out of view the needful means for effecting them and the obstacles which interposed, we are apt to argue the case presented somewhat as follows: There was, and is, on this continent room enough for both races. The new comers were forlorn strangers,—guests. The aborigines were kindly hosts to these poor wayfarers. They might have lived peacefully together and prospered, the stronger party always keeping the grateful memory of early obligations. Left to their natural ways and development, the whites might have occupied the seaboard and the factory streams, gradually extending into the interior; the red men might have hid within the forest recesses, to conserve any of the good qualities of their race, without contamination, and gradually with the adoption of improving influences from the whites. Then all would have been fair to-day between the races. We might have had some splendid and noble specimens of the red men in our Congress,—an improvement on some who are there now. Thus would have been realized the hope and prayer of the good old Canonius, the first and fast friend of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, “That the English and my posterity shall live in love and peace together.”

Those who have most fondly painted this ideal of what might have been the relations between the two races on this continent, will even suggest what they regard as approximations to it in the peaceful connections, with results of a common prosperity, which have existed between colonists here from over the whole globe, with all languages and religions, with unlike habits and modes of life.

It may be said that it is not yet too late to put this deferred experiment to a trial. Some proximate attempts have indeed been made to realize it, and are still in progress, — as, for instance, in reserved localities in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Maine, and New York, where representatives of Indian tribes have remained in peaceful relations with the whites by covenants, as has been stated, formed far back in our Colonial and Provincial epochs. But to have made these fragmentary and special provisions a rule for general application over our whole domain, would have called for an exercise of wisdom and humanity such as has asserted itself only since harsher methods had long been in practice, and penitential compunctions for them have provoked reproaches for the past. Even as the case stands now, while the humane sentiment of the age backed by the avowed purposes of the Government,—and something better than a mere feint of sincerity in effecting them,—are engaged to substitute peaceful and helpful measures in all our relations with what remains of the aboriginal stock, we are made to realize the difficulty of the process. It is enough to say that the Indians have lost, if indeed they ever had, the power of standing as an equal party with the whites in such an amicable arrangement, and must now accept such terms as may be dictated to them.

Historical students and readers of generations now on the stage, as they turn over the early New England annals, will find their interest engaged by the antique seals, with quaint devices, which were adopted for the formal attestation of their records by the colonists of Plymouth and Mas-

sachusetts Bay. The seal of Plymouth Colony, with the date 1620, presents on the quarterings of the shield four naked Indians, bowed on one knee, with forest trees around them. The seal is without a legend, but the savages each hold up what seems to be a blazing or a flaming heart, in petition or offering. We are without contemporary information as to the origin of this seal, the date of its adoption, or the intent of its device. But the noteworthy point for us is, that the seal, whatever it was meant to signify, was the invention of the white man, not in any sense an expression of the desire of the savages, or a solicitation from them for the white man's coming here.

Even more to the point are the device and legend on the seal of the Bay Colony. That was prepared and adopted in England, and sent over here, in silver, in 1629, with the first settlers. It represents a stalwart, muscular savage, naked, save as a few forest leaves shade him, standing among his pine-trees, an arrow in his right hand, a bow in the left, and on a scroll is inscribed, as coming from his lips, the Macedonian cry to the Apostles,—“Come over and help us!” It was an ingenious device of our fathers thus to represent the natives of the soil, in their forlorn state of bodily and spiritual nakedness and heathenism, plaintively appealing to the white man to come to their deliverance. The specimen Indian on the seal, well fed and muscular, does not look as if he needed any help, except in the matter of apparel; in that, indeed, his need is urgent. So it is pleasant to read that the first Indian whom the Plymouth Pilgrims met,—Samoset,—being in the costume of Nature, received from them the following articles of clothing, so far as they would go towards making up a respectable wardrobe: “A hat, a pair of stockings and shoes, a shirt, and a piece of cloth to tie about his waist.”

If any of the native stock here in later years, when their race was all wasting away from our coast, had the skill to interpret the devices on the colony seals, they must have

thought that the white man's "help" had been but sorrow for them. The Dutch colonists of New York were more frank, at least, in avowing the main object of their coming, for they chose a beaver for their shield seal.

The deliberate judgment of that observing and thoughtful missionary Lafitau is summed up in these words: "The Indians have lost more by imitating our vices than they have gained by availing themselves of those arts which might have added to the comforts and conveniences of life." Yet among the many radical differences of judgment which have found expression by intelligent and competent observers, and which cover most of the matters of fact, with comments upon them, in the whole survey of the relations between the whites and the Indians on this continent, we are to recognize this, namely,—the avowal of the opinion that the intrusion and agency of the whites have, on the whole, accrued to the benefit, the relief, the improvement of the native stock. It has been stoutly affirmed that no additional havoc or horrors have attended the warfare of civilized men against the savages, beyond those which, with their rude weapons, their fiendish passions, and their ingenuities of torture, they had been for ages inflicting on each other. And it has been boldly argued, that, though civilization mastered the Indians rough-shod, it has dropped on its way reliefs, implements, favors, and influences which have mollified and reduced barbarism, and added resources towards lifting them from a mode of life hardly above that of brutes.

It is within the life-period of the present generation that the whole development of the relations between the whites and the Indians—protracted through the preceding centuries—has been rapidly matured towards what is in immediate prospect as some decisive and final disposal of the issue. During those previous centuries, steady as has been the process of the displacement of the Indians, it was pursued under the supposed palliating condition that their re-

moval, by being crowded on to more remote refuges, was provided for by an undefined extent and wealth of western territory of like features to the regions from which they were driven; and that in those unpenetrated depths of the continent they might for indefinite periods pursue their wonted habits of barbarous life, subsisting by the chase. So long as this resource was left, the full problem of the fate of the Indian did not press as now for immediate solution. While the superb valleys of the affluents of the Missouri, the Platte, the Red River, the Mackenzie, the Columbia, the Colorado, and the Sacramento were still untraversed wildernesses, it seemed as if tribes which never made any fixed improvements of the soil essential to and consequent upon their tenure of it, might even prove gainers by moving on and taking their chances with previous roamers over spaces large enough for them all. Circumstances have hurried on the active working of new agencies with a rush of enterprises to what must be a forced, or a deliberately chosen and wise, conclusion. As soon as the continent was opened on the Pacific ocean, with a more vigorous ardor than the languid dalliance of the Spanish navigators, there began an era which was as foreboding to the savages as it was quickening to the whites. Other agencies, all vitalized with the spirit of modern zeal and scheming, directed by scientific as well as by adventurous aims, and kindled by a revival of the same passion for the precious metals as that which blazed in the first discovery of the continent, accomplished in a score of years changes such as had been wrought before in no whole century. The discovery of rich mines and the search for more, the piercing advance of railways and telegraphs which came to meet each other in the centre of the continent, the occupancy of extensive ranches, the steady sweep onwards of emigrant trains turning the Indian trails into great highways, and the subtile instruments of Government engineers and explorers,—all combined to convert what had been known as

the Great American Desert into regions as accurately surveyed and as adequately delineated on maps as are the features of land and water and geological formation of one of the old States. The single fact that within the last decade of years more than a million of buffaloes have been annually slaughtered for their hides, the carcasses being left to the wolves, has been a significant token that the extinction of the game would come to be a constraining condition of the fate of the red man. Meanwhile, alike on the northern and on the southern borders of our national domain, the pressure of the same quickening and goading enterprises has contemporaneously aided to encircle the former limitless range of the savages till they are, as it were, coralled in the centre of a circumscribed white occupancy. The breaking of the monopoly of the Hudson Bay Company, which from its first charter not only discountenanced colonization, but jealously forbade even the exploration of the depths of the wilderness in order that they might be reserved for the traffic in fur-bearing animals, has given place to an eager rivalry in British enterprise in settling and improving its territory, aided by largesses for opening its own transcontinental railway. Simultaneously our own Indian Territory on the south—so solemnly covenanted to the exclusive occupancy of the five so-called civilized tribes, as well as to remnants of others under treaty—is threatened with a gridiron system of railways. The demands of civilized intercourse and of commercial and passenger traffic are made inexorable. Nor do the hundred and twenty-nine loosely bounded spaces marked on the latest maps as Reservations answer to their titles. They are but mocking securities against steady encroachments by individuals or companies of such as covet them; and when the clash between the greed of the white man and the covenanted rights of the Indian ripens into an open feud and expands into an armed collision, the Government is ever ready for any breach of its faith which may be accounted to the issue of

civilization against barbarism. The Indian tribes in what we call our national domain are now in the centre of a circle which is contracting its circumference all around them. Having passed through their successive relations of hosts, enemies, pensioners, and subjects of the white men, they are now the wards of the nation. The feeding, clothing, and the attempted process of civilizing them by fixed residence and labor, costly as the outlay is, is admitted on all sides to be less than the expense of fighting them.

In this general survey of the chief subjects which will come before us for fuller observation as we open them for relation or discussion in dealing with our large theme, we have glanced at topics several of which might well, for their interest and importance, form the matter of many separate volumes,—as indeed they have done. Just at this time, under the title of the "Indian Question," our statesmen and philanthropists, our military men and our practical economists, have presented to them a subject of engrossing interest; and there is a strong pressure for a resolute and decisive dealing with it. The history of the past is reverted to only for its rebukes and warnings. What is in general terms impersonated as the conscience of the nation,—as if asserting itself for the first time in its full and emphatic authority, or lifting itself free of all the embarrassments of expediency and policy,—insists that time and opportunity favor the application of absolute justice, with reparation so far as is possible for the past, and wise and kindly protective benevolence at whatever cost for the future, in the relations between our Government and the remnant of the aborigines on our domain. But it is always difficult, if not impossible, to disengage an ancient grievance from its entail of follies, errors, and wrongs in the past, and to deal with it as if free of prejudiced and embarrassed conditions. In dealing with the present Indian question, it comes to us perplexed and obstructed not only by previous mistakes, but also by existing and impracticable covenants. New

elements of complication are constantly presenting themselves to perplex the original problem as to what were to be the relations between a barbarous and a civilized people, — the former being in a supposed rightful possession of territory, while the latter, conscious of the power to secure and hold it, have found warrant for its exercise in arguments of natural reason or in interpreting the divine purposes. The substance and shape of the original problem have also been modified by physical and natural agencies, by the trial of experiments and the development of the resources of the country. A tribe of Indians seemingly contented with a treaty stipulation assigning to them a vast expanse of territory, supposed to be adequate to their subsistence in their own mode of life, find their hunting grounds encompassed by the encroachments of the whites on their borders, the game becoming scarce and threatening soon to disappear, while the old forest weapons lose their skill. So the Indians ask for the arms and ammunition of the white men, and for supplies of life which did not form conditions of the compact with them. They become restless on their reservations, even if not interfered with there. In the mean time enterprising white explorers come to the knowledge of the wealth in the streams and bowels of some of those reservations, and on the plea that these vast treasures were not known to exist when the mere wild land was covenanted to a tribe, and that they were not in the bargain, and more than all that they are useless to the Indians, the treaty is trifled with; and the Government, which is not as strong as the people, is forced to be a party to a breach of faith.

While, therefore, statesmanship and philanthropy are in our time forced to face the present Indian question as one for immediate disposal on urgent demands of wisdom and duty, of policy and of right, it is not strange that there should be a divergency of judgment, often manifested in clamor and discord and passion, as to the method and

course of action which will be practicable, effectual, and satisfactory. As, in dealing with realities and with human nature as it is, we have to recognize the facts which make up the whole of the conditions of any given problem to be disposed of, we have again to note, as directly and sharply bearing upon the present urgency of the Indian question, the fact already referred to, and to be in the sequel more deliberately considered, that there is another element besides statesmanship and philanthropy, which manifests itself not always in the discussion of, but in pronounced opinion and in strong feeling concerning, this question. Of course it would be impossible to estimate the number or proportion of the people of our country who hold the opinion and who cherish the feeling now in view; but we know that there are very many among us, and that they are very sturdy and unflinching in their conviction, who hold that the iron sway of mastery, the complete domination over the Indians, even if their absolute extermination follows, is the only solution of the problem. While such a stern and relentless conviction as this underlies, it may be, the opinions of some members of Congress, of many of our leading military officers, and of agents and superintendents of Indian affairs, as well as of reckless and unprincipled frontiersmen and miners, it is easy to infer to what extent statesmanship and philanthropy will find their schemes baffled. There can be no doubt that this desperate forecasting of the destiny of our aboriginal tribes has, latently or in avowal, swayed the minds of a vast number in each generation here, and has by no means been confined to those violent, merciless fighters and desperadoes who have done their utmost to carry out the presumed decree of fate. The Spanish invaders, as we shall see, assumed to be the agents of that destiny; but none the less did Puritan ministers of New England find prophecy and divine aid in alliance with their own firelocks and swords in helping it on to fulfilment. So far as under the pressure of

the Indian question to-day, the ultimate extinction of the Indian is with misgivings, regrets, or full and acquiescent persuasion, held to be its only solution, while the belief may embarrass and obstruct the wisest and most humane schemes, it can be forced into silence or falsified only when a protective, a benevolent, and a steadily effectual policy for the humane and rightful dealing with the Indians, in prolonged generations on this continent, is demonstrating its success.

We are now prepared to rehearse, in its graphic and signally significant details, the occasion, the scene, the actors, and the consequences marking the first introduction of themselves by men of the Old World to the wondering natives of this unveiled continent.

CHAPTER I.

SPANISH DISCOVERERS AND INVADERS.

A LIVELY, indeed a dramatic, interest attaches to the occasion and the incidents which first brought together for recognition, for sight and intercourse, representatives of the human family that had been parted by oceans for unknown centuries. Neither of these branches of a common stock had knowledge of the other. There was to be a first meeting, as of strangers. In view of all the dismal and harrowing results which were to follow, burdening with tragedies of woe and cruelty the relations between the white man and the red man, especially those of the Spaniards and the natives of the American islands, one might be tempted to wish that the ocean had been impassable. The more grateful, therefore, is it to recall the fact, that the very first contact and recognition between those of the Old World and the New, when the time had come that they were no longer to be deferred, present to us a sweet and lovely picture. Would that its charm and repose of simple peacefulness might have been the long perspective of the then following ages!

The great-hearted Admiral had kept his high resolve and hope through all the weary delays of his course over unknown seas, with panic-stricken and mutinous sailors. They might reckon over what part of the expanse of waters they had passed in their poor vessels, but knew not how much remained. But signs of land had appeared in sea-

weed, drift-wood, and birds, and a stick carved by tool. On the night of Thursday, Oct. 11, 1492, Columbus, standing, near midnight, on the poop of his vessel, saw a moving light, which afterwards proved, as he surmised, to be a torch, carried from one hut to another, on the island which he named San Salvador. On the next morning, clad in complete armor, with the banner of Spain, his captains around him, bearing the royal insignia of Ferdinand and Isabella, he landed on a spot which he says was fresh and fruitful like a garden full of trees. The natives in simple amazement looked on, as they lined the shores and saw their mysterious visitors kneel with devout tears on the earth.

And here is Columbus's report of his first impression from those whom he looked upon then as simply materials for making Christians:—

“ Because they had much friendship for us, and because I knew they were people that would deliver themselves better to the Christian faith, and be converted more through love than by force, I gave to some of them some colored caps, and some strings of glass beads for their necks, and many other things of little value, with which they were delighted, and were so entirely ours that it was a marvel to see. The same afterwards came swimming to the ships' boats where we were, and brought us parrots, cotton threads in balls, darts, and many other things which we gave them, such as bells and small glass beads. In fine, they took and gave all of whatever they had with good-will. But it appeared to me they were a people very poor in everything. They went totally naked. They were well made, with very good faces, hair like horse-hair, their color yellow, and they painted themselves; without arms, save darts pointed with a fish's tooth. They ought to make faithful servants and of good understanding, for I see that very quickly they repeat all that is said to them; and I believe they would easily be converted to Christianity, for it appeared to me that they had no creed.”¹

¹ Navarrete, Col. vol. i. p. 21, as quoted by Arthur Helps, in “The Conquerors of the New World and their Bondsmen,” vol. i. p. 105.

Assisted very kindly afterwards by one of the native chiefs, when one of his caravels had shoaled, he writes to their Majesties of the Indians:—

“They are a loving, uncovetous people, so docile in all things that I assure your Highnesses I believe in all the world there is not a better people or a better country. They love their neighbors as themselves, and they have the sweetest and the gentlest way of talking in the world, and always with a smile.”¹

When the Protestant French colony, under Ribault, in 1562, entered the St. John River in Florida, they were impressed in a similarly enthusiastic way with the grace, simplicity, and natural charms of the kindly savages who received them with full confidence and courtesy. Their journalist portrays the natives as in stature, shape, features, and manners manly, dignified, and agreeable. The women, well favored and modest, permitted no one “dishonestly to approach too near them;” and “both men and women were so beautifully painted that the best painter of Europe could not amende it.”

The Spaniards and the French very soon found, and had long and sharp experience of the fact, that even these natives of the Southern isles and peninsula, who seem to have been of a more gentle and tractable spirit than those of the North, had in them latent passions which, when stung by oppression and outrage, could assert their fury.

It is pleasant to note with emphasis the fact, that, in the conduct and course of his first voyage, Columbus having been ever anxious to secure that result, his intercourse with the natives was wholly peaceful. By his resolute discipline over a comparatively small number of men, by his regard for their safety, and his desire to reciprocate the gentle courtesy he had received from the children of Nature, who looked upon him and his followers as having veritably come

¹ Navarrete, Col. vol. i. p. 21, as quoted by Arthur Helps, in “The Conquerors of the New World and their Bondsmen,” vol. i. p. 105.

among them from the skies, he succeeded in repressing every insult and wrong, and for a time deferred violence and the shedding of blood. The first impression which the Spaniards received of the inhabitants of those islands earliest visited was, that their docility and feminine qualities wholly disabled them even of resentment, and would make all aggression on their part an impossibility. This impression continued, and was for a time strengthened on the second voyage, opening other islands,—with an exception, however, soon to be stated. Those fair and luxuriant regions, free of wild beasts, spontaneously yielding the supplies of life to the indolent and happy natives, suggested the image of Paradise to the care-worn and passionate rovers from the Old World. It was natural that the un-orthodox fancy should present itself, even to the minds of ecclesiastics, that these favored beings, though in human form, might possibly not be of the lineage of Adam, nor sharers in the primeval curse, as they seemed so innocent and guileless, and needed not to win their bread by the sweat of their brow. When the prow of Columbus was headed for his return to Spain, as he stopped on his way at the eastern end of Hispaniola, a party of the natives, whom he describes as armed and ferocious in aspect and treacherous in their manifestations, presented themselves on the shore and provoked hostilities. Here the first acts of violence occurred, and the first blood was shed on both sides. But Columbus, so far as he could understand the communications made to him in answer to his questions as to the regions where gold abounded, received information of other neighboring islands,—afterwards known as the Caribbean, or Antilles,—where the natives were predatory, piratical, and warlike, invading their neighbors for slaughter and captives, and addicted to cannibalism. Of these more brave and savage natives he was afterwards to have dire experience. We may therefore rest with the grateful conclusion, that the first intercourse between the representatives of the two

ances began and ended in amity. Nor does it appear that those nine natives whom Columbus transported were taken against their will, or were treacherously kidnapped, as, more than a century later, were Indians on the New England coast by British freebooters.

Before Columbus sailed on his return, one of his vessels having been shipwrecked on the western end of Hispaniola, the cacique of the natives of that district, Guacanagari, had shown him sympathy and kindness, offering him all friendly help. The spot was so lovely, and life seemed so attractive there, that the Admiral yielded to the wishes of many of his men that he would leave them as a colony on the shore, to pursue the objects of the discoverers. Obtaining the consent and the promise of supplies from the cacique, Columbus, using portions of the wreck for the purpose, constructed a fort, and with explicit and discreet commands for caution, good discipline, and peaceful courses, he left in it thirty-nine men. The subsequent woes of the Admiral, and the opening of hostile relations with the natives, are to be traced to this ill-omened experiment.

The site of the colony was called Navidad, the Admiral having landed there on Christmas day. He returned to Spain with undiminished confidence in his visions of precious wealth from the New World. His illusion that he was on the confines of India was confirmed in the chance similarity of sounds which fell upon his ears in the names of places. When the natives, pointing in the direction whence gold came, used the word "Cubanacan" ("the centre of Cuba"), it signified to the Admiral the Grand Khan. The island which they called "Cibao," and which really proved the richest in treasure, was this longed-for Cipango.

When Columbus made his second visit to the Islands, it was with a company of fifteen hundred men, of every class and condition of life, clerical, noble, professional, and menial.

There was a fleet of seventeen vessels, laden with all that was needed for use and luxury and defence for a prosperous colony, with all sorts of seeds and plants, with domestic animals and poultry, and, above all, with mules and horses, the marvel and terror of the natives, realizing to them the fable of the Centaur.

Before visiting the colony which he had left at the fort, Columbus touched at Santa Cruz, one of the Antilles. Here he had a skirmish, blood being shed on both sides, with some of those Caribs, of whom he had heard such warning because of their courage, ferocity, and predatory roving. More terrible yet was their repute as cannibals.

That beautiful island realm, which has borne successively the names of Hispaniola, St. Domingo, and Hayti, was to be the scene where disaster, sorrow, outrage, carnage, and every form and degree of oppression, cruelty, treachery, and atrocity were to introduce the tragic and revolting history, lengthened and crimsoned in the years to follow, of the relations between the Spaniards and the natives. The island in all that splendid archipelago; second in size only to Cuba, and richer and fairer than any other in the group, was estimated at its discovery, perhaps with some exaggeration, to have on its thirty thousand square miles a population of a million souls. Las Casas says the population had been 1,200,000. Though, as afterwards appeared, there had been feuds between the wilder mountain tribes and the more peaceful dwellers by the shores and in the valleys, all the chroniclers describe the natives as gentle and kindly, living an indolent, tranquil life, without care or labor, and presenting an image of Arcadian simplicity. The invaders afterwards learned that the island was divided into five districts, under the same number of caciques.

As has been said, the cacique or chieftain of the tribe in whose bounds the little colony with its citadel had been planted, had shown himself chivalrously courteous and friendly to the wrecked adventurers, and promised Colum-

bus a loyal fidelity. When the Admiral anxiously but hopefully approached the spot, it was to confront a bitter disappointment. The disaster which he had to contemplate was shrouded in a mystery which was never wholly cleared. Desolation and silence rested on the scene. Havoc and desertion everywhere showed their evidences, without revealing the cause, the occasion, or the agents. Not a Spaniard survived on the spot, or ever was found to tell the story; and the Admiral was left to surmise an explanation, with such unsatisfactory help as he afterwards had from the natives. The inferences fully certified were, that the colonists, mostly of low character, had become restless, insubordinate, and lawless, had fallen into neglect of all prudence, and broken into discord. They had scattered themselves among the natives, oppressing them, and indulging in the grossest licentiousness, thus provoking a revenge which had fatally accomplished its work. With a heavy heart the Admiral faced the calamity. He soon selected a more healthful site for a town, which he called Isabella, to be occupied by the edifices and tilled fields of one thousand colonists, whose main and consuming passion was the search for gold. Columbus sent back to Spain twelve of the vessels, retaining the other five. In these return vessels were men, women, and children captured on the Caribbean islands. It may have been under the prompting of a humane purpose, however darkened in its view of justice or expediency, that the Admiral, while sending over more than five hundred captives, in a letter to their Majesties proposed for the future to transport to Spain an indefinite number of natives to be sold as slaves,—the blessing accruing to them of being instructed in Christianity and rescued from perdition, while the proceeds of their sale would relieve the enormous expense of the enterprise to the royal treasury, and procure live-stock and other supplies for the colony.

It is to be observed that the first company of natives transported for sale as slaves were thought to be not un-

fairly consigned to that fate on the ground that they were cannibals. It was preposterous to suppose that, having once been sold, they would be returned here as baptized Christians, for the purpose of aiding in the conversion of other Caribs. But afterwards large gangs of captives were committed to the same fate simply as "prisoners of war." Considerable debate was raised in the Spanish Council as to the rightfulness of this disposition of such a class of captives. But the final decision allowed it.

It was on this fair island that the dreams and illusions which had so sweetly kindled and wrapped the imaginations of both races alike, were broken and gave place to ghastly realities. The savages ceased to regard their visitors as having swept down upon them from a pure heaven, and if their theology had taken in the alternate realm of destiny, would have traced them as fiends to the pit of all horrors. The Spaniards on their part came to a better knowledge of the Indian character in its spirit and capacities of passion. They found the natives cunning, ingenious in stratagem, and capable of duplicity and guile; bold and venturesome and courageous too in the arts of war, with javelins, sharpened spears, bows and arrows, and bucklers. They found also that the savages had a profound and by no means a puerile and inoperative religion of their own, far better in its impulses and practice than that of the reckless and dissolute marauders. Sickness, want reaching to near starvation, utter unwillingness to labor even for food, discontent, a rebellious spirit, bitter disappointment of hope, and the grossest indulgence of all foul passions,—all culminated in their effects at Isabella. When Columbus returned there from a cruise to Cuba, he found a state of open warfare between his colonists and many of the native chiefs, who, goaded to desperation, had conspired to exterminate the intruders. Columbus himself in March, 1495, took the field with his little army of infantry and cavalry, and twenty of the fiercest blood-hounds, against a

body of the natives, perhaps over-estimated at a hundred thousand.

Here for the first time, as an example to be followed all along the course of the hostilities between the Europeans of every nationality and the natives, we find the white men artfully engaging the help as allies of one tribe of savages against other hostile tribes,—a dismal aggravation of all the iniquities and atrocities of a wild warfare. In the subsequent swoops of Spanish marauders and invaders in South America and in Mexico, it is safe to affirm that there were instances in which the victory was won for them by their savage allies, numbering hundreds to each one of the foreign soldiery, without whose aid, with the consequent discord and despair which it caused to the wild foe, the Spaniards would have been vanquished or starved. Columbus availed himself of the former friendship of the cacique Guacanagari, to engage his tribe against the conspiring chieftains; and, by thus fomenting animosities among the enemy, won his triumph. The horse had been a most terrific spectacle to the natives; but the bloodhound, who sprang with his unrelaxing fangs to the neck of his victim, and then disembowelled him, proved to be a deadlier instrumentality. The wild hordes quailed before their tormentors; and after they had yielded in the palsy of an abject despair, they were allowed to make their peace only by submitting to a severe quarterly tribute to be paid to the Spanish crown. In this opening act of an ever deepening and lengthening tragedy, appeared the first in the line of successive nobles and patriots, of wise and great men, who have asserted themselves at intervals as organizers and heroes for the people of the woods, to resist the outrages of the white man. Caonabo was the lofty-souled patriot of Hispaniola. A captive with unsubdued and scornful spirit, he died on his voyage to Spain.

In a voyage made by Alonzo de Ojeda from Seville, in 1499,—in which he was accompanied by the Florentine

merchant and navigator, Amerigo Vespucci, who by strange fortune has attached his name to the continent,—the expedition had a bloody encounter with the Caribs, taking many of them captives for the slave marts of Seville and Cadiz.

Nicholas de Ovando, who was in command at Hispaniola while Columbus was in Spain, by his insubordinate, cruel, and oppressive course, baffled all the more humane purposes of the Admiral for any mild subjugation and rule of the natives. His savage cruelty and his desperate tyranny in working the mines and fields by the hard task-works of the Indians, whose slight constitutions unfitted them for any kind of toil, visited upon them a sum of horrors and of tortures. The apostolic Las Casas, himself a witness of these enormities and agonies, has described them in terms and images too revolting to be traced in their details. He says, "I saw them with my bodily, mortal eyes." Famine, despair, and madness drove multitudes to self-destruction, and mothers suffocated the infants at their breasts. Ovando closed the succession of his atrocities by a general massacre of natives and their chiefs, committed under the very basest arts of duplicity and treachery, while the unsuspecting victims were straining their confiding hospitality, with presents, wild games, dances, and songs, for his delight. The scene of the outrage was that exquisite region, well-nigh a poetic and fairy realm, on the western coast and promontory of the island, then called Xaragua. Anacaona, the sister of its cacique, is described as a most lovely, intelligent, and kindly woman. She was the wife of that noble chieftain Caonabo, whose death as a captive on the way to Spain has just been mentioned. Pardoning the previous hostility of the Spaniards, who had made her a widow, she had manifested to the intruders on her domains the utmost forbearance and kindness. A pretence to justify the massacre was found in a secret report that she and her subjects were meditating that of the Spaniards. She herself was taken in chains to St. Domingo, and there

hanged. Ovando founded a town near the scene of the massacre, to which he blasphemously gave the name of St. Mary of the true Peace!¹ The five native chieftains of the districts of Hispaniola had now perished, and the island was desolate. Twelve years after his great discovery Columbus wrote to the Spanish monarchs:—

“The Indians of Hispaniola were and are the riches of the island; for it is they who cultivate and make the bread and the provisions for the Christians, who dig the gold from the mines, and perform all the offices and labors both of men and beasts. I am informed that six parts out of seven of the natives are dead, all through ill-treatment and inhumanity, — some by the sword, others by blows and cruel usage, others through hunger.”²

To supply the actual needs of labor, after the devastation and depopulation of the island, negro slaves were sent to Hispaniola in 1505. Then, too, began another series of outrages in the forcible abduction and transfer, under the grossest deception, of natives of the Lucayan Islands. In five years forty thousand of these were kidnapped and transported to Hispaniola.

Two words, of widely contrasted significations and associations, have been adopted into our English speech from the language of the natives of that once happy island,—*hammock*, or *hamac*, designating the couch of listless repose, and *hurricane*, the sound of which aptly expresses the whirling tornado of tempests and waves, and well offsets, in its symbol of Spanish havoc, the bed of peace and ease.

Historians, by their use of the term, have consented to receive from the first Spanish knights-errant and marauders in the New World the respectable and colorless word *Conquest* to define the method of their mastery of territory

¹ “La villa de la vera Paz.” A modern writer, Captain Southey (“History of the West Indies,” vol. i. p. 93), suggests, as a more appropriate name, *Aeldama*. The armorial shield of the town bears a dove with the olive branch, a rainbow, and a cross.

² Irving's Columbus, ii. 450.

here. Stately volumes in our libraries bear the titles of Histories of the Conquest of Mexico, of Peru, etc.; and their versions in other languages repeat the title. The descendants of the French and English colonists on this soil may congratulate themselves that that word is appropriated exclusively to the Spanish freebooters. For, by whatever method other nationalities obtained and hold territory here, it was not first acquired by the intent of conquest, nor by that way alone. The word *conquest*, by the Spaniards, is a very tame one to apply to the method of their rapacity and fiendish inhumanity, as they disembarked on these virgin realms, and bore down upon its harmless native tribes as with the sweep of a vengeful malice and rage. Some other word of our capable language than conquest would more fitly define the riot and wreck, the greed and the diabolical cruelty, of those first invaders. And that more fitting word would need to be one of the most harrowing and appalling in its burden of outrages and woes. The campaigns of Cyrus, of Alexander, of Pompey, of Julius Cæsar, of Titus and Vespasian, might shrink from being classed with the Spanish conquest of America; and we should have to turn to the ferocities of Tamerlane, of Ghengis Khan, of the princes of India and Tartary, and of the brute men of Africa, for points of parallel with it.

We must remember the training of centuries, through which not only the nobles, but also those of meanest rank fired with Spanish blood, had passed, and the full results of which exhibited themselves just at the period of the discovery of America. During six or more of those previous centuries the Spaniard had been a fighter for his own territory and creed. By desperate valor and inhuman cruelty he had driven the Moor from the former, and had engaged all the fury of a heart-consuming bigotry in a most devout though craven superstition to impose the latter. Honest, painstaking industry for thrift and homely good had no attraction for the Spaniard. Nor would even enterprise

on land or sea have engaged him, had not its charms been heightened not only by the hope of easily attained wealth, but by opportunities of marauding adventure, and by victims on whom he might flesh his sword in ruthless carnage. In less than four years after Columbus had landed on the island, hundreds of thousands of the natives — more than a third of its population — had been put to death. There seems to have been something aimless in this slaughter. It can hardly be said to have been even provoked in its primary indulgence; and when the terrified and maddened natives were driven to resort to their simple methods of defence or flight, there was a wanton brutality, a diabolical and mocking revel of atrocity, in the fierce and indiscriminate method of hunting them for havoc and torture.

The spirit of discovery had, from its first stirring among the people of Southern Europe, been associated with the spirit of rapine and tyranny, and the enslavement of the people whom it brought to light. The discovery, under Prince Henry of Portugal, of the Canary Islands, put them as a matter of course under tribute to him. His navigators then steadily coursed their way down the western coast of Africa. Cape Nam soon lost the significance of its name, "Not," as defining a limit for safe voyaging. Successive adventurers, beginning their enterprises from about the year 1400, skirted the African coast further south, till 1486, when Bartholomew Diaz made his way over six thousand miles of ocean to the Cape of Good Hope, and turned the continent. Slaves became from the first an article of commerce for all these voyagers.

It fell to Alexander VI., on application of Ferdinand and Isabella, to confer on their crowns all the lands in the "Indies" discovered and to be discovered. When what was thus given away under the name of the Indies proved to be a whole new continent, Francis I. of France, envying the wealth which the Emperor Charles V. drew from

the New World, said he should like "to see the clause in Adam's will which entitled his brothers of Castile and Portugal to divide the New World between them." A trifling fact as concerning this sweeping donation of a whole continent to Spaniards, as the discoverers, may not be unworthy of notice. Columbus had with him on his first voyage an Englishman and an Irishman. Unhappily for us they do not appear to have had any skill of pen to have served us as journalists of the voyage. But let us recognize them on the Spanish caravels as being there to represent the shares which have fallen to Englishmen and Irishmen on this soil; and, if we need the Pope's sanction to confirm our present territorial rights, let us find it in our ancestral claims through that valiant Englishman and his Hibernian companion.

When, soon after Columbus's return from his first voyage, the sovereigns applied to the court of Rome for an exclusive territorial title to the regions which their Admiral had discovered and might yet discover, they appear to have been persuaded that they had already secured that title by the fact of unveiling new lands in unknown seas. But influenced by jealousy of the Portuguese, who had already thus fortified their claims, they humbly asked the same sanction from his Holiness. Three successive bulls, issued in 1493, were intended to make the papal donation secure to all lands extending from the northern to the southern pole. The Portuguese at once challenged its actual and possible collision with their own prior rights. The other European sovereignties treated this exercise of the papal prerogative with utter indifference. Though they allowed nearly half a century to pass before they came into any direct rivalry with the Spaniards as they followed up their first enterprise, when French and English adventure entered on the track the Pope was not even appealed to as an arbiter. In 1611 two small Spanish vessels made a feint of assaulting the miserable English colony in Virginia, but

gave over the enterprise under the belief that the colony was coming to its own speedy end.

We must define to our minds as clearly as possible the fixed and positive conviction held by all Christendom at the era of transatlantic discovery, anticipatory of any actual knowledge of a new race or people, as to what should be the relation between Christians and all other men and women, wherever found and whatever their condition. All who were not in the fold of the holy Roman Church were heathens. Heathen people had no natural rights, and could attain no rights even of a common humanity, but through baptism into the fold. The great Reformation was then about stirring in its elemental work; but as yet there had been no outburst. It had asserted its energy and wrought out its radical changes in human belief and practice, in season to have secured a most powerful influence in deciding the conditions under which what is now our national domain was actually settled by colonies of Europeans in the seventeenth century. But the era of discovery was when the old Church held an unbroken sway, and the Pope was the lord of Christendom. Protestants and Catholics, as we shall see, differed fundamentally as to their primary relations and duties towards our aborigines; but the matter in many vital respects had been prejudiced by the course of the first comers as Catholics. The assumption, held as a self-evident truth by the Roman Church, was that a state of heathenism imposed a disablement which impaired all human rights of property, liberty, and even of life; while the possession of the true faith conferred authority of jurisdiction over all the earth, with the right to seize and hold all heathen territory, and to subjugate and exterminate all heathen people who would not or could not be converted. As to what was meant by conversion, its means, methods, and evidences, the champion of the faith being the sole judge and arbiter in the case, there would be little satisfaction in raising any discussion. However arro-

gant and complacent this assumption may seem to us, it had so culminated in its conclusion, had become so imbedded in general belief, and was so unchallenged, that it was held as a self-evident truth. The Pope was the vicerent of God, and the depository of supreme power over men.

All that we have had to rehearse of the relentless and shocking barbarities inflicted on our aborigines by Spanish invaders as disciples and champions of the Roman Church, in their dealings with heathen, stands wholly free from any sectarian Protestant prejudices. All our knowledge on the subject is derived from the documents of the Spanish and Catholic writers. They tell their own story, in their own way.

The earliest elaborate discussion of the fundamental question of the right of a Christian nation to make conquest of a barbarous and idolatrous people, and to assume the mastery over them, was the result of the protest of that noble enthusiast and philanthropist, Las Casas, the great apostle to the Indies. His father had been one of Columbus's ship-mates in his first voyage. The first sentiment of pity, which afterwards engaged the heart of Las Casas towards the natives for his whole following life, is thus pleasingly traced to its source. Among the captives taken to Spain by Columbus was a boy whom he had given to the father of Las Casas. The father had assigned this youth to his son, then a student at Salamanca. When Isabella had insisted that these captives should be returned, the youth was taken with them, much to the grief of Las Casas. He went with Ovando to Hispaniola in 1502, in his twenty-eighth year, and at once became the friend and champion of the natives against the dire and ruthless barbarities and the shocking outrages, so inhuman and atrocious, inflicted upon them by the Spaniards, as they slew them by thousands, after practising upon them the foulest treacheries, starving them, working them to death in the

mines and pearl-fisheries, and in some places exterminating them altogether. Las Casas, as his knowledge and experience gradually enlightened him, protested against the whole course of proceeding; and at last, by honest soul wisdom, reached a conclusion which led him to assail the root of the whole iniquity, and to deny the right of conquest, with the inferences and conclusions drawn from the false assumption on that point. His heroic labors and his exposure to every form of peril and violence did not prevent his living with unimpaired vigor of mind to the age of ninety-two. In the first half of the sixteenth century he crossed the ocean at least a dozen times on errands to the Court of Spain, to seek for help in his kindly projects and to thwart the wiles of his enemies.

The learned and famous Dr. Juan Sepulveda, correspondent of Erasmus and Cardinal Pole, and historiographer to the Emperor Charles V., appeared as the leading opponent of Las Casas. He wrote a treatise — “*Democrates Secundus, sive de Justis Belli Causis*” — maintaining the right of the Pope, as the vicegerent of Christ, and under him that of the kings of Spain, to make a conquest of the New World, and subjects of its inhabitants, for the purpose of their conversion.

In 1550 the Emperor convoked a junta of theologians and others of the learned, to meet at Valladolid and debate the high and serious theme. The Council of the affairs of the Indies were present, and the junta made up fourteen persons. Sepulveda made his argument, and Las Casas replied, taking five days to read the substance of his treatise, called “*Historia Apologetica*.”

The lawfulness of a war of Conquest against the natives of the New World (the conquest, of course, involving the obligation of conversion) was maintained by Sepulveda substantially on these four grounds: —

1. The grievous sinfulness of the Indians as idolaters, and against their own nature and the light of Nature.

2. Their barbarousness, which made it proper and necessary that they should serve a refined people.

3. They must be subjugated in order that they might be brought under the True Faith.

4. The weak among them needed protection from the cruelties of the strong, in cannibalism, and in being sacrificed to false gods. Sepulveda argued that more victims were sacrificed to the idols than fell in war,—which statement was doubtless false.

If the sort of Christianity which our age at least believes in, as “full of mercy and of good fruits,” was what was to follow on such a conquest of idolatrous barbarians, these reasons would not have been without weight. The authority of Scripture adduced by Sepulveda was from Deuter. xx. 10–15. Las Casas went deep in his final plea when he urged, in answer, that the cruel deeds related in the Jewish Scriptures were set before us “to be marvelled at and not imitated.”¹ He also affirmed, as from his own experience, that the work of conversion was better advanced by the gentle ways of peace and mercy than by the rage and havoc of war, especially with such mild and childlike natives. The apostle of love had to speak cautiously, with ecclesiastics before him and the Inquisition behind him, when he impugned the well-recognized assumption by the Church of the lawfulness of using force and cruelty in the interest of the true faith. As to the rights of the monarchs of Spain over “the Indies,” he nobly pleaded that these were

¹ This single sentence, coming from the ingenuity of the gentle heart of Las Casas, puts him two centuries in advance of his own age as a rationalizing interpreter of the Scriptures. It was a bold interpolation of his own to throw into the Hebrew text the suggestion that it was written to amaze, rather than to guide, subsequent generations. Sepulveda was right in his interpretation of the text for those who believed in its divine, infallible authority. All the reason which sustained it as first used, applied to all like cases afterwards. The text, with inferences from it, as divine teaching — as also many other texts, especially this: “Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live” — was ample warrant to many denominations of Christians in persecuting and cruel proceedings.

not the rights of mere tyrants because of physical strength and military power, but rights as Christians to do the natives good and to promote good government among them, especially after having drawn so much treasure from them. Las Casas, then seventy-six years of age, was judged to have gained the moral victory; but the decision of the Junta was against him, though with a halting earnestness, as the monarch only forbade the circulation of Sepulveda's book in Mexico or the Indies. Some of the writings of Las Casas remain to this day in manuscript, under a jealous ecclesiastical guardianship, accessible only to the privileged. Indeed, he himself appears to have directed such restrictions. Enough, however, is known of their revelations to explain their suppression.

Some of the nuggets and dust of gold which Columbus took back with him on his first homeward voyage were made into a sacramental vessel for the "Host." The proportion of the coveted precious metal thus put to a consecrated use, compared to the freights of galleons and bullion-ships afterwards turned to the riot of rapacity and luxury, may fairly be taken as significant of the relations between the avowed missionary intent of the great enterprise of discovery and the direful spirit of remorseless inhumanity in dealing with the natives of the new-found continent and islands. Of the nine of those natives whom Columbus carried to Barcelona, two youths received in baptism the names of Ferdinand and Prince John, his son, who stood as their sponsors. The others were sent to Seville for a Christian education, that they might return as missionaries to their own people. Twelve priests were transported for the same purpose, the noble Las Casas after his ordination, following as the best of them. In the royal instructions, dictated by the gentle heart of Isabella, the welfare and blessing of the natives were declared to be the main object of all the further efforts of Columbus. He was strictly charged to treat them tenderly and lovingly, to deal with severity with any who might

wrong them, and to convey to them the rich gifts sent to them by the sovereigns.

The first greeting between the people of the Old and the New World, the white men and the red men, was exchanged by a company of one hundred and twenty rude and rebellious sailors, on the three small vessels of Columbus. The second company of adventurers embraced at least fifteen hundred, on seventeen vessels. Many of them were nobles and gentlemen; but these qualities do not imply the obligation of any higher restraint upon the passions of greed and cruelty, as the titles borne by Spanish grandees answered on the roll of honor only to a scale of degrees in rapacity, license, and immunity. The definition of the term "hidalgo" is said to be, "a son of somebody," — not, however, in the general sense that every human being has had a paternity, but that that *somebody* had a *name*.

When the zeal and rapacity of Spanish hidalgos and great captains were stirred to a fever glow for further discovery and conquest of the Indies, the King Fernando and his daughter Juana, Queen of Castile and Leon, sought vainly to extend, by some show of responsibility, the semblance of humanity towards the wretched natives. The work of tyranny and devastation, which had begun at the islands, was now rapidly extended to the mainland, in the region where the northern and southern portions of the continent were united between the two great oceans. Vasco Nuñez, on a predatory excursion from the Isthmus of Darien, had in September, 1513, climbed alone a mountain height, from which, so far as we know, he the first of all Europeans looked out upon the so-called South Sea, — the vast expanse of the Pacific, which takes in more than half the surface of the globe. The sublime and awing spectacle moved him to prostrate devotion and prayer by himself. He then summoned his followers to the same ecstasy of amazement, and to lift with him the *Te Deum*.

Afterward, reaching the sea at the Bay of San Miguel, he waded into the water, with sword and shield, and took possession of the whole ocean, with its islands, for the kings of Castile. To this noble and heroic Spaniard rightly accrued the glory, in 1516, of launching two well-equipped barks from the river Balsas,—the first keels of European navigators to plough the waters of the Pacific. And the feat which preceded this triumph was in full keeping with it; for the timber of the vessels had been cut and framed on the Atlantic side of the continent, and the rigging and equipments had been transported with it by Spaniards, negroes, and Indians, with incredible toil, over the rough mountains and the oozy soil of the isthmus.

The work of further conquest was, by royal and ecclesiastical instructions, to proceed under the guidance of a proclamation, which may safely be called the most extraordinary state document ever penned. Its whole purport, terms, and spirit are so astounding in the assumptions and in the impossible conditions which it involved, as well as in the utter futility of its proffers of humanity to the Indians, that it would provoke the ridicule and derision of readers of these days as if it were a comic travesty, did it not deal with such profoundly momentous matters. This document, in the form of instructions to the viceroys in the Indies, was prepared by a learned Spanish jurist, and bears the Latin title of "The Requisition." It was to be read as a proclamation, or a herald's announcement, by the commander as he invaded each Indian province for conquest,—an exception dispensing with this when the natives were supposed to be so-called cannibals. It recited the Bible narrative of the creation by God of the human pair; the unity and the dispersion of the race; the lordship over this whole race and over all the earth, which the Almighty had given to St. Peter, and then to his successors the popes; the donation made by the reigning pontiff of lordship over all the Indies to the monarchs of Spain; and it called

upon the natives to follow the whole civilized world in paying obedience to and seeking the protection of the Church. If the natives comply with this appeal, they and their lands shall be secure, and they shall have "many privileges and exemptions"! If they refuse, robbery and devastation shall spoil all their possessions, and they themselves will be enslaved or killed.

A marvellously strange document indeed! It was to be read by mail-clad and mounted warriors, with their blood-hounds, to naked, unarmed savages. Who was to interpret to them its theology, its Bible terms, its ecclesiastical assumptions and subtleties, and the reasons justifying its alternative of conditions? This document is said to have been first read by the friars in the train of Ojeda, in his attack on the savages of Carthagená.¹

Furnished with this "Requisition," the great captain Pedrarias, Governor of Darien, with a strong armament, started on his "consecrated" enterprise. The sickening story is too harrowing and revolting for relation in all its dark and hideous details. No element of treachery, ingratitude, ferocity, rapacity, or fiendishness is lacking in it. The torture, the fire, and the fangs of blood-hounds were put into service to extort the secret of treasures of gold and pearls; and thousands and thousands of men, women, and children, whom the "Requisition" had pronounced members of God's one human family, were treated with a pitiless barbarity at which the heart shudders. The only palliating thought which offers itself, as we read the story, is that the Spanish invaders, themselves but partially civilized, and with but a mockery of Christianity as their religion, became actually dehumanized and brutalized by the scenes and experiences around them, by a homeless and hazardous life on sea and land, under a burning sun, amid swamps and exposures, often starving,

¹ Irving, who gives it in full in his Appendix of Documents, "Columbus," vol. ii., applies to it the designation of a "curious manifesto."

always lashed and maddened by the greed of gold and plunder. And if anything had been lacking to fill out the farcical absurdity and the comic drollery of the "Requisition," it is found in the fact, that, so far from an attempt being made by any preparatory warning to interpret it or to convey its significance to a threatened and doomed Indian chieftain, the invaders, planning secret midnight attacks on the unsuspecting natives, would go through the form of mumbling over the jumble of theology and nonsense as they were hiding in the woods, all by themselves.

And this grimly comic element in the affair seems to have been appreciated, on one occasion at least, by two caciques of the province of Cenú, when the paper was in substance communicated to them by an invading captain,—the lawyer Enciso. The chiefs assented to what was said about the one supreme God, the Creator and Lord of all things; but "as to what was said about the Pope being lord of all the universe in the place of God, and of his giving the land of the Indies to the King of Castile, the Pope must have been drunk when he did it, for he gave what was not his; and that the king who had asked such a gift must be a madman in asking for what belonged to others." They added, that if he wanted the land he must come and take it, and they would put his head on a stake. An aggravation of the superstitious frenzy against the poor heathen was found in the surmise that they actually worshipped the Devil. On the return of Columbus from his second voyage, in 1496, he had in his train some fancifully bedizened native chiefs, on whose head-gear and belts were wrought figures and grotesque emblems, some of which were regarded as showing the Devil in his own proper likeness, others as in the guise of a cat or owl. Even the good friend of Columbus, the curate Bernaldez, interpreted the symbols as those under which their uncanny deity appeared to them visibly.

In the interest of the claims of the Roman Church to a

heritage on this continent, an article by the Paulist Father Hecker in the "Catholic World," for July, 1879, makes the following statement:—

"The discovery of the western continent was eminently a religious enterprise. The motive which animated Columbus, in common with the Franciscan prior (his patron Perez) and Isabella the Catholic, was the burning desire to carry the blessings of the Christian faith to the inhabitants of a new continent; and it was the inspiration of this idea which brought a new world to light. Sometimes missionaries were slain, but the fearless soldiers of the cross continued unceasingly their work of converting the natives and bringing them into the fold of Christ."

Strangely enough do such sentences of a modern convert read, as a comment upon the actual deeds of the Spanish crusaders, as related exclusively by Catholic writers.

When Columbus sailed in the spring of 1498, on his third voyage, the disasters and discontents which had been thoroughly reported in Spain as having visited their miseries on the island colony, had substituted disgust for the former enthusiasm for sharing in the enterprise. The Admiral himself proposed that his new complement of men should be largely composed of convicts. Bitterly did he and the natives rue this experiment of the importation of men some of whom had judicially lost their ears.

It was with such material on his arrival at Hispaniola, where he found a full riot of mutiny and disorder, that Columbus had recourse to the system of *repartimientos*,—a device which quickened and instigated many new forms of barbarous iniquity against the natives. This system was one by which vast tracts of land were assigned to the most desperate in their revolt, with the right to compel the labor of bands of the natives. One Spaniard thus became the irresponsible and arbitrary master of, it might be, hundreds of natives. These, of course, were but slaves. They had never needed and had never used anything answering to what we call bodily labor, or task-work, as their generous

and luxuriant groves and fields teemed with all that was requisite for their subsistence. Under the mastery and the goading of the Spaniard they bent their backs to digging in the mines, to tillage in the fields to supply a wasteful indulgence, and to the carrying of heavy burdens. As retainers of their oppressors they were also trained to warfare, and bound to do a hateful service in raids against their own former friendly fellows.

Mr. Parkman¹ rightly says that the spirit of Spanish enterprise in America is expressed in the following address of Dr. Pedro de Santander, to the King, in 1557, of the expedition of De Soto:—

“It is lawful that your Majesty, like a good shepherd, appointed by the hand of the Eternal Father, should tend and lead out your sheep, since the Holy Spirit has shown spreading pastures whereon are feeding lost sheep, which have been snatched away by the dragon, the Demon. These pastures are the New World, wherein is comprised Florida, now in possession of the Demon; and here he makes himself adored and revered. This is the Land of Promise possessed by idolaters, the Amorite, Amalekite, Moabite, Canaanite. This is the land promised by the Eternal Father to the Faithful, since we are commanded by God in the Holy Scriptures to take it from them, being idolaters, and, by reason of their idolatry and sin, to put them all to the knife, leaving no living thing save maidens and children, their cities robbed and sacked, their walls and houses levelled to the earth.”

The writer, however, leaves open the opportunity for securing many slaves. In pleadings like this, no previous measure or limitation of effort or time is indicated for attempts at conversion, and we are left to infer that the supposed futility of them warranted anticipating them by death, and so making the doom of the heathen sure.

In accordance with that rule of equity and reason which enjoins, that, when we judge or rehearse the actions and methods of men of other generations and circumstances

¹ Pioneers of France, p. 13.

and creeds, we should set them in their own time and accept the sincerity of their believing or purposing in qualification of our condemnation of them, we must allow even the bloody devastators of the New World to explain to us their convictions and motives. Their age was one in which the Church which represented Christianity was most lofty and unchallenged in its claims, most ruthless in the sweep of its pretensions, and most utterly destitute and unconscious in its appreciation of the spirit of the gospel. A heathen was a child of the Devil, not of God; his certain and everlasting doom was in the pit of torments; he had no rights here or hereafter. The Christian, sure of heaven as he was, was all the more a rightful claimant to the earth and everything upon it; his own blessed lot and privilege involved no obligation of pity or mercy for the heathen. The Spaniards — from their monarch down to the humblest of their colonists — never made purchase of or paid price for a single foot of land on our continent or islands as Protestants did, whatever may have been the fairness or the meanness of their bargains. The right of conquest was supreme for the invaders: the opportunity of baptism was full payment to the natives. Conquest of heathendom and heathens was something even more sacred than a right: it was transcendently a solemn duty. "The earth is the Lord's;" He is its rightful owner, ruler, and disposer; the Pope is His vicegerent; the children of the one fold are his champions. True, the heathen whom the Spaniards encountered were idolaters, and some of them were believed to offer human sacrifices; the invaders frequently saw the mutilated remains of victims from those foul altars.¹ Speaking of the brutish superstitions and the human sacrifices found among the Aztecs, Prescott adds these words: "The debasing institutions of the Aztecs furnish the best

¹ It has been charitably suggested that limbs and other fragments of human bodies seen in some of the native cabins may have been the remains of relatives intended for affectionate preservation.

apology for their conquest." Popocatapetl yielded its sulphur to Cortes in replenishing his ammunition.

But it does not appear that any deepening shade of the state of heathenism heightened in the breast of a child of the Church the right or duty of conquest. There could be no worse state than that of a heathen; no greater, no less degree in his condemnation. Every infliction, horror, or agony visited upon his body was a stretch and an ingenuity of mercy to him, because intended (even if not effectual) for the saving of his soul. If he could only be baptized before he died, he owed an unspeakable debt to any one who, by whatever cruelty, terminated his life. But if after all this cruelty he died unbaptized, that was his misfortune. The history of Spanish discovery, exploration, and colonization, so far as it concerns the relations of the invaders with the natives, is at every stage of it marked by ruthless and atrocious cruelties, by outrages and enormities of iniquity, over the perusal of which the heart sickens. Those who crave a knowledge of them in the detail must seek it in the too faithful — we can hardly, in this connection, use the pure terms "truthful" and "candid" — historical narratives. There is no good use to come of the rehearsal of them. One whose painful task has required of him to trace in the records that story of torturous horror, can hardly fail to wish that those records had never been written, or that they had perished, had lost their awful skill of forever perpetuating the story of man's inhumanity to man, and had become as mute as the heart-pangs and the once quivering nerves of the victims that have been resolved into peaceful dust. Indeed, so faithfully was the curious skill of the graver engaged to illustrate the brutal enormities of these conquests, that, without reading a line of the text of many of these volumes, one may learn more than he craves of their contents simply from their illustrations.

After reading those sweet words and phrases in which:

Columbus portrays to their Majesties the gentle and kindly creatures who welcomed the mysterious white visitors to their island shores, it is but a long and varied racking of all our sensibilities to follow the course of the invaders. There was no possible deed, or trick, or artifice of barbarity, ingratitude, treachery, and cunning and despicable fraud, which the invaders scrupled to practise on those nude and simple children of Nature. Steel-clad warriors, a single score of them, would overmatch thousands of those poor savages when they were driven to any show of resistance. The horse on which the warrior was mounted was to the Indian a more terrific monster than Milton has fashioned from all the shapes of demons for his hellish phalanxes; and it was the horse, not the man upon it, which secured to Cortes the conquest of Mexico. The fierce Spanish blood-hound, also, comes into the horrid warfare to track the wretched victims of greed through the swamps and mountain thickets. The only gleam of mercy, the only arresting hush from agony, that relieves the later narratives, is when we come for moments upon the mention of the name of Las Casas, the great Spanish apostle of the Indians, with his rebuking word.

If, amid the horrors and atrocities connected with the successive Spanish conquests on our islands and continent, anything could add a sharper and more distressing outrage to the story, this would be found in the apparently utter insensibility to their own cruelty and irreverence in which the Spaniards attached the holiest names and epithets to the places where their acts were often the most fiendish, — names borne by many of those places to this day. The sacred title of the Trinity; the names of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; the sweet roll of epithets — of love, pity, mercy, and sorrow — for the Virgin Mother; the names of prophets, apostles, and evangelists, of saints and martyrs, of holy days and sacraments, — are strewn all over the islands, bays, coasts, and rivers of our southern conti-

ment, and generally there is with them a frightful legend. Columbus, writing to the monarchs in 1498, estimates that, "in the name of the sacred Trinity," the Spanish markets may be supplied with such and such numbers of slaves. Las Casas writes that on one occasion the Spaniards hanged thirteen Indians "in honor and reverence of Christ, our Lord, and his twelve apostles." After a dire slaughter of the Indians, in his first encounter with them at Tabasco, Cortes enjoined a solemn religious ceremonial, with cross and chant and mass and *Te Deum*, and named the bloody spot "Saint Mary of Victory." He wrote that the odds had been so immense against him "that Heaven must have fought on his side." Las Casas dryly adds, that "this was the first preaching of the gospel by Cortes in New Spain." Columbus, with all his nobleness of soul, has left no example set by him, and no protest, for withstanding or rebuking the spirit of his countrymen. On the contrary, his own leading and example marked the course followed by his sons and all his successors,—Ovando, Ojeda, Nicuesa, Enciso, Vasco Nuñez, Pedrarias, Pizarro, and Cortes. Ojeda always wore, concealed on his person, an amulet or charm of the Holy Virgin, which he firmly believed was his infallible protection under all risks on sea and land, in private brawls and desperate battles. On his first return voyage Columbus, as has been mentioned, took home with him, as the first-fruits of a new slave race, nine Indians. They were compensated by being secured against future woe by Christian baptism. One of them dying soon after the ceremony was, we are told, "the first of his race to enter heaven." On various pretences Columbus sent to Spain many ship-loads of slaves. It was only on the third of his four voyages, in 1498, that he touched the mainland of the continent, at Paria, near the Isthmus of Darien; and then followed in succession the work of so-called discovery, which opened either division of the continent to the same worse than barbarous havoc of rapacity and fiendishness.

Mines of the precious metals, gems and pearls — even more than food and water when they were on the edge of death — were the consuming cravings of the Spaniard. If a single token of such treasure was seen to sparkle or to gleam on the person of a savage, the secret of its source must be wrung from him; he must point the way to the mine; he must toil there to work it. Visions floated before the dreams of the invaders of spots where the soil was made of virgin gold and silver, of palaces built of those metals, of kitchen utensils and working tools fashioned from them. The poor natives, in their desperation, over and over again intermitted their simple husbandry on their own soil, in their own support, with the childish thought that they could starve the Spaniards and compel them to go home. There is an element of confusion in the history, for all modern readers, in the number of Spanish officials, with long, hard, high-sounding titles, among whom were distributed inconsistent functions, rival prerogatives of place and jurisdiction, with their jealousies, each having his partisans before the Council of the Indies and at the Spanish court. And these were not only haughty grandees and hidalgos, but adventurers of an ordinary type, from a land in which even the peasants had the spirit and port of gentlemen. Yet to relieve, if possible, this dismal justification of the right and duty of the conquest of the heathen, we must make emphatic the verbal statement,—and, our charity must add, the intent,—that conversion to the true faith and fold must be the accompaniment and crown of conquest. If the heathen should perish by the million in the savagery of the process which was designed for their conversion, this accident did not prejudice the rightness and holiness of the intent. The conquerors meant to impart to the poor benighted creatures an unspeakable deliverance and blessing; but Satan had the start of them, and claimed his own. When, after an atrocious course of rapine, treach-

ery, and ferocity by the invaders, the Inca Atahualpa was in the power of the Spaniards, his sentence was to be brought to death by fire. This was mercifully commuted to death by the bowstring, on the victim's consenting to be baptized.

To be baptized! In the—*devout* shall we call it?—conviction of priest and believer, baptism signified conversion. True, men cannot impart what they have not themselves; and as baptism was about the whole of Christianity of which the ruthless invaders had the knowledge or the advantage, the rite signified the imparting the full benefit of the gospel of Christ to the heathen, as it did to those born in a Christian land.

In closing this rehearsal of the tragic and hideous story of the first opening of intercourse by Europeans, as represented by the Spaniards, with the natives of this continent, it would be a relief if a single gleam of light or mercy could be thrown across the distressing narrative. Our authorities are exclusively Spanish writers, many of them ecclesiastics. There is a series of similar relations awaiting our review, all of them stained with wrong and cruelty; and those of them which are associated with Puritan savagery, and even with the perfidy and meanness of our own republican Government, have many points of likeness to that which we have been reading. Nor do such harrowing episodes in history stand alone by themselves, or throw their shadows only over ages that are past. The brutal oppression of the weak by the strong finds its most signal illustrations in the annals of so-called Christian nations. Great Britain up to our own time, substituting the claims of civilization and of free intercourse for trade for those which the Spaniards advanced for the "holy faith," has committed like atrocities in every quarter of the globe. Every feeble people and race, with degrees of civilization or barbarism, has had to yield to her compulsion for intercourse beyond their own wish and need; and she has

scoured the seas and penetrated deserts to find victims of her mania for civilizing the world. But the Spaniards, as they were the first in the wrong, so they were beyond all approach of rivalry in the sum and method of their devastating and aimless havoc of frenzied and satanic passion against the least warlike and the most inoffensive of all our native tribes. If historic fidelity and candor in the use of our authorities would allow, it would cheer alike reader and writer if this direful record of slaughter and torture of a defenceless people had been at least, if not effectually, withstood by a steady protest, not merely from a single ecclesiastic, but by a considerable number of those who professed that the mainspring of the enterprise was the conversion of the natives. Instead of this relief, however, we do not need to pause long in our moralizing over the story to find that the most repulsive and shocking element in it is the persistent obtrusion, the even blasphemous reiteration, of a religious motive of the Conquest. The Jesuit Father, Charlevoix, who wrote a history of St. Domingo as well as of New France, gives in the latter work the following as one of the motives which prompted his historical labors:—

“I have resolved to undertake this work in the desire to make known the mercies of the Lord and the triumph of religion over that small number of the elect, predestined before all ages, amid so many savage tribes, which till the French entered their country had lain buried in the thickest darkness of infidelity.”¹

There was reason for this pious motive on the part of the historian who had to relate the zeal, devotion, and to themselves the satisfactory and rewarding success of his brother missionaries in New France. But he has nothing of the kind to tell us of Christian missionaries in St. Domingo before the work of devastation and depopulation had been completed. The natives were found by the Spaniards in a peaceful, contented, and, so to speak, in-

¹ Charlevoix's *New France*, Shea's translation, vol. i. p. 103.

nocent condition. There were from the first some among the Spanish invaders, besides ecclesiastics, who were men of gentle blood and of education. They called themselves Christians. All their references to their "sacred faith," their most "holy church," are profoundly reverential, and they exult over their privileges as its children. The freebooters and desperadoes among them, even the worst of them, did hold in dread the anathemas of the Church. The most and the least craven of them shrunk with terror from the denial of its sacraments in life and death. Why was the Church so utterly powerless and palsied then, in the exercise of a sway such as it has never had since that age? True, the ecclesiastics among the invaders were at first very few, and many of the marauding parties may not have been accompanied by a single ghostly adviser. But those marauders knew, as did the priests, that their terrific creed doomed the natives dying unbaptized to an awful woe; and yet they were not withheld from a wanton anticipation of it by visiting upon them a promiscuous slaughter. Small as might have been among them the number of those whom Charlevoix calls "the predestined elect," there was no arrest of the work of slaughter sufficient to satisfy the condition of baptism.

In 1509, Diego, a son of the Admiral, came over as Governor of St. Domingo. He was followed, the next year, by a company of a dozen or more Dominican friars, earnest, resolute men, in poverty and heroic fidelity. A humble monastery was provided to shelter them. With an undaunted courage they resolved to rebuke, and in the name of all that was just and holy to protest against, the enormities of the Spanish desperadoes and the whole course of cruelty towards the natives. They put forward one of their number, Brother Antonio Montesino, who in a Sunday sermon addressed a great crowd of hearers of the principal persons of St. Domingo. His piercing rebukes and his scorching invectives, unsparing in their directness of ad-

dress to the gross culprits before him, made them writhe in passion. He told them that Moors and Turks had a chance better than their own for salvation. To their plea that they could not dispense with the toil and service of the natives for all menial and laborious work, he bade them to do it themselves, with their own wives and children. The blood of the Spaniards was maddened by these "delirious things" uttered by the bold monk; his life was threatened, and it was expected that, under compulsion, he would retract his defiant sermon on the next Sunday. Instead of doing so, he but repeated and intensified his daring rebukes, and frankly warned his hearers that the Dominicans would refuse the sacraments to any who were guilty of oppressing the natives. That the Church and its priests had a power, which before this might have been used in terror if not to large effect, is proved by the fact that the monk was unharmed; while his scathed hearers, the chief in the Island, determined to send a protest against his alarming preaching to the Spanish monarch. Strangely enough too, they chose for the errand a Franciscan monk, Alonzo de Espinal, while the Dominicans commissioned the heroic preacher to represent their side at the Court. The agent of the colonists got the start for a hearing, found strong supporters in his plea for those who had sent him, and by his artful statement of the danger of impending ruin to the colony he had induced the king to engage the head of the Dominican order in Spain in a complaint against the preacher. It was only after meeting and overcoming many obstacles and much resistance that Father Antonio obtained access and a hearing at Court. But his noble earnestness was not wholly without effect. Thus were the colonists and the natives represented by priest against priest. The king took the usual course of referring the controversy to a junta, composed of some of his council and of theologians. But little that accrued to the relief or benefit of the natives came from the conference, from the measures which

it recommended, or from the consequent orders of the king. The natives must be made to consent to be converted; they must work for their masters; they must be kindly treated, and after a fashion might receive something to be called wages. The most grateful result from the mission of the two priests representing the two sides of a bitter strife was that the Dominican, by his grace and skill of heart and zeal in private conferences, earnest and continued, completely won over to sympathy and co-operation with him his Franciscan brother.

The natives, however, had become thoroughly alienated by hatred and dread from the Spaniards, and kept aloof from them. What indeed had these Spaniards, with the proffer of their "holy faith," to tempt and draw to them these children of Nature? What of help or blessing, of human pity and tenderness, came from them? Yet the more the natives shunned their tormentors, and sought to keep as far as possible from them, their aversion was accounted as only an obdurate resistance to being converted.

When Cortes, in his second expedition, was preparing for his siege of Montezuma's capital, he issued to his soldiers a paper of elaborate instructions. In this he said "conversion" was the great aim which made his enterprise a holy one, and that "without it the war would be manifestly unjust, and every acquisition made by it a robbery."

In the enlightenment and free-thinking of our own age, which have relieved it from what are regarded as the bugbear superstitions and dreads fostered by the old priestcraft, there are many who will frankly say that the easy method offered to the heathen by which they might escape the fearful doom of hell, was just as rational as was the teaching them that they were really under such a doom. The doctrine of hell, and the rite of baptism as the symbol of full salvation from it, were well adjusted to each other,—both being irrational, superstitious, and child-

ish, the one offsetting the other. The natives certainly had not the slightest conception whatever that because they were brought into existence outside the Christian fold, or for any other reason, they were all destined to endless miseries and torments hereafter; and probably they had as vague an appreciation of the doctrine as they had of the method of relief from the fate to which it assigned them.

Roger Williams, in one of those flashings of his keener insight which anticipated as axioms what it cost persecutors and formalists many years of painful and baffled effort to learn as proved truths, while on a visit to England in 1643, wrote and left for publication there a little tract with the title, "Christenings make not Christians; Or a brief Discourse concerning that name *Heathen*, commonly given to the Indians. As also concerning that great point of their conversion."¹ In this tract the writer, referring to the Spanish and French religious dealings with the natives, says:—

"If the reports (yea some of their own *Historians*) be true, what monstrous and most inhumane conversions have they made!—baptizing thousands, yea ten thousands, of the poore Natives; sometimes by wiles and subtle devices, sometimes by force, compelling them to submit to that which they understood neither before nor after their monstrous Christning of them."

The claim has been set up, and to a certain extent allowed, that the Mexicans and Aztecs may be regarded as having reached a stage of actual civilization. It is scarcely probable that the obscurity which invests our prehistoric times and people will ever be removed. The theme and

¹ This tract, known only by quotations referring to it, was long supposed to have been irrecoverably lost, no copy of it being known as in existence. A copy was accidentally discovered, uncatalogued, in the British Museum in 1880, by that most diligent, indefatigable, and thoroughly furnished literary antiquarian, Dr. Henry Martyn Dexter, and has been reprinted in Providence, R. I., 1881.

field offer very tempting, and to some extent rewarding, subjects for curious research and ingenious theory. But the theories crumble like the relics which we handle. The claim of having attained a state of civilization can be sustained for the Mexicans only by resting on the unsatisfactory plea that there is no sharp, positive line or point which divides barbarism from civilization. Prescott says that the civilization of Mexico was equivalent to that of England under Alfred, and similar to that of ancient and modern Egypt. The basis of this estimate is, that the Mexicans had made an advance on a nomadic life as hunters, and were fixed cultivators of the soil, raising corn, cotton, and vegetables, with skilled manufactures, with adobe dwellings, with hieroglyphical records for their annals; and that they showed architectural skill, as also ingenuity in a method of irrigating their fields.

After making due allowance for the pure fictions and the proved exaggerations of the early Spanish chroniclers, all that seems certified to us about the husbandry and manufactures, the palatial and ceremonial pomp, and the forms of law among the Mexicans, would not set them beyond that state which, when speaking of Orientals, we call barbaric.

It can hardly be allowed that a people are in any appreciable stage of civilization who offer human sacrifices and eat human flesh. Nor does it much relieve the matter to suggest that the latter hideous practice did not indicate a cannibal relish for such viands, but was simply incident to the previous religious ceremonial of offering human victims in sacrifice. The evidence seems sufficient that human flesh was a marketable commodity in Mexico, having a place with other food at the shambles; and that dainty dishes of it were daily served among the hundred courses on Montezuma's table. Peter Martyr tells us how "the hellish butchers," as he calls them, prepared it. The blood of infants was used in the composition of sacrifi-

cial cakes : some of these were once sent as a propitiatory offering to Cortes. It may be urged that even these practices do not bar a claim to a stage of civilization, if we still allow the term where superstition about God and cruelty towards men match the most foul and atrocious practices of savages.

There are not lacking in our voluminous literature on this subject — representing, as it does, the diversity of opinions and judgments passed on the methods of the Spanish invaders, as presented in different aspects — pleadings reducing or palliating the atrocities which to us seem unrelieved, as springing from a ruthless cruelty. Humboldt says that we must allow in them for other and less mean passions than rapacity and fanaticism. Tracing these passions and others associated with them to their springs, they may be found to have arisen, and to have been intensified in their indulgence, by what we may call — though we can but vaguely define it — the chivalric spirit of the people and the age. This spirit — associated with crusades and religious wars, with the embittered hate of Moslems and Jews, with daring and reckless enterprises of adventure, with utter fearlessness in risking one's own limbs and life, and with a burning emulation of achievement through prowess and desperate endeavor — was transferred from its old, familiar, and comparatively exhausted fields to wholly new scenes, materials, and opportunities. These seem to have presented to the Spaniards no incitements to mental activity, to curious inquiries as to the antecedents of their new surroundings, to speculative or scientific investigations. All these intellectual instigations and processes, which have been so sedulously and ingeniously exercised under the quickening influences of the modern expansion of intelligence, had no attraction for those of such inert and undeveloped natures as marked the heterogeneous companies of adventurers flocking here with untrained principles and under the spell of the wildest impulses.

The simple natives of the valleys and the mountains were regarded as game for the hunt. Had these natives been of a sturdier stock, — heroic, defiant, and resolved, and able from the first to contest each step and to resent each wrong of the invaders, — the game would at least have been lifted above a mere hunt as for foxes and rabbits to the more serious enterprise of an encounter with buffaloes, panthers, and grizzly bears. The tameness and defencelessness of the natives seem even to have become incitements to the Spaniards for a wanton sport of outrage upon them. There were master minds among the invaders, — men temporarily at least invested with powers, by commissions and instructions from their sovereigns, to exercise authority in the interests of wisdom and humanity. But their jealousies and the intrigues of their enemies at the court were constantly disabling and displacing them; so that there was here no grasp of control, no sternness of law and obedience.

The progress of the same kind of conquest by the Spaniards who first came into contact with the savages in the southern portion of our present domain, was attended by the same outrages and barbarities which marked its beginnings. De Soto had received his training for the opening and conquest of the regions of Alabama, Georgia, and Mississippi, while a youth under Pizarro, in Peru. On his return the Spanish court made him governor of Cuba, and Adelantado, or provincial governor, of Florida. On arriving in Florida, in May, 1539, his first business was to capture some natives as slaves, pack-carriers, and guides. He found great help as an interpreter in a Spaniard, Juan Ortiz, who, having been captured by the Indians from the company under Narvaez, in 1528, had been living among them. De Soto had about a thousand followers, soldiers in full armor, with cutlasses and fire-arms, one cannon, two hundred and thirteen horses, greyhounds and blood-hounds, handcuffs, neck-collars, and chains for captives, all sorts

of equipments and workmen, swine and poultry, priests, monks, and altar furniture. He had learned in Peru just what appliances were necessary for hounding and tormenting savages. But he had a rough and fierce experience in Florida. The natives were numerous, bold, and enraged by the memory of the barbarities of Narvaez. Yet he was, as a matter of course, successful. He soon captured Indians enough to carry his baggage and to do the menial work of his camps, as goaded slaves. He steadily hewed on his plundering way, with an expedition to Pensacola and an invasion of Georgia. Though he received kind treatment and warm hospitality from many chiefs and their tribes, he villanously repaid it by all manner of dastardly outrages, led on and maddened by the hope of mineral treasures, and indulging in abominable debaucheries. After having been generously entertained for thirty days where now stands the town of Rome, he proceeded to ravage the neighboring country. With Indians as his burden carriers, he entered Alabama, in July, 1540, where the natives had then their first sight of white men and horses. The pestiferous miasmas of those fair and fruitful regions proved very fatal to the Europeans, and the swamps, mosquitoes, and alligators would have overborne the fortitude and resolve of the invaders but for the passion for wealth that lured them on. The enslaved natives had to carry on litters many sick, in addition to their other burdens. De Soto had brought with him from Florida five hundred of the natives, men and women, chained and under guard. As any of these sickened or died, their places were supplied by fresh captives from bands of the Indians who ventured to face him. The simple and bewildered natives soon lost all the dread and awe with which they would have continued to venerate the strangers, as they saw them not only reduced by common human weaknesses, but exhibiting their odious character as robbers, thieves, assassins, and cruel desperadoes. The Spaniards visited

the vilest outrages upon those who treated them with the most deference and friendliness. Making their way to Mobile, the mailed scoundrels were withstood by the brave but unprotected natives, who were overborne by horrible carnage. A battle which lasted for nine hours proved severe in its results upon the Spaniards. Eighty-two of them were killed, with forty-five of their horses. All their camp equipage, stores, instruments, medicines, and sacramental furniture were burned. Of the savages five or six hundred were slain. After similar progress and ravages De Soto reached the bank of the Mississippi, where, worn out by excitement, effort, and disease, he died, in May, 1542; and his body was sunk by night in the turbid stream.

His successor in command, with a remnant of three hundred and twenty men of the splendid army of one thousand, — their array humiliated and reduced to starvation, — leaving five hundred of his Indian slaves and taking with him one hundred, put together some wretched rafts, and floating down the river landed again at Tampa Bay, after four years of reckless and devastating wandering through Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and the Arkansas territory. The natives had been terribly reduced in numbers, except in Georgia. The Muscogeas, previously living in the Ohio Valley, moved down soon after to Alabama, incorporating with them remnants of northern tribes which had been ravaged by the Iroquois and Hurons. It is to this miscellaneous gathering from fragments of adopted and conquered tribes that the English, when first penetrating the country, gave the name of "Creeks," from the number of streams which course it.

The Spaniards were the first of Europeans to come into contact with the natives on our Pacific coast. While Pizarro, after crossing the Isthmus, went southward, and with heroic perseverance against all bafflings discovered Peru, in 1527, and made his "Conquest" of it in 1532, another

party went northward. The further lure was the discovery of the Spice Islands. A station for supplies was established at Panama. Gil Gonzalez claimed the whole country of Nicaragua, whose coast he visited. The Spaniards claim special success and benefit for the natives from their mission and civilizing work among them in California, when entered by Cabrillo, in 1542. Their mission work, however, did not begin till near the close of the seventeenth century. This mission work was begun by the Jesuits, and was pursued by them till the general expulsion of the order from the Spanish dominions. The Franciscans succeeded them, and then the Dominicans. Alexander Forbes, in his "History of California," gives from the work of Father Venegas, and from his own observations, very interesting accounts of the condition and results of the Spanish missions. The field was a stern and hard one, but it had been heroically worked. There were sixteen stations there in 1767, when the Jesuits were expelled. The funds for the missions were invested in farms in Mexico.

We may here anticipate a statement, to be more fully advanced on later pages, that the Roman Catholic missions among the Indians, from the very first down to our own times, have been far more successful in accomplishing the aims and results which they have had in view, than have been those of any or of all the denominations of Protestants. But those aims and expected results have been most widely unlike, if not in full contrast, as had in view and labored for by Catholics and Protestants. In nothing concerning the theology or the government and discipline of those severed parties of the Christian fold, is the difference between them so broad or so deep as in the fundamental variance of their respective views as to the essential requisite for the conversion and Christianization of an American savage. Devout and heroic priests of the Roman Church, sharing the sweet and humane spirit of Las Casas, soon came hither from Spain on their consecrated missions, and according to their

light in the exercise of their office, their interpretation of the Christian Gospel, and in loyalty to holy Church, they spent their lives, in perfect self-abnegation, through perils and stern sacrifices, in efforts to win the savages into the saving fold. It seems to us that what they were content to aim for would have been most easy of accomplishment; that the method which they adopted and the result which was to give them full satisfaction were such as might have been readily realized, especially when we consider the docility of the race of savages who were the first subjects of their efforts. They did not task in any way the understandings of the natives, nor provoke them to curious and perplexing exercises. They started with the positive authority, conveyed in simple, direct assertion, without explanation or argument, of the few fundamental doctrines of the Church; asking only, and fully content with, assent to them, however faint might be the apprehension of them by the neophytes, and however vacant or bewildered the mind which was to assimilate from them ideas or convictions. These processes of the understanding might be expected to follow after, if they were naturally and healthfully prompted, in the Christian development of the savage; but implicit acceptance of the elementary lessons was all that was exacted. The Creed and the Lord's Prayer were taught them by rote, first in Latin or Spanish, and as soon as possible interpreted in their own tongues. Then the altar service of the Church, with such gestures and observances as it required, with the help of candles, pictures, emblems, and processions for interpreting and aiding it, constituted the main part of what was exacted as the practice of Christian piety. The wild habits, customs, mode of life, and relations to each other of the savages were interfered with as little as possible. The rite of baptism sealed the salvation of the subject of it, whether infant or adult, and there was haste rather than delay in granting the boon. All the hard task-work of the Protestant missionary, to convey didactic

instruction, to implant ideas, to stir mental activity, to explain doctrines, to open arguments, was dispensed with by the priest of the Roman Church. The Protestant could not take the first step in the conversion of a native without advancing it upon a previous stage in the process of civilization. His only medium was the mind, without any help from objective teaching by ritual, picture, or observance, or any aid from sense. The hopeful convert for the Protestant was considered as making difficult progress in his discipleship just to the degree in which he changed the whole manner and habit of his life.

In general it may be said that the Franciscan and the Jesuit Fathers have found satisfaction in their mission work among the American aborigines. They set for themselves an aim, with methods and conditions for securing it; and though these, being conformed to the theory of the Roman Church, may seem altogether inadequate as viewed by Protestants, they were the rule for its priests, and the result has stood to them for success.

In the judgment of Protestants, however, without any sharp indulgence of a sectarian spirit, it is to be affirmed, that, even if all the priests had been wise and faithful in their offices, this would not relieve the invasion and administration of the Spaniards in America from the severe reproach of a most unchristian treatment of the natives. The fidelity of the priests, taken in connection with the wilful recklessness of the soldiers and marauders, would but serve to confirm in the minds of Protestants a conviction which has many other tokens to warrant it, — that in the Roman system the Church is the priesthood, the laity being only a constituency and a following. Had the disciples of the Church no responsibility in the matter?

We have to look to the theocratical commonwealth established by the Jesuits in Paraguay, with its military appliances and fortresses, its rigidity of discipline, and its minute

oversight of all the incidents and experiences of the daily life of the natives, for an illustration of the ideal of mission work as entertained by the priests of that period. The Jesuit commonwealth stands in strange contrast with the Puritan theocracy of Massachusetts, and it would be a curious study to draw out that contrast in particulars as covering matters of faith and rules of life. Our views of the extreme austerity and bigotry of the Puritan discipline as enforced among themselves by a company of English Protestants, would find quite another field for their exercise in tracing the method of priestly control over a generally docile and inert people, who were to be isolated on their peninsular domain from all intercourse with the open world.

The Fathers in the California missions had for the most part to feed and clothe their converts, to arrest their nomadic life, and, as the soil was light, to bring in the means of subsistence. The population of Lower California presented to Forbes, in 1835, a curious mixture of the progeny of European seamen, Spanish creoles, and Indians. The writer says the missionaries had the finest fields and climate, the fairest opportunities, and the most facile subjects. But while he extols their sincerity and devotion, the results of their labors were to him doleful and dreary enough. "Most of the missions," he says, "are in a wretched condition, and the Indians — poor and helpless slaves, both in body and mind — have no knowledge and no will but those of the Friars." The word *domesticated*, as applied to animals, is more applicable to them than the word *civilized*. In 1833 about twenty thousand natives were connected with the missions, and soldiers were needed at every station. The Indians were lazy and helpless slaves, fed and flogged to compel their attendance on the Mass, and besotted by superstition.

When California was joined to the Union, it was estimated, — doubtless, extravagantly, — that there were in

ing bounds one hundred thousand Indians, and that a fifth part of these were more or less connected with the missions, partially civilized, jobbing, begging, stealing, laboring on the farms of Europeans, gambling and drinking, and generally in stages of improvidence, dissoluteness, and imbecility. The wild Indians in the gold-bearing regions were ruthlessly dealt with by adventurers, explorers, and miners.

After futile efforts by Congress by appropriations through commissioners and agents,—of which the Indians were wickedly defrauded, being only the more ingeniously wronged,—in 1853 tracts of twenty-five thousand acres were defined as Reservations for them. The hope was to secure, by the aid of resident guardians and advisers, and on a larger scale, all that had been good in the farming and missionary methods of the Spaniards.

It would have been gratifying to our national pride, if, in closing the review of the harrowing history of the dealings of the Spaniards with the original tribes on our present domain, we could say truly, that the transfer of responsibility to our own Government had essentially modified or improved the condition of those representatives of the native stock which had, for three centuries, been under the ecclesiastical and colonial charge of the royal successors of Ferdinand and Isabella.

CHAPTER II.

THE INDIAN. — HIS ORIGIN, NUMBERS, PERSON, AND CHARACTER.

IT would have been but reasonable to have expected that the opening of an inhabited continent — more than half the land surface of the globe — to the intelligent curiosity of the representatives of the civilization of the Old World, would have contributed largely to the sum and the elements of our knowledge of the origin and history of our human race. Anything that was to be learned of aboriginal life here would have been invaluable to the archæologist, and might have served towards solving the problems yet left unfathomed by all the skill of science and all the monumental relics on the other continents. Whether either of these halves of the globe had originally received its human inhabitants from the other half, or had been stocked each by its independent ancestry, an unknown lapse of ages had transpired without intercourse between them. We might have looked at least for the means of deciding this alternative of unity or diversity in the origin of our race. The means for that decision would have been sought in traditions and tokens of a primitive kinship and history, while any radical and heterogeneous characteristics running through the inhabitants of either half of the globe would have brought their unity of origin under serious question. Regrets have often been expressed that this question was not at once made the subject of keenly intelligent investigation by the first Europeans in their inter-

course with the aborigines. It is taken for granted that the opportunity would have favored the acquisition of some positive and helpful knowledge which has since failed. It is very doubtful, however, whether the lapse of the last four centuries has really deepened what was then the obscurity that covered these inquiries. What are supposed to be the oldest crania and other human relics on the continent generally crumble to dust when exposed to light and air. One of our archæologists tells us that some bones of the mastodon, antedating the age of the Mound Builders, when excavated from a peat-swamp, yielded gelatinous matter for constituting a rich soup.¹ But there are no such juices left here in the relics of primeval man. It was only after long intervals of time that different longitudinal and latitudinal sections of this northern half of our continent were reached by white men. About a century intervened between the first intercourse of the Spaniards with the southern tribes and that of the French with the northern tribes. Cabeza de Vaca, of the company of Narvaez, is accredited as the first European who stood on the banks of the Mississippi, and crossed the continent from sea to sea, in 1528. The Sieur Nicolet was the first of Frenchmen who, in 1639, reached the waters of that river from the north. The first pueblo captured in Mexico by Cortes was in 1520. Coronado's expedition against the "Seven Cities of Cibola" was in 1540. Some Village Indians in New Mexico are thought to be in the present occupancy of the adobe houses of their predecessors at the Conquest. This term, "Village Indians," is expressive of a distinction gradually coming to the knowledge of the whites between sedentary and roving tribes of the aborigines. Our information is very scanty as to the characteristics of difference, in gross and in detail, between various tribes of Indians originally, and immediately subsequent to their first intercourse with the whites. We know but little of the conditions of proximity, relation-

¹ Foster's Pre-Historic Races, p. 370.

ship, and necessity which drew them into fellowships, with common interests among themselves, called by us "tribes," or to what extent alliances existed among them for peace and war. There were needful limitations in the size of those fellowships, imposed by the conditions of their existence. The Natchez and Arkansas tribes are regarded as among the most advanced of those of our northern section when first known to Europeans.

The late Lewis H. Morgan, partly through the interpretation of facts, and partly with the inferences from a reasonable theory, has contributed valuable aid to our understanding of aboriginal life. He maintains that their household life was constructed on the communal system, uniting affiliated families as a *gens*. When the Five Nations, or Iroquois, inhabiting central New York, were first visited by Europeans, they were found to be gathered in family groups of twenty, forty, or even larger households, all literally under one roof. A "Long House," constructed strongly and for permanency of wood and bark, with a continuous passage through the middle, one door of entrance, provision for the necessary number of fires, and partitions dividing the area, was the common home it might be even of a hundred or more persons. The inmates shared together the yield of the harvest and the hunt. Starting from this well-certified fact, Mr. Morgan proceeds to draw reasonable inferences that this communal system for life, for affiliated families or companies of the aborigines, — generally, and indeed universally, except where circumstances might have withstood it, — prevailed among them. It was once supposed that the extensive adobe structures in New Mexico and in Central America — with their walled enclosures unpierced in the lower story by door or window, and terraced by two, three, or more stories reared upon them, to which access was gained by ladders — were the remains of the palatial residences of chiefs and caciques, and that they were then surrounded with clusters of more

humble abodes, making villages for the tribes. These, being of frail structure, had left no vestige. But these supposed palatial residences are now believed to have answered to the Long Houses of the Iroquois, and to have been of communal use,—some of them capable of accommodating from five to eight hundred families. It is a further easy inference from the starting point of fact, to affirm that the “dirt lodges” of the Mandans, the caves of the Cliff Dwellers, and the Mounds of our western valleys bear witness to the same communal mode of life of our aborigines. It is supposed that those mounds of earth—a substitute for stone where it was not available for the purpose—were simply the base for the erection over them of dwellings of wood or bark, which have perished. This theory also suggests and favors a method for distinguishing several stages or types in savage life, between extreme barbarism and approximations towards civilization.

It would simply embarrass the mainly narrative purpose of this volume to attempt here any elaborate or even concise statement of the distribution, classification, organization, and designation by names or localities of our aboriginal tribes. Such information—not by any means always accordant—as special inquirers and writers on these intricate and perplexed themes have furnished, is easily accessible in our abounding literature of the subject. Very few of the names originally attached by the first Europeans here to the tribes earliest known to them are now in use. The same tribes were known by different appellations assigned to them by the French, the Dutch, and the English. There has been a steady increase of appellations for bands and tribes, as the whites have extended their intercourse and relations with them. Within the last two or three decades each year has added new titles on the lists of the Reports of the Indian Commissioners. Some of the earliest known tribes—as the Pamunkeys of Virginia, the Lenape of Pennsylvania, the Narragansetts, the Mohi-

cans, the Pequots, and the Nipmucks of New England—have become extinct, or such surviving remnants of their stock as may exist have been merged in other tribes; what there are of the Lenape are now known as Delawares. The same processes of the absorption or extinction of tribal names, which began among the aborigines on the sea-coast, have followed the extension of invasions and settlements through the whole breadth of the continent. One tribe has adopted the remnant of one or more other tribes, giving to them its own name, or appropriating a new one. Many of the original and of the existing tribes were and are known by an *alias*. Such titles as the Nez-Perces, the Gros-Ventres, and the Diggers speak for themselves as conferred upon, not assumed by, those who bear them. Remnants of seventeen tribes, collected from Oregon and Northern California, are consolidated in the Grande Ronde agency in Oregon. Such matters as are of chief importance and interest on these points will present themselves in subsequent pages.

What is the relative place on the scale of humanity to be assigned to the average North American Indian? Certainly, not near the top of that scale; as certainly, not at the foot of it. The scale is a full and varied one. We know far better than our ancestors knew, at the time when they first saw our aborigines, how many links there are on the chain of a common humanity. The anatomy of the skeleton, the outlines of the form, and the possession of any ray of that intelligence which we distinguish from instinct in animals,—these are in general the certificates of a claim for men over brutes. In assigning a place on the human scale to any tribe or race of human beings, we must first have defined to ourselves the specimens which mark its highest and its lowest. Nor in either case must we accept an ideal as a specimen. The loftiest definition ever given of the being called man is in the Scripture sentence, that he is but “a little lower than the angels, and is

crowned with glory and honor." The greatest of poets has expanded this high strain: "What a piece of work is a man! how noble in reason! how infinite in faculties! in form and moving how express and admirable! in action how like an angel! in apprehension how like a God!" But we have to say, using one of the trickeries of language of our time, "There are men, and there are men." If we should search for the lowest specimen of humanity to offset the topmost one, whether ideal or real, we should by no means find that lowest specimen in an average North American Indian. Stanley would furnish us from the interior of Africa lower grades than have ever been classified before. The archipelagoes of the Pacific, especially the Fijian, revealed the lowest known to us. In one point of view, from Mr. Darwin's position, it would seem as if the evolution theory might prove itself from the fact that there are really no "missing links" in the gradations from brute to man. Yet, not so. The line between human beings and brute creatures may be blurred; but it is not obliterated or untraceable. This, however, is certain, — that there are now hordes and tribes and groups of such beings as we have nevertheless to call human, which present to us man far, far below the average type of the North American savage when he first came to the knowledge of Europeans.

The full, fair product of a civilized human being is the result of all possible favoring circumstances of place, opportunity, and advantage in a long lapse of time. Some English essayist has dropped what he would call the *clever* remark, that it takes a hundred years to work up a perfect, smooth, grassy lawn, and three hundred years to breed a lady or a gentleman. After the same manner we may say that it has taken six thousand historic years to produce a race of humanized, civilized, and thoroughly developed men and women; and that the process is not yet complete. It might be argued that, two or three thousand years behind us, the refining influences of intelligence and culture

and high art had carried a classic people beyond our present stage in one range of civilization: and allowances would also need to be made for arrests and reversionary processes in the advance of a progressive race caused by conquest, by change of masters, and by the risks attending emigration to new countries. Yet there is no question but that we overestimate the average of intelligence in the ordinary human stock. We take our standard at too high a level. The mass of men and women, even in a favored and generally advanced community, are not so well furnished in mind or wisdom as we assume that they are or ought to be. The "common sense" which in compliment to the large majority we suppose to be in possession and use by them, is often missed where we expected to find it. The credulity, the narrowness of view, the facility with which they yield themselves to stark delusions and to appeals to their ignorance and prejudice, often warn us against setting so high as we do the average human intelligence. As a general thing we expect and demand too much of our fellow-men, seeing that they are what they are and as they are. The clear-headed and practical sage, Dr. Franklin, observing in one of his long journeys abroad the shiftlessness, thriftlessness, and bungling of a number of persons on whose ways his searching eyes glanced, wrote down this rather caustic remark: "I am persuaded that a very large number of men and women would have got along much better if they had been furnished with a good, respectable instinct — like animals, birds, and insects — instead of with the intelligence of which they boast so much, but of which they make so little use."

Acute writers who have wrought upon the theme have confessed themselves unable to draw at any point a sharp dividing line, or to define any one single trait, quality, or condition which shall distinguish between a state of civilization and a state of barbarism or savagery.

Our latest science, alike archæological and speculative,

fails to give us positive knowledge about the origin of the red man and his relation to the other races of human beings on the other continents. Lack of knowledge stimulates guessing and theorizing: for these the range is as free as ever. The theories are so varied and conflicting that one becomes confused and wearied with them to such a degree as to be impatient of rehearsing them. The favorite view of the Protestants, especially of our Puritan ancestors—in their love of the old Hebrew Scriptures—was that the Indians were the descendants of the ten lost tribes of Israel, whom, Cotton Mather suggested, Satan might have inveigled hither to get them away from the tinkle of the gospel bells. It was under the prompting of this idea, which was largely and learnedly argued, that the Puritans quickened their zeal to reclaim and convert the savages. Many ingenious attempts have been made to trace among the Indians usages and institutions akin to those of the Mosaic law. The French Jesuit missionaries, not being especially partial to the Old Testament, did not lay stress on this motive for converting the savages. Roger Williams in his day could write, “From Adam and Noah that they spring, it is granted on all hands.” But all do not grant that now. So free and wild has been the guessing on the origin and kinship of the Indian race, that resemblances have been alleged to exist, in their crania and features, with the Tartars, the Celts, the Chinese, Australasians, Romans, and Carthaginians. This is truly a large range for *aliases* and an *alibi*. There is somewhat of the grotesque in the aspect of a European intruder, of another stock, coming from across the sea, meeting the native red men, regarding them as an impertinence or an anomaly, and putting the question, “Who are you? Where did you come from?” The Indian rightly thought that it was for him to put and for the white man to answer the query. The Indian regards himself as a perfectly natural person where he is and as he is; a product and a possessor, not a

waif nor a "come-by-chance." Their own account of themselves was that they were indigenous,—true aborigines. With this now agree the conclusions of wise and judicious authorities. Dr. S. G. Morton, writing of the "Aboriginal Race of North America," says: "Our conclusion, long ago adduced from a patient examination of facts, is, that the American race is essentially separate and peculiar, whether we regard it in its physical, its moral, or its intellectual relations. To us there are no direct or obvious links between the people of the Old World and the New." It is generally admitted that there is more similarity between the Indians over all North America than there is among the inhabitants of Europe. Agassiz regarded it as proved that this is the oldest of the continents. If so, the burden is now shifted to Europeans, Asiatics, and Africans to account for themselves as offspring, wanderers, vagabonds, or exiles. The Mound Builders form the heroes of much ingenious speculation. So far, little has come of it but relics of crude pottery. Loskiel, the Moravian missionary, speaks very lightly of these puzzling relics. Referring to what the Indians told him, of traditions of former more frequent and ferocious wars—some hereditary—among them, he writes:—

"The ruins of former towns are still visible, and several mounds of earth show evident proofs that they were raised by men. They were hollow, having an opening at the top, by which the Indians let down their women and children, whenever an enemy approached, and, placing themselves around, defended them vigorously. For this purpose they placed a number of stones and blocks on the top of the mound, which they rolled down against the assailants. The killed, in large numbers, were buried in a hole. The antiquity of these graves is known by the large trees upon them."¹

After the Indians are all gone, we may perhaps be able to tell whence they came.

¹ History of the Mission of the United Brethren to the Indians of North America, p. 141.

An equally perplexing and distracting inquiry with that of the origin of the Indians has now become another question, as to the number of them when the country was reached and occupied by Europeans. Of course, this question was not intelligently asked by the first whites who came here, though they ventured, all at random, upon guesses and estimates. Those who entered upon the continent at different points naturally drew widely contrasted inferences on the subject, according as they encountered what they call "swarms" of the natives, on island or mainland, or passed long reaches of territory wholly tenantless.

It is only within the last dozen years that rigid and rational tests have been applied to the statements and traditions which have found their admission into our histories, as to the probable numbers of the native race on this continent when it was opened to Europeans. Wholly conjectural as the estimates were, the measure of the extravagance or the fancy introduced into them depended upon the range or license indulged in by those who ventured to make them. The admission is now yielded, without exception or qualification, by all intelligent authorities, that the number of the natives in each of the best-known tribes, and their whole number on the continent at the time of its discovery have been vastly overestimated. All the Spanish chroniclers were mere romancers on this point. The soldier Baron La Hontan was a specimen of the same class among the French. John Smith, of Virginia, who tells us that that country produced pearl, coral, and metallic copper, and that the natives planted and harvested three crops of corn in five months, also multiplies the numbers of the Pamunkeys, to exalt the state of their "emperor" Powhatan. Our own artist, Catlin, allowed his imagination to create some sixteen millions of Indians as once roaming here, when it is more than doubtful if a single million were ever living at the same time on the soil.

Hispaniola, or Little Spain, the name given by Columbus

to the present Hayti, or St. Domingo, has as before stated an area of about thirty thousand square miles, — or more than half the area of England and Wales. When first discovered, Las Casas says that it sustained three million Indians; he afterwards sets the number at 1,200,000. The Licentiate Zuazo, however, estimated them at 1,130,000. In 1508, when Passamonte came, he put them at seventy thousand. The Governor, Diego Columbus, estimated the number at forty thousand. Albuquerque, in 1514, counted them as between thirteen and fourteen thousand. This was a vast deduction from three millions in a score of years. We can give the Spaniards the benefit of our charity in denying their own statement, that in less than forty years they had destroyed fifteen millions of the natives, while we also distrust the story that Montezuma led three million warriors. We know the claim of the Jesuits to have converted nine millions of natives in Mexico, in a score of years, to be a pure fiction. Such random counts as these have no value, inasmuch as the evident exaggeration is characteristic of the extravagant spirit of all the Spanish expectations and accounts of their experience.

The practical matter of interest in the estimate of the probable number of Indians on this continent, on the arrival of the Europeans, concerns us as it bears on the current belief, universally held till within a few years, substantially covering these three assumptions: (1) That there was then a vast number of Indians here, to be counted in millions; (2) That this original population has been steadily and rapidly wasting away; and (3) That this decay is the result of the destroying influence coming from the whites, either in demoralization or by war. These three assumptions are now largely, if not universally, discredited. In direct denial of them, it is now affirmed, with evidence offered in proof, that the number of the Indians here was quite below the old estimates; that there are substantially as many on the continent now as there were on the arrival

of the white men; and that their own habits of life, and internecine feuds, have been as destructive as the influence of the Europeans. In fact, the former overestimates of the numbers in some tribes, and of the aboriginal race, are now thought to have been as wild if not as poetical and visionary as the Indian traditions of their origin and mythical ancestry. In the lack of any accredited facts drawn from anything resembling a census, — and no attempt at such a process was made till after the middle of this century, — we have mainly to rely upon two helpful considerations for estimating the number of the aborigines at any given time on any particular locality. The first is, the effect of their constant warfare among themselves in reducing their number; and, second, the capacity of the soil, its woods and waters, for sustaining a more or less compact population by productive labor on tilled fields, or by the chase. Both these considerations would naturally lead us to infer that there was no such steady increase of population as commonly occurs in peaceful life in a civilized and industrious community. We are besides to take into view the fact, well authenticated, that plagues, contagious and epidemical diseases, were frequent and wide in their visitations, and occasionally effected a well-nigh complete extinction of one or more tribes devastated by them.

It is significant, that, in every case in which careful and patient research or inquiry have been brought into intelligent use in estimating the number of one or more Indian tribes, and of the whole Indian population, previous calculations, guessings, and inferences on the subject have been found to be exaggerations. The only associated groups of tribes with which our acquaintance and knowledge have been continuous from the beginning is the Iroquois, who have been in intimate intercourse with the Dutch, the French, and the English for more than two hundred and fifty years. Sir William Johnson, the best informed of all interested in their number, placed it in 1763 at 11,650. We

have no certainty that at any previous time they really exceeded this count, though La Hontan and others multiplied it almost ten times. The old Iroquois were represented in 1876-77 by seven thousand in the United States, and the same number in Canada. The number is the same to-day. The so-called, civilized tribes in the Indian Territory, as *counted* in 1809, were 12,395. The Indian Bureau in 1876 numbered them at twenty-one thousand. They have doubled in forty years. The Indians who have fared the worst in decrease of numbers have been those of California and Oregon.

If we seek in a general view of the mode of life and resources of the red men, in some favored localities, to find any radical disadvantage or disablement which put them below all communities of the whites which we call civilized, we can readily convince ourselves of our error by comparing the state of our Indians at the time of the settlement of this continent with that of communities of whites in Europe at the same time. Mr. Lecky in the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of his "History of England in the Eighteenth Century" condenses from his authorities such a view of the condition of the common people in Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland a century and a half ago, as puts them to a disadvantage, merely as to the means and resources of subsistence, in comparison with North American Indians. The people, wildly ruled in clans, were thieves and cattle-lifters, kidnappers of men and children to be sold as slaves; they were ferocious barbarians, besotted with the darkest ignorance and the grossest and gloomiest superstitions; they scratched the earth with a crooked piece of wood for a plough, and a bush attached to the tail of a horse for a harrow, wholly dispensing with a harness; their food was milk and oatmeal mixed with blood drawn from a living cow; their cookery, their cabins were revoltingly filthy, causing disgusting cutaneous diseases; they boiled their beef in the hide, roasted fowls in their

feathers, and plucked the wool from the sheep instead of shearing it.

The relative position or grade, on the human scale, of any tribe or race of men — much like that of any one man among his fellows — is to be measured by the sum and range of their capacities, and the degree of their self-improvement by the use of means, resources, and appliances within their reach. And the capacities of men are also to be estimated by the extent to which they actually avail themselves of these means, appliances, and resources; finding in native impulse and energy, quickness of wit, restlessness of feeling, the spur of progress; casting about them for reliefs, helps, betterments of their condition. We classify nations by the direction in which they have trained and advanced one or another of the abilities and aptitudes of our manifold nature. In the Greeks, the direction of it was in artistic, poetic, and philosophic culture, the genius for which is expressed in their wonderful language; in the Romans, it was an organizing faculty, working in the range of law in all its departments; in Germany, research, scholarship, jurisprudence; in Italy, æsthetic, for poetry, painting, and music; in France, a mixture of use and ornament,—the packages in which certain cosmetics, etc., are done up being more ingenious than their contents; in the English, it is general utilitarianism, with strength, thoroughness, and skill; in the Irish, it is a cheerful willingness for hard, patient, laborious, disagreeable work, without mental restlessness. We know how we, especially, are indebted to the faithful toil of the Irish race; yet I cannot recall a single invention, or discovery in art or science, ever made by an Irishman. If one would have before him a full demonstration of the adroit and acute inventiveness and ingenuity of the Yankee race, let him spend a week or a month — there will be full employment for it — in the Patent Office at Washington, among reapers, thrashers, and winnowers, cotton mules, cooking

stoves, apple parers and sausage machines, and needle threaders and sewing machines.

Now our aborigines present to us these singular conditions: having a fine physique, vigor of body, acuteness of senses, few demoralizing habits, good natural understandings, and living under a stimulating and healthful, not enervating climate, on good soil, they were nevertheless torpid, unaroused, unambitious, idle, listless, indifferent to everything but hunting and fighting. Of the metals, fibres, chemical activities all around them they made almost no use. No step of progress, no sign of betterment, showed itself among them. For all the evidence within our reach attests to us that there was among the savages no token of that discontent or yearning which is the incentive to change for the better.

In dealing with our whole subject under its successive themes, we shall have many occasions to present the Indian under a variety of characters and aspects. A few general notes of observation may come in here.

The fascinating description which Columbus wrote to Ferdinand and Isabella of the first savages that came within his view has already been repeated here. Coming to a later time and to a way of judging them which we can better appreciate, we take a sentence from Roger Williams, who had as long and close and curious an intercourse with the Indians as any white man, and who had an intelligent and discerning spirit. He wrote thus: "For the temper of the brain in quick apprehensions and discerning judgements (to say no more), the most High Sovereign God and Creator hath not made them inferior to Europeans." This relates to the higher endowment of the Indian. For his form and grace, his bearing and demeanor, let us take a few sentences from the enthusiast George Catlin, who lived eight years (1832-1840) with such Indians as we have now, visited forty-eight of their tribes, and painted in oil five hundred canvases of por-

traits and scenes among them. He says: "The North American Indian in his native state is an hospitable, honest, faithful, brave, warlike, cruel, revengeful, relentless, yet honorable, contemplative, and religious being." While freely stating their defects and enormities, Catlin adds: "I have lived with thousands and ten thousands of these knights of the forest, whose whole lives are lives of chivalry, and whose daily feats with their naked limbs might vie with those of the Grecian youth in the beautiful rivalry of the Olympian games." Their passion for stealing horses, Catlin ascribes to their having been trained to regard the act as a virtue. The artist says he has often seen six, eight, or ten hundred Indians engaged in their animating ball-playing, with five or six times the number of men, women, and children looking on. "And I pronounce such a scene — with its hundreds of Nature's most beautiful models, denuded, and painted of various colors, running and leaping into the air, in all the most extravagant and varied forms, in the desperate struggles for the ball — a school for the painter or sculptor equal to any of those which ever inspired the hand of the artist in the Olympian games or the Roman forum." He adds, that they have learned their worst vices from the contamination of the whites, but that they find a full equivalent in nature and freedom for all the harassments of civilization, and make an intelligent estimate of the relative advantages of either state of man. "They are noble fellows, noblemen and gentlemen. . . . I have met with so many acts of kindness and hospitality at the hands of the poor Indian, that I feel bound, when I can do it, to render what excuse I can for a people who are dying with broken hearts, and never can speak in the civilized world in their own defence. . . . Nature has no nobler specimen of man or beast than the Indian and the buffalo." Catlin pleads with equal earnestness for the man and the beast, and suggests for his own monument a grand national park to preserve both from extermination. There

is a fine appreciation here of the intimate relation of dependence and a link in destiny, at least as concerns vast numbers of the old hunting tribes and the beast which furnished them pastime and subsistence.

I have quoted these evidently overdrawn pictures of Catlin while fully aware of his deficiencies as an observer, and of his unrestrained enthusiasm in description. His richness of fancy was offset by lack of judgment. He writes more like a child than a well-balanced man.

Major J. S. Campion, in his "Life on the Frontier,"¹ shows himself a most intelligent and discriminating observer of Indian life and character, of which he had large experience. He says:—

"That there is a radical mental difference between the races is as certain as that there are physical ones. The dog and wolf—as we are told mankind had—may have had one pair of ancestors; but the dog is naturally a domestic animal: so is the white man, and so are some of the American tribes. The wolf still is, he always will be, a savage; so has been, so always will be, the Apache. The philanthropist sees no apparent reason why, with proper culture, the Apache should not become a useful member of society. I see no apparent reason why the wolf should not become as domestic as the dog; but he won't. The reason is a *mental* difference. Therein is the root of endless misunderstandings, of mutual injustice, between the races. But if the earth was made for man to increase and multiply thereon, and have possession, as it requires a greater number of square miles to support one Apache than a square mile will support of civilized families, his extinction is justified by the inevitable logic of the fitness of things. He cannot be developed into a civilized man: he must give place to him. Circumstances and early training will sometimes make a white boy into a first-rate savage; but that is no argument to prove the converse,—only a case of reversion. Our remote ancestors were painted savages. The cleverest collie is a descendant of dogs that lived like wolves and foxes. Every country has, perhaps, had its true wild men,—tribes incapable of civilization: some coun-

¹ London ed., 1878, p. 355 *et seq.*

tries have them yet. Every country, sooner or later, has its civilized races, — sometimes historically known to be immigrant ones, sometimes presumably of an equal antiquity of location to the wild ones near them. Mexico is a case in point. The conquistadores found in that country an ancient, highly developed, apparently indigenous civilization, with a most complex system of government and *taxation*, an established state-religion, a thorough organization of classes, an elaborate school of manners and etiquette, — a civilization in some respects superior to their own; and in the same country wild, nearly naked savage tribes, equally indigenous, — the Apaches of then and to-day. Time, soil, climate, natural resources, had been equal to them all, and behold the difference of result! It was a case of indigènes capable of self-development and not capable. . . . Savagery is civilization's childhood."

These kindly and generous and paradoxical, if also enthusiastic, estimates of the average North American savage may fairly be quoted and emphasized, because they are so rare in our voluminous Indian literature. Of quite another tone and strain is the vast bulk of all that has been written about the natives, — certainly by the pens of Englishmen from their first contact here. With a vague intent to regard the savages pitifully and to treat them kindly, our ancestors here — very soon, and largely through their own misdealing, and for the rest under the stress of circumstances — came to hate and loathe the Indian, and to view him and to speak of him as a most hideous and degraded creature. The Indian was to them "the scum of humanity," "the offscouring of the earth." When the savage who bore the title of King Philip, and who planned and led the most devastating — well-nigh exterminating — war ever waged between the white and red men on our soil, was drawn out of the miry swamp in which he had been slain, Captain Church, his conqueror, said, "He was a doleful great naked, dirty beast." This, too, of an Indian monarch! And yet it was of a neighbor chieftain, Iyanough, of the same race, — from whom the town of Hyannis takes its name, and whose bones are preserved in a cabinet in the

Pilgrim Hall at Plymouth,—that the early chronicler Mourt wrote, that he was “very personable, gentle, courteous, and fair-conditioned; indeed, not like a savage, save for his attire,”—probably the lack of it. Governor Winslow wrote to a friend in England: “We have found the Indians very faithful to their covenants of peace with us, very loving and ready to pleasure us. We go with them in some cases fifty miles into the country, and walk as safely and peaceably in the woods as in the highways of England. We entertain them familiarly in our houses, and they are friendly in bestowing their venison upon us. They are a people without religion, yet very trusty, quick of apprehension, humorous, and just.” And Winslow’s friend, Robert Cushman, wrote: “To us they have been like lambs,—so kind, so trusty, and so submissive that many Christians are not so kind and sincere.” When the Sachem Chicatabot visited Boston in 1631, we read that, “being in English clothes, the Governor (Winthrop) set him at his own table, where he behaved himself as an English gentleman.”

A few more estimates of Indian personality and character, as made in our own time, may serve to acquaint us with the wide diversity of judgment which has from the first found strong expression, and then we may attempt to account for this discordance of view. The chivalrous and heroic General Custer may be regarded as a typical authority among military men for his estimate of Indian character. He knew the Indian well in war and peace. He had made the savage the object of an intelligent and closely and keenly observant study. He was one of the most conspicuous victims of Indian warfare. Though the General is classed as among the most effective “Indian fighters,” and came to his early death at their hands in a fearful massacre, he was a man of a humane and kindly heart. In his “Life on the Plains,” referring to the romantic, gentle, and winning view which Cooper and other

romancers have given of the Indian, as so misleading and wholly fanciful, he says : —

The Indian, “where we are compelled to meet with him,—in his native village, on the war-path, and when raiding upon our frontier settlements and lines of travel,—forfeits his claim to the appellation of the ‘*noble red man.*’ We see him as he is, and, so far as all knowledge goes, as he ever has been, — a *savage* in every sense of the word ; not worse, perhaps, than his white brother would be similarly born and bred, but one whose cruel and ferocious nature far exceeds that of any wild beast of the desert. That this is true, no one who has been brought into intimate contact with the wild tribes will deny. Perhaps there are some who, as members of peace commissions, or as wandering agents of some benevolent society, may have visited these tribes, or attended with them at councils held for some pacific purpose, and who by passing through the villages of the Indian while *at peace* may imagine their opportunities for judging of the Indian nature all that could be desired ; but the Indian, while he can seldom be accused of indulging in a great variety of wardrobe, can be said to have a character capable of adapting itself to almost every occasion. He has one character —perhaps his most serviceable one — which he preserves carefully, and only airs it when making his appeal to the Government or its agents, for arms, ammunition, and license to employ them. This character is invariably paraded, and often with telling effect, when the motive is a peaceful one. Prominent chiefs invited to visit Washington invariably don this character, and in their ‘talks’ with the ‘Great Father’ and other less prominent personages they successfully contrive to exhibit but this one phase. Seeing them under these or similar circumstances only, it is not surprising that by many the Indian is looked upon as a simple-minded ‘son of Nature,’ desiring nothing beyond the privilege of roaming and hunting over the vast unsettled wilds of the West, inheriting and asserting but few native rights, and never trespassing upon the rights of others. This view is equally erroneous with that which regards the Indian as a creature possessing the human form, but divested of all other attributes of humanity, and whose traits of character, habits, modes of life, disposition, and savage customs disqualify him from the exercise of all rights and privileges, even those pertaining to life itself. Taking him as we find him, at peace or at

war, at home or abroad, waiving all prejudices and laying aside all partiality, we will [shall] discover in the Indian a subject for thoughtful study and investigation. In him we will [shall] find the representative of a race whose origin is, and promises to be, a subject forever wrapped in mystery; a race incapable of being judged by the rules or laws applicable to any other known race of men; one between which and civilization there seems to have existed from time immemorial a determined and unceasing warfare, — a hostility so deep-seated and inbred with the Indian character, that in the exceptional instances where the modes and habits of civilization have been reluctantly adopted, it has been at the sacrifice of power and influence as a tribe, and the more serious loss of health, vigor, and courage as individuals.”

“Inseparable from the Indian character, wherever he is to be met with, is his remarkable taciturnity, his deep dissimulation, the perseverance with which he follows his plans of revenge or conquest, his concealment and apparent lack of curiosity, his stoical courage when in the power of his enemies, his cunning, his caution, and last, but not least, the wonderful power and subtlety of his senses. In studying the Indian character, while shocked and disgusted by many of his traits and customs, I find much to be admired, and still more of deep and unvarying interest. To me Indian life, with its attendant ceremonies, mysteries, and forms, is a book of unceasing interest. Grant that some of its pages are frightful, and if possible to be avoided; yet the attraction is none the weaker. Study him, fight him, civilize him if you can; he remains still the object of your curiosity, a type of man peculiar and undefined, subjecting himself to no known law of civilization, contending determinedly against all efforts to win him from his chosen mode of life. He stands in the group of nations solitary and reserved, seeking alliance with none, mistrusting and opposing the advances of all. Civilization may and should do much for him, but it can never civilize him. A few instances to the contrary may be quoted, but these are susceptible of explanation. No tribe enjoying its accustomed freedom has ever been induced to adopt a civilized mode of life, — or, as they express it, to follow the white man’s road. At various times certain tribes have forsaken the pleasures of the chase and the excitement of the war-path for the more quiet life to be found on the ‘reservation.’ Was this course adopted voluntarily and from preference? Was it because the

Indian chose the ways of his white brother, rather than those in which he had been born and bred? In no single instance has this been true."

Custer proceeds to argue that a few tribes, wasted and exhausted by wars with other tribes and the whites, and by contact with civilization and disease, and unable to cope with more powerful tribes which are always overbearing and domineering, must either become the vassals and tributaries of their enemies, or reluctantly accept the alternative of a sham conformity with the whites. He says: —

The tribe must "give up its accustomed haunts, its wild mode of life, and nestle down under the protecting arm of its former enemy, the white man, and try, however feebly, to adopt his manner of life. In making this change the Indian has to sacrifice all that is dear to his heart; he abandons the only mode of life in which he can be a warrior and win triumphs and honors worthy to be sought after; and in taking up the pursuits of the white man he does that which he has always been taught from his earliest infancy to regard as degrading to his manhood, — to labor, to work for his daily bread; an avocation suitable only for squaws. . . .

"To those who advocate the application of the laws of civilization to the Indian, it might be a profitable study to investigate the effect which such application produces upon the strength of the tribe as expressed in numbers. Looking at him as the fearless hunter, the matchless horseman and warrior of the Plains, where Nature placed him, and contrasting him with the reservation Indian, who is supposed to be revelling in the delightful comforts and luxuries of an enlightened condition, but who in reality is groveling in beggary, bereft of many of the qualities which in his wild state tended to render him noble, and heir to a combination of vices partly his own, partly bequeathed to him from the pale face, — one is forced, even against desire, to conclude that there is an unending antagonism between the Indian nature and that with which his well-meaning white brother would endow him. Nature intended him for a savage state; every instinct, every impulse of his soul inclines him to it. The white race might fall into a barbarous state, and afterwards, subjected to the influence of civiliza-

tion, be reclaimed and prosper. Not so the Indian. He cannot be himself and be civilized; he fades away and dies. Cultivation such as the white man would give him deprives him of his identity. Education, strange as it may appear, seems to weaken rather than strengthen his intellect."

In confirmation of this last statement, Custer affirms that the gift of forest eloquence is lost under civilization. He asks:—

"Where do we find any specimens of educated Indian eloquence comparing with that of such native, untutored orators as Tecumseh, Osceola, Red-Jacket, and Logan, or Red-Cloud, or Satanta? . . .

"My firm conviction, based upon an intimate and thorough analysis of the habits, traits of character, and natural instinct of the Indian, and strengthened and supported by the almost unanimous opinion of all persons who have made the Indian problem a study, —and have studied it, not from a distance, but in immediate contact with all the facts bearing thereupon, — is that the Indian cannot be elevated to that great level where he can be induced to adopt any policy or mode of life varying from those to which he has ever been accustomed by any method of teaching, argument, reasoning, or coaxing which is not preceded and followed closely in reserve by a superior physical force. In other words, the Indian is capable of recognizing no controlling influence but that of stern arbitrary power. . . .

"And yet there are those who argue that the Indian with all his lack of moral privileges is so superior to the white race as to be capable of being controlled in his savage traits and customs, and induced to lead a proper life, simply by being politely requested to do so."¹

Let us quote a passage from another intelligent observer of Indian life, also an accomplished officer of the army of the United States. The extract has a touch of romance about it, as it presents a child of Nature of the other sex:—

¹ My Life on the Plains; or, Personal Experiences with Indians. By General G. A. Custer, U. S. A. 1876. Pages 11, 16, 102, *et seq.*

“ When a young man, — new to the plains, with a heart full of romance, and head stored with Cooper’s and others’ fictions of ‘beautiful Indian maidens,’ — I was on the escort of General S., commanding the Department, on a long scout, or reconnoissance, through Texas. One day, when camped near what afterwards became Fort Belknap, we were visited by a then prominent chief of the Northern Comanches, Pa-ha-yu-ka, who brought with him a few warriors and his family, — several wives and one daughter. The daughter was a vision of loveliness, apparently about fourteen, but ripened by the southern sun to perfect womanhood. Rather below the medium height, her form was slight and lithe, though rounded into the utmost symmetry. Her features were regular, lips and teeth simply perfection, eyes black, bright and sparkling with fun, and the whole countenance beaming with good humor and bewitching coquetry. A tightly-fitting tunic of the softest buckskin, beautifully embroidered with porcupine quills, reaching half way between the hip and the knee, set off to admiration her rounded form. The bottom of the tunic was a continuous fringe of thin buckskin strings, from each of which dangled a little silver bell, not larger than the cup of a small acorn. Her lower limbs were encased in elaborately fringed leggings, and her little feet in beaded moccasins of elaborate pattern. Her beautiful hair was plaited down her back and adorned with huge silver buckles. The parting of her hair was carefully marked with vermilion paint, and a long gold or brass chain was twisted carelessly about her hair and neck. What wonder if, with one look, I literally tumbled into love? She saw my admiration, and with the innate coquetry of the sex in every clime and of every people, met my eager glances with a thousand winning airs and graces. We could not speak; but love has a language of its own. I haunted that Indian camp-fire. Neither duty nor hunger could tear me away; and it was only when the Indians retired for the night that I could return to my own tent and blankets to toss and dream of this vision of paradise. Next morning with the sun I was again with my fascination. The General gave the Indians a beef. Some time after, a warrior came and spoke to the girl. Rising from her seat, she gave me a look of invitation to accompany her. Proceeding a few yards into a little glade, we came to several Indians standing around the slaughtered beef, which was turned on its back and the stomach split open. Taking a knife from one of the men, my ‘beautiful Indian maiden’

plunged her lovely hand and rounded arm into the bowels of the beast, and found and cut off some eight or ten feet of the 'marrow gut.' Winding it about her arm, she stepped on one side, and, giving the entrail a shake, inserted one end in her beautiful mouth. Looking at me with ineffable content and happiness expressed in her beaming countenance, she slowly, and without apparent mastication, swallowed the whole disgusting mass. I returned sadly to my tent, my ideal shattered, my love gone; and I need hardly add that this one Indian love-affair has satisfied my whole life."¹

The military gentlemen, honored officers of our army, from whose works I have drawn these extracts, are well entitled to be regarded as representatives in good judgment, and as speaking from abundant knowledge and experience, of their own profession in that strong conflict of opinion which we must recognize in later pages between it and the advocates of an exclusive peace-policy with the Indians. General Custer and Colonel Dodge, humane and well-balanced men, present to us in harrowing descriptions and with all too vivid illustrations the atrocities of Indian warfare. The former tells the story of such tragedies as the "Philip Kearney Massacre" and the "Kidder Massacre." Remembering that he fell in the flower of his years, — after his patriotic career and eminent services to his country, — in a deadly and equally overwhelming disaster, we give just weight to his testimony. Clearly, and for reasons which he states with full force, he did not believe that the Indian could be lifted into the state of civilization, refinement, and full humanity. But we must not by anticipation prejudice this great issue.

In the abounding literature which we have gathered and are to leave to posterity, concerning the red man and his experiences with the white man, there is a large variety of stern and sober history, of poetry and romance, of engaging and instructive, of repulsive and revolting matter,

¹ The Plains of the Great West and their Inhabitants. By Richard Irving Dodge, Lieut.-Colonel U. S. A. New York. 1877. Pages 342-43.

fact and fiction, boasting and lament, stately volumes of legislative, cabinet, and war bureaus, and pages filled with contemplative and serious wisdom. In reading, for information or pleasure, a selection from this mass of books and documents, we have to remind ourselves that white men have dealt with, visited, and treated the Indians in very different ways and for very different ends and purposes, and so have formed very different opinions and made very different reports of them. Thus, besides the poets who give us their dreams and fancies of Indians and Indian life, our informants and authorities about them comprise this wide category, — travellers, tourists, and adventurous pleasure-seekers among the Indians, traders with them, missionaries to them, military officers watching or fighting with them, Government superintendents or agents for their help and protection, and settlers upon the successive frontier lines. We may well expect to find not only variety and variance, but discordance, and wholly incongruous and inconsistent representations of Indians and Indian life, coming from such miscellaneous authorities. One who proposes to make a thorough study of the Indian as known to the white man, will find it helpful to divide all the enormous mass of literature on the subject under six very distinct classes, — guided by this simple suggestion, that different persons coming into contact with the Indians, for very different purposes, on different errands, and under different relations, see them differently, use them differently, and so report them differently. First come the poems, — works of pure fiction and fancy, written in every case by those who never had any intercourse whatever with the wild men, and which always mislead, though the romance may please us. Second, those who have lived on the frontiers, amid Indian raids and captivities, massacres, butcheries, and tortures; who know the Indian yell, his hideous visage, and his tomahawk. Third, the missionary, who has his point of view, and makes his report. Fourth, the Indian or Government agent, who

often, not always,—for there have been honorable and noble exceptions,—finds himself the only honest man among a crew of rascals and knaves, and who guards against their swindling him by swindling them. Fifth, the army officer, who has to follow the trail of the ambushed foe, and to do the fighting. And, lastly, there are annually numerous wild rovers, pleasure tourists, hunters, noblemen from abroad, who go to the Plains to chase the buffalo. These have a free and happy time with the Indians, being companionable and lavishly generous. When the Duke Alexis, by President Grant's order, was accompanied by General Custer in his rush over the wild plains, he of course had a good time, and thought the Indians noble fellows.

Of course the Indian, his life and surroundings, are favorite themes of romance. These have been already wrought into the fancies and charms of poetry. Such uses they will serve more richly in the future. The less we see and know of real Indians, the easier will it be to make and read poems about them. The themes of epics will yet be found in them, and distinctive American literature for time to come will draw inspiration, eloquence, and fascination from the heroes and the fortunes, it may be, of a vanished race,—vanished with the primeval forests and the wild game. And poetry and romance have their license. Stern history, however, has got the start of them, and will always be able to tell the true story in sober prose. Cooper's novels, the poems and ballads of Campbell, Longfellow, Whittier, and others will secure to romance the holding of its own with the traditions of truth. Whittier, in his preface to his "Mogg Megone," naively says, that in portraying the Indian character he has followed, as closely as his story would admit, the rough but natural delineations of Church, Mayhew, Charlevoix, and Roger Williams (that is, of those who had actual knowledge and converse with the Indians); and, in so doing, he has "necessarily discarded much of the

romance which poets and novelists have thrown around the ill-fated red man."

Of course common-sense, after all, must be trusted on such themes to draw the line not only between opinions and theories, but even in the statement and interpretation of facts, as they come from romancers, sentimentalists, idealists, and philanthropists, or from literal, practical, matter-of-fact persons, speaking from experience. The familiar line, hackneyed by frequent quotation, —

"When wild in woods the noble savage ran," —

would have a different meaning according to the circumstances under which one happened to meet him, — whether he was running to you or from you. "The stoic of the woods, the man without a tear," as a poet has drawn him, was after all, like most of us, a many-sided being. Much wise and well-balanced judgment, poised fairly, has been uttered of the savage in this sentence: "His virtues do not reach our standard, and his vices exceed our standard." It seems to have been with the Indians, as Tacitus says it was with our German ancestors, that one half of their time was spent in hunting and war, and the other half in sloth and play. Two constraining reflections must always guide our thoughts about them. However degraded, they had the divine endowment from Him — as Southey says —

"Who in the lowest depths of being framed
The imperishable mind."

Again, the Indians are a people with a history but without a historian. The Jesuit Father Lafitau, a man of great learning in classic lore, and a most intelligent, candid, and discerning observer of savage life, published in 1724 the fruits of his patient investigations in two stately quartos, abundantly illustrated with engravings. The title of his work, — "*Mœurs des Sauvages Américains, Comparées aux Mœurs des Premiers Temps*," — expresses the

method by which he has treated his theme. Believing the savages to have shared in the disaster of the "fall" of our first human parents, he finds among them the traces of an original revelation, with its corruptions and steady deterioration; and he illustrates all their customs by parallelisms from classic history and the usages prevailing among other barbarous peoples. He follows this illustrative method through all the ideas, superstitions, observances, feasts, sacrifices, and bacchanalian orgies of the savages, as having an intimate affinity with those of other peoples of our fallen race in all ancient times. Still, he is very indignant with the romancing Baron La Hontan and others, who, "seeing among the savages neither temple, altars, idols, nor regular worship, very unadvisedly concluded that their spirits did not go further than their senses; and too lightly pronounced that, living as the beasts without knowledge of another life, they paid no divine honor to anything visible or invisible, made their God of their belly, and bounded all their happiness within the present life."

Doubtless one misleading element of our notions of the red men, as they first appear in our history, comes from the early use of the names, the titles, and the state of royalty as attached to forest chieftains, the formalities and etiquette to be observed with them. This is the more strange, as those who first used such high terms of language had known real potentates and real courts, and were well aware that such were characterized by personal cleanliness and by an excess of apparel and draperies rather than by an entire lack of them. Good Roger Williams frankly tells us about the filthy, smoky dens and the vermin-covered persons of the natives, and of their disgusting food and habits, wholly unconscious of common decency. Yet even he freely scatters about the titles of king, queen, and prince, of court and state, among them. The element of the incongruous and the ridiculous in this is well brought out when from worthy old John Smith in Virginia, downwards, we

have the titles and the state offset by literal descriptions in plain English, and sometimes by "cuts and etchings" on his pages. Indian names with an English *alias* present this incongruousness, thus: "The chieftain Munashum, *alias* Nimrod." The romantic story of Pocahontas, as it developed so luxuriously from its original germ in the successive narrations of the same incident by the "Admiral," is sadly reduced by comparing the different editions of his narrative.

From this point of view it is interesting to compare some pages of two of our most able and faithful New England historians, writing at the same time and on the same themes,—Dr. Palfrey, in his "History of New England," and Governor Arnold, in his "History of Rhode Island." It is suggestive and really amusing to note what contrasted views, tones, and ways of speaking of and representing the aborigines of New England are characteristic of those writers. Dr. Palfrey regards them, their habits, and manners with absolute disgust. To him they were little above vermin,—abject, wretched, filthy, treacherous, perfidious, and fiendish. For them existence had but a questionable value. He scorned the attempt to invest them with romance, and ridiculed the attributing to them the qualities of barbaric forest state and royalty. Governor Arnold, however, fondly loved to retain the old romance of the noble and kingly savage, with his wild-wood court, his councillors and cabinet, his wilderness chivalry, with the free, pure air around him, and the abounding lakes and streams, suggesting at least their uses for frequent and effective ablutions. In keeping with these,—their divergent appreciation of the same phenomena,—Dr. Palfrey sets before us the squalor and wretchedness of the Indians, their shiftlessness and incapacity, their improvidence, beastliness, and forlorn debasement; while Governor Arnold dwells bewitchingly upon their grand manhood, their constancy, magnanimity, and dignity. When the friendly

chief Massasoit was suffering with a fever and was under the hands of his powwows, Palfrey and Arnold both describe a visit made to him by Winslow and Hopkins, of Plymouth. Arnold says the monarch received his Puritan visitors at "his seat" at Mount Hope. Palfrey says that the "monarch," with his vermin-covered bear-skin, had no food to offer the envoys, that their lodging in his "stye" was of the most comfortless description, and that they had a distressing experience of the poverty and filth of Indian hospitality. More remarkable still is the contrast of estimate between the two historians of the religion of these same Indians. Arnold says: "Here we find the doctrine of the immortality of the soul entertained by a barbarous race, who affirmed that they received it from their ancestors. They were ignorant of revelation; yet here was Plato's great problem solved in the American wilderness, and believed by all the aborigines of the West."¹ But Dr. Palfrey writes: "The New England savage was not the person to have discovered what the vast reach of thought of Plato and Cicero could not attain."² It is but proper to add, that these works being in press at the same time, the writers were not controverting each other.

Yet there was a touch of nobleness in the words of the royal chief Miantonomo, accepting the dignity which the English ascribed to him. When, in King Philip's war, Miantonomo and another sachem, with some chief councilors, had been taken prisoners at Potuxit, a squad of common Englishmen put him under question. The "Old Indian Chronicle"³ tells us: "The said Miantonomo's carriage was strangely proud and lofty. Being examined why he did foment that war, he would make no other reply to any interrogatories but this: 'That he was born a prince, and

¹ Arnold's History of Rhode Island, vol. i. p. 78.

² Palfrey's History of New England, vol. i. p. 49.

³ Page 231.

if princes came to speak with him he would answer ; but none present being such, he thought himself obliged, in honor, to hold his tongue and not hold discourse with such persons below his birth and quality.' ”

Practically, however, the truth must be told, that, in spite of all the epithets of royalty and state which our own Puritan ancestors connected with the Indians, as a matter of fact they very soon came to regard and treat the savages as a kind of vermin of the woods, combining all the offensive and hideous qualities and subtleties of snakes, wolves, bears, wild-cats, skunks, and panthers, with a bloodthirstiness and ferocity exceeding them all. This was the estimate of the noble Indian by those who had heard his yells and felt his tomahawk in actual conflict.

The subject of the languages spoken by our aborigines is too comprehensive and intricate a one for discussion here. Our authorities differ widely on this theme, as to the number of the vocabularies, which of them are languages, which are dialects, their constructions, root-terms, inflections, etc. They used very long words, with affixes and suffixes of many syllables, and of many letters, especially consonants, in each syllable. Cotton Mather said some of their words had been growing ever since the confusion of tongues at Babel. It must have required some intellectual vigor and a grasp of memory in Indian children to master their speech. It is doubtful if any affinity can be detected in their vocabularies or in the structure of their languages with those of any other continent of the globe. As might be expected, their languages are rich and copious as relating to common life and common things, objects, matters of sense, but very deficient and scant for the processes and expression of mental and spiritual activity, conceptions, and abstractions. For instance, the speech of the Delawares was found to have ten very different names for a bear, according to age, sex, etc. The limited resources of their speech explain to us the rhetorical and figurative character of Indian elo-

quence, so abounding in images, pictures, and symbols. It was this paucity of words and expressions suited to their use in moral and religious teachings that greatly impeded the work of missionaries among the savages. Doubtless, in many of the Treaty Councils with them speeches have been very erroneously conveyed, and covenants greatly mystified.

Of the power and graces of Indian oratory the evidences and the illustrations are abundant. The famous speech of Logan, even if apocryphal, is ranked among the gems of eloquence. When his fellow-chief Cornstock, in Cresap's war, 1774, held his interview with Lord Dunmore, Colonel Wilson, who was present, thus describes the scene:—

“When Cornstock arose, he was in nowise confused or daunted, but spoke in a distinct and audible voice, without stammering or repetition, and with peculiar emphasis. His looks while addressing Governor Dunmore were truly grand and majestic, yet graceful and attractive. I have heard the first orators in Virginia,—Patrick Henry and Richard Lee; but never have I heard one whose powers of delivery surpassed those of Cornstock.”

Among the efforts of labor and zeal which have been spent by Europeans—generally, too, in unselfish and self-sacrificing toils—for the benefit of the Indians, might well be mentioned with special emphasis the task-work given to the acquisition and comparison of Indian vocabularies, for purposes of speech, instruction, and translation. It is one thing to give oneself to the study of a difficult language for the sake of being able to master the treasures of literature which it may contain. It is quite another thing to catch the words and modulations, the breathings and gruntings of a spoken tongue without alphabet or symbol, to reduce it to written forms, and to make it a vehicle for presenting the literature of other languages. It is curious to note that the earliest Europeans who undertook to put into writing the first Indian words which they heard, seem to have aimed to crowd

into them as many letters as possible. The first mention of a word of the Dakota or Sioux language in a European book is said to be one which Hennepin wrote in his Journal, on his being taken by a war-party on the Upper Mississippi. The savages were angry at seeing him read his breviary, and fiercely spoke a word which Hennepin writes *Ouakanche!* This word now appears in the Dakota vocabulary as *Wakan-de*, meaning magical, or supernatural.¹

In the earliest intercourse between the Europeans and the Indians, a medium was established between them by meeting each other in speech and in sign-language, as we should say, half way. Father Lafitau has, with his usual intelligence, described the process as follows:—

“When two peoples who speak languages so widely unlike as those of the Iroquois and the French come together for the ends of traffic, or for mutual service in defence, they are compelled, equally on either side, to approach each in the other’s language, in order to make themselves understood. This is difficult enough in the beginning; but at last, with a little practice, they come to communicate their thoughts, partly by gestures and partly by some corrupt words which belong to neither language, because they are mere blunderings, and compose a discourse without rhyme or reason. Still, by practice, fixed significations are assigned to these terms, and they serve the end proposed by them. Thus is formed a language or jargon of scant authority in the dictionary and confined only to intercourse. The Frenchman thinks he is using the language of the savages, the savage that he is speaking that of the French, and they understand enough to serve their needs. During the first months of my stay at Sault-Saint-Louis the savages used this jargon to me, supposing that, being a Frenchman, I ought to understand it. But I understood so little of it, that, when I began to apprehend a little more clearly the principles of their natural speech, I was obliged to ask them to speak as they do to each other, and I then entered much better into their thoughts.”²

¹ Collections of Minnesota Historical Society, 1. 308.

² Mœurs des Sauvages, vol. ii. p. 475-76.

The Father remarks, however, that though the savages had so many different languages, they had nearly the same range of mind and view, the same style of thought, and the same modes for expressing themselves. Their languages had a dearth of such terms as the missionaries needed to use in conveying to them religious lessons and abstract truths. This difficulty the Father says was not surmounted by missionaries who had lived among the savages for very many years, and who candidly confessed, that though their disciples perfectly understood them on other subjects, they could not satisfy themselves that their religious instruction was really apprehended.

Fettered and obstructed by such disabling conditions, we can perhaps appreciate the almost overwhelming difficulties of the task by which missionaries among the Indians have sought to construct vocabularies of the various native tongues for the purpose of mastering forms of speech, not merely for holding common intercourse with them, but for conveying to them the knowledge of the truths of revealed religion, instruction in spiritual things, in virtues, in transcendent verities, and in ecclesiastical obedience. References to further experiences of toil and ill success in this devoted work will engage our attention under another subject in this volume. Our imaginations hardly need any quickening or stimulating to bring before us the patient forms of the old missionaries, as in such hours as they could rescue from the tumults and annoyances of Indian village life, they crawled into their lonely lodges, and, when paper was too precious a luxury for such use, took their prepared sections of birch-bark, and, with ink extemporized from forest juice or moistened charcoals, essayed to construct a vocabulary of a savage dialect. Vast numbers of these tentative essays in a rude philology have perished. Primers, prayers, Church offices, the Pater Noster, the Creed, and the Commandments have, after a fashion, been set forth in these vocabularies in sounds which have long since died on the

air. Enough of them remain, in manuscript and print, to bear testimony to us of the zeal and love which were poured into them, and to make us grieve again over the penalty of the "Confusion of Tongues."

In the light of our best means of knowledge of the past, with what we infer from fact, and our observations of the present, as regards the aborigines of our continent, probably we should not widely err in resting in this conclusion, — that the North American Indian, when first seen and known by Europeans, stood about midway upon the scale of humanity, as then divided and filled over our globe by gradations of beings belonging to our race. Perhaps we should place the Indian somewhat favorably this side of the middle of that scale. Certainly there were two hundred years ago, and probably there are to-day, as many representatives of our common humanity standing below him as above him. This statement is intended to cover general conditions, stage of development, possession and exercise of human faculties, resources of life, appliances, social relations, and the common experiences of existence.

We have not to go very far back in the centuries, to find for our own ancestors naked and painted men and women, burrowing in caves, without fields or flocks, and living by the chance growths of Nature. It has been pertly said that "the European is but a whitewashed savage;" and many among civilized scenes have lost both the external and the internal tokens of a release from barbarism.

There is one special and painful matter — most harrowing if it were pursued into details — to which we must give some place in forming our estimate of the nature and character of the Indian: it is the hideous and revolting cruelty manifested in his savagism. The scalping-knife is the symbol of the Indian warrior, as the sword and the rifle are of the rank and file of the civilized soldier. But there is something to us supremely hideous in the use of the scalping-knife and its companion weapon, the tomahawk. The practice of

scalping a victim seems to have been universal among our aborigines. It has been a matter of question whether the practice was original with and peculiar to them. It has been affirmed that the wild hordes of Huns scalped their victims. Lafitau finds parallelisms of the practice among the pagans of the Old World. Niles, in his "History of French and Indian Wars," makes, I think, the utterly unwarranted assertion that the French initiated the Indians into the habit. But they do not appear to have needed any teaching from civilized men in this or in any other shape or ingenuity of excessive and needless cruelty. They took to it and delighted in it as of the prompting of nature and instinct, and it became, if we may so use the word, a part of their religion.

Now what type of nature or character is indicated in this mastering and ferocious passion for inflicting mutilations and torture on helpless victims? The scalp was seized and preserved as a trophy. It was worn as a personal ornament. The number of scalps which a warrior could count as taken by his own hand marked as it were the degrees of honor and renown which he had reached and won, as degrees are graded in our lodges and commanderies of Masonic orders. Before they had edged tools of metal, the savage skill had sharpened stones or fish-bones so that they would sever the skin of the top-lock, whether of man, woman, or child. The dismal trophy would be stretched upon a wicker frame, tanned, and dried; and, after being a part of the ensigns displayed in his lodge, and worn as a trinket, it was buried with the warrior in his grave as a sort of Charon's penny for the fee on his voyage to the other shore. Several trustworthy persons, most familiar by long and intimate converse with the red men, have testified that the Indians have a very suggestive superstition on this subject, though there is no evidence that it is universal among them. They are said to believe that if a body — whether of white or red man, friend or foe — is

deprived of the scalp-lock before burial, the soul that animated the body is forbidden all entrance upon the Happy Hunting Grounds, all share in the life hereafter. In confirmation of this, we are told of the eagerness shown by the Indian warrior to obtain the scalp of the slain, as if it insured for him the greater excommunication; and also of the risks which they will run to reclaim the bodies of their fallen friends on the battle-field, to save them from the fatal knife. But whether we regard the scalping-knife as the instrument of a wanton cruelty, or as darkly associated with a revengeful superstition, in either view of it, it is the symbol of the barbarity of savagism.

There are two passing hints to be dropped on this matter, if so be that any one may regard them as relieving its horror. First, the Indian warrior magnanimously dressed and elevated the crowning tuft of hair on his own head, so as to make it every way convenient to the clutch and knife of his enemy. Second, we must admit — shall we say, to our shame? — that the white man, after he had become skilled in the ways of Indian warfare, did not scruple to adopt the red man's practice of scalping the dead. There are official papers preserved on our State files, in which our magistrates offered bounties for Indian scalps to their own soldiers and to our red allies; and these papers show a tariff of prices for the tuft from the head of a man, a woman, or a child. The bounty for a scalp to a regular soldier was ten pounds; to a volunteer, twenty pounds; to patrol parties, fifty pounds. More than all, these bounties were claimed, paid, and receipted. An heroic woman of New Hampshire, Hannah Dustin, received payment for ten, which she had taken off with her own hand. More noteworthy still is the fact, that while the benevolent and pacific William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania, had declared the person of an Indian "sacred," never to be harmed, his own grandson, when succeeding to the government, in the stress of Indian warfare, offered, in 1764, in a proclamation,

this tariff of prices for Indian scalps: for a male scalp, \$134; for that of a boy under ten, \$130; for that of a female, \$50. All that we can say of this self-degradation of the white man — civilized, Christian — to the barbarism of the red man is, that he was swift to learn and imitate all ill examples; and that he adopted scalping simply as one of the elements of wilderness warfare, like the lurking in ambushed thickets and ravines, and skulking behind a tree when firing his piece.

Again: shrinking from harrowing details, but for fidelity of view recognizing the truth, we must take note also of the hellish ingenuities practised by the savages in the mutilation and torture of the bodies of their victims and prisoners. All the taught skill which the anatomist can acquire with the scalpel, in dealing with the human body, could not have helped the Indian in his methods of drawing out, prolonging, and intensifying the pangs and agonies of his helpless foe. He seems to have known by instinct and by practice where were the quick points of keenest sensation, the order in which the nerves would quiver most torturingly, where fire would twinge the muscle, and how he might sap the life-currents so that they would most delay the blessing of unconsciousness. The preliminaries of the stake were found in the fun and revelry provided for the squaws and the papposes, when the destined victim ran the gantlet, with its mocking jeers and its showering blows. We can well credit the repeated assertions of exposed frontier fighters and soldiers, that it is a habit among them to reserve the last charge of their rifles, or a secret pocket pistol, that they may terminate their own life when they know the game is over with them, to escape the dread fate.

If it will at all relieve the savage of the charge of utter inhumanity in this respect, it should be mentioned that it is a part of his education to prepare himself to en-

dure as much of physical torture as he himself inflicts. Lafitau writes:—

“This heroism is real, and is born of a grand and noble courage. That which we admire in the martyrs of the primitive Church, and which in them was the work of grace and miracle, is nature in the savages, and comes from the vigor of their spirit. The Indians seem to prepare themselves for this from the most tender age. Their children have been observed to press their naked arms against each other, and put burning cinders between them, defying each other’s fortitude in bearing the pain. I myself saw a child of five or six years old, who, having been severely burnt by some boiling water accidentally thrown upon it, sang its death-song with the most extraordinary constancy every time they dressed the sores, although suffering the most severe pain.”¹

To this is to be added the profound admiration, as for a consummate virtue, which they have for a tortured warrior whose nerves do not flinch under his agonies, and who raises cheerily the pæan of his scornful triumph. It does not appear that any one of the Jesuit Fathers who have admiringly related, in all their horrifying details, this more than Spartan firmness and defiance of the savages under protracted tortures, had suggested to himself the thought that the terrors of hell, which he regarded as the most potent agency in the work of conversion, might have at least but a qualified dread for those who could thus triumph over agonies inflicted by their fellow-men. All unconscious as the savages were that such a doom awaited them, or that they had done anything to expose themselves to it, the most sceptical and philosophic among them may have resolved to meet it if they must, and to find their comfort as some Christian people, unawed by the terrific threat, have avowed that they should do, in a stout confidence that the doom was unjust.

¹ *Mœurs des Sauvages*, vol. ii. p. 280.

These barbarous ingenuities of torture by the savages, however relieved in endurance by the training which had fitted them to bear as well as to inflict them, were wrapped in intenser horror for all Christian eyes when the bodies of the sufferers, after life had been driven from its last refuge, were embowelled and severed by the tormentors, and then committed by the squaws to the caldrons for a fiendish banquet. We may leave untranslated the words of Lafitau concerning the savages and a victim: "Ne lui donnent point d'autre sepulture que leur ventre."¹

That such distressing scenes should have come under the eyes of Europeans calling themselves Christians, without engaging their sternest rebuke and prohibition, is to us hardly conceivable. But what shall we say about a trained connivance with them?

Baron La Hontan, often a dubious but sometimes a trustworthy authority, gives the following contemporary narrative of a scene at Quebec, of which it would appear that he was an eye-witness. It was an episode of that warfare, equally ferocious on both sides, waged between the French and the Iroquois. In the beginning of the year 1692, Frontenac had sent out one hundred and fifty men under Chevalier Beaucour, with fifty friendly savages, who in an encounter with a party of sixty Iroquois had killed all of them but twelve, who were brought as prisoners to Quebec:—

"After they arrived, M. Frontenac did very judiciously condemn two of the wickedest of the company to be burnt alive with a slow fire. This sentence extremely terrified the governor's lady and the Jesuits. The lady used all manner of supplication to procure a moderation of the terrible sentence; but the judge was inexorable, and the Jesuits employed all their eloquence in vain upon this occasion. The governor answered them, 'That it was absolutely necessary to make some terrible examples of severity to frighten the Iroquois; that since these barbarians burnt almost all the French who had the misfortune to fall into their hands, they

¹ Vol. ii. p. 279.

must be treated after the same manner; because the indulgence which had hitherto been shown them seemed to authorize them to invade our plantations, and so much the rather to do it because they run no other hazard than that of being taken and well kept at their masters' houses: but, when they should understand that the French caused them to be burnt, they would have a care for the future how they advanced with so much boldness to the very gates of our cities: and, in fine, that the sentence of death being past, these two wretches must prepare to take a journey into the other world.' This obstinacy appeared surprising in M. Frontenac, who but a little before had favored the escape of three or four persons liable to the sentence of death, upon the importunate prayer of madame the governess; but, though she redoubled her earnest supplications, she could not alter his firm resolution as to these two wretches. The Jesuits were thereupon sent to baptize them, and oblige them to acknowledge the Trinity and the Incarnation, and to represent to them the joys of paradise and the torments of hell, within the space of eight or ten hours. This was a very bold way of treating these great mysteries; and to endeavor to make the Iroquois understand them so quickly was to expose them to their laughter. Whether they took these truths for songs, I do not know; but from the minute they were acquainted with this fatal news they sent back these good fathers without ever hearing them; and then they began to sing the song of death, according to the custom of the savages. Some charitable person having thrown a knife to them in prison, he who had the least courage of the two thrust it into his breast, and died of the wound immediately. Some young Hurons of Lorette, between fourteen and fifteen years of age, came to seize the other and carry him away to Cape Diamond, where notice was given to prepare a great pile of wood. He ran to death with a greater unconcernedness than Socrates would have done. During the time of execution he sung continually, 'That he was a warrior, brave and undaunted; that the most cruel kind of death could not shock his courage; that no torments could extort from him any cries; that his companion was a coward for having killed himself through the fear of torment; and, lastly, that if he was burnt he had this comfort, that he had treated many French and Hurons after the same manner.'"¹

¹ Voyages de La Hontan, vol. i. p. 233 (ed. 1709).

La Hontan proceeds to describe, in shocking details, the torments inflicted upon the victim, protracted through three hours, with all the ingenuities of fiendishness, through roasting and maiming, member by member, without drawing forth a tear or sigh or groan, or interrupting his strain of triumphant song. The Huron youth were the tormentors. By a hint or order from Madame Frontenac, a Huron gave the victim a finishing blow with a club, while La Hontan had already turned away from a spectacle which, he says, he had often to witness.

There is full truth in the words of Lafitau, that, "when the French and the English have been naturalized among the savages, they adopt readily all that is bad in their manners and customs without taking the good, so as to become viler than they. The savages know very well how to reproach us for this; and the charge is so true that we do not know how to answer them."¹

One may easily account for those barbarous traits in the man of the wilderness, which we are wont to refer to his deprivation of all civilizing influences, by tracing them to the savagism latent in humanity, and which is ever ready to assert itself when the restraints and helps of a surrounding and mastering social oversight are evaded or forgotten.

We are familiar with a form of quackery among us, as adopted by resident or travelling practitioners, who advertise themselves as Indian doctors or doctresses, and who profess to deal with the roots and herbs of the woods. That these simple natural products furnished to our use have their specific virtues, healthful and curative, common science and experience have fully proved. The essential part of the knowledge and use of these drugs of the field and of the forest very soon becomes the common folk-lore of simple people, as it did in the families of our first white colonists all over the country. And as there are progress and development in all such means and uses, and a finding

¹ Mœurs, etc., vol. ii. p. 290.

of new virtues in everything, there may doubtless be revealed specifics, panaceas perhaps, in now neglected roots and herbs.

But the aim and lure of quacks — white persons or colored — who announce a practice after the manner and skill of the Indians, are to induce a belief in some occult knowledge or methods about the treatment of disease by simples acquired from the natives. Of course it is well understood that such pretensions are of the very essence of charlatanry, and are successful only with the ignorant and the credulous. But behind these pretences, and as furnishing whatever ground there may be for them, is a very interesting matter of inquiry; about which, however, it is not easy to reach a satisfactory conclusion, because our authorities are quite at variance in their statements and opinions. The Indian doctors, conjurers, or medicine-men were called by the French *jongleurs*, by the English *powwows*. Hakluyt describes them as “great majicians, great soothsayers, callers of devils, priests who serve instead of phisitions and chyrurgions.” These native practitioners appear through all our Indian history and in every tribe, including those with which we have most recently been brought into intercourse, under the twofold character of conjuring priests and dispensers of medical agencies. Under either aspect, if they did not assume, they had ascribed to them, the quality of a supernatural agency. More or less of trickery and of real sanitary skill may have manifested themselves in individuals according to the make-up of each one’s own mental or moral composition, or the intelligence and shrewdness of his constituency of patients. Some of these patients in the hands of real conjurers passed through a herculean treatment worse than any known disease. In the mean time the *jongleur* himself had to submit to the severest drafts upon his own vitality, — his strength of nerve, his powers of self-contortion, his feats of skill, and the strain upon his vocal organs in hideous yellings. It

must have often been a wonder that either the doctor or the patient survived.

There are those whose testimony has gone to favor the belief that the Indian doctors, as a class, had really a wonderful natural skill in the treatment of diseases, and especially in surgery; that they knew and made excellent use of the medicinal properties—emetic, drastic, and purgative, tonic and laxative, sudatory, emollient, antiseptic, anæsthetic, and antifebrile—of roots and herbs and barks, and that the course and results of their practice would compare favorably with those of our best scientific practitioners. Intelligent observers who have known the natives well, and have lived with them for years in their wild state, report to us most inconsistently and diversely on this subject. The weight of trustworthy testimony, however, reduces any claim in behalf of the natives for medical skill to a very slender substance, and the large majority of witnesses pronounce the claim absurd and wholly unfounded, while they describe the processes and material of Indian medical practice as monstrous, revolting, fraudulent, and utterly ineffectual, when not absolutely mischievous and fatal. In a volume published in 1823, under the title of “Manners and Customs of several Indian Tribes,”—purporting to be written by John D. Hunter, kidnapped from white parents when he was a child, and living among the Indians many years, till he was old enough to make his escape,—we have a most elaborate *Materia Medica*, giving us the common and the botanical names of a great variety of roots and herbs, as used by the Indians for specifics. The tribes to whom he ascribes a systematic practice of this sort,—which would do credit, in the main, to the profession among us,—were the Osages and the Kansas. He attributes to the Indian practitioners great skill, and to their simples much virtue. There were two marked peculiarities among them, which would be novelties to us: first,

the practice was unpaid, wholly gratuitous; and, second, the doctors tried to effect some cures by taking the medicines themselves instead of giving them to their patients. Unfortunately, however, the good faith of Mr. Hunter, as an author, is in doubt and question. His personal history and credit are clouded, whatever be the value of his statements.

There are, however, authentic statements of real service derived from some simple medical appliances of the natives. When Cartier, in his second voyage up the St. Lawrence, in 1535, wintered on the St. Charles, near Quebec, his forlorn company, buried in ice and snow, was nearly reduced to extinction by the scurvy in its most malignant form. Twenty-five of the party perished, and not half-a-dozen were left in health. In his despair of all succor, even from the Virgin and the Saints, an Indian who had recovered from the disease directed his attention to an evergreen, probably the spruce, a strong decoction from which had wrought his cure, and the free use of which restored the health of the wretched sufferers. Many of the Jesuit Fathers, in their lonely residence with Indian tribes, were withheld by scruples from seeking acquaintance or familiarity with the *Medicamenta* of the Indians. They observed that the Indians were jealous of any such curiosity on their part, and, on the other hand, they were cautious about giving any countenance to Indian charms and superstitions.

Our authorities are equally discordant as to the physical robustness, the general healthfulness, and freedom from many diseases which characterized the aborigines. The Jesuit Fathers, however,—whose intercourse with the natives was earliest, most extended, most intimate and constant, and who are trustworthy in such statements,—repeatedly assert that the Indians were wholly free of many of the most annoying and painful and lin-

gering maladies visited upon civilized men. As to the affirmation frequently made by them, that they never saw a dwarf, a hunchback, or otherwise deformed or native cripple among the savages, the statement might be parried by the supposition that infants born under such disadvantages might not be allowed to live. The intelligent and cautious Lafitau is a good authority within the wide range of his observation and inquiry. He tells us that the severe bodily exercises of the savages, their travels, and the simplicity of their food exempted them from many of the maladies which attend an easy, indolent, and luxurious life, with the use of salt and spices and ragouts, and all the refinements and delicacies that minister to gluttony, tickle the taste, impair the appetite, and undermine health. The savages, with light nourishment, hardened by their trappings, though taking little care against the rigorous extremes of heat and cold, are still strong and robust, with a soft skin and pure blood, "less salt and more balsamic than ours." "One does not see among them the deformed from birth; they are not subject to gout or gravel, to apoplexy or sudden death; and *perhaps* they may not have knowledge of the small-pox, the scurvy, the measles, and most of the other epidemic diseases, except through intercourse with Europeans." Still, Lafitau says that they are human in their subjection to diseases, and have some especial ones of their own,—such as scrofulous maladies, caused, he says, by the crudity of the waters, and by snow-water. The exposure of their chests makes them liable to phthisis, of which the most of them die. Many of them reach an extreme old age. "I have seen at my mission a squaw who had before her children of her children, down to the fifth generation."¹

There is abundant and according testimony that the natives had great success in the treatment of flesh wounds,

¹ Mœurs des Sauvages, etc., vol. ii. p. 360.

and in some surgical operations. Indeed many competent witnesses assure us that their skill surpassed that of trained practitioners, and instances are given of their successful treatment of desperate cases among the whites, as well as among their own people where the European surgeon had been baffled. This native skill was of high service, as the Indians suffered, in their mode of life, more from wounds, bruises, and fractures than from internal maladies. The purity of their blood and the simplicity of their food favored an easy recuperation from injuries, and they took great pains to exclude the air from festering flesh.

The signal triumph of native medical skill was in their conceiving and availing themselves of that seemingly paradoxical method of alternation between the extremes of heat and cold in the treatment of a patient which has been adopted by civilized Europeans and Americans, and credited to the Turks.

The "suderie," the "sweat-box," or the "vapor bath" are the names attached to a method of treatment which, with trifling modifications and adaptations required by different circumstances, was the principal sanitary reliance of the natives over this whole continent, with the possible exception of the Esquimaux. In an emergency, an Indian who had recourse to this method when suffering a malady might serve himself alone. Many who were prostrated and enfeebled by fever or cramped by rheumatism have been known to do this, by drawing on their own energies. It was desirable, however, that a patient should have one or more assistants in the treatment. A low hut, lodge, or cabin of bark or skins was constructed near to the water of lake or river. It was made very tight, with no orifice or air-hole save that through which the patient wholly naked crept into it, and which was then closed. Upon heaps of coal and heated stones water was suddenly poured, rapidly generating steam, which penetrated into every pore of the patient, nearly exhausting him into liquidation. In

this condition he would then rush out, or be carried, to plunge into an icy stream or lake, or to roll in the snow. The operation was repeated, if necessary, on one or more succeeding days. It must have been prevailingly successful, or the native philosophy would have discredited and abandoned it. It seems to have been eminently adapted to insure a decisive result, either in killing or curing. If true science can ratify its method, its success or immunity is accounted for. Otherwise we must learn from it another lesson as to the capacities of endurance in the human organism.

A revolting subject, often brought under discussion and led on to widely contrasted decisions by historians and inquirers, has kept under debate the question whether that foul scourge, the penalty of sensual vice, now so prevalent here among the aborigines, was indigenous or introduced by Europeans. It has borne the titles of the French disease, the Italian disease, and the Indian disease. It is understood that our most able archæological investigators have effectually settled the question that the disease had its victims — as is proved by the condition of human bones — on this continent previous to the voyages of Columbus. It is by no means of universal prevalence among the Indian tribes, for while some few have been reduced by it to a most distressing condition, others have had no blight from it, or but very limited inflictions from it.

The manner in which the natives disposed of their dead, with more or less of sensitiveness and mourning in observances, and of superstition in their beliefs, and a continued regard for the resting-places, would of itself furnish the subject of an extended essay. Among the various tribes, and in some tribes at different periods, there was much range of diversity in these matters; and as in these regards the ways and feelings, the methods and observances of uncivilized men are very like in their variety and associations to those of civilized men, the subject is not of a character

for particular dealing with it. Our common sympathetic references to the natives of the vanished and the vanishing tribes, attribute to the aborigines a lingering and profound attachment to the burial-places of their ancestors. That this sentiment has been intensely strong in some of the tribes is proved by the fact, that, when either by voluntary or forced removals they leave their old homes for new ones, they have reverently gathered up the bones of their kindred to be taken with them. The commemorative rites and festivals of some of the tribes draw them to their burial-grounds for lament and song, and to rehearse the achievements of their departed braves. The most ancient of these burial-places afford inviting fields for the explorations of the archæologists, though little has been yielded up by them to increase or modify our knowledge or views about the Indian sepulchral rites as ever having been essentially different from what they have been in recent times. Burial in upright, or sitting, or recumbent postures in the ground, or a disposal with coverings of skins on trees, scaffolds, or platforms, or in an old canoe, indicating a purpose of removal of the bones; the placing of weapons, trophies, and articles of apparel or food near the defunct; the marking, protecting, and respecting the resting-place,—are perpetuated among the aborigines now from pre-historic times.

The first impression which Europeans received from contact and intercourse with the aborigines, and which they reported in their earliest narratives and descriptions, was that they had no religion whatever,—that their minds were a blank on all religious subjects. The French monarch came to the conclusion that they had no souls. The epithet “heathen,” applied by all Europeans to the Indians, was a term which covered alike the lack of any religion and the belief of any other than a true one. But extended and familiar intercourse soon proved to the Europeans that the natives were by no means without what served them for

a religion, and what filled the place and exercised the profound and august power over them which the purest and loftiest form of religion has and effects for the most advanced human being. Whether the sort of religion which the red men were found to have and to recognize were in the white man's view better or worse than no religion, was a matter for difference of opinion. But the red man's heart and thought were by no means empty or unengaged on the spells and mysteries, the shadows and the revealings, associated with religion. He who humbly and devoutly holds what represents the very loftiest, purest, and most spiritual form of religion in its tenets, its conceptions, and believings may be grateful if he can intelligently assure himself that any considerable portion of his creed or hope is adequate to the subject of it, — is free from superstition, credulity, limitation of view, imperfection of thought. Of those component elements of religion which awe and enthrall thought, which exercise the imagination, which quicken hopes, which strike dread, and which compel offerings, exercises, and real sacrifices, the Indian unmistakably showed that he was the possessor and the subject. In Eastern realms the monarch or chief was the priest of his tribe or people. It was not so here. The office of priest — magician, sorcerer, as the Europeans regarded it — was here filled by the doctor, the physician for bodily ills. In the idea which underlies this combination of functions, we certainly can find something likely to win our approval. The physician of the body was the minister of sacred rites to the Indian, and the chief of the tribe was both his patient and disciple. Certainly Christians, remembering the touch of healing and the word of power combined in their Master, must favorably regard the custom among our Indians in uniting the functions of the "powwow," or chanter, with those of the medicine-man.

True, the incantations and the professional ministrations of the Indian functionary may have been barbarous and

monstrous, — of the essence of quackery, without the conscious intent of it; they may even have been as our devout fathers viewed them, — really diabolical: but they were rudely earnest, intensely practical, and substantially sincere. “Indian ceremonies,” says Major Campion, an intelligent observer of them, “are not funny, they are not ridiculous; they are wild, fierce, and earnest, oftentimes cruel and blood-thirsty. They are semi-religious rites, — not celebrated in a perfunctory way, by a salaried pagan priesthood; but are the solemn, earnest exercises of grim, determined savages.”

It is hardly probable that any one in converse with what is left of the Indian race and tribes would now say that they were without religion, or that such religion as they have was of harmful rather than of good influence over them. Their religion is the product of all the elements, conditions, and surroundings of their life. It has its fierce and hideous, and also its gentle and winning, influences over them. We are learning lessons from the contact and comparisons of various religions and of those who profess them, in the spirit of contention or harmony, in real or in sham discipleship; and, of these lessons recently learned by us, the Indian has the benefit in tolerance and in charity. In the closest friendships and intimacies of social and domestic life, under the highest civilization and refinement, we are made to realize that religion furnishes the material for division, alienation, and obstruction of sympathies; simply because not only its deepest processes, but also its infinite richness of materials for speculation, preference, and fond and clinging vision and trust, are strictly the secrets of each individual breast. The lonely Indian — roaming the woods, occupied with his dreams and fancies, wondering over the panorama of earth and heaven, and facing his lot in life and death — had his “spiritual exercises.” He could not impart them, neither could they lightly be trifled with. We have learned that the best

and most effective part of religion is not that which is characteristic and peculiar to one, but that which is common to them all.

The severest trial to which a religion can be subjected is in the effort to displace by it and to substitute it for another. We shall have to recognize, further on, many interesting facts bearing upon this point. The excellent and accomplished Lafitau exercised a discernment and a candor in forming and expressing his views upon the religious range, character, intelligence, and susceptibility of the aborigines, in which he was not followed by all of his brethren. He recognized not only the exceeding difficulty found in the imperfect vehicle of language, but the more perplexing and embarrassing obstruction offered in the lack of mental furnishing for all the processes of reasoning and spiritual conception in the savage. It was almost provokingly characteristic of these really irresponsive pupils, that, though they would assent spontaneously and as if with full appreciation and approval to some lesson or assertion of their teacher, their minds were utterly destitute of any answering idea. They caught no more of meaning from it than they would have appropriated from a page of the most abstruse mathematical or algebraical formulas. When, in rare cases, they did apprehend a gleam of some doctrinal teaching or religious lesson from the missionary which was in direct antagonism with a belief or opinion of their own, they could stand on the defensive and decline what, though it might be very good for the white man's religion, was not suited for the Indian.

That was indeed an astounding and appalling announcement which the missionary made the starting-point of his instruction to them, — that in their natural state they were under the doom of an awful and unending subjection to unutterable woe after this life, and that the only relation which the Great Spirit then sustained to them was as waiting for their passing from this troubled existence that he

might visit upon them his wrath forever. The doctrine, if apprehended at all, was dulled in its impression by the amazement which paralyzed their ability really to grasp it. It might have been grimly submitted to as relieved by the suggestion — giving the comfort of companionship to misery — that they would share the terrible doom in the fellowship of their own race. And there were many reasons and occasions which strongly disposed the red man to long for a wide distance and a complete severance of associations from the white man, as well for the unknown hereafter as here on earth. If in the vigorous intellectual stretch of the reasoning powers of some of the more gifted of the savages the hideous doctrine was really brought within the grasp of the understanding, the ability to ponder it would be likely to be accompanied by some keen speculation as to its reasonableness, truthfulness, and authority.

There were shrewd and ingenious individuals among those whom the missionaries sought to convert, as the latter have left on record, who very naïvely took refuge from this and from other unattractive or perplexing instructions by insisting that all these lessons and warnings might be very true and good as parts of the white men's religion, who, if they had not a God of their own, had some very peculiar means of knowing things kept secret from the Indian. This ingenious refuge in recognizing and arguing, — as among the many fundamental differences between the white men and the red men, in their knowledge, privileges, opportunities, and consequent duties, — that there might well be a very broad distinction between the religions suited to their respective conditions, very often presents itself in related conversations of some of the more acute savages with the missionaries. That the savages had a religion of their own — what we call the religion of Nature — would find assurance in the single fact of their irresponsiveness and indocility under any merely dogmatical or doctrinal teachings, apart from

such simple ritual and formal observance as the Roman Catholic priests exacted of them. There were occasions on which gifted and earnest individuals among the natives poured out a strain of simple, kindling eloquence in expatiating upon the grand and exalted truths of their own religion, of its special adaptation to themselves and the conditions of their own lives, the aspects of earth and sky under which they met the experiences of existence, and the kindly care of Providence for them in supplying all their needs through natural products and the services of their humble kindred among the animals.

Probably the fact held good in its application in degrees to all the native tribes under the teaching of the missionaries, which is signally illustrated in the case of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico; namely, that while yielding a seemingly ready compliance with the observances required of them by their priestly teachers, they retained in deeper impressions and with undiminished attachment the tenets of their ancestral religion. They certainly do in privacy or fellowship cherish their old rites and festivals in connection with a reverence for fire, for the sun, for periodical recognitions of the seasons in their ancient calendar, and for commemorating the departed generations of their race. Here nature and training, so often in strong antagonism with each other, seem to be brought into harmonious working together. It is the utmost result which can be looked for from the most hopeful teaching of religion to adult savage people. Should not that result, or even approximations to it, be regarded as the reward of wise zeal and effort?

CHAPTER III.

THE INDIAN IN HIS CONDITION, RESOURCES, AND SURROUNDINGS.

WE have abundant and trustworthy means for informing ourselves of the qualities of character, the exterior life, the resources, employments, and practical capacities of the aboriginal tribes during the whole period since the first coming here of Europeans. The intercourse has always been close and continuous between the races; and though the relations in which they have stood to each other have been prevailingly hostile, there have been occasional and agreeable exceptions to this rule. As has already been said, though the Indians have a history profoundly interesting, especially in its tragic elements, they have no historian of their own race. The few and quite unsatisfactory specimens which we have of their way of telling their own story and fortunes for the record, are to be gathered from speeches delivered by some of their chiefs, in review of their history, at great councils with the whites; and we have to accept these as they have come through the medium of interpreters more or less intelligent, honest, and qualified for the office. Occasionally, too, we have had from whites who, as captives in their early youth, have lived long with the natives and been adopted by them, and also from some of their own youths who have been educated at our schools and colleges, what may serve as the Indian's own way of communicating to us the fortunes and experiences of his race. For the most part, however,—as in the case of the

painter and the lion, where the artist alone could represent both sides of the contest, — the history of our Indian tribes comes from the pen of their conquerors. For many and obvious reasons we have to regret what we must regard as a gap in our literature, caused by the lack of any native contributions to it. As we shall have to note in later pages of this volume, there have been a few master minds, both in reasoning and oratory, among the Indians. From more than one of these we have evidence of a capacity and acuteness of thought exercised upon the comparative attractions and advantages of a barbarous or a civilized life; cogent arguments for the right of Indians to follow their own preferences and habits; and plaintive laments over the miseries and the woes inflicted by the white man upon those whom the Divine Being had set in their own free domains, with all that could minister to their need and happiness. Rousseau was but a tame and artificial pleader for the immunities and joys of a state of Nature for man, when compared with some of these aboriginal specimens of it.

Yet we need hardly feel that we lack any information which it is desirable and interesting for us to have concerning the habits, mode of life, resources, and experiences of our aboriginal tribes. Allowing, too, for the fact already recognized, that our abounding literature on the general subject is composed of contributions from a large variety of writers, in capacity and in principles, who in their intercourse with the natives, having had widely different relations with them, and widely different ends in view, have seen and reported them differently, we have all the means for a full and fair representation of aboriginal life.

A state of savagery, however extensive the regions covered by it, and however diverse in local climatic influences and productions parts of it may be, will generally reduce nearly to uniformity the condition and habits of life of those who share it. In civilized lands, countries bordering on each other — neighboring counties, cantons, or

departments — will exhibit a wonderful variety in the features, the dialects, the costumes, the domestic usages and the employments of the people. The range for all such diversities is restricted for the life even of semi-barbarians. There seems always to have been, as there is now, far more in common as regards all the resources and habits of life among American Indians, certainly in the northern parts of the continent, than there were of local and circumstantial diversities. We can indeed discern among various tribes, when compared with each other, the effects upon them of greater ease or difficulty in obtaining sustenance, of more or less of providence in storing up food, of degrees of ferocity in warfare, and evidences of skill, industry, and art spent upon their weapons and utensils. There were those who lived chiefly on maize and roots; others who gave no labor to the cultivation of the soil, but subsisted wholly by the chase; and others still, on the Pacific coast, and upon its vast rivers, whose diet was of the prodigious supplies of fish, fresh or dried. Of any differences among the savages arising from degrees of mental development we need to make small account.

This uniformity in the resources, methods, and experiences of the lives of the savages facilitates such a general account and description of their occupations, habits, and condition as is required for record in our own or in coming times. Not that these annals are merely “short and simple,” like those of the poor, but that they are uniform, repeating with slight variations similar narrations and incidents.

After all, the savage is best known, understood, and described by his surroundings. He is the child and companion of Nature, its product and its willing subject. The word “savage” is from the root of the beautiful word *silva*. He is a child and denizen of the woods; the forest, the lake-shore, the river are his nursery, his playthings, his range for life and joy. When, even from a long and weary jour-

ney, he can reach a sight of the salt ocean, the sight exhilarates him, and the odor of the dank kelp invigorates him. Aptly has it been said,—“Man is one world, and hath another to attend him.” There is a sympathy and a responsive relation between the senses and the mind of a wild man and the aspects and aptitudes of Nature around him. As man develops his own higher powers, Nature changes steadily in these aspects and aptitudes for him. The savage conforms and adapts himself to Nature. Never does he indulge one fretting thought or feeling about its ways, or move a muscle or effort against it. He lives in tranquil subjection to Nature, and dies as her autumn fruits and leaves fall on her bosom. But every stage and step and process of development for civilization puts man out of harmony and into antagonism with Nature. He resists and thwarts and fights Nature. For his own uses he changes all natural features and objects. He clears away the forests, kills its beasts, dams its streams, levels its hills, raises its valleys, blasts its rocks, tunnels its mountains. The Indian hears of these doings of the white man, or looks on, amazed, for he does none of them. Respect, or fear, or satisfaction, or indolent acquiescence, disposes him to accord with Nature, or to leave her as she is.

It is admitted that only civilized and cultivated man appreciates grand and beautiful objects, using his mind, soul, and taste to engage with simple senses upon them. The beauty and grandeur and glory of natural scenery—of a horizon notched by mountain tops, of floating clouds with their varying shadows, of the gorgeousness of the tinted foliage—do not appeal to a vacant mind or to a rude sensibility. But the savage mind was not a blank towards Nature, nor merely in a state of listlessness. As the savage was in accord with Nature, he was in perfect sympathy with it, and held free intercourse with it. The energy and activity of thought which civilized man gives to brooding and restless questioning and speculation, went with the In-

dian to feed some forest musings, some sylvan imaginings, and to furnish him the material of dreams and omens which entered into the traditions of his tribe and traced or clouded its history. A large part of the life of a savage was in solitariness, and except when he knew himself to be exposed to risks from lurking foes he was never lonely, timid, or suspicious. He relied on his own resources of strength, patience, and security. He could find a sufficient couch on the mossy grass, on a heap of green boughs, or in a burrow under the snow. If he did not acquire the instinct of a beast for scenting water at a distance, he was a skilled observer of all the signs which would aid him to find it. The inclination of the tops of the trees, showing the direction of the prevailing winds, and the thickening of the bark on the north side of them served him for a compass even in the depths of the forest and under a clouded and starless sky. No length of distance or obstacles in a day's tramping oppressed him with a fatigue that did not yield to a night's repose. However dampened and soaked with protracted rains or with wintry snow might be the trees and foliage of his route, he could always gather some fungi, or dry or decayed wood, for lighting a fire. He would mentally divide the spaces of a journey of hundreds of miles into equal parts without the help of any sign-post, and would reach his destination or return to his starting-point, as he had purposed to do, at the rise or the set of the sun. In all this he conformed and adapted himself to the ways and the methods of Nature. The trails through the deep forest were common to him and the beast. The deer and the buffalo made his turnpikes.

The Indians took for granted that the earth on which they were born was bound to afford them full sustenance, as it did to the animals, without any labor of their own; except such effort as they spent, like white men, in pastime, hunting or fishing. Every exertion that had the look of exacting toil was to them unwelcome, menial, and de-

grading; they assigned all such work to their squaws, who were their beasts of burden, who put together the materials of their lodges, fetched wood and water, cooked the food, carried their papposes and household goods on their shoulders, and flayed the beasts of the hunt and cured their skins. The white man as a warrior always had the respect of the savage, but drew only his wonder or contempt when seen in any industrious occupation. Trusting thus in the fostering care of Nature, the Indians were content with its furnished resources or supplies, whether for a moment these were full or scant. They would gorge themselves to repletion, like the beasts, when they had an abundance, and would endure with marvellous fortitude the sharp pangs of hunger to the verge of starvation.

Doubtless it is to this earthward kinship and compliance with Nature in the savage that we are to ascribe his utter unconsciousness of and indifference to what we call offensive and revolting to the senses, — foul odors, uncleanness, filth, vermin, parasites, etc. Regarding himself as akin to the elements, the soil, and the creatures around him, the savage did not recognize what we call *dirt*. Dirt has been well defined as valuable matter out of place. But the savage did not regard dirt as ever out of place, — whether on his person, his apparel, in his foul lodge, or in his scant utensils and his food. Consequently to him there was no such thing as dirt. He would eat with gusto frogs, toads, snakes, and decomposing animal remains just as he took them from the ground; and his first delicious repast from the game which he killed — large or small, beast, fish, or fowl — was from its raw, quivering entrails and its warm blood. The ordinary functions and processes of his organism were exactly like those which he recognized in animals: obedience to their impulses and necessities was as unrestrained as was the use of the lungs and the voice in breathing and speaking. The relief of nature was as seemly a process as was that of satisfying it: pri-

vacy was not prompted in either case. The crowded wigwam did not admit of diffidence, modesty, or concealment in exercising the functions of nature. Anything like fastidiousness, delicacy, or squeamishness, was not only foreign to the savage, but was utterly inconceivable and inexplicable to him when exhibited by the white man. The Jesuit Fathers domiciled with the savages, with that exquisite tact and self-control by which they uniformly sought to conciliate and attach to them the subjects of their patient toils, very soon learned to conceal all their antipathies and qualms amid the untidiness, the filth, and the indecencies of an Indian wigwam. Suffocated with the vile odors of their surroundings, the vapors of the kettle, and the close-packed humanity; tormented by vermin, their eyes scorched and blinded by the smoke, with children and dogs crawling over them by night,—these gentlemen and scholars from France adapted themselves to the situation; to them certainly an unnatural one, though to the natives it presented no annoyance, no discomfort. Occasionally, for a long fixed residence at a mission, the priest would set up a separate cabin for himself. But this was rather that he might have a place of retirement for study and devotion, than to exhibit his distaste for the domestic life of his disciples. For him there was really no escaping from conformity to Indian manners as regards food and its preparation. He was limited to their larders, as he carried with him into the wilderness none of the luxuries of civilization; content only to transport the materials and symbols of the mass, with paper for his reports to his superiors.

The first implements which the savages were most eager to obtain from the whites were hatchets and metal kettles. The latter were at once used as substitutes for the vessels of unglazed pottery, or closely woven wicker, or hollowed wooden receptacles, which had previously been in use. Though much of the food of the natives was pre-

pared by being laid upon the coals or roasted on a stake, the larger part of it required to be stewed in heated water. As their own vessels, though often called caldrons, would not bear exposure to the fire or a dry heat, an ingenious alternative was resorted to. The clay or wooden vessel was filled with water, into which were thrown stones brought to a glowing heat in a clear fire close at hand. The process was repeated, if necessary, as the stones were removed and renewed. Into this water were cast the materials of a repast. They were often most incongruous; for the Indians delighted in a mess, a *pot-pourri*, though no skill or regard was spent upon selection or adaptation to the palate. In a banquet prepared by savage allies of the English after a bloody and protracted conflict with the French and their red allies, some of the English soldiers, though well-nigh famished, lost their craving at the sight of a Frenchman's hand floating in the stew. The conglomeration of heterogeneous articles of food in the Indian's kettle was simply another act of conformity with Nature; as not what they ate, but the eating enough of anything, was their chief object, and it was the stomach, not the palate, which they had to satisfy. It is curious to note that down to quite recent years in New England, in the families of husbandmen, domestic usage approximated to this Indian habit, — vegetables, pastry, and meat (fresh or salt) being cooked in one kettle, served on one great platter, and dispensed after the same miscellaneous fashion. At their great feasts, with a profusion of viands which might have served the Indians for successive distinct courses, the same medley method for cooking in caldrons all manner of fish, flesh, and fowls, dogs, deer's meat, buffalo, skunks, raccoons, etc., with maize, and various roots, pumpkins, squashes, beans, and peas, was the approved style of festivity, with variations more from necessity than of preference. Generally the family had but one meal in common through the day. But each member of it was at liberty to eat when

and as often and as much as he pleased, if there was anything left in the larder. Often a hungry sleeper would rise at night to satisfy his craving. The chance stroller or guest was always made welcome to what the lodge contained, and was first served. When the ears of Indian corn were in the milk they afforded a rich repast, either as eaten from the stalk or roasted before an extemporized fire.

As the natives did not use salt, either at their meals or in preserving meats or fish, they availed themselves of the sun's heat, the air, and fire, to dry any surplus of such food gathered when it was abundant among them. Some of the abounding salts of the prairies have impurities which impair their preservative qualities. Often, however, as the natives were generally improvident, or, still in conformity with Nature, trusted that each day would provide for itself as to "what they should eat," they were reduced to extreme need. They bore the pangs of hunger with stiff, uncomplaining patience and philosophy, passing many nights and days without sustenance. In their utmost straits they would eat roots, bark, buds, and the skins of their own mantles and moccasins. In the western valleys Nature produced in luxuriant abundance a large variety of succulent and edible roots, and expanses of wild rice. As a last resort, reliance might be placed upon the somewhat stingy nutrition found in what is known as *tripe de roche*, — a sort of mossy mushroom which covers some of the damp rocks. When this was cooked with scraps of any kind of meat, or marrow bones, it was quite satisfying. Their own dogs, and in times of famine their ponies, are essential parts of the banquets of the Indians.

In the matter of apparel the Indian put himself into the same harmony with the promptings of Nature. He wore clothing, not as a covering or concealment, but for convenience, comfort, and necessity under the weather. He felt most at his ease when wholly free of it; nor was

it from the want of abundant materials needing but slight help from hand-labor. The hide of the buffalo, and the skins of the deer, the beaver, and the smaller animals furnished him with loose or with close-fitting mantles. His feet and legs needed protection while he was tramping over rocks or through the bushes with their prongs and briers. Not till reaching years of maturity were the children of either sex subjected to the incumbrances of clothing; and in general the breech-cloth for men and a half-skirt for women served for all except state occasions. The more elaborate garments now seen among the aborigines owe more or less of their skill and ornaments to materials obtained from the whites, such as needles, beads, cords, silks, and bits of metal, though the Indian was by no means stinted in his own resources for a gala day. His well-dressed robes, soft and pliable, cured and tanned with or without the fur, wrought with porcupine quills and the feathers of birds, and his necklaces of bears' claws, the plumage of the eagle, and other devices, set him off in good forest guise. For extra adornment, or to add to his fierceness in some of his games, festivals, war, or scalp dances, he would add to his array, besides paint, the horns or the skins of the heads of some of his relations,—the bison, the bear, the deer, or the owl.

The aborigines, whether sedentary or roving, constructed their abodes for single families — wigwams, tepees, or lodges — by natural rules and for natural uses. They might have learned their art from the beaver. Where anything of lengthened or permanent habitation was looked for, more of solidity and thoroughness was given to them. Barks or skins, according to the abundance or ease with which they were to be procured, served equally well for the fabric. A few poles, planted as stakes in the circumference of a circle, brought together at the top, with an orifice for the smoke, a hole in the centre for the fire, bunks raised on bushes or skins, and a platform or shelf for storing im-

plements or superfluities, answered all necessities. Generally the men gathered the materials while the squaws put them together. When these lodges were numerous they were sometimes arranged as in lanes, and surrounded with palisadoes. On removing from one place to another, if the materials of the lodge were worth the labor, or were not to be readily replaced, the squaws bore the burden of their parts. What they could not carry on their shoulders they attached at the further end of some of the poles, confining the other end to their waists, while they dragged the skins and utensils. Where the Indians now have ponies they use this style of an extemporized barrow.

An indispensable article of the outfit of every male Indian is what is known by the whites as the "medicine-bag." This cherished possession has an intimate connection with the superstitions of the aborigines, reference to which will soon be made. To the eye of an indifferent observer this "medicine-bag" serves the use of a pocket or a satchel, to receive certain light articles of use and convenience on an emergency. It is much more than that to an Indian. The term "medicine," as current among the natives through the continent, in its equivalents in all their languages and dialects, carries with it all the associations which the word has for civilized people, and far more mysterious ones beside. The treatment of disease by the conjurers, jongleurs, or "pow-wows" among the natives, as has been before noted, is believed to be more or less of a magical art. So, every process and means connected with it is associated for the Indian with some quality of mystery and charm. "Medicine," therefore, becomes to them a term mixed with religious, superstitious, and marvellous significance. Every object that startles them by its ingenuity, its show of skill, its wonderful properties,—like a burning-glass, a watch, a clock, a compass, or a bell, as well as any drug,—is to them "medicine."

The carefully guarded and cherished receptacle, always

jealously watched over by its owner, which the whites and the Indians now alike called the "medicine-bag," combines all the qualities of a Jewish phylactery, a New Zealander's fetich, and the amulet or charm of a superstitious devotee. The "bag" is generally made in the form of a pouch, of the skin of some small animal, carefully prepared, and its contents are the secrets of its owner. Among these contents may be the usual miscellaneous articles of a pocket; with scraps of tobacco, the pipe, and the materials for kindling a fire. But the sacred thing in the receptacle is some scrap or relic—it may be a tooth, a bone, a claw, a stone, or some rude device with the totem or tribal designation of the owner—which is to him as a protecting amulet, a medium of prayer or worship, connected with his private superstitions or dreams. The Indian communes with this mysterious symbol when alone; he trusts to its protection on a journey and in emergencies, and he clings to it in all the frenzies of the battle. To lose this special treasure of his "medicine-bag" would cause to its owner inexpressible and overwhelming sorrow and dismay; he would apprehend all possible calamities as likely to befall him. Sometimes when the whites have pried into these secret bags, the contents have been found hideous and disgusting. To the owner they are his most sacred possession. Not more fondly and devoutly did the Spanish marauder cling to his amulet of the Holy Virgin, than did the savage to this guardian of his spirit.

The concentrated and sharpened use of a few of the mental faculties threw the whole force of mind of an Indian into the directions most engaged in the restricted exigencies of his condition. He had less volume and less range of mind than a civilized man, but more sagacity, skill, and directness in the use of what he possessed,—as a man deprived of one or more of his senses stimulates those left to him. It was soon noticed, however, that the white man, with a larger active-fund and capital of brain than the

savage, after a chance to learn his ways, could far more easily appropriate the keen and sagacious qualities of the Indian than the Indian could avail himself of the cultivated and expanded faculties and ingenuities of the pale-face. The European would not at first trust himself in the woods without a compass. The Indian despised the contemptible little index. But the white man was not long in acquiring the Indian's craft in all forest weather-signs and trail-marks. General Braddock allowed whole ranks and files of orderly marching English soldiers to be picked off one by one by ambushed Indians, skulking in the bushes of a ravine. But the white man soon learned how to do this bush-fighting behind tree or stump; and as the Indian, seeing the flash of the rifle, if not struck by the ball, would instantly rush upon his victim before he could reload, the white man would have a substitute by his side, or two guns.

Doubtless there has been some exaggeration in the picturesque and fanciful relations of the almost preternatural skill and cunning of the Indian, when with all his faculties alive and strained, in caution or suspicion, he exhibits a craft in the woods, on the trail, or in circumventing his enemies, beyond anything of the same kind which the white man can attain by ingenuity and practice. In the woods, amid decaying leaves, on the moss or the grass, or on the lichen of the rocks, the Indian will detect the marks of any feet that have passed over it. He will divine whether the marks are recent, or the number of days which have elapsed since they were pressed, the number of the company, and the direction and sometimes the object of their course. True, the same skill in detection is offset by the same ingenuity in concealment or deception. Sometimes the moccasins or shoes of one or more skulking persons will be reversed on the feet as if to mislead the pursuer in his search. Sometimes a single person will multiply his own foot-prints, or a portion of a party will carry others on

their backs, or a water-course will be forded at an angle to throw the pursuer off the track. The game is a keen one when those on both sides are well matched.

And how fitted for his uses and his accordance and sympathy with Nature were the surroundings and conditions of the Indian's life! This magnificent domain of earth, water, and sky was his. Here was no desert; seldom a spot inhospitable to an Indian so far as to forbid at least his passage through it. The lake-surface of our own Northwest, with its borderings, is of larger area than the whole European continent. We take in hand one of the latest maps of the United States, that we may trace the course and linkings of its railways. By sections, in the brains of single Indians, and as a whole among their various tribes, there once existed, without map or draft, quite another but as complete and accurate a delineation of previous thoroughfares all over this continent, in its length and breadth, and quite as well suited to previous uses as are our iron highways. The maps which we have now, covering our whole national domain, have been provided at Government expense, as the reachings out of power and enterprise have made necessary. They are the results of patient and laborious exploration with the help of skilled engineers. Take one of those maps, leave all the land surface in blank to represent the original condition of things, and you will have a reticulated system of threading nerves, fibrous and ganglionic, of the lakes and water-courses, which seem to have been disposed as streams and basins respectively to renew and interchange their waters in vigorous and healthful circulation. The waters are generally clear and pure, save as the swelling freshets of the spring tear away the rich mould of their shores and tangle them with huge uprooted trees. One of the main rivers gathers contributions it may be from hundreds of different rills and streams, just as, by a reversed process, a branch of a majestic tree, standing isolated from a forest which might

cramp it, sends its sap into boughs and twigs, and through them into each leaf. When the smooth downward flow of one of these streams was broken by falls the Indian would boldly shoot them, unless the water was shallow or the rocks were too many and rugged.

The lakes, ranging from inland seas to ponds, are fed by trickling streams, rivulets, and brooks, pouring in their contributions it may be from three points of the compass, and they find their outlet by rivers running to the fourth point. The mouth of each river leads it into another larger stream, whose tributaries connect another series of lakes and brooks and rivulets. The portages, or carrying-places between these water-courses, may be only a few rods for land-travel; very rarely do they stretch to a half score of miles. The sedgy, reedy swamps, the cascades and cataracts must also be circumvented by portages. Study carefully one of those skeleton maps of this vast continent, giving only these expanses of water and the broad and attenuated streams, as you would a town or State map showing the highways of the country: you will marvel at the grandeur, the beauty, the ingenuity, and, in these practical days we must add, the convenience of the arrangement. The white man soon learned to follow these water-highways for curiosity or traffic; but he made first rude and then improved drafts of them on paper for those who should follow him. The red men carried in their heads and minds all this elaborate reticulation of our continent; and so they traversed it by land and water, when they had occasion to do so, for thousands of miles, with but trifling deflexions from a straight course. Just as our railroads have their junctions and their branches, so the water-highways of the Indian afforded many central stations, with a large liberty for diverting the course. One of the most remarkable of these water-basins for extent of communication is Lake Winnipeg in the Northwest, 270 miles in length, and 80 in its broadest width. It is fed by almost innumerable streams,

some of them quite large, and is the source of as many more that flow from it. Its central position on the continent makes it, as it were, a grand junction for routes to the Atlantic and the Pacific. Every bend in a stream, every widening or contracting of the channel, every bay of a lake, every swamp, hillock, grove, or barren spot, had a name kept in use by successive voyagers. When the gatherings of furs or game, or other spoils of the woods, exceeded the capacity of the canoe, the surplus would be committed to a *cache*, carefully prepared in the rocks or the earth, secured from the beasts, and so skilfully indicated in its exact locality for the eye of the owner that he was never at fault to find it on his return way, or to direct another to the depository. Where there was no fear of an enemy, the voyager would bring his canoe to land at night, draw it upon beach or shore, turn it over him for a roof in foul weather, prepare his evening meal generally from extemporized resources, and start afresh in the early hours of the morrow. Though for many purposes of hunting and trapping partnership was desirable, many an Indian in his solitary way would be absent for months from his lodge on his private business.

What pure poetry or stern prose, of adventure or peril as we may view it, invested the life of the Indian in his converse with Nature, as he threaded these watercourses, — having for his guiding compass, sure and unerring for his way, his own wilderness instinct! Whole stretches of the native forest offered scarce any obstruction as he threaded his course alone, — or in companies marched, as we say, in Indian file over the crispy or velvet moss. But he would have to climb at times over the prostrate giant trunks, in which he would sink gently up to the waist in the red mould of sweet decay. Where storms and tempests had swept over the scene, two or three score trees might have fallen to each survivor that rose in majesty over them. And then what delicious ministrations there were to a creature so largely organized for simple sensa-

tions, in his course by day and his couch of moss or hemlock by night! The draught from the cold, pure spring; the juicy berry, the grape cluster, the extemporized meal from the game brought down by his arrow or taken in his snare; the fragrance of that mysterious earth-smell in the spring-time, after the scentlessness of the forest in winter; the mingling of the damp ooze from the decay of leaves and mossy trunks with the sweet bloom of swelling buds,— these were the luxuries of the wilderness.

The Indian, in the lack of help from any artificial educational processes, gathered his wood-craft and his skill from two sources. His main reliance was ever on his own individual observation, the training of his own senses, the increasing and improving of his own personal experience. Beyond this he was helped in anticipating such acquisitions, or in extending his knowledge, by the free communication from his elders of facts and phenomena beyond his immediate ken. While hours of listless indolence, of sleep, or dull taciturnity might pass among a group, or in the lodge, or the open camp, there were frequent occasions for free and lively gossip, for relations of experience and adventure, and for keeping alive traditional lore by renewed repetition. It was in this way that the legends of the tribes were transmitted; and these doubtless had for those most interested in them a significance and dignity which we try in vain to find in such fragmentary and trivial relations as have come to us. The natural and the supernatural made for the Indian one continuous, blended, and homogeneous aspect of things and events. He made no distinction between them; still less did he divide them by any sharp line. He thus anticipated one of the results reached by many of speculative mind in our own time, in recognizing the impossibility of parting fact and phenomena respectively between the natural and the supernatural.

It was thus that the Indians became such experts in the

ways and workings of Nature, which gave them all their tuition and training. They kept themselves close to it, and regarded themselves as simply a part of it. They could describe to a stranger merely by signs, without language, the face and features of a region; its growths and its game; its hills and valleys; its rivers, swamps, lakes, and mountains; its water-ways and its portages. Adapting themselves to the slow wits of the white man, who needed illustrative help for guidance, they would take a piece of bark, and with a tracing of charcoal or bears' grease they would indicate his way with more exactness than our school-children get from their maps and geographies. A more or less rapid motion of the fingers or feet would signify easy or fast travel by day; and the head inclined on the hand, with closed eyes, would describe the rest of the night: thus denoting the number of days for a journey.

The Indian, too, had variety in his life. He anticipated many of our people in having two residences in the course of the year, without paying taxes in either of them. He made, once a year at least, a long tramp, for change of scene and food. If far inland, he sought the border of a great lake, or climbed a mountain. If he could reach it, he sought the roaring seashore, and had his tent on the beach. There is some conflict of testimony as to whether the abstinence from salt was universally, as we know it was largely, prevalent among our aborigines. The Indians at the West observed that the deer in the spring season gathered to any salt-licks that might be near their ranges, and seemed greatly to enjoy the alterative waters. Seeing the white or gray crystals of the condiment which, as the result of evaporation, lay round the shores of lakes or springs, they could hardly have refrained from tasting them. They seem never to have resorted to the artificial processes of evaporation. It would appear from the general testimony that the Indians did not use salt with their ordinary diet, nor employ it as a pickle, though when it was

near them they might occasionally have recourse to it as a medicine. But they did universally depend upon that annual alternation of their residence just referred to, which for them served as an interchange of city and country; and this, too, independently of their tramps on the war-path or the hunt. Those of the tribes were most favored who had ready access to the ocean shores, especially to the greater variety of fish in the briny waters, and those larger products of the sea which yielded blubber and more serviceable bones.

There were many other significant and ingenious tokens and devices by which our native races put themselves into sympathetic relations with Nature around them, and with natural objects, — scenery, animals, and birds, — as if they were themselves vital parts of the same organism, its elements and products. The names which they took for themselves and gave to their children and to each other illustrate this statement. The names borne by Indians, though so fantastic and not euphonious to us, are generally far more appropriate and characteristic than those in use among civilized people. Nature, its aspects and objects, were drawn upon by the red men for names of groups and individuals, often with admirable aptness. These names of theirs have in many cases become vulgarized to us, as grotesque and disagreeable; for the most part, however, they are simply meaningless, fragments of a wild jargon. Not so with those who bore them. The name assigned to a child was given in view of some trait or feature in him which suggested a natural scene or object, or instinctive prompting; or it had reference to some quality which it was hoped he might develop, or in which he was to be trained. We all recognize the appropriateness of the designation, made familiar to us by Walter Scott, by which a clan in a peculiarly foggy region of the Highlands were known as “Children of the Mist.” So in every feature of a natural landscape, — mountain, hill, meadow, valley,

grove, forest, swamp, river, brook, torrent, or bog, and also in every animal, bird, insect, or reptile; in the instruments of war and of the chase; in all fruits and products, branches, twigs, and leaves; in rain, snow, fog, lightning, and thunder; in the sun, in the phases of the moon, and in the starry constellations,—the Indian found his vocabulary for names. This method helped their memories, and also served as a sort of index of characters. Custom and privilege always allowed to the young Indian the right to change his name as he grew to maturity; to take the title by which he would be known as a brave from any exploit, achievement, or aim which he could associate with himself. Nothing in these names indicated parentage or family relationship; nor does there appear to have been any rule of gender in their use which restricted them respectively to males or females. The renderings which are given of them seem to have more significance as interpreted in the French than in the English language.

The observing and reflecting powers of the Indians were trained to remarkable concentration and acuteness, as they were exercised upon natural objects, signs, and phenomena. They were skilled in all weather signs; so they valued least of all, among the white man's trinkets and gewgaws, the pocket compass, for they had a better in their native sagacity. They marked accurately the phases of the moon, or "the night sun," the ante and post meridian of the day; and they gave to the months names from Nature's signs and aspects, from animals, crops, and fruits, far more expressive than our own.

A most vivid illustration of the sympathetic relation into which an Indian put himself with Nature, was the consequent relation into which he put himself with the animal creation. All wild creatures had some tie of kinship to him. Beavers and bears especially were a sort of cousins-german. He shared the terms, conditions, and means of life with animals, being in some things only

their superior. The beaver worked much harder than the Indian, for he had to build a dam as well as a lodge, and to gnaw down trées, and carry mud for mortar; and the beaver's lodge was cleaner than the red man's, and well stocked for winter's food. The Indian was content to live on food similar to the animal's, and to get it in a similar way,—by strength or guile. He was content to learn his best practical wisdom from animals, and then to outwit them from their free teaching by exercising a keener faculty of his own. His knowledge of their habits and instincts, gathered from patient, watchful study and keen observation, surpassed that which we can get from the most accurate and interesting books on natural history. And when the Indian had made himself an adept in all the shifts and devices and all the sly and subtle artifices of animals, in self-protection, or to hide their holes or to cover their tracks, he had only to exercise a little more cunning in his trick to circumvent them. He was housed and fed and clothed precisely as were these animals; and, like them, he was often gorged by food or pinched by starvation.

And while the Indian knew his own way by forest, lake, and river, he was careful to mark it, for reference for others, by naming every feature and object of it. He had a name for every region and for each part of it; for every rill and spring, every summit, swamp, meadow, waterfall, bay, and promontory. The most intelligent explorers among us have often remarked upon the exquisite taste and fitness of the names which the Indians attached to every spot and scene of the country,—as Athabasca, “the Meeting-place of Many Waters;” Minnehaha, “Laughing Waters;” Minnesota, “Sky-tinted Water.”

Often has the regret been strongly expressed over all parts of our country that there has not been more of effort, pains, and consent to preserve more extensively the aboriginal names of localities, of rivers, lakes, mountains,

and cataracts, of hill-tops, glens, and valleys, through the continent. Wherever this has been done it is a matter of gratification to the taste and sentiment of our day. Of the six New England States, only two—Massachusetts and Connecticut—bear their original titles. The new States and Territories of the West, and some of our grandest rivers and lakes, are favored in this respect. Most fitly do some of the scenes richly wrought into the romantic stories of French missionaries and explorers—Marquette, Allouez, Hennepin, La Salle, and others—retain their memories. The greatest of our cataracts perpetuates, in the roar of its waters, the sonorous melody of its aboriginal name. It is to be regretted, however, that as it was on St. Anthony's day that Hennepin discovered the western cascade, he should have displaced for that title the Indian name of the "Falling Waters of the Mississippi." Worse yet was the rejection of the beautiful name Horicon,¹ borne by the fairest of our lakes, allowed to do honor to an English king (George). It may be that, under some æsthetic enthusiasm asserting itself among us, there may be a general consent to restore the Indian nomenclature over our country for memorial or penitential purposes. Mount Desert was once "Pemetie."

Another very curious and interesting token of the relations into which the Indians put themselves with the animals, as their kindred, if not their Darwinian progenitors, is found in their choice of symbols from the creatures with which they were familiar, as the *totems*, or badge-marks, of their tribes and families. At first sight these totem-

¹ Mr. Parkman, in his "Jesuits in North America" (p. 219), gives us an interesting note on the original name of Lake George, which, he says, was not Horicon, — that word being merely a misprint on an old Latin map for "Hori-coni;" that is, "Iroconi," or "Iroquois." The first of Europeans who saw the lake was Father Jogues, in 1646, who called it "Lac St. Sacrament," from the day in his calendar when he beheld it. Mr. Parkman says that Cooper had no sufficient historical foundation for the name "Horicon."

marks seem to us simply an element of rude, natural barbarism; but they mean more to us the more closely we study them. And there is another thing to be said about them; for there is an affinity, strange and unexplained, between these forest totem-symbols and some of the proud escutcheon-bearings of monarchs and nobles, states and empires, in the old civilized world. A simple prejudice or habit of association of our own makes us ridicule in the savage what awes or flatters us among white men. The totems of the Indian tribes were the bear, the beaver, the wolf, the tortoise, the squirrel, etc. The emblems were generally—not always, however—rudely sketched and grotesque. But the design and purpose of them were exactly the same as of similar devices in proud Christian nations; for example, England's unicorn and lion, Scotland's thistle, Ireland's shamrock, the fleur-de-lis and the cock of the Frenchman, the bear of Russia and of the canton Berne, the double-headed eagle of Austria, etc. And if we should follow the comparison down through the shields, the armorial bearings, the escutcheons and coats of arms of nobles and private families, with all their absurd devices and figurings,—perhaps Indian pride and ingenuity might find more countenance. Indeed, the roguish and waggish La Hontan—who so scandalized the French Jesuits by his awful truth-telling that he has been unfairly depreciated, though doubtless often sagacious and trustworthy—heads a chapter of his racy volumes on French Canada with the title, “The Heraldry, or the Coats of Arms, of the Savages.” This he illustrates with lively etchings of tribal symbols,—the beaver, the wolf, the bear, etc., so fitting to wilderness and forest men. The “coat of arms” of the kings of Mexico was an eagle gripping in his talons a jaguar. It was a pity that they could not have put life into the emblem in their treatment of their Spanish tormentors.

In the ingenuity that has been spent in tracing tokens of a former relationship between the people of the Old

World and the New, it is remarkable that so little recognition has been made of the affinity between totems and coats of arms.

Something similar is to be said about the costume, the ceremonial adornment, the got-up finery and ornaments, of the red man. Here he exhibits some strange imitations, approximations at least to those of the white man. True, the costume of the Indian was for the most part simply that with which he came into the world. But here again we find an accord with Nature. The Indian, as already noted, did not go naked because he could not procure clothing, but because he preferred freedom of limb and motion. As has been said, he had but a scant sense of shame, modesty, or decency: he took himself as Nature had made him. If he wanted covering — as he did and had — in the winter, he had but to transfer the skins of his brother animals to his own shoulders, often naïvely apologizing to the animals for doing so. At times he would smear his body with clay or paint, to ward off heat, cold, and insects.

There seems a long distance between their forest garb on state occasions and the gold, the lace, and brocades of court pageantry. But let us look a little closer at the matter, and compare aims and the means for reaching them. The Indians sometimes, no doubt, wished to appear fine and grand, like other people. They availed themselves of such ornaments and trinkets as they could get. They had not our range of commerce for stuffs, shawls, laces, ostrich feathers, jewels, etc.; they had not access to our shops and modistes: but they did the best they could. The deer-skin, the leggings, the pouch, were richly dressed and embroidered with shells, fibrous roots, and porcupine quills; they mounted the feather and the plume, and had for earrings and necklaces the bear's claw and the snake's rattle. But few of them bored the cartilage of the nose for a pendant. The young and the old squaws, when coming into

or gracefully retiring from society, had but a limited range compared with our ladies for the choice of cosmetics; but they turned to account such as were within reach,—bears' grease and vermilion. They were content with the hair that grew on their own heads, and they wholly dispensed with corsets and paddings. Their parade in strange feathers and skins with hanging tails, their boring of the nose sometimes, as well as generally the ears, for rings, and their magniloquent titles and stately forms appear grotesque to us. But how very much in such matters depends upon association and use! Do not the curious garb and ever-changing and sometimes unattractive and uncomfortable fashions and ornaments of women, in the most refined circles of life, furnish matter of fun and railery — not always in secret — for the other sex? In this country, in all our public ceremonials, inaugurations, etc., we have found it possible to dispense with crowns, sceptres, maces, and other insignia, with judges' wigs and all liveries. But foreign courts and shows and forms retain them all as essential or expedient; they go with the griffins and vampires and phoenixes of the Old World still. Foreigners in attendance among us on great state occasions, like the inauguration of a President of the nation, are often disagreeably impressed with the entire disuse of the costumes and emblems familiar to them at home. Our Indians also did the best they could, with their orders of the collar, the flecce, and the garter. The slashed doublets of cavaliers, the hooped or trailed skirt of the lady and her face patched with court-plaster, the ermine of the judge, the curled wig of the barrister, the rod of the tipstaff and the beadle, the sword of state and the black or white wand of the master of ceremonies, the woosack and seal-wallet of the chancellor and the staff of the drum-major, — all manifest the richer and more abundant material for farce and ceremonial of the white man, not a more elevated and ennobled nature.

And as for high-sounding titles, where among our aborigines shall we outmatch those of "August," or "Most Christian Majesty," and their "High Mightinesses" of Holland? What effrontery would be shown by a European tradesman who should presume to dun a Continental petty prince, whose title is "His Most Serene Highness"! What more of significance is there in the Emperor of China assuming his title from the whole heaven, than in the Indian chieftain's contenting himself with appropriating a half-moon?

The Canoe, the Moccason, the Snow-Shoe, and the Wigwam,—these four words suggest to us the most characteristic and distinctive objects identified with the Indian and his life. They mark the quality of his inventiveness and the measure of his skill in adapting himself to his conditions, and in turning to use the materials at his hand. Stress, too, is to be laid on this fact,—that these four devices of the American savage were original inventions of his own, and that he has learned nothing from the white man which has helped him to improve upon them, so perfect are they in themselves.

What the horse is to the Arab, the dog to the Esquimaux, and the camel to the traveller across the desert, the canoe was and is to the Indian. It was most admirably adapted to the two requisite uses which it must serve,—for it was to meet two exigencies, and in no other case of a vehicle invented by man have the two conditions been realized. The canoe was intended both for carrying its owner and for being carried by him. Incidentally, also, it served a third use, affording a temporary roof or covert from the sun and storm by day or night on land. The Indian ventured far out into the open water of our bays, as he ventured in calm weather to cross our sea-like lakes in this frail bark. But its chief and constant and most apt service was for the Indian's transport with his furs and commodities, as he traversed the curiously veined and re-

ticulated region which has been described as the wonderful feature of our continent. The proportion which the water-ways bore to land-travel for the routes which the Indian traversed, was at least nine parts out of ten. The lake-shore was skirted, the swamp was cunningly threaded, the river channel was boldly followed, the rapids were shot and leaped, and the mazy stream of shallows and sand-bars was patiently traced in all its sinuosities by the frail skiff. True, the Indian canoe seemed to need an Indian for its most facile use and its safest guidance. The best position for the occupant was to lie flat on his back if he trusted to floating, or to rest still on bended knees if he plied the single paddle with strokes on either side. All uneasy, restless motions, all jerks and sidelings were at the risk of passenger, canoe, and freight. Count Frontenac, when first as Governor of Canada for Louis XIV. he began his experience as a voyager with the natives, expressed in strong terms his disgust at the cramped and listless position to which he was confined in the birch canoe; and the Jesuit missionaries, the most patient and heroic of all Europeans as they met every cross and hardship, were very slowly wonted to it. They give us many piteous narrative touches of the constant risks and the need of a steady eye and of a stiff uniformity of position in the buoyant but ticklish vehicle of transport. When they had in it their own precious sacramental vessels, they needed an ever nervous watchfulness against disaster. Till the passengers had learned to adapt themselves to the exacting conditions, their timidity and anxiety furnished a constant source of ridicule and banter to their native pilots. The merriment was loud and unsympathizing when the passenger tipped himself into the waters, still or foaming, unless at the same time he swamped the canoe with a valuable cargo. Yet when the uses and the craft needed for them were fully appreciated and acquired by French *voyageurs*, the canoe in their hands became a more favorite and facile thing than it was to the

Indian. When we read of La Salle as contriving to transport an anvil, as well as the essentials of a forge and many of the heavy and bulky materials for building a vessel, from Quebec to the mouth of the Illinois River in one or more canoes, we put a high estimate upon the capacity of the craft, as also of the paddlers. The shore of lake or river afforded the ready means in bark and pitch for repairing damages if the canoe sprang aleak, or was bruised or perforated by a sharp rock.

But the lighter the bark was when on its own element it carried its owner, the more easy was its burden when in turn it had to be borne on his own back or shoulder over a stretch of the tangled forest, or round the rough rocks of a cascade, by the portages. Its freight would be transported on one transit, itself by another, or by several successive trampings. The canoe as a product of wilderness art and ingenuity is to be judged not only by its own adaptations, but also by the resources at hand for materials and the scanty tools available for its construction and repair. Some curious conflicts of testimony as to the ventures and discoveries of early navigators along our coasts and into our bays depend upon the accounts given us of the style and material of the skiffs seen in use by the natives,—whether they were birch canoes, or so-called “dug-outs.” The birchen boats were always preferred by the Indian where the trees furnished the bark, as most readily fashioned, the most light and strong, and the most easily repaired. The laminations of the bark, of any size and thickness desired, were bended around a simple frame-work of light and stiff slits of any hard wood well seasoned; they were firmly bound and held by fibrous roots and animal sinews, and made impervious to water by a compound of pitch and grease. A fracture or leak was, as just stated, at once repaired by pulling the canoe to the shore or the beach and drawing on the stores of the woods. Fitly does Longfellow give to it life and motion in his picturing lines :—

“ And the forest life is in it, —
 All its mystery and its magic,
 All the tightness of the birch-tree,
 All the toughness of the cedar,
 All the larch's supple sinews.
 And it floated on the river
 Like a yellow leaf in autumn,
 Like a yellow water-lily.”

It was desirable that a canoe should be fashioned with as large strips of bark as possible, to reduce the number of joints uniting them. These joints were originally sewed with long fibres from the roots of the spruce-tree. One or more transverse bars kept the craft in shape. The bow and stern turned sharply upwards. It was usual to lift the canoe from the water at night, and as often as was convenient during stoppages by day, to give it a chance to dry, as the bark readily absorbs water, increasing its weight. For two hundred years canoes of great carrying capacity, for many tons of freight and many paddlers and passengers, have been in use by the employés of the Hudson Bay Company, and are known as *Canots du Nord*. The steerage of these vessels through the rapids is a critical and exciting work. The chief responsibility is with the bowsman, really the captain, who sharply gives his directions by words and gestures to the paddlers in the middle and the steersman in the stern. Sometimes in smooth waters, with a moderate wind, a sail is availed of. The management and navigation, with a valuable load, require the utmost caution of all concerned to keep the balance, as the only way to “trim the ship.”

Where the materials for the birchen fabric—varying as it would in size for one or for fifty human passengers and their goods—were not to be found, nor its less facile substitutes, elm or oak bark, the Indian had an alternative craft. By the help of fire and his stone axe he would bring down a giant tree from the forest, and sever a section of the trunk of desired length,

with regard to proportions of width and depth. This solid butt he would then split with wedges, and by burning and gouging would hollow it out, reducing the sides and bottom to the utmost thinness consistent with buoyancy and security. This was the "dug-out." And this, as well as the birchen canoe, admitted of gay ornament or of frightful and hideous devices, in carving and painting, as a vessel of war, according to the taste and skill of the artist. Nor were the skill and cunning of the Indian exhausted in these two serviceable styles of watercraft. With a single buffalo or deer skin, or with several of them stitched together and stretched over a frame of osiers, he would readily extemporize a conveyance through the waters for one or many. As readily, too, from the trunks or branches of prostrate trees would he improvise a sea-worthy raft.

The moccason, also, in name and device, was original with the North American Indian, and, without being patented, holds the ground as—for him, and, we might add, for many of us—the most fitting, convenient, and healthful foot-gear. The dressed or tanned hide of the deer furnished its upper and lower leather; a small bone of a fish, or one near the ankle-joint of the deer, provided the needle, and the sinews the thread, for sewing. The seam was behind the heel and over the foot, instead of, as in our fabrics, at the sole or bottom. The moccason was made of one piece of skin. Unlike our heavy boots, it did not impede the perspiration of the foot, and it saved the Indian from corns and bunions. The wearer was not apt to take cold, as by a leak in a shoe or boot. It was easily dried, and easily mended. It was equally adapted by its smoothness for treading upon the tender bottom of a canoe, and, by its pliancy and elasticity, for coursing forest paths or climbing rocks.

In the rougher regions of the Northwest, and especially for the uses of the "voyageurs, the trappers, and the cour-

eurs de Bois" in the service of the various fur-trading companies, some more substantial fabrics for apparel and travel than those of the natives were necessarily introduced. These combined materials and processes brought from Europe with those which were indigenous, just as knives and firearms and metal vessels, shared with aboriginal implements an equal place. Warm under-apparel and capotes for covering head and ears, though not in favor with the natives, were essential to the whites, till, as was generally soon realized, the roughest of them became Indians. The form and style of the moccason were retained, while it was made so large as to admit of being drawn over several pairs of stockings,—needful in the extreme severities of the weather and in deep snows. Strings of dogs, harnessed singly or by couples, attached to slight-built sledges and carioles, transported loads of goods into the country and took out of it returns of peltry. These dog-trains required skilled drivers, as they were generally fretful and rebellious under such forced service. A passenger rolled in furs might ride with the load, but the driver must go behind or by the side of the train on foot, and often an assistant was required to precede it to trample down the snow. Never were emphatic words—a jargon of French, which language contributed the oaths and imprecations—more constantly in use than by the drivers of these dog-trains.

The snow-shoe, as the winter supplement to or accompaniment of the moccason, enabled the Indian to go upon the war-path or to chase down the beleaguered game when the earth was covered with its fleecy mantle piled in mountain drifts. This simple device exercised the wilderness skill of its inventor and tested practically his apt intelligence to apply materials, proportions, and disposals of parts and measurements, in ways which science cannot mend. It resembled in shape a miniature skiff, two feet or more in length and more than a foot in breadth, pointed

at the toe, and running back with elliptical sides to a square in the rear. The frame was slight but strong, of some well-seasoned wood, like the handles of a large basket. A network of sinewy thongs was united with the frame, for bearing on the snow without heavy pressure, releasing the snow as the foot was lifted. It was confined to the foot behind by a cord tied over the instep, so that the heel could readily act freely in rising and resting. A small loop near the point of the shoe received the toes, and retained the shoe on the foot. Of course the whole pressure of the weight of the body came upon the front of the foot and over the line of junction of the toes. The more rapidly the wearer walked or ran, the easier was it for him to bear this light burden, and the less did he sink into the drift. When the snow-surface was glazed by ice, the simple moccason was preferable as a covering, and the snow-shoes were carried upon the back. Only practice could give facility and comfort in the use of this native invention for travel, without which a struggling wanderer would often sink to his neck at every attempt to step forward. The Indian would go like a deer when thus shod. But piteous are the entries in the journals of many white adventurers when in the company of savages on the route; the alternative was before them either of giving over in the tramp, or suffering sharply till they had "caught the hang" of the snow-shoe. Chilblains were but the slightest part of the infliction. The constant friction of the tie over the instep and of the loop over the toes galled the flesh, and the oozing and freezing blood were sorry concomitants for the traveller. Glad was he when the stint appointed for the day's journey was ended, and resting in the camp, though roofless and with a cordon of snow, he could soothe and dress his stinging extremities. Yet even then he had to contemplate a renewal of his journey before the morrow's daylight, with the increase of his sufferings. The Indian

wasted no commiseration on such tyros, well knowing that there was but one way of permanent relief, and that that would come through endurance and patient practice. Sometimes, when there was but a thin coating of ice over the snow, which by yielding lacerated the flesh of travellers—man or beast—by edges sharp as glass, it was usual to bind strips of skin or fur round the legs of the dogs, and thus give them shoes.

Little needs to be added to what has been already said about the wigwams or lodges of the aborigines. These, where they were constructed for anything like permanency of habitation, might be made comfortable, bating only the annoyances of smoke, vermin, and untidiness, — which, however, to the Indian were hardly an abatement of comfort. When a war-party or the necessity of hunting for daily supplies did not call the master of the lodge away, but left him an interval of domestic leisure, he divided his time between eating, sleeping, and working upon his simple tackle and implements. Where there was a group of such lodges in a village, the men would have their coteries by themselves; while the squaws, when not engaged upon the family food or apparel, would find a congenial resource in gossip. The practice of polygamy, though universally allowable, seems to have been indulged in only in the small minority of households. There was nothing to prevent a man from having as many wives as he had means to purchase from their parents, and was able to maintain. The usual risks incidental to married life, especially where there were duplicated or multiplied demands upon the care and attention of a husband, were of course in some instances realized. But all testimony accords in assuring us that there was no more, if not really less, of discord in an Indian lodge, even with this provocative occasion for it, than in the homes of all the degrees of civilized people.

Doubtless there were seasons, especially in the northern regions of the country, when in the grip of a lengthened

winter — buried in mountain heaps of snow, whirled by the wild blasts, and scant or wholly destitute even of the least nutritive food — life in the wigwam for a solitary person or a family combined all the miseries of a dismal and dreary existence. The Indian's self-mastery and philosophy bore him through these dark extremes of his experience. The bear was hibernating; the deer had sought the thickest woods; the beaver's lodge was fast bound in ice; and even the fish in the streams were not longer to be reached by the gleam of torches or tempted by an air-hole through the thick covering of hard and soft snow. There was not a bird in the air. The weary season wore away: and when the spring came — as it does in those northern realms — with a rushing cheer and vigor, the spell was broken; for Nature provided bountifully for her children when she was released from her own bondage.

The prevailing view and representation of the habits of the aborigines is that they were wasteful and improvident as to provision for their own most common needs of sustenance; and that in consequence there was a period in every year, in the extremities of winter, when they were hopelessly annoyed by the pangs of hunger, — often to the extremities of starvation. And this was said to be the case, not from the absolute conditions and necessities and exigencies of their way of life, but from sheer indolence, recklessness, and an utter incompetency in forethought and prudence. There may be a general accordance with fact and observation in this view, but it needs qualification; very large and very significant exceptions are found to it in many cases. Of course the Indian's habits as to thrift and providence in providing for his needs put him most strongly in contrast with those of the first white settlers on his lands. The wise and laborious Northern colonists, in foresight of a stern winter, built their log-cabins strong and tight, with chimneys to carry off the smoke. They provided cellars banked against the pene-

trating frost, where they stored their vegetables and kept their tubs of salted meat. They raised their wood-piles nigh at hand, and very soon had shelters for domestic cattle,—goats, cows, pigs,—and for poultry. The Indian had resources within his reach which he only in small part improved. He had no salt for pickling, and could only smoke and dry his surplus meat or fish. His native vegetables were peas, beans, melons, squashes, pumpkins, gourds, maize; the forest yielded in abundance juicy berries, some succulent roots and grasses and grapes, as well as game; and the ocean shore, lakes, and rivers gave up their finny spoils. White men on the frontiers have contrived to live, and after a fashion luxuriously, on these resources. The Indian, also, had his feasts upon them, but not wholly to the exclusion of fasts. Gathering details from a wide and varied list of early authorities about their way of life and habits in these respects, we can make rather a favorable show for them. It seems evident that white men learned from the Indian the process of making sugar from the sap of the maple-tree, and also the medicinal virtues of several roots and herbs. The natives, as before stated, unquestionably anticipated their white visitors in their sudatory treatment of the sick, after the fashion of our modern Turkish baths; though Lafitau finds the process and contrivance in the old classic world, as he traces so many parallels there with things supposed to be peculiar to our aborigines. They buried heaps of their ripe maize, or Indian corn, in pits, or packed it high on scaffoldings, and a skilful squaw could make a variety of dishes from this substantial grain. In fact, it would appear that the early European colonists, in all their widely separated harboring places on the whole stretch of our sea-coast, were indebted to the surplus maize which the Indians had in store, to save them, on one or another exigency, from starvation.

When Jacques Cartier first ascended the St. Lawrence,

in 1534, he says the Indians gave him great quantities of good food and palatable bread. The next year when he was taken by them to their village, Hochelaga, now the site of Montreal, he describes far-stretching fields covered with ripening maize,—probably one of the last crops of that soon after war-havocked region.

The early Jesuit missionaries all write of well-cultivated fields cared for by the natives; who pursued the same course as our frontiersmen have followed ever since,—girdling and then burning the trees, leaving the stumps to decay, grubbing up bushes, and then planting. Sagard, a Recollet missionary in 1625, gives a very particular account of the Hurons as dividing their lands into lots which were well cultivated.

The first act of the Plymouth Pilgrims in the extreme needs of their first winter here was a trespass upon the contents of a pit of corn buried by the Indians, though they afterwards made payment for what they appropriated. The friendly natives taught the Plymouth people how “to set corn,”—that is, to plant the kernels of maize, which was a strange grain to them. The beautiful streams, the Town Brook and the Jones River, poured in in the spring-time, in season for planting, immense shoals of alewives. One or two of these fish were put with the kernels into each drill, and served for an enriching manure. A brook running in from the Mystic, near the classic grounds of Harvard College, still bears the name of Alewife Brook. The first white settlers found the natives drawing from it a fertilizer for a wide extent of their planting grounds. The Pilgrims very often sent their shallops to the coast of Maine to buy corn of the Indians. When the first settlers of Connecticut were once in dread of famine, they sent up the river from Hartford and Windsor to Pocumtock, now Deerfield, and the river Indians brought down to them fifty canoe-loads of corn. In Governor Endicott’s raid on the natives in Block Island, mention is made of two hundred

acres of "stately fields of corn" which were destroyed by the whites. In the frequent and destructive onsets made by the French, with Huron allies, against the Iroquois or New York Indians and their beautiful fields, marvellously large garnerers of corn were burned, in fruitless attempts to starve the natives, who had supplies for two years in store. The party under General Sullivan, in his Indian expedition in 1779, saw with surprise the evidences of thrift among the Iroquois, and noted not only vast quantities of maize and vegetables, but old apple-orchards, the stock of which must have been obtained from the French or Dutch. In the campaigns of Generals Harmer and St. Clair beyond the Ohio, after the close of the Revolutionary war, we read of the destruction of vast fields of corn in the river bottoms, belonging to the Miamis.

The early French missionaries describe the more thrifty of the natives with whom they first became acquainted,—the Abenakis, around the Penobscot and in northern New Hampshire,—as industrious and prosperous. They had fixed palisaded villages and substantial bark-cabins. Their ornaments were rings, necklaces, bracelets, and belts skilfully wrought with shells and stones. They had fertile and well-tilled fields of maize and other vegetables, planted in June and harvested in August. Further west the wild game was in abundance, different kinds of it alternating in different seasons. Enormous flocks of fowl made their spring and autumn migrations, offering a rich variety. It would appear, that, according as the natural crops or products of various parts of the country admitted of preservation by any artificial process within the skill of the Indian, they were stored for use. The maize was the most substantial and the easiest for culture and preservation, through heat and cold. A quart of the kernels roasted and pounded, to be as needed mixed in water, with or without being boiled, committed by the Indian to his pouch, would serve him for a long journey. It was usual for the squaws to dry large

quantities of summer berries, and to renew the juices in them by mixing them in cooking with flesh food.

So far from agreeing with the general judgment about the wastefulness and improvidence of the Indians, there are intelligent persons who have lived among them, observant of their ways, who have given strong statements of quite other qualities of theirs, especially in some of the Western tribes. Indeed, their economy and thrift have in some matters been set in censorious contrast with the recklessness of the whites. For example, in some recent years there is evidence that at least a million buffaloes on the Western plains have annually been slaughtered by whites and Indians in the way of trade, merely for their hides and tongues, — the carcasses being wantonly left to poison the air for many miles, and to fatten wolves and coyotes. Before this greed of traffic came in, the economical natives made a good use of every part of a single buffalo, killing only such as they could thus improve. The flesh, either fresh or dried, was for food. The skins were dressed with all of the white man's skill, though by different processes, as were those of other animals, either to remove or to preserve the hair. They were well oiled and dried and made pliant. These skins were variously employed for blankets, lodge-covers, and beds, for temporary boats, for saddles, lassos, and thongs. The horns were wrought into ladles and spoons; the brains furnished a material which had a virtue in the process of tanning; the bones were converted into saddle-trees, war-clubs, and scrapers; the marrow into choice fat; the sinews into bow-strings and thread; the feet and hoofs into glue; the hair was twisted for ropes and halters. So that the Indians left nothing of the carcass — as do the whites — to feed the ravenous and unprofitable packs of prowlers. Nor did the Indians generally kill the buffalo at a season when his flesh was not in keeping for food, or his hide for dressing.

There were also preferred delicacies of the wilderness.

well known to and highly appreciated by the Indian. Among these were the buffalo's tongue and hump, the elk's nose, the beaver's tail, and the bear's paws. Of the cookery of the squaws it may not be well to give any more particulars than those on a previous page. Doubtless it was and is unappetizing, repulsive, revolting often, especially when the process was watched and the materials in the kettle were known. But wilderness food and wilderness appetites went together; and the kitchen, even a French one, is not for the eye a good provocative for the dining-table.

Readers who are versed in the voluminous and highly interesting literature of the Hudson's Bay Company, the narratives of the Arctic and Northwest voyagers and explorers, the adventures of fur-traders, trappers, etc., know well how an article called "pemmican" appears in them all as a commodity for subsistence and traffic. This highly nutritive, compact, and every way most convenient and serviceable kind of food, for preservation and transportation, might rightfully be patented by the Western and the Northern Indians. It was invented by them, and by them it is most skilfully and scientifically prepared. The flesh of the buffalo, the deer, the bear, or the elk is shredded off by the squaws, dried in the sun to retain its juices (two days of favorable weather are sufficient), pounded fine, and then packed in sacks made of the skins of the legs of the animals, stripped off without being cut lengthwise. The lean meat, without salt, is then covered from the air by pouring the fat upon it. The proportions are forty pounds of fat to fifty of lean; and sometimes, when the articles are at hand, there will be mixed in the compound five pounds of berries and five of maple sugar. This may not make the most palatable of viands, but it is admirably adapted for the uses which enormous quantities of it have served alike for men and their sledge-dogs.

The diversity of languages among our aborigines, already referred to, and the relations between the roots of their words, their vocabularies, and grammatical constructions have been the subjects of a vast amount of inquiry and discussion. The least learned and the most learned have contributed about equally to such information as we have on these subjects. Illiterate white men residing with the Indians as traders or agents, or sharing with them the camp, the hunt, or the war-path, have been forced to become linguists; and in some cases they have quickened their intelligence and sharpened their faculties to learn what they might about languages or dialects which, in their inflections and constructions, differ radically from all those in use among civilized men. With the single exception of that of an ingenious scholar among the Cherokees, no attempt, so far as we know, has ever been made by the natives on the whole stretch of this continent, from north to south, to construct a written language,—not even in the simplest phonetic characters. All has been left to sound and intonation. The tablets and scrolls inscribed or painted with symbols and hieroglyphics by the Aztecs to preserve the chronicles of the people, as described to us by the Spanish invaders, and as appears from the specimens of them still extant, were in no sense linguistic or phonetic transcripts or representations. The preponderance of evidence seems to favor the inference that ages ago more or less of intercourse was maintained between the aborigines, all the way through the continent from the Missouri to Mexico and Peru. This, however, seems to have ceased before the time of European discoveries. Certain it is—whether from devastating internal wars, from the difficulties of extended intercourse, from natural barriers, or the interposition of large spaces of vacant wilderness—there was then almost a total lack of intercommunication between widely separated

tribes. The variety of languages and dialects was so great, that, in the lack of a common tongue, the Indians could hold but little communication by speech. Certainly the original tribes have been more mixed and confused together since they have been scattered, reduced, and driven from their original homes by the whites. But this fact does not appear to have availed towards aiding them to understand each other's speech. The penalty visited upon our whole race, in the confusion of tongues at Babel, has inflicted its full share on our Indians.

General Custer, rehearsing his experience among Southern and Western tribes in our own days, says : —

“Almost every tribe possesses a language peculiarly its own ; and what seems remarkable is the fact, that, no matter how long or how intimately two tribes may be associated with each other, they each preserve and employ their own language ; and individuals of one tribe rarely become versed in the spoken language of the other, all intercommunication being carried on either by interpreters, or in the universal sign-language. This is noticeably true of Cheyennes and Arapahoes, — two tribes which for years have lived in close proximity to each other, and who are so strongly bound together, offensively and defensively, as to make common cause against the enemies of either, particularly against the white man. These tribes encamp together, hunt together, and make war together ; yet but a comparatively small number of either can speak fluently the language of the other. I remember to have had an interview at one time with a number of prominent chiefs belonging to five different tribes, — the Cheyennes, Kiowas, Osages, Kaws, and Apaches. In communicating with them, it was necessary for my language to be interpreted into each of the five Indian tongues, no representatives of any two of the tribes being able to understand the language of each other.”

De Soto, in his invasion of Florida, Georgia, and Alabama, — as we have noted, — had valuable service from Juan Ortiz, as an interpreter, in 1539 and onwards. Ortiz had, eleven years before, been captured by the Indians, in

the expedition of Narvaez, and then had lived for those years among them. But he could speak only the Floridian language; and we are told, that, in a council or talk with a company of natives of the Chickasaws, the Georgians, the Coosas, and the Mobilians, he had to address himself to a Chickasaw who knew the Floridian, while he passed the words to a Georgian, and the Georgian to a Coosan, the Coosan to a Mobilian, and the Mobilian to a Chickasaw; and so for each reply the process was inverted.

The exigencies imposed by the variety and the peculiar qualities of the Indian languages, have from the first coming hither of Europeans made the office of interpreters a prime necessity. Circumstances have facilitated the appearance from time to time of a class of men with very different degrees of fitness for that office. One is puzzled to imagine how the early navigators who reached and landed on these coasts, and had transient converse with the natives, managed to hold such intelligible intercourse with them as is reported in their narratives. It must have been by signs and gestures. The second set of voyagers and visitors here occasionally found some help in communicating with the savages through one or another waif who had been kidnapped and kept on board the vessel of a previous comer to the coast. In a few cases such kidnapped savages had been taken to Europe for a while, and then brought back, — like Samoset, the Pilgrims' friend at Plymouth, and those transported from Acadia and Canada by the French explorers, to be soon referred to. This was a natural and indeed a necessary resource of the Europeans; not requiring any violence or cruelty, if properly explained, and affording the only possibility for facilitating intercourse. The European navigators could generally obtain willing Indian passengers for visiting Europe.

The necessity of the case soon furnished the skill of interpretation so far as immediately required. It is observable, however, that all effective and really intelligible

intercourse, beyond the command of a few words of ordinary range, which has been reached between red men and white men, has been by the white man's learning the language of the red man. The missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant, when their work was most fresh and earnest and hopeful, gave themselves with devoted zeal to a mastery of the Indian tongues for instruction and preaching. For the lowest forms and uses of intercourse, — as in contention and traffic and barter, — it was comparatively easy for a savage and a European to learn how to quarrel with each other, to cheat and be cheated; but when it came to the higher ends of intercourse, — in instruction, — the white man found his task to lie in mastering such resources as the Indian had for the communication of thought, and in supplying or devising methods or words for conveying ideas, suggestions, and lessons to an Indian on objects and themes wholly new to him. New England in its early years furnished several examples of whites who preached with great facility in the Indian tongue, while the fact has been mentioned that the first funds of Dartmouth College were largely raised by an Indian preaching in Great Britain.

A most apt and curious device, in almost universal use among the Indians, and showing an amazing acuteness and vivacity of mind in them, is their power to communicate with each other, with full intelligence, by sign and gestures and symbols. Very many white experts agree in describing to us the wonders and the perfection of this sign-language. In the multiplicity and variety of their own native tongues and dialects, as they roamed abroad, it would have been utterly impossible for those of different tribes to have held any intelligible communication by words: they would have been as deaf-mutes, had it not been for a similar conventional sign-language. This had no resemblance whatever to the taught finger-alphabet used by deaf-mutes; it was wholly of gesture and symbol. Shakspeare — who has

images, phrases, and descriptions for everything — admirably sets it forth : —

“I cannot too much muse,
Such shapes, such gesture, and such sound, expressing
(Although they want the use of tongue) a kind
Of excellent dumb discourse.”¹

Indians of most widely separated tribes can understand each other and amuse each other, in perfect silence, without a single word, — though with an occasional grunt, — in giving long and minute relations and descriptions, and in telling funny tales. They will impart the length of a journey, on horse or foot; the number of days and nights; describe the route, and countless particulars. A semicircular motion of the hand from horizon to horizon marks a day; the head reclined on the hand, a night; the finger pointed to space in the sky on either side of the zenith, the hour in the day; fingers astride and galloping signify riding, another motion walking rapidly or slowly; the palm of the hand passed smoothly down the face and body describes one of the fair sex; one finger straightly pointed means a true speech; two fingers forked means a snake-tongue, or a lie; a fore-finger raised to the ear means, “I have heard,” or “I approve;” the back of the hand on the ear, “I did not hear,” or “I believe;” the hand laid flat on the lips and then raised, means a prayer or an oath. And this sign-language served as a basis or a guide for such symbolic or hieroglyphic writing as the Indians had.

When General Custer was in retirement for a season at Fort Leavenworth, he made a study of the sign-language and became a great proficient in it, so as at times afterward to dispense with an interpreter. Professor J. W. Powell, under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institute, has for several years been engaged on the most systematic attempt and method that have as yet been devised for the study of Indian languages, in their affinities and variances of

¹ Tempest, iii. 3.

vocabulary and construction. He has sent forth an elaborate syllabus, with blanks and directions for filling them, to guide the inquiries of intelligent residents among the Indians, hoping to receive a very comprehensive body of returns. Colonel Mallory, U. S. A., is an adept in the sign-language, and has made valuable contributions upon it.

The human need and craving for fun, jollity, and amusement found their gratification among the aborigines in means and expressions in full consistency with their nature and condition. True, we should not look for a prevailing mirthfulness and hilarity among such a race of savages as occupied this continent. It is said that young camels are the only animals that never frisk, sport, or gambol in the spring of their existence; and the fact is referred to as a forecast of the sombreness of their cheerless service as soon as they are able to bear a burden and to tread the dry desert. So we associate with our Indians in their native state apathy, reserve, gloom, and sullenness of temper inconsistent with mirthfulness, abandon, and any spring of joy in fun and revelry. There is much that warrants this general view; for even the sports of the Indians, as we shall see, have a grimness and severity of aspect and method in full keeping with their prevailing characteristics. But there are exceptional individuals, occasions, and manifestations. Even without any concert of a company among them for a set purpose of play or revelry, there is an impulse in them for any easy and ready method for relieving the monotony or the seriousness of their experience. When only two or a small group of them are resting in their trampings or lounging indolently about their lodges, they will chaff and banter each other for anything that can be turned to ridicule, though seldom to the extent of provoking resentment. The Indians are much addicted to practical joking, ready to play off a funny or an annoying trick on each other, raising a roar and boisterous response for its success. There is large opportunity for this in the

freedom of wild life, the exposure of the person, the liability to mishaps and accidents, and especially when any weaknesses like cowardice or boastfulness, or a vaunting of exploits—which is one of the indulgences most habitual to an Indian—enables a companion to turn the laugh upon him.

Only the slightest reference possible is to be made to a subject which, if presented in the details for which our Indian literature affords such abundant materials, would turn the eyes of most readers from the page before them. One of the most painful and repulsive characteristics of savage life, in its debasing influences,—contrasting most sharply with all the resources for employing time and thought, and adding softening and refining charms to society under civilization,—is the free license for impurity and measureless immorality. The obscenity of the savages is unchecked in its revolting and disgusting exhibitions. Sensuality seeks no covert. If the Indian languages are wholly destitute, as we are told, of words of profanity and blasphemy, there is no lack of terms in them, as neither is there of signs, symbols, and acts in open day, for the foulest display of indecency and beastliness.

The Indians are universally persistent and greedy gamblers. This one vice, at least, they did not learn from the whites. It was native among them in its practice, and they throw into it an earnestness and a passion rarely manifested so intensely and widely among white men. For the most part, gaming is confined to the males; but squaws are fond of catching a sly hour and place for it when the eyes of their masters are withdrawn. The squaws themselves are not infrequently the stake between the players, for there is nothing of value to the Indian which he will not put at hazard. This passion may indicate a longing for relief from the tediousness of that supine and listless indolence which the Indian indulges when not hunting or fighting. But as this utter vacancy and torpidness is also

a fond passion of his, the impulse for gaming, which overmasters it, must be something stronger and more goading. The playing-cards of the white men are greedily seized upon by such of the savages — and they are very many on the frontiers, in California and Oregon and in Washington Territory — as have caught the art of their use from seamen and miners. Nor is the Indian confined in playing with them to the distinctive games common to the white men. They serve him well through his own ingenuity within a large range for chance, though they would not probably in his own hands derive much service for calculation and skill. Doubtless he knows well how to turn them to account for “tricks that are dark.” His own methods and implements for gaming are to white men either trivial or uninteresting, though sometimes exciting. Sleight-of-hand, agility, velocity of movement, a quick eye, and supple muscles in manipulating the sticks or stones of his simple inventory serve his purpose. The working of intense excitement and passion, and the complete concentration of all his faculties in gaming show how absorbing is the occupation to himself. Feats of strength and agility, running, lifting, archery, pitching the quoit, and practising contortions, athletics, and difficult poises of the body give him a wide range for exercise with one or more companions.

Beyond these private methods for occupying idle hours or finding stimulus and excitement in the ordinary run of life, the natives fairly rival the civilized races in the number and variety of their jubilant, festive, and commemorative occasions, independently of those connected with warfare. There were and are general similarities in the occasions for merriment, games, and periodical festivals of commemoration, among the tribes all over the continent. But there are many such that are special and distinctive of single tribes or of a group of tribes. There is not much that is interesting or attractive for

relation in either class of them for us. Violent bodily exercise in almost superhuman strainings of nerve and muscle; yellings and howlings, accompanied with rattles and drums; gormandizings on their rude and miscellaneous viands, the dog-feast having the pre-eminence; running for a goal; pitching a bar; driving a ball by parties on divided sides, whose heated rivalry when they are huddled in close struggles barely keeps the distinction between play and mortal combat, and occasionally a contest similar to that of the prize-ring among the whites,—these constitute the more stirring and festive gayeties of the Indians. More calm and dignified observances there are, connected with periodical and distinctive festivals among various tribes. A happy occasion is found by some at the season when the green corn is in the milk: the sweetness and simplicity of the repast would seem to engage the gentler sentiments. There is much resemblance also to the New England Thanksgiving in the pleasant recognition of the maize harvesting, the squaws doing the ingathering; while the husking, and the “trailing” or braiding of the ears in strings by the inner husk was an amusement for both sexes and all ages. Graver still, and often with subdued manifestations, were certain lugubrious occasions of fasting and lamenting connected with commemorations of their ancestors and relatives, or the re-disposal of the remains of their dead. Though these occasions generally ended in a breaking of the fast, there were often in them true solemnity, thoughtfulness, and right sentiments. If we can separate from all these occasions the drawbacks incident to the wildness and roughness of the mode of life, the untutored tastes, the poverty of material, and the hold of tradition with its arbitrary requisitions on the minds of the savages, we shall conclude that the ends which they had in view were as nearly compassed in their festivities as are the intents of civilized people in their most elaborate materials and methods

of amusement, relaxation, or observance. Cruelty in some form was apt to intrude itself even upon the amusements of the savages. Where this was excluded, the whites who have been observers of these spectacles—even of some which are jealously reserved from the eyes of strangers—have reported them as often pleasing for their vivacity, from the evidently keen enjoyment of them, and for their grateful relief from the monotony of a grovelling life. Occasionally a gifted genius among the savages, filled with the traditions and skilfully turning to account the superstitions of his tribe, with all the spirit and imagination, though lacking the metric and rhythmic art, of the poet, would engage for hours the rapt attention of his hushed auditors, as in his generation he was made the repository, for transmission, of their legendary lore.

The preparations for the hunt and the return from it when it had been successful—with exception only of the going and the return of war-parties—were the most noisy and demonstrative occasions of Indian life. The skilled watching of the signs of the seasons, with their keen observance of the periodicity which rules in all the phenomena of Nature, and the reports of their scouts sent only in one or two directions, gave them due notice of the day when the beasts or the fowl—“who know their appointed times”—were ready to be turned to the uses of their more privileged kindred the red men. Their weapons and foot-gear were ready. The squaws were to accompany them to flay the victims and to secure the meat. The night or the day before the start, some simple observances were held to secure propitious omens. The older braves consulted the secrets of their “medicine-bags,” and the youths who were to make their first trial of early manhood were like dogs in the leash. The hunters knew where to go, how to creep in noiseless secrecy, and when to raise the shout. They had agreed whether they were to rush in free coursing upon their game, either to outrun

them or to strike a panic among them, or whether to surround them and drive them into a circle, or to some pit or precipice or snare. They did not pause a moment, where the animals were tempting in number, to secure any one of them which a hunter had struck down or severely crippled. Each hunter knew his own arrow, or, if armed with a gun, the direction of his bullet; and when the wild scrimmage was over there was no dispute or rivalry, as each selected his own spoils. Care was had, if possible, to gather enough for a gluttonous feast on their return to their lodges, and for the season's store. With the scrupulous economy before referred to, so long as the natives had not learned wastefulness from the whites, they put every fragment of the animal to some good use. More than in any other demand upon their strength or dignity, the male savages were ready, on the occasion of a return from the hunt, to share the burden of the squaws. Sometimes, if the game had led them to a considerable distance from their lodges, it was necessary to *cache*, or bury in concealment, all that they were unable to convey, returning for it at their leisure. It was only at a special season of the year that different species of game were in good flesh, and that the fleeces of the animals were in proper condition for preserving the hides or skins. The ranges of the different species of game—the buffalo, the moose, the caribou, the mountain sheep, the elk, the otter—were sometimes limited. The bear, the deer, the beaver, and several smaller creatures were widely distributed. The more dependent any tribe was upon hunting, rather than upon other food, the more wild were its habits and the more robust its physique.

But life among these men of the woods and streams had its dark side,—dismal and appalling in its dreads and sufferings. Not to these untutored men, women, and children, more than to the civilized, was existence relieved from real or from imaginary and artificial woes. The In-

dians, through the whole continent and under all variety of circumstances, were and are the victims of enfeebling and distressing superstitions. These are associated with the most serious and the most trifling incidents of their lives. They find dark omens and forebodings not only in events, but even in their own random thoughts. Dreams have a deeper, a more serious, a more potent influence over them than do any occurrences and experiences of the noon-day light. They brood for hours of keen and anxious musing over the interpretation of any vision of a night, — its counsel, command, or warning to them. It is in their dreams that their own guiding or guardian spirit comes to them. His own revered and familiar fetich, or especial companion for life, comes to each of the youth passing on to manhood, in some special dream connected with his period of retirement and fasting, as he is in training for a brave. It may come through the shape of some animal or bird, which henceforth is the cherished confidant of the rest of his life.

Among the mysterious treasures of the "medicine-bag" is some article, meaningless to all but the owner, which is identified with this dream messenger. The course of action of an Indian in some of the most important of his voluntary proceedings is often decided by some direction believed to have been made to him in a dream. If forced by companionship or necessity to do anything against which his superstitious musings have warned him, he complies with a faintness of heart which unmans him far more than does a faltering courage in the thick of carnage. A pleasant dream will irradiate his breast and his features for long days afterwards. He cheerfully complies with any acts of self-denial to which he is prompted through this medium. A pleasant story is told of a chief of the Five Nations in warm friendship with Sir William Johnson, British agent among those tribes. Seeing once the portly officer arrayed in a splendid scarlet uniform, with chapeau

and feather and epaulets and gold lace just received from England, the chief suggestively assured him soon after that he had dreamed a dream. On being questioned as to its purport, he candidly said that he had dreamed that Sir William was to make him a present of a similar array. Of course the politic officer fulfilled the dream. After a proper lapse of time Sir William also communicated a dream of his own, to the effect that the chief would present him with a large stretch of valuable land. The chief at once conferred the gift, quietly remarking that the white man "dreamed too hard for the Indian."

The significance which the superstition of the Indian gives as omens to signs in heaven among the stars and clouds, or to aspects or incidents or objects which haply attract his notice around him, will either quicken him to joy or burden him with terror. The boldest warrior will wake with shudders from a profound sleep, and nothing will bend his will to a course of which he has thus been instructed to beware. His own mind in fear or hope gives an ill or a propitious significance to things which have in themselves no suggestion of either character. The dream of a brave whose character or counsel carries weight with it will often decide the issue of peace or war for a tribe. As superstition, like most forms of folly and error, predominates with shadows and fears over all brighter fancies which it brings to the mind, so the Indian's reliance upon his visionary experiences tends to a prevailing melancholy. The traditions of his tribe, also, were inwrought with some superstitions which on occasions turned a bright or a dark counsel in emergencies, and served to inspirit or to depress them in projected enterprises.

The Jesuit missionaries among the Indians soon learned that some of the most embarrassing conditions of their residence, and some of the most threatening dangers to which they were exposed, — thwarting their efforts at conversion, and keeping their lives in momentary perils, — came

from the superstitious suspicions of the natives. Cases of individual disease did not alarm them; but anything like an epidemic, contagious, or prevailing malady they always ascribed to an evil charm. They bent a lowering gaze upon the missionary as he went on his errands of mercy, suspecting him of communicating disease. Often did the zealous Father in cunning secrecy draw the sign of the cross on the forehead of the sick infant; for even baptism came to be dreaded under some circumstances, as if that also were a charm. The darker passions of treachery, revenge, cherished animosities, cunning watchfulness for opportunity to gratify a grudge, and the practice of dissimulation were, of course, as human proclivities, found in their full power among the men of the woods. Among the romantic views which enter into the prevailing conceptions of savage life is that which attributes to the Indian a somewhat remarkable exercise of gratitude in keeping in long remembrance any service or favor towards him, and waiting for an opportunity to repay it. Much will depend upon the sort of service or favor thus to be compensated. But there is nothing peculiar to the savage in this manifestation.

The advocates of a resolute and vigorous military policy by our Government, as alone effective in the management of our Indian tribes, would pronounce it a most serious omission from a volume covering our whole subject if it failed to draw strongly, and in full and harrowing detail, the horrors and barbarities of Indian warfare, and the characteristic qualities of the savage as above all things a born fighter, blood-thirsty, ferocious, and destitute of all human feelings in his brutal conflicts with his own race or with the whites. Perhaps as much as most readers will care to peruse has been already put before them on previous pages in reference to the inhumanity and barbarity of the savage in warfare, to his fiendish torturings of his victims, and to his frenzied passion, unslaked even by the

flesh and blood of his foe. Enough more will needs be said or recognized in pages yet to follow, in the various divisions of our subject, to keep in our minds these repulsive qualities of the Indian as a fighter. In general it is to be said, that, apart from those qualities as a torturer and a cannibal, — which are simply inherent in full barbarism, — the savage Indian, like the civilized white man, uses against an enemy, in warfare, all the arts and implements — the guile, the ambush, the stratagem, the surprise, the deceit, the weapons, and the flames — which he can put to his service. Lacking the steel sword, knife, and bayonet, the pistol, firelock, and cannon, the armor, the horse, and the bloodhound, of the European, his armory was drawn from the stones, the flint-barbed arrow and spear, occasionally tipped with poison, the sharp fish-bone, the tomahawk, and the war-club. He did the best he could under the circumstances. The “calumet,” first mentioned under this Indian name by De Soto, is familiar to us as the emblem of peace when smoked and passed from hand to hand in an interview or council. This pipe was often lavishly ornamented.

There is occasion here, in connection with the relation of the other incidents and elements of savage life, to note not so much the methods as the customs of the savage tribes in preparation for and in the return from their fields of blood. The savage, in all the northern parts of our continent, was and is a born fighter. A state of warfare is his chronic condition. So far as it relieves the burden of reproach on the white man in his long and generally, but not always, prevailing conflict with the savages, — and the relief is a considerable and a serious one, — we have to emphasize the fact that the Indians have been each others' most virulent and fatal foes. They were found to be fighting each other when the white man came among them; and each and all the tribes, as one by one they have been brought into communication, had stories to tell

of previous and recent conflicts, and traditions of others running back into undated periods. It would indeed be difficult to say whether more of havoc had been wrought among the Indians in their internecine strifes than by the white man in his comprehensive warfare against them. From the formation of our own National Government its humane services have been often engaged in very embarrassing and sometimes costly efforts to repress the hostilities between various tribes. These strifes have generally been hereditary, with a long entail. The Indian's memory, reinforced by faithful transmission through the traditions of the elders, is for these matters an equivalent substitute for records. Only within quite recent years our Government came as an umpire and a pacificator into one of these hereditary feuds between the Sioux, or Dakotas, and the Chippeways, in the Northwest. Neither of the parties could date the beginning of the alienation; or, at least, each of them referred it to a different cause in its origin. The successive forts built by our Government at the junction of Western rivers and other strategic points, while mainly designed to aid its own purposes, have often served to overawe or prove a refuge for a prowling or a hounded tribe of hostiles against hostiles.

With such training for the field of conflict and blood the savages were always ready in preparation for any new scene and enterprise. They had, as well as white men, their military code, with rules and principles, their system of signals, their challenges, — except where a bold surprise was essential, — their conditions and flags of truce, their cartels, and terms of peace through reparation and tribute. We are familiar enough with the aboriginal figures of speech, the "burying" or the "lifting" the hatchet. "Laying down the hatchet" signified the temporary suspension of fighting, as in a truce. "Covering the hatchet" was condoning a cause of feud by presents. It is probably a mistake to suppose that the savages in their own tribal

warfare always sought to come upon the enemy in secret surprise: this was their method with the whites; but most frequently the savage enemy had reason to expect a blow. Generally, too, while with provocation and a reasonable hope of success a single tribe would take the war-path alone, alliances were sought for by them, especially when their foes were multiplied. There was in the latter alternative full deliberation upon strength, resources, and methods. Messengers passed between these allied tribes; the council fires were lighted; the pipe was passed from mouth to mouth; intervals of deep silence were observed, for thoughtfulness and the summoning of wise speech. There was no clamor, no interruption of a speaker, whose forest eloquence enlarged upon grievances and deepened hate, roused courage by satire upon the cowardice of the enemy or flattery of the prowess of the hearers. When the speaker closed, a single deep ejaculation was the sole comment on his words. After due pauses, as many orators as were moved to utterance were patiently heard. Those who had best proved their bravery and ardor were most closely listened to. There was no place for cowards, though words of caution and hesitancy were not discountenanced.

The scene in an Indian village the night preceding the going forth to the fray was hideous and diabolic. The painted, bedizened, and yelling fiends lashed themselves into a fury of passion, with contorted features and writhing gestures, striking their hatchets into the crimson war-post, and imitating the laments and shrieks which they intended to draw from a mastered foe. The clatter of drum and rattle is in keeping with their tuneless music. Thus with all the aspect and array of devils they prepared themselves to strike the blow. The aged and feeble, the women and children, were left in the lodges to await in dread the return of the braves; never, however, disheartening them, but following them with rallying parting cheers

of praise and promise. The "war-whoop" is a phrase which has had terrific meaning for those who have quailed before its pandemonium fury. True to their proud kinship with the animals, the braves borrow from bears, wolves, owls, and the rest those howls and yelps, those shriekings and barkings, by which to strike a panic through their victims and to paralyze their energies.

In such of the Indian towns as were strongly fortified by palisades there was often occasion for much strategy in attack and defence. We need not follow this war-party, nor rehearse its doings, but take it up again at its return to the village. Those who are there on the watch for them are informed first by scouts sent in advance of the party. The first announcements, made in gloom and wailings if the occasion calls for it, are of the disasters of the expedition, of the number and names of the slaughtered, or of those left as captives, of their own side. The women who are bereaved by these losses are allowed full indulgence in their screams and lamentings, finding in the sharpening of their grief a keenness for the savage passions which they are soon to wreak on victims, if any such come in as captives.

When the full war-party comes in, if it has been even but moderately successful, all these laments must yield to boastful shouts of elated triumph. The warriors rehearse their exploits, with mimicry of their own actions and those of the enemy. The scalp-locks are swung in the air, the bloody weapons are brandished, and the scenes connected with those of the night preceding the start on the war-path are re-enacted. If there are prisoners, their fate is direful. Occasionally the privilege is granted to any one of the tribe, man or woman, who has been bereaved of a relative, to claim that one or more may be spared for adoption in place of the deceased; and, according to circumstances, the rescued captive may become a hard-tasked slave, or be received in full friendship as a member of the

tribe. According to circumstances, too, he will henceforward be on the watch for an opportunity to escape, or, becoming reconciled to his lot, will make the best of it. The methods of torment are graduated by processes leading on through intensified trials of endurance and sensibility to a result which, while stilling the tide of life, shall dismiss the spirit in a quiver of agony. The victims of this barbarity are usually first subjected to the running of the gantlet between two defined goals, the women and the children lining the way, inflicting blows, with bitter taunts.

It is when, under the insults, the lashings, the kicks, and maulings of this preliminary ordeal, and in the fiercer agonies of the stake, the brave can maintain his calm and serenity of countenance, with exalted spirit, taunting his tormentors because their devices are so weak and harmless, boasting of the number of them whom he has treated in the same way, and raising his death-song above their yellings,—it is then that they reward him with their admiration. This may prompt a generous enemy—not in pity perhaps, but in responsive nobleness of spirit—to deal the final blow of deliverance. The coward, who shrinks and weeps, and pleads for mercy, only raises the scorn of his tormentors, and leads them to prolong and multiply the ingenuities of cruelty.

This sketch of the war-customs of the savages conforms more particularly to the periods preceding their intercourse with the Europeans, and to those after the races were brought into their earlier strifes. Among the Western and Northern tribes these war-usages have continued substantially unchanged to our own times; but slight modifications have come into them within this century. There have been occasions in very recent conflicts between the whites and the Indians, when, under the goadings of some deep-felt sense of wrong and perfidy in their treatment, all the most furious passions of the savages

seem to have been kindled into an intensified rage and desperation. Military officers now in service, and frontiersmen on our border lines, testify that the war-spirit, with all its attendant savage characteristics, has not been mollified or subdued in some of the tribes, but has rather been exasperated by the experience of the white man's potency, and by the dark forebodings of destiny for the red race. The slaughterings which we call massacres, when wrought by the Indians, have been as hideous and as comprehensive in their fury within the lifetime of the present generation as were any on the records of the past. Our military men have found their savage foes as quick in stratagem and as artful in their devices as if they had been learning in their own school something equivalent to the modern civilized advance in the science of soldiery. Our campaigners against a body of hostiles, when seeking to conceal their motions and trackings, have learned to look keenly towards all the surrounding hill-tops to discover any of the "smoke-signals," made from moist grass and leaves with a smouldering fire, by which the ingenious foe, hidden in their retreats, make known to their separate watch-parties the direction and the numbers of their jealously observed white pursuers. The frontier settler, telling his experiences of the prowling Indian thief, incendiary, and murderer, will not admit that the savage has been either awed or humanized by feeling the power or influence of the white man. The ingenuity of the Indian is taxed in arraying himself in war-paint, especially as he has no mirror to aid him. Very few of our natives seem to have practised tattooing, except of some small totem-figure on a limb. Le Moyne, in his illustrations, represents the Florida Indians as elaborately and even artistically tattooed over the whole body, except the face.

The first fire-arms that came into the hands of our savages, giving them the aid of the white man's imple-

ments for warfare, were those which the Dutch on the Hudson, about the year 1613 and subsequently, bartered with the Iroquois or the Mohawks for peltry. This was most grievously complained of afterwards by the French in Canada and the English on the Atlantic seaboard as an act of real treachery, for the sake of gain, against the common security of all European colonists. The French and the English protested against it, and vainly sought by prohibitions and enactments to prevent any further traffic of the sort. The mischief was done. The savage now felt himself to be on an equality with the white man, of whose artificial thunder and lightning he no longer stood in superstitious awe. Not again were the savages to quail before the report and the deadly missile, as they did on that first campaign of the French, when Champlain, near the lake to which he gave his name, fired his arquebuse with fatal effect. The Indian's eye and aim with the rifle have heightened his skill and prowess as a fighter. As we shall note further on, upon the plea that as game has become scarcer and more timid the bow and arrow have lost their use, the Indians on the reservations and under treaty and pensions with our Government, some of whom are of worse than dubious loyalty, have been freely supplied with the best revolvers, rifles, and fixed metallic ammunition. Fierce have been the protests from our soldiers and frontiersmen, that the instruments of their annoyance and destruction come from our national armories.

There has always been a general tendency among the Europeans here to overestimate the presence, method, and influence of anything to be properly called government in the internal administration of Indian tribes. The nearest approach to what we regard as organization, representation and joint fellowship among the Indians is presented to us in what is known as "The Iroquois League," which has had an imaginative delineation in the exquisite poem of

“Hiawatha,” and proximately a truthful historical description by the late Lewis H. Morgan,—an adopted member of the tribe, and familiar from early years with its rich traditions. There seems to have been more of system and method in the confederated League of the Tribes composing the union, than there was of like organization in each of its component parts.

In the several independent or even affiliated Indian tribes with which the Europeans came into contact from the first colonization, the latter assumed that there was a tolerably well-arranged method in each of them for the administration of affairs of peace and war by a chief and his council, who had an almost arbitrary authority; that he received tribute, which was equivalent to a system of taxation; and that the proceeds constituted a sort of common treasury to be drawn upon for public uses. One of the grievances alleged by King Philip and other sachems when, under the influence of the Apostle Eliot, many of the Indians had been gathered into villages of their own that they might be instructed and trained, was that they ceased to pay the tribute which they had previously rendered to their chiefs. There may, therefore, have been instances, more or less defined, in which such usages prevailed among the tribes. But it is safe to say that they were by no means general, still less indicative of a universal custom of Indian government. There was no occasion for endowing a chief, or for furnishing him a salary. The probability is that there has been more of organized and of administrative order in several of the tribes since the coming of the whites than there was before, and that modifications and adaptations of original Indian usages, or a recourse to some wholly new ones, have necessarily followed upon intimacy of relations with the strangers. When the whites wished to make a treaty with a tribe, to obtain a grant of land, or to execute any other like covenant, they would naturally call for such persons among them as had authority, ex-

ecutive and decisive, for acting for the tribe. These the whites called kings, chieftains, sachems, councillors, while the commonalty were called subjects. The facts certainly soon came to conform to this view of the whites; but it is doubtful whether such had previously been the state of things. Especially is it doubtful whether the members of a tribe considered themselves as subjects of their chief, in our sense of the word. Our term "citizens" would more properly apply to them. They spoke of themselves as *the people* of a tribe. We shall have again to refer to this point in connection with the matter of the cession of lands.

There was a wide variety as to headship and methods of organization among the scattered tribes of the aborigines on this continent. We find frequent instances in which headship was divided into two distinct functions, there being a chief for affairs of war and another for civil administration, — a fighter and an orator. The "powwows," priests, or medicine-men had functions in the government. Sometimes the hereditary headship ran in the male, sometimes in the female line, and occasionally it ran off into collateral branches. The holding of a headship, if its possessor was of marked ability, gave him a large range to assert authority, and assured to him full liberty and acquiescence in its exercise. The ablest Indians with whom the whites have had the most serious relations, in peace or war, have been without exception chiefs of their tribes. There have been but few of these great men, born sovereigns and patriots, compared with the vastly larger number of the ordinary and petty sachems who have held their places. Often, too, the character and qualities of the so-called subjects would influence the functions and authority of a chief, as well as indicate what sort of a man he had need to be.

Under the term "Belts," Europeans name the wrought and ornamented strips of skin or cloth in use by the natives, made by themselves, and employed to signify or ratify covenants, pledges, and treaties in their councils upon the

more serious affairs, among their own tribes or with the whites. As first known to the whites through the Indians near the coast, these "Belts," called "Wampum," were often used as currency and ornaments. There they were made of little fragments of sea-shells; in the interior, of other hard and glittering fragments,—glass, beads, etc. The laying them down or passing them from hand to hand marks emphatic points in an address, or impresses its close. The intent is that these belts shall be preserved and identified with the occasion and pledge in giving and receiving them. The nomadic and inconstant habits of the natives do not favor this preservation. But in some instances they have been cherished and handed down through careful transmission in a tribe, and acquire sacred associations.

The Indians over our whole northern continent, at least, are indebted to the Europeans for the addition to their own natural resources of what is now the most valuable of their possessions,—a compensation for much which they have lost, and a facility admirably adapted to their use in perfect keeping with their own wild life. This is the horse. Whatever support may be assured for the theory that the horse was at any time indigenous on either section of this continent, or whether, as has been asserted, its bones have been found among fossils, it is certain that the present stock of the animals is from the increase from foreign importations,—first and chiefly by the Spaniards through Florida and California. How marvellous has been the change which time and circumstances have wrought since the simple natives of our islands and isthmus quailed in panic dread and awe at the first sight of those frightful monsters, with their steel-clad and death-dealing riders, till now when the useful and almost intelligent beast has become the Indian's plaything in sportive pastime, and his indispensable resource in the chase and in his skirmishes with the white man! The rifle and the horse have spanned the chasm between the two races in most of the occasions on which they now confront

each other. The "pony," as the animal is now affectionately named by the owner, is the chief object in an Indian's inventory of his private possessions. It is the standard estimate of value for the purchase-price in marriage of the daughter of a brave by the young buck who wishes to enter into the bonds of wedlock; and the more ponies the buck possesses, the more of such helpmeets can he gather at the same time in his lodge. And when he wishes the privilege of divorce, he can always salve the wounded sensibilities of a father-in-law by giving him some of the same sort of currency which obtained for him the bride who has become an incumbrance: the father will always take her back if she is well mounted and has relays,—only the animals become his, not hers. The pride of the Indian all over our central and western regions now rests upon his ponies (their number not infrequently running into the hundreds), their training for the chase of beasts, or men, and their fleetness in flight. Symmetry of form, grace of movement, quality of blood, are not generally to any extent objects of critical concern to their owners. They are seldom groomed, though often petted; they are rough and shaggy in appearance, and untrimmed. The breed, as modified from progenitors under a different clime and usage though not wholly unlike forms of service, has adapted itself to new conditions of food, exposure, riders, and treatment. Wholly in contrast with the sleek and glossy Arab courser, the Indian pony, who never knows stable, and but seldom shelter, conforms himself patiently and as by consent of Nature to these changed terms of his experience. Corralled in companies by night, or singly fettered or tied to tree or stake, with a range for browsing, according as security or apprehension from all furtive prowlers might dictate to the owner, the pony finds his chance for resting and for eating at the same time. His food, as well as that of his master, is always contingent, often meagre, and sometimes lacking for days together. On favored expanses of the prairie

he is at times better fed than is his rider. In his straits he will paw away the deep snows that cover rich or scant herbage, or relieve his pangs by branches of the cottonwood, or other juiceless forage. His training was that which should adapt him to the special requirements of his master. No circus ring shows us more facile or daring equestrians than are common, indeed universal, among the savages. Their accomplishments are marvellous. To overcome the pony's reluctance to draw into too close proximity with the wounded buffalo, and when by his front or side to help the pony to avoid the short horns propelled by muscles of gigantic pressure, is a matter of understanding between him and his master. The pony also easily acquires a conformity of his movements and attitudes to help the purposes of his rider in throwing the lasso. A brave will cling by one arm or leg to the neck or back of the animal, suspending his head and body out of reach by his enemy, and catch his chance to take aim and fire his rifle.

Not the least of the acquired accomplishments of the Indian in equestrianism is that of plying every artifice of cunning and skill, of crawling in the covert, and watching his chance for stealing the horses of his neighbor on the frontiers, or of his enemy in camp. This is one of the highest on the catalogue of the virtues of the Indian. Success in horse-stealing is equal in merit to courage in battle. The Indian in boasting his feats gives a high place to the tale of his equestrian spoils. If after having made a successful raid for such booty he is followed up by the rifled owner, he stands wholly unabashed before the claimant, and seems rather to expect a compliment than a rebuke, appearing outraged at the suggestion of reprisals. The Indians have added horse-racing, in which they are fiery and boisterous adepts, to their own native games; and they love to have white men for spectators. The last resource of the famishing Indian, as indeed it has been of many parties of hunters and explorers among the whites, buried in winter

snows or on desert plains, is to commit the pony to the kettle, or to tear his raw flesh. In this extremity, however, the beast like his owner is but a bony skeleton.

Nothing answering to our ideas of instruction or even of training was recognized among the Indians for each generation of the young. All the teaching they received was by the approved method of example; only the example was of a sort merely to reproduce without advance or improvement all the characteristic degradation of the same barbarism which had been perpetuated for an unknown lapse of time. The words home, school, pupilage, discipline, morality, decency, find no place in any of the multiplied Indian vocabularies. The catalogue of qualities which we call virtues did not enter even among the idealities of the savage. With scarce an exception in his favor, all who as intimates and observers have best known the Indians report them as fraudulent, insincere, skilled in all the arts of guile and artifice, with habits filthier and more shameless than those of beasts. Such being the most marked traits of the elders among them, and in the lack of any aim or purpose to improve upon themselves in their children, the utmost we could expect of fathers is that they would be simply indifferent to their papposes, until, growing up to maturity, the girls were about to be salable as wives, and the boys were to put themselves into training for warriors. A common mode of paternal discipline for an offending youth was to throw water upon him by sprinkling or dashing. Indians, however, are often very fond of their children, and excessively indulgent in the liberty allowed them.

The Indian youth — who had been repressed as an infant, left alone for long hours strapped on his birch or bark cradle leaning against tree or wigwam, and not given to crying, because he learned very early that there was no use in crying — was trusted as a child to growth and self-development. He was inured to cold, hunger, and pain; to rough dealings on the ground, in the air, and in the

water. He had been nursed by his mother for three, four, or even more years, because of the lack of other infantile nutriment. As soon as he was free for the use of his limbs, for the training of his senses, and for the gaining and exercise of physical strength, his prospective range and method of life, with the conditions under which it was to be passed, decided what he was to learn and practise. Upon the females, as soon as they could take their earliest lessons in it, was impressed the consciousness of what their full share was to be in what we now call "women's right to labor." Their lords and masters never questioned that right, or interfered with it, except to see that it was fully exercised in doing all the work, the easy and the hard alike; for the male Indian would not do a stroke of either. The Indian women were not prolific; their families were generally small. Their happy and indulgent hours were found in their groupings together on the grass or around the fire, with their work in their hands and their tongues busy and free. The boys could gambol, play ball or other games, and practise with their bows and fish-hooks. The girls were equally free until reaching their teens, and in some tribes never came under any discipline of withdrawal or restraint till they became wives. The earnest and laborious efforts which have been made most effectively, in quite recent years, for the school education of young Indians, have profited by a lesson of experience. Trials were made among them of schools after the usage of the whites, the children being gathered before their teachers at the school hours, and then left to return to their parents' lodges. No advance was made by this method, either in the intellectual training or the elevation of the pupils. Recourse is now had to boarding-schools, in which the children are withdrawn from all the influences of their wild life, and are taught decorum, cleanliness, and self-respect, with the alphabet and primer. This is one of the hopeful methods of dealing with our Indian problem.

CHAPTER IV.

INDIAN TENURE OF LAND AS VIEWED BY EUROPEAN INVADERS AND COLONISTS.

WE are in the habit of speaking of our sweep of territory on this continent as our "national domain." Its area, excluding Alaska, is estimated at a little more than three million square miles, or 1,936,956,160 acres. We may form a comparative view of this extent by reminding ourselves that the acreage of England and Wales together is 37,531,722. Adding the areas of Ireland and Scotland, we have an acreage for the United Kingdom of 76,842,965, or less than one twenty-fifth part of the territory governed by the United States on this continent. But Great Britain on the main and on the American islands has the control of territory exceeding our own by some sixty-two million acres.

By the last census we have a population rising fifty millions. Of these, about forty-three millions are whites, more than six millions have negro blood, and there are less than three hundred thousand Indians, sixty or seventy thousand of whom are regarded as tamed and civilized, while a hundred thousand more are somewhat advanced in that process, being clothed, according with the ways of the whites, with some of our implements and resources. Less than fifty thousand of the natives are now regarded as violently hostile; though many more of them, partially subdued and brought to terms, are restless, subject to outbreaks, and require constant and watchful restraint and oversight. All

of the natives may be said — through pensions, supplies, or gratuities — to share in the favors of our Government, or, as one may view the matter, in compensation for the losses and wrongs suffered by them from the whites.

It is computed that some fifteen hundred thousand square miles of our territory are settled by a thriving population on homesteads, pursuing peacefully all the occupations of industry and thrift. Nearly fifty million acres have been given by the Government as largesses to railroads, for their services in advancing surveys and opening the country. Other tracts of territory have been deeded for educational and agricultural institutions, and as bounties or pensions to soldiers. There are estimated to be about two billions of acres of public lands, more or less perfectly surveyed and explored, in possession of the Government.

Our Government, representing a people that has well-nigh dispossessed and displaced the original occupants of our present domain, is for the present time under covenants, with various terms and conditions, to hold some one hundred and thirty patches of this territory, as reservations, for the sole ownership and use of native tribes. About one hundred and fifty-six millions of acres, or two hundred and forty-three thousand square miles, are thus covenanted.

I have just used the limitation, *for the present time*, with a reason. Many of those treaty covenants embrace the solemn phrase "for ever," as extending the term for which they were to be binding. But experience has shown that that phrase is practically inapplicable, and has to be qualified, reduced, and taken as limitable; just as, in the discussions of theologians and scripturists, the same phrase applied to the duration of future retributive punishment is argued by many to mean less than endlessness in the lapse of time. An examination of a digest of all the treaty covenants made by the Government with Indian tribes during its century of existence, will show very many revisions and annulments of them, from necessity, emer-

gency, or the alleged stress of circumstances. Sometimes these have been made with the full consent and approbation of the tribes concerned in them; sometimes they have been compelled to assent to them against their wills, more or less compensatory substitutes being made to them. We shall have soon to meet and deal with the question, whether the occasions, reasons, and terms under which the Government entered into these covenants with Indian tribes, with the intent or promise to secure to them perpetual possession, committed it virtually and in the court of honor to an acknowledgment of the previous absolute ownership of even the whole territory. In other words, have the Indians received their reservations as of right, and in confession of our trespass in dispossessing them during all previous years, since the first European colonization of the regions over which they had roamed; or has the Government been dealing with them in the character of chance interlopers, having no certified rights, while for reasons of humanity it might well have granted to them indulgences and favors?

Having given in the previous statistics the number of thousands of square miles of our territory occupied by the homes and fields of thrifty industry, we are tempted, in passing, to contrast the tenure by which these possessions are now held with that — such as we shall find it to be — of the aboriginal occupants of the soil as they roamed over it, or as the dictation and authority of our Government have defined that tenure of the whole, or over some of its parts.

The homes, fields, forests, mill-streams, and mining tracts of the whites holding our subdued territory, or even regions still in the depths of the unreclaimed wilderness, are secured to them by a system of deeds, carefully drawn with bounds and measurements, with indications of previous ownership, and the terms of transfer and possession. These deeds, legally attested, are matters of registry in a series

of offices provided for them, with other provisions for their testamentary or non-testamentary disposal. Excepting always the guardianship of human life, none of the possessions of civilized men are more jealously watched over and secured than is real estate. The whole powers of a gradation of courts are engaged — even without charge to individuals concerned, because having to do with a common public interest — to guard these landed rights of ownership. There certainly is a fundamental difference between this tenure of land as held by civilized men, and that of nomadic roamers or transient squatters over portions of wilderness territory. Precisely what that difference of tenure is, we are to try to define. But it is well for us to anticipate the inquiry by presenting to ourselves in full contrast the claims, usages, and acquired rights of those who by settlement and toil improve the surface of the earth, and those who only skim it.

Another preliminary and comprehensive question now presents itself. As in the last resort we all look to our General Government for protection and security in our titles to land, as to other forms of property, we assume that the fee of the whole territory vests in that Government. How did the Government acquire the right and power to hold this territory, parcelled out to individuals, or secured by it in large spaces to Indians? In answer to this question — postponing the notice of what had previous to our Revolutionary war transpired in the relations, peaceful or warlike, with the aboriginal tribes — we have to say, in general, that our Government holds part of the territory by cession in the treaty with Great Britain closing our national struggle. Portions of the territory have been since added by purchase from the French and Spaniards, and by conquest, annexation, and compensation in our relations with Mexico. But primarily our rights, such as they are, accrue from our victory over Great Britain. That power claimed at least such a portion of our continent as at the period

of the war had been explored and occupied by the whites, by right of discovery and possession; by victory over the French, and the cession through them by treaty of all their claims upon regions explored and held by them; and by conquest of additional portions in wars with the savages. We acceded to whatever territorial rights Great Britain had acquired, and impliedly to some that it had claimed, and would have asserted and vindicated had its dominance continued. If Great Britain had cause of grievance in being compelled to yield this territory, much more (as we shall see) had France to complain of the previous dispossession of it by that conquering power. Only in the later period of the colonization of the country, and when the times of rough and hard beginnings had been passed and rewarding success achieved, did Great Britain in its patronizing or protecting functions of government concern itself with its nominal subjects on this continent; and then it came in not so much for their benefit as from jealousy and hostility to France. France, on the other hand, had from the first reachings forth of its enterprise and its costly outlays over our seas and bays, our lakes and rivers, and the capacities of trade and commerce here, engaged the power and patronage of its monarchs and prime ministers, its nobles and its armies, to secure and improve an inheritance on this broad continent. But when it yielded to British arms in a conflict substantially lasting through a century and a half, our Government succeeded to such benefits and to such controversies and quarrels of the temporary dominion as were left here below our present boundary-line. If Francis of France, for the benefit of his royal successors, had been provided for, as he thought he should have been, by a clause in Adam's will disposing of this continent, those successors would have been in no wise benefited by it.

Whatever compunctions may be felt by any among us as to our method of dispossessing our aborigines, none such

are entertained about any advantage or property obtained in our victory over Great Britain. We rest without a single throb of conscience in the fullest enjoyment of them. Indeed, we are ready to put the most indulgent construction upon, and to strain to the fullest vindication which candor and justice will allow, the sort and right of tenure which Great Britain had enjoyed to the territory which we conquered from her. Our Government is not responsible for trespass against the natural rights of the aborigines which Britain committed in following what it would call a law of Nature, after discovery. A striking illustration is found of the views of our Government on this matter in the course pursued by General St. Clair, when he went, in 1788, as governor of the Northwest Territory, to Fort Harmar,—Marietta,—at the confluence of the Muskingum and the Ohio, to enter into treaties with savages north and west of the latter river. When the savages complained that the whites were not willing to regard the river as a boundary, St. Clair flatly told them, that, as they had been allies of our British enemies in the war, they must meet as the consequence of defeat the loss of their lands.

It is time for us now to turn to the aboriginal tribes, to inquire what had been and were their territorial rights before and while they were being ground in the mill by rival European nationalities, all intruders.

What were the right and tenure by which the red men, on the first coming of Europeans as colonists to this continent, are to be understood as holding the soil, either in localities by their several tribes, or as a race in possession of the whole territory? Of course we put out of sight all those terms—instruments, covenants, and constitutions—in use among nations, states, and municipalities under civilization, to define their bounds and mark their jurisdiction. No state-paper offices, no registries of deeds, no treaty sanctions even, have place in this question; and only such ele-

ments of the common law as pertain to the simple rights of humanity can come into the argument.

It has been assumed that on the first occasion of contact between the red man and the white man on each portion of this continent, as successively entered upon by colonists, the Indians then and there in occupancy—after their mode of use—had the full right of ownership, as if indigenous or lawful inheritors. Following the localities on the seaboard and the interior then occupied by tribes of the savages, we might be tempted to identify them with such spots, and, assigning each tract to each party, might infer a long and secure occupancy, known and certified, so as to cover a complete title. But such a conclusion on our part would be wide of the mark.

The right of any one tribe—or, as often loosely named, any one nation—of the savages to any particular region of territory here over which they roamed, or where they planted their cabins or cultivated their maize, was simply the right of present occupancy and possession. We can hardly, in any case known to us, say that it was a right of inheritance even, much less of continuity through generations of this or that same stock identified with a particular locality. We draw upon our fancies somewhat, if not in excess, when we speak of the ancestral forests, lakes, streams, and mountains passing by inheritance through the generations of a tribe. They were an Ishmaelitish race. The fact of possession was more often found through conquest than through inheritance. We have positive historical knowledge, in a large number and in a wide variety of cases, of the transient occupancy of one or another region by those whom the white men found upon it. The aborigines were in a chronic state of civil war. The war-path for them alternated with the hunting-path, though both paths often were on the same route. Their wars were for conquest, for revenge, for self-defence, and not infrequently ended only in the extermination of one party,

the sparse remnant left being adopted into the tribe of the conquerors. Such had been the state of things before the coming of the whites, and it has so continued to our own times.

It was not till more than a century after the whites had formed permanent settlements on the Atlantic and the Canadian borders of this continent that they knew anything positively about the extent and manner of its occupancy by native tribes in the interior. The natural inference, in the absence of knowledge, was that the interior was occupied very much as were the borders,—by the same sort of sparse and roaming tribes, each claiming the spaces and regions over which they hunted, or where they reared their lodges and planted their maize; so that in effect the rights of savagery, such as they were, covered substantially our whole present domain. This inference, too, was a part of the assumption that there were many millions of natives spread over the continent. Actual exploration, positive knowledge, and better-grounded inferences have greatly modified the views assumed when these vast realms were all shadowed by the mystery of the unknown. Those supposed millions in our native forests have been reduced by well-informed inquirers to only three, and again to only one million, and even to a much diminished estimate. The better we have become informed about the numbers and the conditions of life of existing savage tribes, the more unreasonable seems to us a large estimate of the numbers of their predecessors.

The fancy that our vast interior spaces, with their lakes and river-courses, their valleys, plains, and meadows, were all parcelled out and occupied, after their fashion, by our native tribes, has yielded to assured facts of proved inconsistency with it. Tribes vanquished near the seaboard and on our lake-shores were always able to find a refuge in unoccupied territory. The whole of Kentucky, when the white pioneers explored it, was tenantless, unclaimed,

crossed only as it might have been by war-parties on their raids beyond its bounds. Enormous reaches of Upper Canada, and large parts of the present States bordering on the south of the great lakes, had no human tenants; one might roam in them for weeks and find no trace of man. It has been intelligently affirmed that just before our Revolutionary War the number of Indian warriors between the ocean and the Mississippi, and between Lake Superior and the Ohio, did not exceed ten thousand. If the theories drawn from the examination of the Western earth-mounds have good reasons to support them, an unmeasured length of time had passed since their disuse and desertion. However populous the regions around them may once have been, they had long been lonely and tenantless. These theories, in connection with others of the archæologists, trace successive conquests from north to south and from south to north, sweeping over these midland territories, causing them at last to be turned to solitudes. Epidemic diseases also may have ravaged over those long reaches of the interior, and nearly or entirely depopulated them. Never in a single case within the last century, when white men have first come to the knowledge of remote tribes, have they been found to be very numerous. As successively the tribes have moved back from our frontiers into farther spaces, they have, till quite recent years, always found sufficient wild territory for their own habits, where they could go undisturbed; or, if meeting with any already roaming there, found them to be so few that there was no crowding. The traditions of many tribes also preserve relations of voluntary migrations made by them, independently of any catastrophes of war, and merely for bettering their condition. The abundance of the game in former centuries, when compared with its rapidly increasing scarcity in recent years, would indicate that it was not of old drawn upon for any vast number of consumers. In the lack, therefore, of the more positive knowledge which is out of our reach, there

are reasonable grounds for the belief, that, when the Europeans arrived, there were no vast multitudes of natives here, and that they could not have appropriated the whole continent.

The statement may be strongly emphasized, that, from the first entrance of the white man on this continent, the condition in which the natives were found, and the relations in which they stood to each other furnished every facility for their conquest and dispossession of the soil, and indeed even solicited and tempted the new comers to assume over them the tyranny of superiors. In discussing under the broadest terms the responsibility of the Europeans, coming hither either as conquerors or as peaceful settlers, for their treatment of the red men, the statement just made opens many important suggestions which are to be candidly considered. It may be affirmed in very positive terms, that if the natives had been in a state of peace, of union and harmony among themselves, and had with one purpose fronted the early European adventurers, giving them no aid and comfort, and resisting their first feeble, forlorn, and impoverished encroachments, both conquest and colonization on this soil would have been long deferred, and when finally accomplished would have been accompanied by very different circumstances, conditions, and results. Europeans, conquerors and colonists, of each nationality,—Spanish, French, Dutch, and English,—found their opportunity and their facility in the intestine strifes and the savage hostilities of the natives. The new comers in every case were able to find, and at once availed themselves of, Indian alliances against Indians. Cortes in Mexico and Pizarro in Peru would inevitably have been cut off, starved, and disabled in their schemes but for the fortuity of circumstances which gave them strong native alliances with rival chieftains, with rebels, or with the whole or portions of tribes smarting under the wild or tyrannical sway of their native despots. To each single

Spaniard in the sparse ranks of each crew of the invaders, one or even many hundred of the Indians were to be found acting as guides, purveyors, or actual and vigorous combatants. The rival caciques of Peru, as well as Montezuma and his heirs, found that the intruding white man was constituting himself an umpire in their intestine quarrels. When the French were seeking their first foothold in Canada they happened to fall among the Hurons, who were ready to be their friends against hostile neighbors across the lakes who had already humbled them. In the early abortive attempts of French colonization in Florida,—those of the Huguenots under Ribault and Laudonnière, in 1562 and 1564,—it proved that there were several rival confederacies of native tribes on that peninsula. They had been at bitter feud, and engaged in deadly strife with each other for a hold on the soil, previous to the arrival of the French. With three of these warring and jealous bands the commanders came into intercourse. At a critical stage in his enterprise Ribault saved his company from the threatening violence of the tribe on whose soil he was about erecting a fort, by agreeing upon an alliance with its chief in his projected raid upon his nearest enemy. The commander entered upon the covenant, but was perfidious to it, and made friends with the other tribes so far as to serve his own temporary ends. The first French missionaries in Acadia found the Souriquois, or Miemaks, in fierce warfare with the Esquimaux, paddling by sea thirty or forty miles to attack them. The rapidity with which the process, well-nigh exterminating, of Indians against Indians, went on may be inferred from a statement made by the heroic Father Brebeuf. While he was living among the Hurons, he estimated their numbers, perhaps excessively, at thirty thousand, distributed in twenty villages, besides a dozen numerous sedentary tribes speaking their language. All these had been well-nigh exterminated at the close of the seventeenth century by the fiercer Iroquois,

the remnant being barely sufficient to compose a small mission at Lorette.

The pacific policy of William Penn, in his fair purchase of land and his honest covenant with the Indians, stands accredited in our popular histories and traditions with all the distinctive qualities of justice and humanity which can fairly be claimed for it. Perhaps a keen scrutiny, instituted by severer tests, of historical authorities might reduce the special and exceptional dignity and rectitude of the Quaker purchase. But it is to the point to recognize the very important fact, that the Delaware Indians, with whom Penn made his treaty, were then a vanquished and humbled remnant of several tribes, which had previously been under the harrows of the ferocious Iroquois of New York. The conquerors of the Delawares exacted tribute from them, and stigmatized them as *women*. Under these circumstances the white man's friendship was worth its easy cost. Nevertheless, the exceptionally pacific spirit and equitable dealing which characterized the first relations of Penn's proprietary government did not secure his colonists under the administration of his grandson, Governor John Penn, from a full share in the hostilities of the Indians in the French and English wars preceding and following the Revolution. In their dire emergency the Quakers were obliged to abandon their peace policy.

In connection with the aggression of the whites, it is natural to lay stress on the fact that there were repeated instances in the case of the earliest colonists from each of the European nationalities, when the foreign adventurers, rovers, and settlers were so weak and helpless, so reduced to absolute starvation, that had it not been for the pity and aid of the natives, as well as for the fact of their being at bitter feud among themselves, there would not have been a survivor left of them. Had the natives, with or without concert, and with a prescience of what was to be their fate from the intruders, availed themselves of their opportunity, the miser-

able plight of the white men would have made their ruin easy. But in most of these cases of the extremity of the whites they owed their safety and relief as much to the animosities of warring tribes as to the pity and kindness of the red men. Though the Spaniards by their atrocities had roused against themselves the dread and fiercest hate of their wretched victims, they were several times generously and piteously fed by them when they had neither money to purchase nor arms to wrest supplies. When the arrogant company of French Protestants under Ribault, in 1562, in the St. John River in Florida, had been reduced to starvation by their idleness and recklessness, the Indians, who despised their frivolity as much as they hated the haughty ferocity of the Spaniards, came to their relief. A friendly chief built and filled for them a store-house of supplies in their fort, and when on the night following a fire destroyed it with all its contents, rebuilt and filled it again. And when the desperate Frenchmen resolved to seek their way back to France, the savages helped them to build and rig a vessel. But instead of manifesting simple gratitude under such circumstances, the invaders were always on the watch to foment discords among the natives, that they might profit by engaging, if possible, a stronger tribe, or the stronger faction of a tribe, on their side.

There was a very broad distinction in the course pursued by the permanent English colonists, when their turn came, from that which was taken up by the Spaniards and the French in the earlier periods, as to any bargains or treaties about land with the natives. I cannot call to mind a single instance in which the Spaniards, recognizing any sort of vested right to territory occupied by the Indians, were at the pains even to ask leave of them for residence, much less to obtain a release of claims and a transfer of any space for their own lawful possession. The only exception to the sweep of this statement is in the case in which Columbus, after the loss of one of his vessels in his first

voyage here, obtained the consent of a cacique for constructing his fort at La Navidad for the party left by him as a colony. The Spaniards always acted complacently on their own church theory, that, as heathen territory belonged to Christians, no title-deeds were necessary to transfer its ownership.

The French, according to the purpose and method of their errand and occupancy here, seem never to have thought of the propriety of asking leave or of acquiring a title from the natives. In their steady progress of exploration and establishing trading-stations and missions along the Northern lakes and by the courses of the Western rivers, they assumed that the natives and themselves were to share in mutual advantages, and might take for granted that the new comers would be welcome. They were not bent upon establishing cleared farms and townships, like the English. They never objected, as did the English, to the unrestrained presence of the natives circulating among them, and keeping up a free intercourse. It seems never to have occurred to them to ask for the transfer to them, by covenants, of bounded tracts of land. The French took up their first permanent residence in the territory of the Algonquins and Hurons, making themselves agreeable to the natives at first by profitable trade, and soon afterwards necessary as allies against their ruthless enemies the Iroquois. These Iroquois, who were in amicable relations with the Dutch, were deadly enemies of the French, because the latter were in alliance with the Hurons. The powerful Iroquois were themselves invaders, and held by conquest the splendid region at the centre and the west of New York. They drove out the previous occupants. The strife between them and the Adirondacks of Canada continued more than half a century after the early voyages of the French in 1535.

We may make the largest allowance for the fact that the whites, in many places all over the country and in all the

years that have passed, have justified their dispossession of successive tribes by the plea that they were only spoiling spoilers. The Muscogees from the Ohio moved down into Alabama after it had been desolated by De Soto, and pursued their conquests over many enfeebled tribes. In 1822, in a talk with the missionary Compère, Big Warrior, the chief of the Creek Confederacy, boasted of their prowess in conquering, driving out, and destroying the tribes in possession before them. But the missionary silenced the boaster with this question: "If this is the way your ancestors acquired all the territory of Georgia, how can you blame the Americans now in the State for trying to take it from you?"

Just previous to the arrival of the Plymouth and Bay colonists in Massachusetts a fatal plague had devastated the local tribes. Massasoit, the sachem of the once powerful Wampanoags wasted by this scourge, had in consequence become tributary to the Narragansetts; and he was glad to lighten the yoke by entering into a solemn treaty with the Pilgrims. This first treaty of white and red men lasted also longer than any one ever made between the parties,—unbroken for fifty years. The Pilgrims thus found protection, in their first extreme feebleness, in allies jealous of a superior native tribe. And when Philip began to organize his league he became tributary to Plymouth. In their exterminating war against the Pequots the English had the Narragansetts as allies. The Mohicans, who had occupied the upper Hudson, had been driven from it by the Mohawks in 1628, and, settling again on the Connecticut, had been made tributary to the Pequots,—thus being ready for an alliance with the English.

It must be admitted that the Europeans of every nationality, even when not fomenting discord, were all too ready to avail themselves of the rivalries, the hostilities, and the internecine struggles of the native tribes, and to turn them to their own account. Doubtless, too, the Europeans pri-

marily opened some of these quarrels, raising jealousies and trying to persuade the Indians that the new comers would be better friends and more useful to them than they could be to each other. When in Philip's war the noble Canonchet, a sachem of the Narragansetts and Philip's chief captain, was taken prisoner, he was offered his life on condition of the submission of his tribe. Refusing the condition he was sentenced to be shot. The English sought to insure the future fidelity of their allied tribes against any vengeful feeling for his execution by making them, after a sort, parties to it. So the subjugated Pequots were made to shoot him; the Mohicans to cut off his head and quarter him; the Niantics to burn his body; and then his head was sent to the English commissioners at Hartford as "a token of love." And when the time for it came, the Indians were always ready to make alliances with rival and warring colonists, to the sacrifice of their own common interests. Even on the Island of Nantucket, on the first coming of the whites, there were two Indian tribes at feud; and Philip claimed tribute there.

Yet had it been the fact that each and every tribe of Indians found in occupancy here had secured its tract of territory by conquest from some other tribe, at any previous interval of time near or remote, and that the Europeans were aware of it, this fact alone could not in the view of the latter have proved that the possessors had no rightful tenure on such soil. Rights obtained by conquest were recognized in what we call the code of natural law. The ancestors of all the Europeans who dispossessed our aborigines had, to a greater or less extent, acceded to the lands held by them in the same way of conquest. Never in any case have the whites on this continent undertaken to drive off any tribe in transient occupancy of a particular region for the purpose of restoring it to those who formerly held it. It has been always for their own possession and use that Europeans have induced or compelled the natives to yield

their successive resting places, and to move on. So that though the whites have on all occasions made the most of the plea that they only spoiled spoilers, it is plain that this alone would not have been relied upon as justifying them in disputing the sufficiency of the aboriginal tenure of territory. Looking beyond this, therefore, we find that there were two other grounds of defence and of privilege assumed by the Europeans: first, some shape of the assumption that the heathenism of the Indians impaired their natural rights; and second, that they made no such use and improvement of the soil as to secure a title to it.

The tenure of land among the ancient and some modern migratory hordes of the Eastern World was similarly loose and undefined with that of our aborigines. When the Israelites wished to justify their conquest of Canaan, they said that they were only reclaiming an old ancestral possession, of which in the absence of written title-deeds there were three expressive tokens, — the altar on the hill of Bethel, the well of Jacob, and the family sepulchre in the field of Machpelah.

It would be irrelevant to quote here, and to institute an application of, the principles advanced in the treatises of Maine and other recent publicists on the conditions regulating, or rather allowing, the occupancy and use of wild land by wild men, as they simply follow the law of Nature, personal liberty, and impulses of their own, in roaming or resting here or there. The principles of natural law may suggest the theories which are to be drawn from or applied to the kind of tenure to territory thus claimed or held. But the theories, after all, have to be constructed from the facts in any instance of large application. In the case of our own aborigines we have as signal and significant a one as could be proposed for a precedent. All the conditions which could ever present themselves together for raising all the terms of the question as to the natural and acquired rights of barbarians found in temporary occupancy of wild

territory, were necessarily met here ; and the way in which the whites viewed claims founded on those assumed rights, presents the other side of the problem. As we have already seen, some of the Europeans—the Spaniards—utterly despised such rights, never giving the least heed or deference to them ; others of the Europeans—the French—did not find it necessary for their purposes to bring them under controversy or discussion. Either of these two courses might be pronounced as consistent as they were convenient, in averting all complications of argument or arbitration. But the English colonists, as we shall see, did not follow the example either of the Spaniards or the French. They adopted views and pursued courses distinctively their own as to the recognition of and dealing with the assumed rights of the savages on this wild territory. Their way of dealing with the matter, if not their opinions about it, was not consistent, but vacillating and variable, adjusting itself to circumstances. And this inconsistent course, adopted from the first by the English, has run down through our whole history, and is really at the root of the worst perplexities and embarrassments entailed upon our Government in its dealings with the Indians. The inconsistency was in admitting certain natural rights of the natives without defining them, and then trifling with them by a vacillating policy.

The claim of the disciples of the Roman Church was, as we have seen, absolute in this matter ; and, practically, the course pursued by the Protestants—though they would have pleaded that they were driven to it by stress of circumstances in their self-defence—at first proceeded upon the assumption of the same claim, though it was soon modified. When Francis I. of France had reminded himself that, if Adam had made a will, a portion of the New World which the Pope had given over in a lump to the monarchs of Spain and Portugal would have fallen to him, he determined to act on the reasonable supposition and to

claim his share in the spoils of the heathen, and sent Verrazano, in 1524, to pick up the leavings. Verrazano made three voyages, and planted the arms of France from the Mississippi to the St. Lawrence. Though the bull of Pope Paul III. had pronounced the natives here to be *real men*, not monkeys, — “*utpote veros homines*,” — Francis, in his Commission, declared them to be “savages living without the knowledge of God and without the use of reason.” His successor, Henry IV., wrote: “We have undertaken, with the help of God, — the Author, Distributor, and Protector of all kingdoms and states, — to guide, instruct, and convert to Christianity and the belief of our holy faith the inhabitants of that country, who are barbarians, atheists, devoid of religion,” etc. So the Marquis De la Roche was appointed viceroy here in 1598; but he brought over for this work of conversion only fifty felons from the prisons, and no clergymen.

A similar commission was given in 1601 to M. Chauvin, who was ordered to spread the Catholic faith over North America. But he was a Calvinist. He collected peltry, in which he did a profitable business, and left the missionary work unattempted. In all the subsequent enterprises of the French for colonization and empire here, according to the patronage under which each of them was pursued, there was an alternation of preponderance given to secular or sacred objects to be advanced. As in all worldly interests, according to the Scripture text never challenged, “Money answereth all things,” the support of mission work depended upon thrift in trade. Though the traffickers in brandy and peltry were often brought into collision with the priests, the parties which both of them represented were considered as equally essential to the success of each successive enterprise; so that, as we have said, it was not thought necessary to ask leave of residence or grant of territory. Whether the French monarch conferred his vast gift of geometrically bounded spaces and

reaches of dominion, of island or continent, on individuals or companies, he never gave a thought to extinguishing an Indian title, or perplexing himself with the tenure by which the aborigines held the regions given away so lavishly by him.¹

When on the expansion of our population by pioneer emigration from Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Kentucky, the Americans came into hostile relations with the old French posts beyond the Ohio, they assumed that, having conquered the French and the English, they might take possession of any territory previously held by them. The British from Canada, and such of them as still lingered holding the lake and river posts, under the chagrin of their defeat endeavored to instigate many Indian tribes into a conspiracy against the inflowing emigrants. They also prompted the Indians to affirm that the English had never received any deeds or titles to the disputed lands. These controversies were more or less satisfactorily disposed of by new treaties, beginning with that of Fort Harmar. But when the emigration reached the farther French posts, the plea was that the French had never really owned any territory there, but had set up their trading-houses and missions merely by allowance, — neither receiving nor asking formal covenants to do so, — and thus had never acquired a permanent title to the soil.

The theory under which Europeans came and took possession of parts of this continent, and have been led by the development of circumstances to claim the whole of it, was in their view a very simple one. So far as regarded any rival questions among themselves, the right of occupancy was admitted to be founded upon discovery, confirmed by actual entry upon any defined portion of the territory. This was the political element of the right. But as regards the

¹ I have a note of a quotation from Lamartine, though I have misplaced the reference to it, in these words: "Le globe est la propriété de l'homme; le nouveau continent, l'Amerique, est la propriété de l'Europe."

moral right, involving a dispossession of human beings then occupying the soil, a full justification was found in a more or less emphasized assertion of a divine prerogative of Christians over and against all heathendom. Very rarely, and always ineffectually, was this sweeping claim challenged or discredited. Roger Williams, from the first and always a radical champion of the natural rights of all men, struck at what he regarded as the fundamental falsehood involved in this claim when he denied the right of a Christian sovereign to give a patent to the territory of the natives on the ground of their being heathens. He wrote in his "Key," etc., that it was "a sinful opinion amongst many, that Christians have right to heathen lands." Williams's fellow Rhode Islander, Coddington, wrote from Newport to Massachusetts, in 1640, a letter from his companions, in which, as Winthrop says, the Rhode Islanders "declared their dislike of such as would have the Indians rooted out as being of the cursed race of Ham; and their desire of our mutual accord in seeking to gain them by justice and kindness, and withal to watch over them to prevent any danger by them."

The Friends, or early Quakers, also stood for the natural rights of the savages. In Penn's interview—as he was about leaving England—with Charles II., the King asked him what would prevent his getting into the savages' war-kettle, as a savory meal for them. Penn replied: "Their own inner light. Moreover, as I intend equitably to buy their lands, I shall not be molested." "Buy their lands!" said the amazed monarch; "why, is not the whole land mine?" "No, your Majesty," answered Penn. "We have no right to their lands; they are the original occupants of the soil." "What! have I not the right of discovery?" asked Charles. "Well," said Penn, "just suppose that a canoe full of savages should by some accident discover Great Britain: would you vacate or sell?" Yet Charles's great predecessor, William the Conqueror, when he

stepped on the English shore, said he "took seisin of the land."

If the Indians could have been parties to the argument and discussions as to their natural rights compared with those of European sovereigns whose mariners discovered the continent, they might have suggested that if their possession of the continent, though only as roamers over it, did not assure their ownership, certainly the mere skirting of its ocean-shores by a crew of foreign sailors did not confer a better title.

But these exceptional pleas for the native rights of the savages, as human beings, in the soil which they occupied, were but feeble in view of the prejudgment of the case in favor of the prerogative of Christians over heathen.

The claim as to the reduction of the native tribes to the state of subjects of the monarch to whom the settlers among them owed allegiance seems to have been very distinctly and warmly contested by King Philip, in the contentions between him and the authorities of Plymouth and Massachusetts. Practically, these authorities acted as if they acceded, as by commission or otherwise, to the functions of the crown over the Indians. Even the natives may have appreciated a difference between being subjects of the King of England and being subjects of his subjects. It was especially aggravating to the haughty sachem Philip and his fellows to be summoned as culprit subjects to the colony courts; nor was their irritation relieved at being told that these courts were representing a foreign crown. The chiefs also complained that their own people were thus drawn from their former allegiance to themselves as sachems. They said the whites had no right to intrude themselves between them and their people, or to interfere with their jurisdiction in their forest domains; nor had the whites, unless their intervention was asked by both parties, any justification for intermeddling between Indians and Indians. The whites had sentenced and hung one of Philip's Indians

for killing another of them: Philip insisted that in this case the administration of justice should have been left to him. When Philip once proposed an arbitration on the difficulties, which had become aggravated, between him and his white neighbors, doubting their impartiality, he urged that the Governor of New York and an Indian king should be the umpires. He was willing to take his place and hold his rank with those who held the highest authority as representing the English crown; but he could not be made to understand or to approve the process by which he who had been obeyed as a sovereign over his own people, previous to the coming of the white men, was reduced before a petty colonial magistrate into the condition of one of his own subjects before himself. To the Europeans, however, there was a logical consequence in this reduction of Indian chieftains to the state of subjects of their monarchs, following from the extension of foreign sovereignty over the territory, whether or not the whites had gone through the form of purchasing title. And when afterwards some of the native chiefs were proud of calling a foreign monarch their Great Father, others preferred to regard him as a brother potentate.

This cool assumption on the part of the European adventurers, discoverers, and colonists here was adopted as an axiom to the inference that their respective monarchs acceded to territorial rights to the soil. It was that the Indian tribes among whom they planted themselves became fellow-subjects of their own foreign sovereigns, and thenceforward owed them allegiance. The Spaniards at once acted on this assumption, and put in force everything that followed from it. When the great circumnavigator, Sir Francis Drake, entered the harbor of San Francisco and explored it,—not knowing that the Spaniards had preceded him,—he took possession for the crown of England, and called the country “New Albion.” The natives were quiet and friendly. They wore feather head-dresses, somewhat

after the fashion of a crown. One of the chiefs giving Drake this "emblem of royalty," he interpreted the act as an abdication of sovereignty in favor of Queen Elizabeth.

In some cases there was a degree of formality in the methods by which the European intruders sought to make intelligible to the natives the fact—whether admitted by them or denied—that they were henceforward subjects of monarchs across the salt sea.

It must have mystified the aborigines, till use had emptied the phrase of meaning, to be told that the king of Spain, of France, or of England was their Great Father. A pretty fair test for measuring the relative manliness and native spirit of different forest chieftains might be found in the attitude in which they placed themselves, secretly or avowedly, towards the sentence announcing to them their bounden duty of subjection, allegiance, and loyalty to a foreign superior. Some chieftains, with their tribes, allowed it to pass unchallenged, especially when it assured to them the desired material aid of their European guests in their own internecine strifes. Others made no open remonstrance, content that silence should conceal their disdain at the assumption. Some, however, there were who from the first doubted the grounds of it, and as they gradually came to understand what the assertion of their subject state signified, and what it carried with it, stoutly and resolutely repudiated the claim. This was emphatically the case with each of the successive Indian chieftains known in our history as the master-minds among ordinary savages, who sought to combine their tribes for rooting out the white man. Philip, Pontiac, and Tecumseh were the patriots of their race.

Instead of attempting to indicate in any precise terms the view which Europeans, in anticipation and at their first coming, took of the rights of tenancy and occupancy of the savages on this continent, let us come to the conception which we wish to reach, by stating the actual result,

either of theory or practice, in the disposal of the whole question by the whites. We can afterwards acquaint ourselves with any terms or bargains by which the English alone of all the colonists, with a slight exception for the Dutch and the Swedes, appear to have qualified their general assumption that the Indians had no territorial rights whatever. In treating in later pages upon the subject of the cession made by Indian chiefs or tribes of portions of territory, — by private bargain, covenant, or formal treaty transfer, — we shall have occasion to note what were the Indians' views of their land tenure, and what was the valuation which they set or allowed the white man to set upon the property surrendered.

The result of the white man's view of the tenure of the natives to the soil, as we are to attempt to define it, was, — as we see it now over the larger part of this continent, and as coming generations will surely see over the remainder of it, — this, the succession of the civilized white man, or possibly the civilized Indian, to the savage red man in occupying it. This was from the first, and will be, inevitable. The nature and constitution of things, as we say, decide it. According to our preference of thought and phrase, we may assert either that fate compelled or that a wise Providence decreed it. The reasoning was as follows: If the earth and man have the relation of place and occupant to each other, then each portion of the earth and the whole of it will belong to those men whose best use of it will give them the mastery of it. If this earth is to support human life, then the extending and increasing needs of man must decide the conditions under which it shall be populated and ruled. If the magnificent resources of this continent, instead of being unused or wasted, were to be turned to the account of man's subsistence, improvement, development, and general welfare, then certainly the red man's habits and ways of life must give place to those of the white man. All our regrets and reproaches, — our

laments over the grievous wrongs inflicted upon the savages, and our reproaches upon our ancestors here or upon the continuous course of our Government in its dealings with the natives, — all these complaints and censures must attach only to the process, the way, the attendant acts and methods, by which the savages have been despoiled and the whites have come into possession. Let the statement just made be strictly limited, lest it be supposed to exaggerate a plea or to prejudice it. It urges only and simply the fair judgment, that the white man's uses of this continent rightfully succeed to and displace the red man's uses of it. This is not saying, nor necessarily implying, that the white man should displace and exterminate the red man. Quite other and far less simple and well-grounded reasoning and argument and dealing with facts and principles come in, when, from standing for the fair uses of enormous portions of the earth's territory, we pass to the treatment of those who were found in occupancy of it.

It is not strange that the general and popular judgment of the inevitableness of the result — namely, the displacement of the natives of the soil — should attach the same character of necessity and fate to the means by which the result has been brought about; and should urge that every successive step and act, however harsh or cruel or ruthless, by which the savages have been pressed or crushed or slaughtered, is to be ascribed to the stern compulsion of circumstances. Of late years at least, a far more discriminating and considerate view has been taken of the object to be realized, as involving one or another method for reaching it. The conviction is now as firmly cherished through our nation at large as it ever was by the most ruthless body of the earliest colonists, that the land must be rid of savages; even the most remote regions now occupied by them must sooner or later find in them tamed and civilized inhabitants. While this conviction holds unqualified, civilization is substituted for extermination as the

method for realizing the conviction. The last Report of the United States Commissioner for Indian Affairs (1881) is emphatic on this point. He says:—

“There is no one who has been a close observer of Indian history and the effect of contact of Indians with civilization, who is not well satisfied that one of two things must eventually take place; to wit, either civilization or extermination of the Indian. Savage and civilized life cannot live and prosper on the same ground. One of the two must die. If the Indians are to be civilized and become a happy and prosperous people, which is certainly the object and intention of our Government, they must learn our language and adopt our modes of life. We are fifty millions of people, and they are only one fourth of one million. The few must yield to the many.”

Anticipating a matter which will demand our deliberate notice farther on, the Commissioner adds, that, as we cannot expect the Indians to abandon their own and to adopt our habits of life while we carry victuals and clothes to their reservations, we must compel them to work for a subsistence as we ourselves do.

Happily for all who desire to view this momentous and profoundly interesting question with the utmost candor and intelligence, not forgetful of all humane sentiments, the question is not one that concerns merely the long or the recent past in our country. On the contrary the right, the just, the wise, the expedient, the best possible way in which the civilized whites as a people, and through their government, can and ought to deal with the original, native, and savage occupants of our territory is one of the most living and exciting and serious questions of our day. The perplexing issues on the trial of which we have had two and a half centuries of practical experience have never been settled, and are open to-day. This experience seems to have made us no wiser; it has not introduced any essentially new elements for our guidance, nor relieved the sadness and the suffering and the injustice which in-

vest the whole subject before us. Substantially the same course which the white men first pursued towards the natives, when in feeble companies of way-worn adventurers and colonists they invaded the soil, has followed on step by step, as a mighty nation, swarming to half a hundred millions, with all its increase of power and humanity, has pushed its frontiers into savage domains steadily and as resistless as the flow of its own river torrents.

To revert to the point first stated,—the right of civilized man to succeed to wild territory occupied by savages,—deferring for the present the subject of the treatment of its occupants. We admit the right of human beings on occupying wild territory to exterminate all noxious vermin and wild beasts, to cut down forests, to dam streams, and to do everything else on and with the soil to make it secure and habitable. An arresting scruple comes in when this right is inferred to include or to justify the allowance that a more civilized or powerful body of newcomers may trample upon, drive off, or subjugate an inferior race occupying the territory. Now practically, with a fair, frank avowal, we may as well make short work of all ingenious pleadings and subterfuges here, and speak right out the historic fact,—the fact of to-day,—that the white man made a logical syllogism which connected his right to improve the soil with his way of treating the Indians; namely, he satisfied himself that the savages were a part of the vermin and wild beasts which he was justified in removing, and compelled to remove, before the territory would serve its use. However wide off from this view any of the early colonists here may have been, no candid person can deny that the view steadily came to fill the eye and mind of those whom we should have thought would have been most shocked by it.

From the first European occupancy of this continent up to these recent years when it has been sternly rebuked, the basis, the real root, of every assumption and justifica-

tion involved in our treatment of the Indians proceeded upon this opinion or belief,—that they are in fact simply a part of the vermin and wild beasts which must be exterminated in order that the territory may be habitable by civilized man. There are infinitely varied degrees of frankness and fulness in which that radical and sweeping opinion may be held or expressed. Those who have successively encountered the perils and massacres of frontier life (pioneers and Indian fighters) for two and a half centuries, the rank and file of our armies at Northern and Western posts, have, with very rare exceptions, boldly and sternly avowed their belief that Indians are tigers, wolves, and wild-cats, and as such in the sight of man and God must be exterminated. Those who have had most to do with the Indians are almost unanimously of that belief; and very many men who are not cruel, nor vindictive, nor careless of their words or judgments, have accorded in it. Statesmen, magistrates, and various functionaries who have had responsible and practical relations with the Indians have with milder terms, and perhaps with some qualifying or softening clauses, expressed their conviction that the savage is more a beast than a man. This opinion is now held as literally and as firmly by vast numbers among us as it ever was; subject, however, from some of them to the qualification that the savage is such a peculiar sort of a beast, that, while there is any possibility of his being domesticated, his slaughter ought to be deferred.

A few, a very few, of those who with means of a like sort for knowing the Indians have listened to this classification of them with noxious vermin have, with degrees of earnestness in their protest, remonstrated against it. The humane, the philanthropist, the Christian missionary have sternly denied the assumption, and have censured with withering denunciations the course of power or policy which has proceeded upon it in dealing with the Indians

as if they were beasts and not men. And, of course, those who thus protest and denounce do not fail to affirm that it is the white man's treatment of the Indian that has infuriated him, and made him act like a tearing beast in his torture and rage; and that in fact the white man has proved the wilder beast of the two.

If it should be regarded as worth the while of any two earnest disputants, the one standing for and the other challenging the course pursued towards the aborigines on the ground of their being noxious and pestilent nuisances on the soil, the philanthropical pleader could hardly fail to intimate a suggestion something like the following: that in every great city of Christendom there are proportionately to the population of each of them more men, women, and children in the slums and drains of vile filth, desperate incompetency, wretchedness, vice, and destitution than there are of the original native race on this continent; that we do not deny to the most degraded and worthless of these wretches some harborage and dole of pity, nor the right to live out their days in their own fashion; but that on the contrary we assume the burden and protection of them at our own cost. And why, it would be asked by the philanthropist, might not the same course pursued towards the human vermin of the wilderness be taken with these vermin of cities,—the Indian having at least the one advantage of being ventilated by the free air?

The only answer that seems to offer itself to this question is, that the comparison between the nature and the state of the Indians and the condition of the most wretched classes in cities is not wholly one of likeness, but yields a marked difference. The vilest classes in the cities are the outgrowth, the refuse, the deposit, the residuum of civilization, and so deserve the care and pity of those who enjoy its full blessings; while the Indians oppose a fresh, resisting force to the very beginnings of civilization. They are all merged and overshadowed by the disabilities and

wretchedness of pauperism, ignorance, and the lack of any spur in themselves to shake off their squalor and barbarism; there are none among them able and disposed to do for them what prosperous and merciful people do for the refuse of civilization.

If we thus find the root or starting-point of the white man's whole course towards the Indian to lie in the assumption or the belief that he was a part of the vermin of the soil whose removal or extinction was essential to secure the white man's unquestioned right to make waste territory habitable by civilized human beings, it is but fair that we examine the reasons or the evidence which the white man had for coming to that opinion. And fairness requires the statement that the white man did not begin his intercourse with the natives with that prejudged view of them. That opinion was not a theory to start from, — certainly not with the leading English colonists. Some of the earliest intercourse of the English more especially, but also of the French and Dutch comers here, with individual natives or with groups of them, was marked by considerable sympathy and generosity. And the whites acknowledged it as such; they recognized in it human kindness, — the response of fellow-feeling in the heart, which knits kinship independent of race. It must be urged that the whites did not from the beginning assume as a foregone conclusion that they would need to exterminate the red men utterly, as a condition of their own comfort and security. Indeed, in many very significant instances they seem to have sincerely felt and acknowledged that they had human obligations to fulfil towards the savages. It is true that all the Protestants of those times did believe, as on most sufficient and positive Scriptural authority, that Christians had a right to possess themselves of soil occupied by heathens, and to assume the mastery over heathens. But they by no means claimed or believed that it followed from this, as included in it, that they had a right to put

the heathen to death as they did the bears and wolves and panthers. The claim of possession and mastery over the heathen was avowedly understood to carry with it the obligation to civilize and Christianize them, to treat them with human kindness; and in this way, while standing to them as benefactors, to obtain their good-will and security from their hate and violence. A careful study of the primary sources of information concerning the earliest intercourse of the white and the red men, always excepting the Spanish invaders, will abundantly prove that the colonists felt and owned an obligation to the natives as human beings. But the continuance of that intercourse for a few years supplanted this obligation by the vermin theory.

This ruthless view of the natives as belonging to the wild beasts of the forest and the valleys, not having been assumed or acted upon from the first by the Europeans, was of subsequent adoption. Those who have ever since avowed it, maintained it, and resolutely and sternly put it into effect in exterminating warfare, and all who allow this view plausibility and acquiesce in it without protest, stand ready to vindicate it as certified by actual, positive experience. They say that it has been forced upon their convictions by an infinite variety and a vast amount of evidence, the result of actual trial. All purposes and efforts (they will plead) to treat Indians as other than vermin have been utterly thwarted and wasted. More than two centuries of more or less considerate scheming and working for the Indians, as tractable and improvable human beings, have been demonstrated to be failures.

Stress is laid upon this very significant affirmation, that those who were found living on this whole continent from the first coming of the whites down to this day, so far from showing among them any self-working process of improvement or development of manhood, have been steadily deteriorating; and that, on the whole,—leaving out of view the wrongs inflicted on the Indians by the whites, even

if wrong and outrage have predominated in that treatment — everything which the whites have sincerely, humanely, and intelligently intended for their benefit has invariably been a bane and an injury to them, — depriving them of their wild virility, and reducing them to a mean, abject, and grovelling incompetency or idiocy. Under the influences of civilization which have come the nearest to taming the Indian, it is affirmed that he always exhibits those reversionary characteristics shown by that species of dog among the Esquimaux which is a domesticated wolf: he exchanges a howl for a bark. More than this, intelligent and humane observers have remarked that the same influences and means which advance the white man in steady progress and accumulating good, have a deteriorating and pernicious effect upon the Indians. The enormous amount of materials and helps for improving the condition of the Indians which our Government, for instance, has supplied, — implements and tools for husbandry and domestic thrift, stock-cattle, goods of every kind, — have been wasted on unappreciative and swinish receivers, and have simply resulted in pauperizing them and making them more lazy. The cooking-stoves, frying-pans, and other like utensils which have been sent into the Indian country by the hundred thousand to prompt the squaws to improve their housewifery, and which careful white matrons pride themselves upon burnishing and keeping for a lifetime, rust out from filth and neglect in a few days of use.

It was then through force of the reasons following that the whites, as soon as they became acquainted with the facts about the Indians, justified themselves in taking possession of the wild territory occupied by them: —

1. They found the native tribes in a state of internecine conflict, fighting with, subduing, and exterminating each other.

2. They satisfied themselves that no one tribe on the locality on which for the time being it happened, so to

break, to be encamped, had any long-secured and enjoyed ancestral right of domain upon it; they simply occupied it from stress of circumstance or by result of conquest.

3. They failed to see any signs of improvement or betterment on the soil, marking an appropriated ownership; no dwelling, no fence, no well, no stable token of proprietorship appeared. The wild rovers or campers left no other trace of themselves than does a horde of buffaloes or a pack of wolves.

4. Very early in the civilized occupancy of this country the conviction rooted itself that there was no possibility of a joint and peaceful occupancy by the two races. No cord-on could keep them apart; one of the two, the civilized or the barbarian, must have the whole or none.

Having reached the conclusion that the right of local tribes to portions of the territory on which the white men found them was the right of actual possession or occupancy for different and unknown terms of time of regions won by conquest and liable at any time to be yielded to a stronger party, another suggestion comes up, which seems to intimate an acknowledgment by the whites of a certain legality in their tenure of the soil by the Indians. The colonists of New England from the first settlement, as individuals and in towns, did consider it a matter of duty, or security, to obtain conveyances of land-titles from the savages. By what right did a petty sachem or a tribal chief deed away and alienate the lands of his people? We can answer only that the whites put the idea of sale into his head; suggested it to him; and in so doing seem to have justified him in assuming the right, to have recognized that he had it so far as to meet their wishes, and to have accepted his scrawls and scratches of bows and tomahawks as signatures completing a quit-claim. We know that transactions of this sort were disputed as invalid within a very short time after they had been made, and that a claim was afterwards advanced by the representatives of foreign sover-

eigns that all deeds to land here made by the Indians were worthless. The theory being that all wild territory discovered by a subject vested in his monarch, the inference was drawn that all subdivisions of it, large or small, needed the royal sanction to convey possession of them. Governor Andros threw all the people of Massachusetts into a panic by asserting this doctrine. Lands held here directly from the Indians by deed to an individual, or by partitions of a township through the same sort of instruments, might even have the sanction of the General Court of the colony; but as that court had acted illegally by illegal use of the charter, and the charter had been vacated, all proceedings under it were null. The trepidation of the disfranchised and non-suited Puritan folk was intense till they stiffened themselves to assert their rights of possession by purchase and improvement. Andros's doctrine would have left their tenure of the soil hardly any firmer than was that of the Indian.

In various parts of the older settlements of the country, preserved among the towns' records or in the cabinets of individual housekeepers, are cherished deeds and instruments of conveyance from the Indians, which those who hold them regard as something more than mere curiosities. They are held in many cases as evidences of an honest, humane, and generous purpose on the part of magistrates or ancestors to recognize the natural territorial rights of those found on the soil. The efforts to attest these instruments by the generous use of English letters in unpronounceable Indian names for persons and for places, and the "armorial bearings," as La Hontan would call them, of the chiefs, certify at least to their antiquity. Many a New England farmer, showing his rough acres to a visitor, will say complacently, "Our family hold this estate from the Indians."

The next question in order is this: When an Indian executed a deed of land to white men, what rights of his

own did he consider that he yielded up or parted with, and what rights did he intend to transfer to the purchaser? We must remember that the land in all cases was without improvements, clearings, fencings, wells, or buildings. It was in its wild state of nature. Curiously enough, the actual testing of the transactions between the seller and the purchaser in such cases showed what the Indian thought he was doing when he sold his land. The moment the white man changed this wild state of nature and began to make improvements upon it, the Indian regretted and tried to retract his transfer of it. It would seem that he had intended to allow the white man a right of joint occupancy with himself, using the facilities of the region in common. The Indians had no idea of moving off to a distance and keeping away from the fields of the white men. Nor did they generally do so. They came and went as before, loitered about, occasionally got jobs of work and food, and they were always accessible. Nearly half a century after the settlement of Boston and scores of towns around it, the Apostle Eliot found Indians enough to occupy a dozen towns of their own within thirty miles.

It comes at last to this. The white man's uses of territory are always and everywhere incompatible with the red man's uses of it; and the white man's uses nullify and destroy the red man's. The issue, turned to plain fact, is this,—the red man must consent to make common and joint use of territory with the habits of the white man, or he must give way to the white man. A railroad track, a mail route, a telegraph wire passing through a wilderness, puts an interdict upon the savage and claims the territory for civilization. The comity of nations, independent and jealous in their sovereignty, does not forbid those links and fibres of transit and intercourse. The untamed ocean allows them, and the wild red hunter must not prohibit them. Here is the central turning-point of all the struggle between civilization and barbarism. King Philip began

with complaints of the white man's fences at Plymouth; the savages on our ever-shifting frontiers complain that the white man's surveying parties, engineers, and miners frighten off his game on plains and mountains,—and the white man tells the Indian that if he cannot give up his game he must go with it. All the theories about the rights of savage occupants of unimproved territory, all the principles of natural law argued out by the most accomplished publicists, yield to the pressure of practical expediency and of the action of another series of laws developed from human activity. Most of those who have had to recognize and deal with the undefined rights of the savages in the tenure of land have known nothing at all of these theories and principles of natural law. Those who have known more or less about them, and who might have been expected as statesmen or lawyers to have had some regard for them, have found them set aside by such a prevailing force of practical defiances or obstructions of them that they have quietly allowed them to fall into abeyance as inoperative. No upright and candid man, magistrate, colonist, army officer, member of Congress, or simple pioneer, would ever have stoutly denied that the Indians were entitled to some sort of a heritage here; but in all the pages referring more or less directly to the subject which have passed under my eye, I have never met with a clearly defined and positive, however limited, statement of what precisely that right was and is. Nor would such a statement even in the form of a legal definition, and allowed as a precedent, have proved practically to carry authority with it, as it would in all cases be held to be subject to the qualification that it must in no case permanently impair the prerogative of civilization over barbarism.

According to the natural features and products of different regions, competent authorities have made and warranted this estimate,—that an extent of from six thousand to fifty thousand acres (that is, more than seven square

miles) is necessary for the support in his way of life of a single Indian with his family. And the land must be and continue in a perfectly wild state—of forest, meadow, swamp, coverts, and streams—that it may shelter and subsist all the creatures which live on each other, and then serve the Indian. The axe must never be heard in those deep forest recesses; the streams must not be dammed at the peril of the fish-ways; the scent of humanity must not needlessly taint the air; the tinkle of a cow-bell is a nuisance, and the restless enterprise of the white man is a fatality.

No inapt illustration of the contrasted uses of territory by the red man and the white man may be suggested in setting against each other a countless herd of bellowing buffaloes, trampling over the succulent grasses of the prairie, and the groups of domestic cattle lowing in their fenced pastures and barn-yards. The pond which being dammed to a falling water-power grinds the food of families and saws the lumber for their dwellings, is put to better service so than when it shelters the lodges even of the industrious and wise beavers. It has been said by a United States Indian Commissioner that a single Indian requires for his support a number of square miles fully equal to the number of civilized whites that can subsist on one square mile. The latest proposition and argument looking towards the most humane and practical dealing with the Indian question, recognize the very same principle which has asserted itself in reference to the actual land-tenure of the natives. The most hopeful solution for all our difficulties is said to offer in dividing Indian lands, breaking up all tribal communes, and assigning to each person a severalty of possession to be for a term of years inalienable. At present the United States holds in Reservations some one hundred and fifty-six millions of acres for an estimated population of two hundred and sixty-two thousand Indians. Any one who pleases may cast the sum as to the number of acres which would fall to

each out of this commonalty. This baronial ownership of territory it is proposed largely to reduce. The space which is by common agreement thought both equitable and practically expedient to assign to each Indian for fixed occupancy and improvement by his own forced or voluntary labor, is one hundred and sixty acres,—leaving the remaining undivided part of each Reservation as a common stock for investment for the whole tribe. If this scheme should take effect, with assured and recorded legal guarantees, it would prove the first real recognition ever made of land-tenure for our aborigines.

This estimate that has been made of the number of acres of wild forest-space required for the range of each single savage, even if allowed to include provision for his squaw and his papposes, would not even then in all portions of the continent suffice for the maintenance of those dependent in a wasteful way upon it, for all the seasons of the year. In most parts of this country the Indians have always been compelled or prompted to lead a more or less nomadic life. When they are induced to move from one region where game has become scarce in order to seek it in another, they must be able to find such another equally wild region in reserve for them. The deer, the elk, the moose, the bear, and many small animals were their favorite food. The wolf and the cougar were oftener let alone than molested. Maize was necessarily relied upon by natives not living within the range of the buffalo, for winter's use, and as a very small store of it was easily carried on their tramps. It was at best but dry and hard though nutritious food. Parched and pounded, a handful of grains of it mixed with water, either with or without the help of further cooking, would, as we have noticed, sustain an Indian for a long journey. There is a favorite dish prepared by old-fashioned New England households, of boiled green corn and beans, known by the name of "Succotash"¹ as coming to us from the

¹ From the Narragansett language.

Indians. But we should not much relish a dish which a squaw might have cooked for us under that name; we should have missed the butter and the salt, of which the Indians knew nothing. Fish too, caught in a rude way from full waters, was a resource at some seasons.

We must remember, too, that the Indians used the fur-bearing animals only for their own moderate needs, and did not require any such number of them as would threaten their extermination. The rapacity and commercial spirit of the Europeans at once turned the skins of the bear, the deer, the beaver, the fox, the marten, the otter, and the buffalo into articles coveted for traffic. From the first colonization a wasting raid has been made upon these animals by the whites, utterly exhausting the near supply, and compelling the Indians—for their own needs and for barter sale—to move deeper and deeper into the wilderness. Much of their land which the whites have occupied had been abandoned by the Indians, and much more has been readily sold by them as useless for their purposes. Indeed soil, forest, valley, and meadow and stream, represent quite different capacities and values to the red man and the white man. And if no violent dealing were spent on the Indians, the steady wasting of their old game would put a period to their way of life.

We have also to take into account the fact, that vastly the larger portion of the Indians now on the continent, even the wildest of them, have become, in different degrees, dependent upon help and resources for subsistence furnished to them by the whites. I have already made mention of the fact, that, among the vast variety and divergency of views which have found expression concerning the whole relations between the Europeans and the Indians on our northern continent, the bold opinion has been advanced that the savages have on the whole found a balance of advantages and benefits from our intercourse with them. If there is a shadow of truth to warrant that eccentric assertion as

applicable in the past, there is reason for believing that it has much to verify it in these last years. The present generation of savages profit largely either from the remorse, or from the apprehensions, or from the generosity of our people as expressed by the Government. While in our largest cities are crowded hordes of wretched, houseless beggars, suffering all the direful miseries of penury, cold, nakedness, and disease, the Indians who are pensioners of our Government have transported to their fastnesses, by most costly modes of carriage and distribution, a marvellous variety of necessities and even of luxuries. Drove of beef on the hoof, with whole warehouses of clothing emptied of materials for their apparel, minister to prime necessities. But this is by no means all: any one who will turn over the annual report of the United States Indian Commission will find in it a most elaborate table, covering (for 1881) one hundred and sixteen closely printed pages, headed "Proposals received and Contracts awarded for Supplies for Indian Service." On reading over that table, one will have really a new and grateful impression of the resources, appliances, ingenuities, and ministrations of civilization for human life. All the varieties of food, of household and farming, mechanical and artistic, tools, of stuffs and garments, of groceries and furniture, of iron, tin, glass, and crockery ware, — fill the specifications in the tables. The eye falls with pleasure upon the hundreds of thousands of pounds of soap, and the thousands of combs, which may be put to excellent use. Cosmetics hold a large space. The variety of surgical instruments and mechanical medical devices is an amazing one. The elaborate list of drugs and medicines would seem to indicate that a system of light practice does not prevail among the natives. Tobacco is furnished most lavishly. When it is considered that ninety-nine hundredths of the articles on these tables were never used by or even known to the Indians before their intercourse with the whites; and when we also take

into view the fact that having once received them and turned them to account they ever after come to depend upon them, clamoring in impatience for the supply, — we may estimate the service of the white man to the Indian. Nor must the statement be omitted that last year, for example, the Government spent more than a million of dollars for Indians not in reservations, nor under treaty with it. These facts, anticipatory of later discussions, are noticed here as having a bearing upon the virtual right of the Indian tenure of land, as recognized by the favors extended by the whites.

It is hardly to be supposed that any humane or ideal pleader for the rights of the red man would affirm that his heritage of this whole continent, when first visited by white men, should have been regarded and respected as inalienably belonging to him for all time to come, not to be encroached upon or shared with those who could make a better use of it. It can hardly be conceived that regions of a globe of very moderate size, — seemingly the only orb in the universe available for the subsistence, expansion, and development of the human race, or at least the only one which we at present can occupy, — instead of being turned to account by millions of happy civilized beings, should be held for all time as reserved to be coursed over by a few thousand savages. Is it reasonable to maintain that one or several annual visits and roamings over a vast extent of wild territory — lakes and forests — by a group or a tribe of hunters conferred ownership, superiority, or even priority of claim to it? Why, even the pre-emptive right, the first claim to the right, of a purchaser of soil under our Government, is secured only by betterments and improvements on and below its surface. The formality and rigidity of legal exactions by which civilized peoples regulate the ownership and transmission of titles to land, is of itself an indication, and to some extent a justification, of the exceedingly slender claim of tenure which they would allow.

to the aborigines. These monarchs of all they surveyed probably never connected an idea of proprietorship on their part of the scenes over which they roamed, any more than does the fisherman on the banks or shoals of the sea, or one who daily enjoys the view of the changing aspects of the horizon or the sky, associate with it any claim of his own beyond the right of transient use. Private property among the Indians was scant and simple, confined individually to each one's apparel and implements. Nor as a tribe do the members in fellowship appear to have been prompted, at least before the coming of the whites, to bound any region between themselves and their neighbors to be especially and jealously guarded from intrusion. The recognition of an enemy in wilderness travel was simply as he belonged to a hostile tribe, not as one intruding upon domains where he had no rights. The first example of anything like jealousy in the assertion of territorial limits among the Indians themselves was when, in the rivalries of English, Dutch, and French traders for traffic with tribes at enmity with each other, the right of way over the trails and portages of one or another band was disputed. The white men would allege that forest and stream were as free for common highways as were the *feræ naturæ* found upon them by roving hunters.

Yet if we thus question the right of any one tribe or nation of the aborigines to anything of such positive force as a long-inherited claim in connection with the actual occupancy of any particular territory, we do not then dispose of the prior question as to the tenure by which human beings held this continent before the coming of the white man. The race of red men, taken as a whole, was here; and even if local tribes held one or another portion of the soil only temporarily and by conquest, liable at any time to be displaced, yet the race, as a race, certainly had some common and comprehensive right to an abiding place. This right the white man has always professed to respect.

We may even say positively that the Europeans, from the first down to the present day, have intended to respect this general right of the aborigines to exist on some portion of this continent, and to be allowed to live after their own fashion as nomads or hunters. Provision has indeed been made by a long series of enactments and measures on the part of our Government for securing these rights to the Indians. Before the enormous growth of our own population by natural increase and colonization and immigration, the problem seemed to be one very easily disposed of. It being taken for granted that there was a limitless expanse to our territory, and that one region was as suitable and acceptable as another to an Indian, provided it were wild forest-land where he could hunt and fish, there seemed to be no particular hardship in compelling the savages displaced at one point to move on farther off. It was but adding a new inducement to pursue a course which their own habits of life, when game became scarce or they were in dread of hostile neighbor-tribes, led them voluntarily to adopt, of roving to new hunting-grounds. But as soon as the seaboard was deserted by new colonists, and the frontier settlers pushed farther and farther inland, the savages who had taken refuge in successive beltings of the continent had to begin the series of removals which have continued in steadily increasing rapidity to our own times. We find at last that there is a limit to this process of pushing the savages into new Western domains. We have crowded the tribes together, and they are now, like the deer or buffalo which they used to encircle and drive into their traps and pounds, circumscribed by the white men.

There is one significant phrase used in the opening of this chapter, which we meet daily in our papers, that sums up the whole story and the whole situation. It is that by which our Government documents describe our almost boundless realm as "the public lands," or "the public domain." Yes; we have claimed—in one sense we have

got—the whole. And what of the former owners? If we look at certain Government maps we see that States and Territories are parcelled out over this magnificent realm like the squares in a vast checker-board. Among these partitions, shown in colors, we may count some hundred and thirty patches, large or small, called Reservations. Each of these marks—in homely language, which is best for it—a *scrape* into which our Government has got itself by making a bargain about it which it cannot keep, and does not mean to keep. These were certainly, in letter and form, covenants which positively recognized the territorial rights of savages; and the spirit in which they were entered into was certainly, in some cases, sincere and fair. It has been found inexpedient or impracticable to keep them. This, however, is a subject for later pages of this volume; passing reference to it comes here, as the vacillation and so-called perfidious course of policy of our Government in regard to these covenants is only another evidence of an original distrust or denial of any proprietary rights of the savages.

It was, of course, only gradually that our aboriginal people came to realize the full meaning of the struggle which they would have to maintain against the white men. At first they were wholly ignorant of the real purposes of the European colonists. The early companies of them were poor and few; they might have touched and landed here by accident, with no intention of remaining; they were often objects of pity, and needed help; then they appeared to be transient traffickers, seeking an exchange of commodities—fish and peltry—for a few implements and trinkets. These early days of the white man's weakness and poverty have been ever since referred to with pathetic pleading and reproachful remonstrance in the forest eloquence of Indian orators at councils, since we have become so strong and encroaching. Over and over again have these wild spokesmen by council fires, in making treaties

with the grasping and arrogant white men,—sometimes in taunts, sometimes in dignified appeals,—reminded their conquerors of our early days of weakness and poverty. So far as the Indian could take into his mind an idea of what to the white man is policy,—a scheme with an ultimate object in view, at first concealed, and exposing its aim or tendency only as it could be safely developed, stage by stage,—he came to the conviction that the Europeans had from the first been practising guile towards him. Coming as transient visitors in ships still at their anchorages, which might be expected to return whence they came, carrying back their companies with such freight as they might gather, the Indians found that these companies left some of their number on shore to fortify or to plant, while the vessels returned merely to bring reinforcements. All the facts involved in permanent colonization presented themselves to the Indians gradually. It must have been very long before they reached any adequate conception that the feeble beginnings of intercourse would lead on to a struggle and rivalry that would result in their close and final conflict for any heritage on their old domains. The Indians, taken together as a race, might well have such a knowledge of the boundlessness of the continent as to be well aware that there was room enough for any moderate number of the foreigners without being crowded themselves. The newcomers at first confined their residences, though not their roamings, to the sea-coast, or to the large rivers emptying into ocean bays. Here they were comparatively harmless, and seemed to be simply traffickers, not hunters, nor likely to penetrate deeply into the interior forests.

But it could not have been very long before some of the most gifted, far-sighted, and after their fashion patriotic of the forest chieftains—Powhatan and his son, and King Philip, and afterwards Pontiac, for instance—took in the aspect of the future for their race, as doomed to yield their inheritance if the white man strengthened himself on

the soil. Though we cannot suppose that the Indian tribes bordering on the whole Atlantic seaboard maintained such close communication with each other as to be well informed about what was transpiring at widely separated points on the coast at the time of most rapid colonization, yet they had some common knowledge on the subject. They found the Europeans rushing hitherward in swarms, evidently with a purpose of remaining, of taking possession of the soil, and extending their settlements. The Indians were amazed and bewildered by the spectacle. They came to think that for some reason unknown to them the people from another world were all coming hither and emptying themselves on this continent. Nor did it relieve their wonder when they found that the new comers represented rival and hostile parties like their own tribes, fighting each other, and transferring Old World quarrels to this soil.

While the natives thus came to realize the ultimate purpose of the whites, and to realize too what destiny it would involve for them, the Europeans on their part had strengthened themselves for each successive stage of conflict which the struggle would encounter. As the first objects of their enterprise, invasion, and exploration—the precious metals and peltry—were abandoned or subordinated, new aims and attractions took their place. Commerce on the high seas, the fisheries, freedom of range for those who had been cramped in the Old World, the privilege of trying theories of government and of religion denied them in Europe, and even the opportunities for obtaining abundant subsistence though at the cost of healthful toil, began in the first half century of real colonization to prepare the way for the stupendous development of the continent and for making it the harborage of emigrating Europe. If the aborigines could ever have withstood this process, or in any way modified the fate which it would inevitably involve for them, it could have been only in its very earliest stages. Even then

anything that they could have done would have required a combination among them such as, indeed, has after a sort presented itself in successive critical struggles, but for which all the needful conditions failed. The whole issue is summed up in the fact that the natives were barbarians, and as such had in the view of Europeans a very dubious tenancy on the continent.

It has been in the treaty negotiations with the Indian tribes by the United States, extending over nearly a century, that the question as to the tenure and title of the soil held by them has come to be of prime consequence. The question has never been judicially pronounced upon in any conclusive and comprehensive decision; nevertheless, it has been practically decided over and over again in the course and mode of dealing with it by our Government. In this as in all our other relations and negotiations with the red men our assumptions, our theories, and our acts have been experimental, inconstant, vacillating, and inconsistent. Our treaties have frankly and emphatically recognized some territorial rights of the natives; our action under these treaties indicates that we regard the claims of the natives as absurd, trivial, and groundless. Did we make a mistake from the start, or have we been perfidious? In our fright under Indian border-warfare, our readiness to protect our frontier settlers, to encourage our mining prospectors, and to secure a passage for our Pacific railroads, we have admitted that the Indians, as foreigners and independent proprietors, had territorial rights which we could reduce or extinguish only by a bargain, completed at once by payment or suspended on annuities. But all the while our subsequent course under our own treaties has proved that we never really believed that nomadic hordes, roaming over thousands of miles of wild land, could possibly acquire any such title to it as is alone recognized by civilized people. When an individual proprietor of land in a well-organized community has his rights to possession brought under ques-

tion or peril, he has but to invoke the aid of the law, and if need be he will have the active help of the whole community in which he lives to maintain those rights. Here, in this case, a personal interest, legal sanctions, and a support by the sympathy of neighbors and fellow-citizens, all unite to maintain the rights of each single proprietor of land. The Indian never asserted any rights strictly as a person, an individual, to a single foot of territory on this continent, not even to that on which he planted his lodge; the law of the white man has made but a faint, shadowy, and vacillating recognition of any such rights of an individual Indian. Thus, instead of the three securities and appliances which the land-owner in a civilized community enjoys, the Indian has but one; namely, such as he may find in the sympathy and helpful engagement of his tribe to vindicate a claim common to all its members. Hence the United States Government in its treaties with the natives for the cession of territory has never made the slightest recognition of any individual proprietary rights among them; it has always dealt with them as tribes, often with a very loose estimate of their numbers, — as the proprietors of some of the great Western ranches sell out their cattle as stock, in the gross, without an inventory by count. Thus the Government perpetuates the theory that there are no individual rights among the Indians; they have but the same claims to a common pasturage as a herd of cattle, or of buffalo, when they shift their range.

If so many other more immediately pressing perplexities had not come up to be met by our Government as the consequences of its loose policy in treaties with the Indians, the very searching question would have been sure to have presented itself as to the authority or right which two or three Indian chiefs, in council with officers of the Government, have to deed away an extent of territory, thus defrauding their own posterity of a heritage. The Government has thus allowed that the Indian title is sufficiently

defined to admit of being legally transferred; and the Indians have put the estimate of their rights as a race at a very low and dubious condition of tenure.

Among the various theories and opinions as to the relations between the red and the white men on the present territory of the United States, we recognized in the opening of this chapter that one which perhaps a majority of persons on hearing it stated would flout as mean and abominable, while the rest would grant that it is at best but specious and plausible. Yet it has had its advocates. This theory proceeds upon what are said to be admitted principles under the law of nations and the usages which apply to rights of conquest and accession to territory that has changed sovereigns. Spain, France, and England once claimed and substantially had possession of the whole northern part of this continent, and also claimed sovereignty over its inhabitants. We are not, it is said, to inquire too curiously about the method and process, nor even the justice and effect, of the way in which this mastery was obtained: we are to regard only the fact. Now, with the exception of those portions of the territory which we have purchased, with all the claimed rights from France and Spain, we conquered this country from Great Britain. She claimed to own the territory, and that the people on it, red and white, were her subjects. We have sprung into being upon it, a new and independent nation; and the same struggle which freed us from the mother country made us owners of the territory and masters of all the natives on it whom Great Britain regarded as a subject race. Great Britain set us an example for our own following as a nation, in claiming this incidental right of conquest. At the close of the long and savage conflict which we call the French and Indian War,—and which led to the cession of Canada and extinguished French occupation here, except in Louisiana,—Great Britain acted upon the assumption that its conquest covered that of all the Indians who had been the helpful

and effective allies of the French, and all their territory besides. It was in asserting that claim and in the attempt to take possession of such territory that England provoked one of the most ferocious and tragic of the episodes in our Indian warfare, known as the Conspiracy of Pontiac. Next, she engaged the aid of Indian allies against us in our War of Independence, making a contract with them for their services, the terms of which she violated. Great Britain appears again on the field against us, acting through her governor and agents in Canada, and such able Indian conspirators as the Mohawk chief Brant and Little Turtle. Her scheme then was, while holding the Northern and Western "posts," which she had agreed to give up to us, to prompt and aid the Indians west and north of the Ohio to the conspiracy, on the ground that the territory which she had ceded to us by treaty did not include that into which our pioneers began to rush on the conclusion of peace. The immense cost which this renewed Indian war involved to our then merely confederated government,—impoverished, and with distracted councils,—and the barbarities of slaughter and burnings and desolation which it involved for the settlers, might well have persuaded the generation of that day that the British and the Indians constituted but one common enemy for us, and that our victory included the conquest of the territory over which the direful struggle extended. At any rate, such is our title to that territory held according to the allowed principles of natural and international law.

So we close our review of the subject of the Indian tenure of land on this continent as recognized and dealt with by Europeans. There has been no harmony or consistency either of opinion or action on the subject. According to that law of honesty and economy which teaches us that the righting of a wrong, when that is even possible, involves much heavier costs than would have been requisite to avoid it, our Government both in its war policy and its

peace policy has expended sums of money which would over and over again have sufficed to extinguish the Indian title by the strictest terms of a bargain. Nor is this all: our existing obligations in trust funds, annuities, pensions, supplies, and agencies exceed in amount the original property value of what we hold through them.

CHAPTER V.

THE FRENCH AND THE INDIANS.

THE theme of this chapter has been so appropriated, indeed so richly and even exhaustively treated, by the most eminent and gifted of American writers of American history, that only the necessary recognition of it in its place in this volume could require a reference to it. Mr. Francis Parkman was favored in finding waiting for his taste and genius, for his attraction to it before reaching early manhood, and for his especial qualities for dealing with it, a rich and profoundly interesting subject for the pen of the scholar and historian. For more than thirty-five years he has given to it deep and quiet thought for apprehending its full significance; wide travel and exploration of the scenes of the great drama; the most keen, extended, and thorough research for documents and maps in print or manuscript in this country and in Europe, in public archives and in private cabinets; a skilled inquisition for any hidden and secret sources of information, and a most comprehensive range of reading and study in every field of intellectual work which would complete his mental furnishing for his subject. His pen has wrought in a style which in vigor, vivacity, richness, and marvellous adaptation to the scenery, the incidents, and the persons with which he has to deal, so engages the interest, sympathy, and understanding of his readers as to make them his companions along his way. He has a skill in woodcraft, in the science of the forest, in describing scenery and life, travel

and sojourn, in the vast wilderness, — on lake, river, and cataract, — and in the interpretation and description of Indian character, habits, and experience, which have never before left such marks in our literature of Nature and barbarism. And with equal facility he can pass from these wild scenes and men to interpret for us the passions and the intrigues, the schemes and the rivalries, of courtiers and politicians, the lofty motives of heroic and dauntless spirits who on equally unknown seas and lands could seek glory and empire for their monarch without other ambition for themselves; and also to penetrate to the deep workings of spiritual exaltation which moved the soldiers of the Company of Jesus, of gentle nurture and of scholarly training, in utter self-abnegation to bury themselves in the woods that they might circumvent the Enemy of souls in his sweeping claim for the hordes of heathenism.

The fruits of Mr. Parkman's labors appear at present — as they are happily not closed — in a series of seven volumes, distinct in subordinate titles, but comprehensive of one vast subject, dramatic and tragic in its sweep of destiny, but with brilliant, thrilling, romantic, and even light-some episodes to break its sombreness of rehearsal. The meditation and the toil, the trained judgment and the conscience which have gone into those volumes that they might be critically faithful in their narrations, just to the patrons and actors in their enterprises, and attractive and instructive to the readers, must be left to the estimate of appreciative and grateful students.

Mr. Parkman's full theme extends through just two centuries of time, and relates to historical incidents covering the whole of this northern continent between Florida and Canada. The whole region, when he takes up the story, was called, by the Spanish discoverers and claimants under monarch and pope, New Spain, or Spanish Florida. Mr. Parkman deals with the region as New France. His stint of task and purpose was to rehearse in its completeness

and in its episodes the enterprise and aim of Frenchmen—by their own private resources, the help of noble and devout patrons, men and women, and the sanction of monarchs guided by prime ministers, through patents and vast territorial grants and vice-royal privileges—to lay in the New World the foundations of a colonial empire. Mr. Parkman grasps his whole theme with a comprehensive hold of its contents necessarily exceeding that of Mr. Irving as the biographer of Columbus and his successors in the service of Spain, and in their exploring and ravaging a section of the New World. The aim of the French was a loftier and in some sense a nobler one than that of the Spaniard. It did not, in its objects or its intended or absolutely necessary methods, involve oppression or any form of injury, still less of exterminating warfare, against the natives. It might have been pursued and accomplished in the interests of peace, of profitable commerce and of trade, with a more hopeful progress in that process of Christianizing the savages which satisfied the religious standard of those who undertook it. Mr. Parkman has to present to us, in portraiture and in conspicuous achievement, high-souled men with lofty aims,—ardent, heroic, patient in all buffetings with thwarting foes and overwhelming disasters, and sinking all self-ends to secure an enviable prize for their monarch and their country; though not all of his characters exhibit these high traits, free of meannesses. He brings before us on his animated and picturesque pages a succession of mariners whose prowess and self-reliance made them dauntless over unknown seas, through fog-banks, shoals, icebergs, and rocky barriers of granite harbors; explorers who learned to thread their way through forests, rivers, lakes, and cataracts, for thousands of miles, stripped of all their wonted resources as civilized men, and cast upon their quick skill to become adepts in those of the woods; vice-roys, governors, magistrates, with conflicting commissions and bitter rivalries fomenting jealousies and discord; and

priests whose lives and experiences were a lengthening ingenuity and variation of all the elements of martyrdom for soul-service and self-abnegation.

Mr. Parkman draws for us, in deep and radical terms of contrast, as entering into the very initiatory and controlling principles respectively of the French and the English aims and methods of colonization, the ruling spirit which guided them, resulting in absolute failure and disaster for the one, and in marvellous success and prosperity for the other. The French enterprise, as represented by him, was inspired and guided by and was wholly in the interest of feudalism, monarchism, and spiritual despotism. The English enterprise found its vigorous life and animating spirit in working towards democracy, civil liberty, and soul-freedom. The French came here as soldiers, priests, and free-traders, with the range of the woods for their goods, and the natives as hunters in their service. But they wholly lacked that sturdy class — the bone and sinew of a community planting itself for new empire on virgin soil — of patient toilers on a reclaimed farm, with rights of severalty for homesteads; individuals in their efforts and success, but members of a commonwealth for mutual help and security. The king, the noble, and the priest combined to make New France a realm of reconstructed and revived feudalism. There was but a single class or caste of men and women in New England. Every one belonged to it; it included the whole; it was called The People. It did not look to a foreign monarch for commissions to office or power; it sent back no report to king or minister; asked for no foreign soldiery, no cargoes of supplies, even when in dire extremity. It rooted itself independently of patronage, and transferred to the soil the muscle by which it was afterwards held. As Mr. Parkman draws the contrast, France in the New World was all head, without a body; New England was all body, without a head.

The scope of this volume makes us concerned with but a single element in the comprehensive purpose of Mr. Parkman's brilliant and most instructive volumes. Every one of their pages, either in the character or incident which fills it, or in the graphic style or the rich and beautiful rhetoric of the writer, adds to our national literature some of the characteristic qualities to which the most discriminating criticism will assign a high encomium. In those pages men of foreign birth are naturalized to our soil and history; they become Americans because their energies, toils, and sacrifices, which might have been latent in their veins, would never in the Old World have been developed, even to the consciousness of their possessors. Champlain, Frontenac, La Salle, Marquette,—their peers, associates, and brethren,—have their baptismal records in the Old World, but their life-record is here.

I have made this reference to the results of nearly forty years of diversified and concentrated literary toil and intellectual power of the historian of New France in America, because in all his volumes the theme of this chapter of the present work is more or less distinctly recognized. I must limit my own rehearsal strictly to the relations of the French with our native tribes, in what was common or distinctive in its bearing upon their fortunes as resulting from their intercourse with Europeans.

What would have been the later and the long results of the exclusive or predominant sway of the Spanish power had it extended and rooted itself over our whole continent may be inferred from the history, the experiences, and the present condition of those portions of it which have from the first conquest remained under the crown of Spain, or have had entailed upon them Spanish influence and institutions.

The poet Cowper, in his moralizing strains, nearly a century ago, gave voice to the triumph which one of the Mexican or Peruvian chieftains in the realm of shades

might pour forth over the humbled pride of the nation which had devastated his lands and people:—

“Oh, could their ancient Incas rise again,
 How would they take up Israel's taunting strain!
 'Art thou too fallen, Iberia? Do we see
 The robber and the murderer weak as we?
 Thou, that hast wasted earth, and dared despise
 Alike the wrath and mercy of the skies,
 Thy pomp is in the grave, thy glory laid
 Low in the pits thine avarice has made.
 We come with joy from our eternal rest,
 To see the oppressor in his turn oppressed!’”¹

The stupendous and still unfinished drama of which this continent, as involving the fate of its original peoples, has afforded the vastly extended stage, with all its grandeur, richness, gloom, and sombreness of scenery and incident, conforms to the severest principles laid down for tragic art. There is unity in the plot; and its development through changing characters, with their entrances and their exits, shifting in garb and dialogue as they act their parts, leads on to what we still wait for as the event of destiny. The drama has five acts. The first, which we have rehearsed, is that of Spain and the natives of this continent. The second act brings the French on the stage, with a milder and more genial spirit and purpose, though still as the agents of much misery to the red men alike as their allies or their enemies. The third act is filled with the conflicts between the French and English,—the natives and their lands being the stake at hazard. The fourth act presents Great Britain in the war for independence or subjection with her colonies, each of the contesting parties arraying on its side hostile bands of the savages. The fifth act, still drawing out its movement, quickened in earnestness and activity rather than growing wearisome and lagging after centuries of progress, exhibits our National Government, with the legacy of struggle in its hands, charged to

¹ Cowper's "Charity."

bring the drama to its close. It is with the second act as it was in progress, and with its actors and incidents, that we now study the fortune of our aborigines under one of its developments.

The prizes which the New World opened to European enterprise and adventure proved very soon to offer temptations to all the maritime powers of the Old World. The Papal Bull which conferred the whole continent on the crown of Spain was treated as if it were a simple pleasantry, even by monarchs who avowed themselves docile and faithful subjects of his Holiness; and as soon as some of the princes and people of Europe had broken from the bonds of the old Church, any claimed prerogative of the Pope to confer rights or jurisdiction here was utterly, and as if by common consent, discredited.

So the next act in the tragic history of our aborigines opens with the events which first acquainted them with the fact that the race of pale-faces coming from across the sea were not all of one nation, subjects of the same sovereign, having common interests; but, in fierce and bloody rivalry, were transferring to this new soil jealousies and hostilities of foreign dynasties. The earliest lesson of this sort which our Southern Indians had a chance to learn, if their understandings could take it in, was that some difference in the religion of the invaders — as that of the French Huguenots and the Spanish Catholics in Florida — could add an embitterment to the raging passion of their strife:

Beginning as early as the year 1504, we find a constantly increasing number of fishermen from European ports, almost exclusively French, resorting to the banks near Newfoundland for the profitable catch of cod. There were markets for vast quantities of this product of the sea, as a cheap food for which there was a large demand for the Lenten period and the frequent Fast days of the Church, before its unity was riven by the Reformation. It is observable, too, that during the first outburst of the rage and

commotion in France, when the doctrines of Luther, or rather of Calvin, were finding their adherents, and even in the civil war of dynasty and heresy and against the League, which soon followed, the fishing trade was pursued with ever increasing vigor. There seemed to be a truce over the briny treasure, and even at the French seaports out of which sailed the cranky crafts which multiplied their venturesome voyages. The truce was first broken by piratical plunderings of the earliest cargoes of peltry. It was the familiarity with foreign seas thus acquired that prompted many of the French and English voyages of discovery and enterprises of colonization. The kings of France based their claims to transatlantic territory upon the sighting of the coast of Florida by Verrazano in 1524, and upon the voyages of Cartier to Canada ten years later. To all but the venturous mariners themselves these were easy terms for the acquisition of territorial rights over this present realm of human thrift and prosperity now called our "National Domain," in succession to its previous titles of New Spain, Spanish Florida, New France, and (to a certain extent) New England.

The Frenchman then followed the Spaniard in his voyages of pelf and conquest to the new-found world. The rude and simple minds of the bewildered savages were to be exercised with further perplexities as to the realms beyond the great sea, whose restless adventurers, with rival aims, seemed to be flocking to these wildernesses to fight out the battles which had begun in the Old World. It was in Florida, as is soon to be related, that our natives had the first occasion to know that Europe contained rival nationalities, and to have an opportunity to compare representatives of each of them. In some very important qualities, the difference of which the natives of this continent could appreciate, their first French guests proved themselves less hateful and less blasting in their presence and errand than were the Spaniards. Their chivalry was of a reduced and

varied spirit. The ruthlessness and inhumanity and grasping greed of those who came only for gold and conquest, whose rushing mail-clad and mounted warriors spread a panic terror among the natives, had prepared the red man to expect only aggravations of cruelty and outrage from each reinforcement of the invaders. Happily in some respects for our aborigines, their first European visitors, the Spaniards, exhausted upon them the possibilities of a wild and desperate fury, without one relieving element of pity or the incidental transfer to the natives of a single blessing of civilization.

But whatever of mitigation in the ferocity and cruelty of invaders the natives here might have noted in the French, as compared with their Spanish visitors, must have been of slight relief to them when they came to realize that, while they themselves and their wild domains were to be the common spoil of the mysterious adventurers, the spoil at stake would find them embroiled with the quarrels of the rivals. Matter of speculation might be found in raising the question whether it would have fared better or worse for the natives had only a single one of the European nationalities at the time maintained the exclusive right of commerce, conquest, and occupancy on the new continent. It is conceivable, though hardly probable, that if the Spaniards had for even a century been permitted to hold and improve the sole territorial right here which the bull of the Pope conferred upon their sovereign, they might even have found it for their advantage to have conciliated the natives, to have put them to some other use than slaughter or even slavery, and to have established with them relations of mutual service. It was not, however, the temper or the aim of the chivalric age of Spain to seek for any work of peaceful colonization.

The enterprises of French adventurers and colonists which brought them into contact with our natives began, with a considerable interval of time between them, on both

the southern and northern borders of our domain. We are concerned with these enterprises solely as they bear on our single subject, — the relations of Europeans with the aborigines. The story is essentially the same in all its chief incidents and colorings from whichever of the nationalities of the Old World the intruders came. We have feeble companies of sea-worn adventurers sounding their way for a harborage, bewildered by the strangeness of their experience, but wrought to fever-heats of passion for adventure or rapidly acquired wealth; we note the same kindly reception and hospitable entertainment by the amazed and awe-stricken savages; and we have to repeat the humiliating record of treacherous returns in fraud and outrage by the whites. In each and every case, too, we find the whites availing themselves of intestine feuds and hostilities among the native tribes in every locality, to form alliances setting Indian against Indian; putting themselves, often unnecessarily, into fierce antagonism with one party, and beginning the entail of the successive calamities brought on the lower by the superior race. It is well for us repeatedly to recognize the disturbed, acrimonious, and embittered relations which the Europeans found existing among the aborigines, as the fact has always been alleged as palliating the intervention of the whites as only introducing one new party to the conflict.

It seems to have been but a wanton provocation, or at least an unwise anticipation of a vengeful jealousy from the Spaniards, when, as the only nationality of the Old World, they were flushed with their pride of monopoly in the new continent, that the first French enterprise for transatlantic colonization should have led its adventurers into the very jaws of the proud pioneers of American empire. Had the French made their first attempts in the North, as they did less than a half century afterwards, it is probable that they would have spared the record of history the narration of what is, on the whole, its most blood-curdling episode on

this continent. It may well be believed that there is hardly a single square mile of now occupied territory on its once virgin soil which is not stained with the life-current of the common humanity of the red man and the white man, in their deadly strifes. If there be any such spaces where the veins of the red men have not flowed, the whites, in their own feuds and wars, have supplied the stains. Over all these busy realms of thrift have floated the wails of human agony. But the region where the concentrated and direful rage of passion and savagery waxed most fiercely is now one of the fairest and most favored in our land. There in Florida, "the Land of Flowers," whither the invalid and the feeble, the worn and the weary, from our Northern cities, flee from wintry airs and storms to seek recuperative vigor, are the scenes of the most appalling record in our history. A lavish luxuriance of verdure and of beauty has re-wreathed those scenes in peace. Prolific Nature, covering its stately forests with vines and mosses, duplicates its own growths. Rapid and lazy streams, impenetrable glades, abounding creeks and bays, oozy marshes, make the region, like many of its own animal products, as it were amphibious. There the opening enterprises of European civilization on this continent first spent and exhausted themselves in the devastation and havoc alike of scenery and of humanity. Christians were represented there, after the first sundering of their former unity, in a collision which swelled and fired all the alienations of passion and hate. The natives for the first time saw the rage and the weapons, of which up to that time they alone had been the victims, turned by the white men who had come among them from across the seas against each other's breasts, while new cursings and imprecations of scorn and malignity entered into the frenzies of the conflict.

The spirit of the reform in religion was drawing its fires over France, inflaming the madness of civil strife, glowing in the zeal of cruel bigots and in the fervent constancy of

early converts. Monarchs and courtiers were to hesitate for an interval as to the side which was to win, and therefore to be espoused. Intense and deadly was the suspended issue, which at last found its diabolical solution amid the horrors of St. Bartholomew.

The spirit of reform in Central Europe had reached Spain only to raise to white heat the rage of bigotry. The part which Spain played in the wars of the League might well give forewarning as to how she would deal with heretic trespassers on her American shores. Here, then, near the sea-coast of Florida, on the banks of its majestic river, which, running parallel with the ocean, almost severs the length of the land, was to be the battle-field between Catholics and heretics,—the natives by no means being quiet lookers-on or umpires.

Gaspar de Coligny, Admiral of France, the peer of the mightiest and noblest of the realm, was by dignity, constancy, and fervor of conviction the most signal representative of the Huguenots. Bigotry, malice, and all other spiteful passions might frown and rage against him, but they could not reach him. He prompted Charles IX. of France to give his royal sanction to a colonial enterprise of the Huguenots in America, in 1562. The English reader may best and most easily acquaint himself with the deplorable venture on the pages of Parkman's "Pioneers of France" and in the admirable biography of Jean Ribault, by Sparks. With this royal commission, and while France and Spain were at amity, Ribault first, and then Laudonnière, sought to lay a foundation of French empire in the New World. Entering what they called the River May, now the St. John, in Florida, they raised a pillar of hewn stone, inscribed with the King's arms, which was afterwards wreathed by the natives with flowers and surrounded with donative offerings, as if it had been an altar. The gushings and overflowings of sentiment, and all the wealth of admiring phrases and epi-

thets, are exhausted by the sea-tossed roamers in describing the lavish loveliness, the exceeding fertility and glory of the scene. With equal fondness and exuberance they rehearse the mild and generous behavior and munificence of the natives in their peaceful welcome, in their wild delights over their visitors, and their heaped donations of the best of their food. After building a fort, which they named Caroline, Ribault returned to France, leaving thirty colonists — as Columbus had done at La Navidad, on going back from his first voyage — to plant a permanent colony. The result of this second good intention, as had been that of its precedent, was but woful disaster. The colony was reinforced the next year by Laudonnière. The new comers, in response to the magnanimity of the chieftain of the tribe within whose bounds they had settled, had hastily entered into a pledge of amity with him, which included an alliance with him against his native enemies. It proved that he was weaker than one of his neighbor chieftains with whom he was at war. The colonists perfidiously made terms with the stronger party; and their perfidy, with their arrogance, their exactions, and their outrages against their first friends, brought them into complications of mischief. This, with a mutinous spirit among themselves, their laziness, wastefulness, and self-abandonment, crowned the fate of their enterprise. They were about abandoning it, in despair of help from France, by having recourse to a leaky craft of their own making, when temporary relief came.

A strange episode cheered these forlorn exiles when at their lowest depths in mutiny and starvation among the exasperated natives. On a fair morning in August, 1565, four vessels, one of great bulk, were sighted on the horizon. They might be a supply fleet from France; they might be a vengeful company of cutthroats from Spain. They were neither. On board the largest vessel, named "Jesus," was the commander Sir John Hawkins, of world-wide fame for

proWess, but known under another title now, as "the father of the English slave-trade." With his other three vessels, the "Solomon," the "Tiger," and the "Swallow," he had just sold at Hispaniola cargoes of slaves which he had kidnapped at Guinea. Thus England, by her ships and mariners, was represented, in character, as the third of the great European nationalities on a scene which was to open the lengthening struggle between what we call civilization and barbarism. Hawkins as a Protestant took pity on the wretched remnant of the Huguenots, relieved their immediate distresses, sold them a vessel, taking payment in cannon and stores, and courteously offered to transport them all free to France. This offer honor and scruples compelled the French commander to decline.

At length Ribault, long looked for, having been delayed by troubles in France, arrived with reinforcements and supplies. Hardly, however, had his vessels reached a harborage, when more ominous sights upon the waters of the sea revealed the arrival of the dispensers of vengeance against trespassers under the more hateful guise of heretics, to whom was due only death and damnation. Some of the Spanish vessels ran down the coast, chased by some of Ribault's, when a fierce and prolonged tempest raging on land and water dispersed and wrecked many of both fleets. The fiery and zealous Menendez, the Spanish commander, with the company of such of his followers as had reached and entered an inlet on the south, near what he soon afterwards founded as the city of St. Augustine, the oldest city in the United States, resolved on immediate vengeance. Knowing that Fort Caroline was dilapidated and weakened, he roused a body of five hundred of his quailing and reluctant followers, exhausted and famished, to make a forced march by night and day, through tempest and drenching rain, across swamps, forests, and jungles, sleepless and unfed, to surprise the heretic hive. He was guided by a renegade Frenchman and some Indians,—

being ferociously and atrociously speeded in his diabolical work. The victory was complete, unredeemed by a single relenting of human pity, but blackened by breach of faith and by every enormity of barbarity to those whom he boasted that he had given to slaughter—one hundred and forty-two in number—"not as Frenchmen, but as heretics." The prisoners, with their hands tied behind them, in groups of four, were led to the massacre and hewn down with axes. Their bodies were dismembered, transfixed on spears, and hung upon the trees.

Enough of the destined victims escaped, by well-nigh superhuman effort and endurance, to leave for history full and harrowing narratives of the appalling tragedy, made so, not by its bringing human beings to the inevitable lot, but by its circumstances and aggravations of horror. How does it shock and stagger our conscious sentiment of what is, of what belongs to, and what should be wrought by, religion to contemplate a scene like that upon a garden panorama of Nature, the pines, the palms, and the flowers dressing it and wreathing it in gorgeous beauty! And how stands the doctrine and hope of an immortal life for the animating essence of being in humanity—whether Catholic or heretic, Christian or heathen—amid such a wrack of raving passions and agonies? A few escaped, returning to France, some of them to England, to tell the tale. They had rushed from the fort under the knives, the spears, and the blunderbusses of the Spanish devils. Crawling through the woods, wading up to their arm-pits in the marshes, lacerated by thorns, tripped by vines, famished and despairing, warned off even by the Indians who feared to protect them, some of them, including Laudonnière, were finally rescued by the boats of their friends and taken on board their vessels. And what meanwhile was the meaning of the scene for the natives, who were to be blessed and saved by the gospel of the white men?

Hakluyt has given us narrations of the colony by Ribault,

who perished in the massacre, and by Laudonnière who escaped it. There is another interesting record of it. Among those who escaped was the artist of the enterprise, Le Moyne, engaged by Laudonnière in 1564 to accompany the expedition as draughtsman of sea-coast maps and scenes, and to make soundings. He spent some years after his escape in England, where he died. Here he wrote, in French, his "Brief Narration" of the occurrences of which he had been an eye-witness in Florida, and drew from memory (for in his flight he took nothing with him into the woods) many drawings of the natives, in costume, in war parties, village life, games, etc. These drawings are spirited, and give many evidences of fidelity and accuracy in representation and detail. De Bry made the acquaintance of Le Moyne in London, in 1587, and soon after, on his decease, purchased of his widow his manuscript and drawings, translating the former into Latin, and publishing it in his "Great Voyages."¹

When intelligence of this Spanish massacre reached France, though the victims of it as heretics could look for no avenging from the then all-powerful priestly party, a deep and bitter indignation was roused in the realm. More than even for its barbarous inhumanity was the stinging insult of it realized as perpetrated by the subjects of a king at amity with a brother monarch, who had at least sanctioned the Huguenot enterprise. But the French king was in the toils of the priestly and Spanish intrigues, and could not be roused to resentment. One of his chivalric subjects, untitled, and it is not positively known whether he was a Catholic or a Protestant, Dominique de Gourgues, resolved to clear the honor of the realm from the foul stain by a signal reprisal. Concealing his ultimate object, and

¹ A translation into English of the "Narration" of Le Moyne, from De Bry's Latin version, with heliotypes taken in London from the author's original drawings, was published in Boston, in 1875, at the charge of Mr. William Appleton, by James R. Osgood & Co.

wholly at his own charges, with three vessels and a bold company who knew not their errand, he obtained a commission from the king, nominally for other enterprises. After devious cruisings and adventures, he made known to his company the intent of his schemes. Appealing to them, after their silence and surprise, by the honor and glory of France, to avenge the bitter insult to its dignity, he roused their wildest enthusiasm and impatience to an unsparing wreaking of vengeance. Sailing by the scene of the massacre, where Menendez had strengthened his defences, his vessels exchanged salutes with the batteries of the suspicious foe. Making a landing fifteen leagues above the fort, he found vast numbers of the natives, under the wildest excitement, rushing and foaming in warlike array, and profusely welcoming the strangers as soon as they were known to be Frenchmen. For ruthlessly as the former Huguenot colonists had treated the natives, their behavior and deeds had been gentle compared with the incessant exasperations, outrages, and ingenuities of cruelty endured by them from the Spaniards, against whom their rage had become infuriate.

An alliance was soon formed for joint vengeance between De Gourgues and a countless horde of the painted and yelling natives. The strife was prepared for and the covenant ratified by the fierce pantomime of feast and dancing. The avenging stroke was overwhelming; victory was complete. The hero gave utterance to his scorn and disdain of the butchers, whose own deeds, after they had listened to his invectives, he proceeded to re-enact in summary and sweeping carnage. Imitating with change of terms the inscription which Menendez had raised over his Huguenot victims, De Gourgues burned into a wooden tablet this legend: "Not as to Spaniards, but as to traitors, robbers, and murderers." Menendez was then in Spain; and as it was no part of De Gourgues' design to meddle with the Spanish fort at St. Augustine, he returned in chivalric triumph to

France, to enjoy the plaudits of its nobler people, and the secret approbation of the monarch who dared not express it, while the Spanish ambassador at the court demanded the head of the hero. He lived to do splendid service for his country against the Spaniards.

Here closed till a much later period the relations between the French and the natives near our Southern bounds. We must now shift the scene to the North, where Spanish Florida was to be converted into New France. Still holding to the claim of territorial right by the discoveries of Verrazano, the French monarch became as lavish as he was inconstant and inconsistent in granting patents, seignories, and monopolies of dominion and trade to such of his subjects, glowing with zeal and love of adventure, as could make interest to secure them. These royal gifts, however, as the event proved to the discomfiture and ruin of the receivers, were held on an uncertain tenure, often forgotten, annulled, or overridden by influence and favoritism. Beginning from the years 1534-35, with the voyages of Jacques Cartier to the Gulf and up the River St. Lawrence, there was a series of tentative enterprises on the islands and in Acadia, running on to the actual foundation of Quebec, by Champlain, in 1608. After the taking of the cod and the whale on the coast had secured enormous profits, a yet more enriching traffic followed. Paris offered a steadily extending market for the peltries of the wilderness,—the beaver, the otter, the marten, the fox, the lynx, and the larger robes of the moose, the deer, the caribou, and the bear. The king and his patentees found it as difficult to secure a covenanted monopoly in this traffic as it would have been to exhaust the supply of these precious spoils spread over the vast and limitless expanse of a mighty continent. Sixty-eight years after the first voyage of Cartier, and fifteen years before the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, the noble Champlain—a hero in every nerve and muscle, a saint too in some of his lofty and generous quali-

ties—first appears upon the scenes of ocean and land in the New World. He had sailed into and skirted the shores of Massachusetts Bay, where he had seen vast numbers of the natives in 1605, thus confirming the uniform story of a destructive plague having ravaged the region and nearly exterminated the savages just previous to the coming of the English colonists. Champlain entitled his first publication (1604), "Les Sauvages." The abortive and long-baffled enterprises at Acadia at last became secondary to that of a strong and firm though at times imperilled hold of established French sway in Canada. A passing notice is here prompted of the curious fact, that, while the first collision between rival European nationalities on this continent—that between the French Huguenots and the Spaniards—took place at the scene of modern pleasure-resort in winter for a summer climate, the next encounter—that between rival claimants, Englishmen and Frenchmen—occurred in 1613 at the favorite summer-haunt, Mount Desert. Frenchman's Bay still preserves the memory of the onslaught by Captain Argall, of Virginia, upon the settlement made near by, by Saussaye, with a French commission. The latter was charged with "an invasion of British territory," made such by the sighting of the coast by Cabot. The incident was a significant prognostication of what was to follow through a century and a half of embittered civilized and savage warfare.

It does not appear that any other than amicable relations had existed between the natives in and around Acadia, and the successive French adventurers there. Some curious incidents of missionary experience in those regions will claim notice in the subsequent chapter assigned to that subject. Cartier, in his first voyage, in 1534, was most kindly and hospitably treated by the natives. He requited this kindness by kidnapping two young Indians, whom he carried to France, bringing them back to the St. Lawrence the next year to serve him as interpreters. It is

noteworthy that in every instance reported to us in which natives of any age, by fraud or voluntarily, were carried either to Spain, England, or France, none of them wished to remain abroad, but all pined for their wilderness homes. It was thought that their amazement, curiosity, and interest, engaged in foreign scenes by court pageantry and all the sights and splendors of civilization,—castles, churches, machinery,—would wean them from their rude habits and associations. But it proved quite otherwise. Exile was to them misery; and when after expatriation they returned, they were like uncaged birds or wild beasts escaped from the toils. This fact, as we shall note, has a bearing upon the question of the capacity and aptitude of the Indian for civilization.

Before Cartier returned from his second voyage up the St. Lawrence, in 1535, by a mean artifice he entrapped on board his vessel Donnacona and other chiefs, from whom he had received a hearty welcome and much food. Most of the captives died of home-sickness in France, though rich amends, it was presumed, had been made to them by the privilege of baptism. When these kidnapped chiefs were afterwards inquired for by their kinsfolk, Cartier told them that Donnacona had died, but that others of them had made high marriages in France, and lived in state like lords.

It might have seemed, as has been said, that the French colonists could have lived at peace with the natives, and indeed have found their interest in so doing, especially as their main object was not so much, or scarce at all, the clearing and occupancy of large spaces of land, but the enriching fur-trade. The example may be cited of the companies and brigades of Scotchmen and Englishmen who, in the employ of the Hudson Bay Company for nearly two centuries, carried on a vastly lucrative trade with the savages, being at perfect amity, and indeed in most cordial relations, with them. But, as we shall see, the scheme

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which Champlain had conceived from the first, or which very soon matured itself in his views, and the constraint of the circumstances amid which he found himself, immediately involved him in a warfare which, once begun, was to find no end till the dominion of France was extinguished on the continent. Champlain might at first have been fully content to have one or more tribes of Indians as friends. But he found that he could not secure this end without having more tribes as enemies, because they were the foes of his allies. He was all too readily, however, drawn into what he regarded as the compulsion of necessity for taking a side,—only, without intending it, he took the weaker side.

Champlain passed his first winter in Quebec, in 1608. It was a terrific and a seasoning experience for him and his associates. Of the twenty-eight men of the company, only eight were alive in the spring: cold, exposure, lack of comfort, enforced idleness in a rigid climate, land and water heaped in mountain piles of snow and locked in icy fetters, with the loathsome havoc of the scurvy, had so reduced them. The spring brought reinforcements to Champlain. His friends among the natives were not of his own choosing. They were Algonquins,—large remnants then of once numerous and powerful tribes, Montagnais and Hurons. The confederated, thrifty, and imperious Five Nations, or Iroquois, in central New York, were at deadly feud with them, and had annually swept and desolated their cornfields and villages with fire and slaughter. On the first year of his sojourn at Quebec Champlain became a party to this savage feud. Why did he so? He was of an almost ideal loftiness and grandeur of spirit. With a manly devoutness to consecrate his heroism he preserved a strict moral purity, inexplicable by his lax Indian hosts, which preserved him from the sensuality so freely indulged, with large opportunities, by his volatile countrymen. For twenty years he made almost annually a spring and au-

tumn transit of the seas, alternating between the court of France — where he defended, or drew friends to, his colony — and the depths of sombre wildernesses, patient under all buffetings and privations. More than any other white man he awed and won the confidence and love of the natives. He could command, threaten, and sway them; and, though with scowls and murmurs they might hesitate, they generally yielded to his mastery. He held in equal poise in his aims two great objects not inconsistent each with the other, but mutually helpful as he viewed them, — the commercial interests of New France, and the conversion to the Church of its debased, imbruted, and benighted natives. Beside these was the lure of finding a water-way to China and the East. Mr. Parkman well says of this grand visionary: "Of the pioneers of the North American forests, his name stands foremost on the list. It was he who struck the deepest and boldest strokes into the heart of their pristine barbarism."¹ Whether from the first he had matured a plan, that which guided him to the end of his career is strongly defined by Mr. Parkman as follows. It was "to influence Indian counsels, to hold the balance of power between adverse tribes, to envelop in the network of French power and diplomacy the remotest hordes of the wilderness."² At some commanding position on the line of water-transit from the vast interior to the sea, he would plant a fort that should secure the mastery for all trade and intercourse.

But here at the North, as on the Southern bounds of our present domain, the Europeans found the native tribes in deadly strife together. As soon as they were able to apprehend the facts and the traditions of these tribes, — still existing in strength, or in exhausted and subjugated remnants, — they learned that the strife, with its varying fortunes, ferocious and pitiless, had been going on for undated time. The French could but take part in it. It was not

¹ Pioneers of France, etc., p. 345.

² Ibid., p. 309.

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for them to ask as to the right or wrong in any case where moral distinctions were inapplicable, between tribes of wild heathens. They must make terms with their nearest neighbors, and hold their enemies common enemies. Over and over again did discomfitures and calamities, in dismal variety, threaten absolute failure of enterprises. But again and again fresh spirits—nerved by an iron resolve, and fired by greed, the love of adventure, fanaticism, and the restlessness of a fermenting age—renewed the venture. The retrospect of the fortunes of the red race, which has been yielding and fading before this persistent and lion-hearted endeavor, is prevailingly melancholy, as it presents imbecility and incapacity succumbing to the potency of skill and energy. But from the earlier enterprises of the white race on this continent, especially as represented by the French, we are made to know what there is in the reserved resources of human nature for endurance and buffeting, for persistency and patience of all hardships. This nature of ours is not susceptible only to the blandishments of ease and fulness of pleasure: it is furnished with its own armor for perils that have been courted, and for straits of experience which line the way to all consummate ambitions.

Mr. Parkman rightly tells us that "in one point Champlain's plan was fatally defective, since it involved the deadly enmity of a race whose character and whose power were as yet but ill understood,—the fiercest, the boldest, the most politic, and the most ambitious savages to whom the American forest has ever given birth and nurture."¹

Champlain initiated the policy which all his successors representing French dominion here felt themselves compelled to follow. With allies, some of whom wholly failed him at the time and place of concourse, and all of whom, by their turbulence, their laggardness, and incompetency of discipline, were as much a torment as a help to him, he rashly drew upon himself the rage of the Iroquois by an

¹ Pioneers of France, etc., p. 362.

invasion of their well-defended territories. Not always did his arquebuse and his armor secure him awe and a charmed immunity. He found the fortified towns of the Iroquois, with their triple rows of strong palisades, with galleries for bowsmen and water-gutters for extinguishing fires, were not to be mastered by a handful of Frenchmen and five hundred yelling Hurons. He was signally baffled and disappointed. He was severely wounded, so that he had to be borne off in a basket on the back of an Indian, and so lost his prestige with friend and foe. He was initiated in all the atrocities of torture and burning, and his remonstrances were vain as addressed to those who had no word nor any sense for humanity.

Very soon after the settlement of Dutch farmers and traders on the Hudson River, in 1614, the powerful tribes of central New York, with whom they had established amicable and very profitable relations, were furnished by them with fire-arms and ammunition, in express violation of the prohibition of the authorities of the Dutch colony. But as some of these authorities were themselves the traffickers who dealt in the forbidden weapons, the traffic was winked at. Guns and strong waters soon became the most coveted articles of trade and barter with the natives. The charmed weapon, one discharge of which, as it belched forth its flame and sped its deadly bolt, had spread such dismay and fright as to disperse an army of Iroquois warriors on Champlain's first encounter with them when he discovered the magnificent lake which bears his name, had now become familiar to the savages. It lost its terror as a part of heaven's artillery for those who could themselves wield it. They very soon became experts in its use; indeed they taught the white man how to make it more serviceable in forest warfare, by breaking up the lines of an orderly military array, and by skulking with it behind a tree or a bush, and, after its deadly aim had had effect, creeping or crawling to another ambush to reload.

When the colonists of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay, after 1620, began to go on their fishing and trucking expeditions to the coast of Maine and Acadia, they too surreptitiously sold arms to the Indians and entered into precarious covenants with them. Though the French had been at deadly feud with the Mohawks, the allies of the Dutch, they claimed the protectorate of the territory of the Eastern Indians, and alliance with them. Here, then,—between the French on the one part, and the Dutch and English on the other,—began a series of collisions in rivalry and hostility for territorial and colonial power, and rights to exclusive traffic with the natives, which, prolonged for a full century and a half, closed in 1763 by the English conquest of Canada. Several distinct periods in that sweep of time are historically designated by special names, as defining a particular war,—as, for instance, Queen Anne's War. But these were only concentrations and culminations of a never wholly intermitted hostility. Even when one or another monarch, or minister of a foreign crown, proposed that the quarrels between their subjects at home should not be transferred to these forests, the pacific privilege was not accepted. Leaving for further notice these complications between Europeans at the North, we must glance at the enterprises of the French on other parts of the continent.

Nearly a century and a half after the region had been ravaged by De Soto, the French appeared in Alabama, to open a new series of European lessons in conquest and cruelty with what remained there of the Indian race. Marquette had floated down the Mississippi to the mouth of the Arkansas in 1673, and La Salle had descended to the mouth of the river in 1682, taking possession in the name of the French king, and returning to Canada. But on his sea voyage for the purpose, three years afterwards, that noble and intrepid adventurer, baffled in his attempt to find the mouth of the river in the Gulf, disembarked

on the coast of Texas. Soon after, in his wanderings, his assassination by one of his dastard companions put a tragic close to the first French attempt to colonize Louisiana.

After the peace of Ryswick, in 1697, and in spite of the Spanish claim, Iberville — one of seven remarkable brothers, of a Canadian family — renewed the effort in Louisiana in 1699, accompanied by his brother Bienville, who was governor of the colony (and the actual founder of Louisiana) for forty years. He made a fortification in the Bay of Biloxi, on the Mississippi. The enterprise was attended by a continuous series of strifes, quarrels, fights, and disasters. His men were utterly unwilling to perform any labor of planting or tillage on the land, even when starvation threatened them as the alternative; they preferred to spend all their time and strength on their feuds, and on venturesome predatory roamings. All their supplies of every kind, including most of their food, were brought from France. Such labor and menial work as was indispensable was put upon their abounding negro slaves. The region was steadily contested between the French and the Spaniards. The actual French settlement of Louisiana was made by the French in and around Mobile, in 1718. The remnant of the friendly tribes, harassed and exhausted by the havoc wrought by their successive tormentors, came much under the influence of the missionary priests, and became merged among the Choctaws and Chickasaws. The Natchez Indians, said to have wandered from Mexico, had settled on and around the bluff on the Mississippi that bears their name. Here, in 1729, they destroyed a French garrison, with its red allies; the incident being marked in our history as one of those vengeful visitations called, distinctively, massacres,—the title being generally reserved for those not rare experiences in which the savages had the mastery. A direful slaughter attended the catastrophe, which was complete, except as some of the women and

children and negro slaves escaped its fury. So, by repetitions of the first and continuous methods of European devastation on the continent, the French enacted their history. Five years after the Natchez massacre, the French, in 1733, under Perrier, with Choctaws for allies, took vengeance for this slaughter, and broke the power of the Natchez tribe by death and devastation. Four hundred and twenty-seven of the wretched savage survivors were sent by Perrier to St. Domingo, to be sold as slaves.

Meanwhile, after the year 1726, when Louisiana began to give some signs of hope as a colony, enterprising and dauntless English traders, with pack-horses laden with goods, had begun to penetrate the wilderness from Carolina and Georgia, driving a brisk traffic with the Chickasaws. Those Chickasaws, in opposition to the Choctaws, had come into alliance with the scattered fragments of the Natchez Indians, and harried the French. The French, under Bienville, with their Choctaw allies, made a rush upon the Chickasaws in 1736, but the Chickasaws secured a bloody victory. By this time the hostile rivalry between the French and the English for trade and territory extended up from Louisiana to Ohio, Virginia, and Pennsylvania. And so through all these feuds, battles, and massacres, involving the Indians in the struggles between the representatives of three European nationalities, — the Spaniards, the French, and the English, — the natives felt the iron scourge weighing on and crushing them alike from the dealing of temporary friends and foes.

Beginning then from the first collision between the French and the English colonists here down to the English conquest of Canada, the Indians found themselves between the upper and the nether millstone, either as allies or foes of the one or the other European combatant. Nor did the hard fate by which they always suffered, whichever party temporarily prevailed, find any relief when the English sway became complete here; for as we shall have

full occasion to note, in our own colonial war with Great Britain the same crushing power of fate did not make the Indians umpires in the struggle, but simply victims. We give full credit to the natives, if not for skill, yet for ability, cunning, and ferocity, in the great art of warfare before they had known any white foes. But it seems as if they must have learned something from their training under their new enemies. They certainly did learn that they had no monopoly of that class of passions which infuriate combatants and inspire guile, treachery, and breaches of the most solemn covenants. In the Old World, in the most embittered wars between Christians, some arrests and recognitions of what stood for humanity were coming to assert themselves as promising to introduce rules for what is called civilized warfare. Such rules have never yet crossed the sea to be of service to our natives.

We pause at this point in the rehearsal of only painful and shocking deeds, to reflect upon a fact which must forcibly present itself to one who, in reviewing the strife of European nationalities on this continent, contemplates the distribution of the awards from it.

The pages of human history and fortunes on the scenes of this distracted world present to us many conclusions and results in the struggles for the greater prizes of empire which violate our highest conceptions of right, our judgment of what ought to have been. And perhaps the most signal instance of the seemingly inequitable disposal of the great issues of policy among nations is the significant fact, that France, either as empire or republic, has not now any territorial foothold on this continent; nor indeed any memorial of her old colonial enterprise and sway, save in the names borne by lakes and rivers, forts and missions, cataracts and portages, in the regions of her wilderness heroism, and in the mixture of her blood and lineage in the descendants of nearly every aboriginal tribe. The allotments of fortune, or the fatuity of destiny, or the arbitrament of treaties built upon

the issues of battles, have extinguished upon this vast continent every territorial right of the Frenchman. There is in existence a map of New France, engraved by the French king's cartographer, on which a very considerable portion of our present national domain is included under that complacent title, while the English colonies are crowded into a narrow seaboard strip. The more than complete inversion of those inscribed titles which appear on every map engraved for more than a century past, presents a theme over which we can but deeply moralize. We call up the image of the dauntless and generous-hearted Champlain, planning for an empire for his beloved France over these unmeasured ranges of lands, rivers, and inland seas. We note how in his journals and on his maps he attaches a name from his mother tongue to every natural object and phenomenon in his course, — bay, island, promontory, creek, or inlet, cascade, carrying-place, or camping-ground, level or swell of land, — and sometimes a word or phrase drawn from the quiet or the conflict of his experience for the moment. Happily many of these names are retained to secure fragments of history by their associations. We follow the weariful but ever-patient trappings of the missionary with only red companions, learning from them their own names of places, and entering them with a French *alias* in his memory or his notes. We accompany in thought those intrepid and agile *coureurs de bois*, penetrating the deepest wilds, in absences of years from their own kin and fellows. They bore with them remembrances of their village life and sports in their ever dear old home, and left many of its words and phrases as their own epitaphs or legacies. These French names and epithets keep watch only over the shadows of the past.

On three grounds, each of them obvious and strong in reason and validity, France might advance claims for permanent and representative rule on this continent, beyond those of English nationality now in possession.

1. French adventure and enterprise had precedence in the actual colonization of the northern half of this continent. Spain was long content with conquest without colonization. She has in Mexico and in South America all that can be said to be rightfully hers in the perpetuation of her language, in exclusive privileges of commerce, in the mixture of Spanish with native blood, and in the still effective, though strained and fretting, ties of traditional loyalty recognized by her transatlantic subjects on main and island. But France had won something more than these, and has less, indeed nothing, here. Her navigators had given her the basis of what was then a rightful claim, in discovery. This was followed by actual occupancy, almost simultaneously, of the Peninsula of Florida, of the bays, islands, and shores of Acadia, of the St. Lawrence, of Canada, and afterwards of Louisiana and Mississippi. From the moment France had her foothold on our soil, there began in her interest that marvellously romantic and heroic work of exploration, discovery, and description of the features and scenes of this continent which made the title of New France as justly applicable to the whole of it as that of New England was to a small section of it. And this work of French colonization and exploration was pursued, not by the scant resources and ventures of a few expatriated outlaws and exiles, but under the patronage of one of the greatest of monarchs, through his ministers and viceroys, with the outlays and vigorous energies of the nobles of the realm, and the mighty prestige and the benediction of the Church, through Pope and cardinals, priests and missionaries.

2. A century and a half ago, France — though from fundamental mistakes in policy she had not strengthened herself in numbers, nor in the sure hold of the soil which comes from its improvement by agriculture and by industry — had actual possession of the inner strongholds of this continent. A line of forts, with mission chapels and trading

posts, stretched along the strategic points on the great lakes and at the confluence of the first series of large rivers beyond the Alleghanies. Marquette had discovered the Mississippi, and La Salle had traced it to the salt sea. A Frenchman was the first white man to thread his way to the Rocky Mountains. These lakes and posts had for the most part been occupied by the consent, or at least the tolerance, of the natives, because they supposed that the convenience and benefit of them as trading or mission stations were shared by both races. In strength of muscle, in the strain upon endurance, by which the implements for building and defence were introduced into these depths of the primeval wilderness, was exacted harder toil from the French than the English colonists expended at contemporary periods of their enterprises. As soon as the English by the fortune of war afterwards got possession of these strongholds, they obliterated the names given by their predecessors. Indeed we might say, that, up to the period of our Revolutionary war, the English colonists on the seaboard had done scarce anything in the severer enterprises of exploration. They had, so to speak, used the French trails, and had the benefit in many ways of that experience won by others which is so much cheaper, and often more valuable, than that won by ourselves. The moment now that the modern traveller gets beyond the first ranges of our Western valleys and mountains, air and earth and water, history and tradition, are redolent of the memories of explorers and adventurers who called the monarch of France their sovereign.

All this toil and task-work of exploration and discovery, pursued by dauntless and intrepid men,—men whose life began in the luxuries of courts, and who yet proved themselves equal to an almost superhuman effort and endurance,—was undergone for a purpose: it was in the service of their beloved France, her adored glory and sanctity as a servant of the Church. If a passing glance of a coast-

line of a country which has had no place on a seaman's chart, establishes by the law of nations the right of discovery, and so of possession, for the monarch from one of whose ports the vessel sailed bearing the navigator who caught that glance, what shall we say of rights and claims assured by early and continued French enterprise on this continent? While the levity and hilarity of spirit which characterize that people, and the easy abandon of their morals in the temptations of a wilderness, may have lightened and cheered their ventures of exploration, some stiffer sinews, some firmer fibres, some loftier pitch of spirit were needed by them in that perilous work. They had at least leaders of a dauntless heroism, of pluck, energy, and endurance unmatched in adventure. I would include the French with the Indians, as having been spoiled of their inheritance here.

3. But what is more directly to our purpose, in our theme of the red man in his relations with Europeans on this continent, is to note the paramount claim of France, through her colonists here, to sway and influence over the savages. It is but fair, and fully conformed to historic truth, to say that of all the colonists who entered the New World, for whatever ends involving trespass upon or dispossession of the native tribes, Frenchmen were the most friendly, the most serviceable, and, we may add, the most just toward them. Of course, in affirming this we may still recall with all their aggravations the fierce and bitter wars with the Indians, the raids and devastations and massacres which so deeply stain with woe and horror the dominion of New France in America. The French brought many miseries upon tribes which they could not win to friendship; and they aggravated the darkest and direst penalties visited upon their allied tribes by subjecting them to the common vengeance of the English as being the bloody tools of their rivals. But, notwithstanding this, France might claim to-day a hold upon some of this terri-

tory simply on the ground of kinder, more sympathizing, and, so to speak, more wise and reasonable courses in her treatment of the savages. Indeed, her influence does survive through her old affiliations with them. The history of French enterprise and adventure on this continent draws some of its most romantic and picturesque elements for narrative and for quiet musing from the men already referred to under the titles of "Voyageurs" and "Coureurs de Bois." Often they were identical in traits, character, and habits. For whoever had the inclination, skill, and other qualities for one of these capacities could easily conform himself to the other. So far as the characters were distinguishable, the *voyageur* might be regarded as the expert in canoe navigation, while the *coureur* found his principal occupation in coursing the wilderness. The *voyageur* was commonly in the employ of some association of traders or individual traders. The *coureur de bois* acted on his own account. The same person often combined both characters. How readily a large number of a large class, too, of Frenchmen took to these airy, free, and hazardous ways of spending their existence, and how soon they became adepts and experts in their wild life, needs no comment here. They took Indian wives, at their discretion or ability to pay for them. They have left behind them a numerous progeny of half-breeds, who, while sometimes troublesome, have proved largely serviceable to hunting and trapping parties of whites, to private and Government explorers, and officers at our posts, as scouts and interpreters, and as needful go-betweens for the two races. They led a reckless and lawless life, often with dubious loyalty to either party. They ministered to the Indian's passion for strong drink. They became often so troublesome, intractable, and lawless in their occasional returns to civilized spots, and in their bad influence over the natives, that the local and foreign governments made many though always vain efforts to restrain and suppress them. The historian Charlevoix

covers the whole truth, and its explanation too, in this frank statement: "The savages did not become French, but the French became savages."

There was a root difference, complete and characteristic in all its workings and manifestations, between the ways in which the English and the French felt towards the Indians, looked upon, and treated them. On being brought into relations either friendly or hostile with the savages, the English felt for them dislike, contempt, loathing even; and they seldom took the pains to conceal these feelings. At any rate the Indians needed not to exercise their keener penetration to become perfectly aware that their treatment by the English was characterized not only by a show and assumption of superiority, but by disdain and hauteur. There was a line which the English never allowed to be crossed, or even blurred, between them and the savage,—the line which forbade real intimacy, or any concession of familiarity on equal terms. Roger Williams and the Apostle Eliot may be said in the full sincerity of their hearts, in pity, sympathetic yearnings, and heroic, patient, devoted efforts for the redemption and welfare of the Indians, to have exceeded all Englishmen; but their own avowals are evidence that their English stomachs, as they said, loathed the habits and the viands of the savage.

It would be difficult in one single point of unlikeness or contrast to offer a more striking illustration of the variance of tastes, temperaments, scruples, and other natural proclivities distinguishing the Frenchman and the Englishman, as exhibited here more than two centuries ago, than in this matter of affiliating with or loathing the Indian. Nor did the difference lie in the fact merely that the former pitied the Indian for his heathenism and the latter did not. Both agreed in acknowledging that deplorable condition and exposure of the natives, though the Englishman's method of securing them deliverance from it, even if he thought it worth the while, was more difficult and exact-

ing than that of the Frenchman. But antipathy, disgust, absolute contempt for—and if there be any stronger word for expressing the feeling—repelled the Englishman from the Indian; while the Frenchman, in an easy, tolerant, rollicking, or even in an affectedly sympathizing way, “took to” his red companion. The whole contrast is presented by setting before the imagination two pictures, strictly drawn to the fact. One gives us the Jesuit priest (and he was not in this distinguished by his religious character from his countrymen) occupying the same filthy lodge, sleeping on the same flea-infested skins, and ladling out his abominable dinner from the same caldron with a whole family of humanity and dogs. The other picture shows us the careful wife of the Apostle Eliot doing up for him a wallet of clean, however frugal food, as he mounted his horse for his eighteen miles’ ride to Natick, where when hungry he ate it in his own private sitting and sleeping apartment in a loft of the Indian meeting-house.

But the French really assimilated with the Indians, neither raising nor recognizing any barrier of race, habit, or antipathy between them. They even seem to a large extent to have been actually attracted to and won over by the features of the wild life, and the wild free ways of those who led it. The easy adoption of this kind of life by vast numbers of Frenchmen, including daily habits, dress, food and the revolting ways of preparing it, love of roving and adventure in hunting and trapping, ability and endurance in rough and daring enterprise and exposure,—all goes to prove that this assimilation with savagery was of natural prompting and proclivity. There were charms and joys for thousands of the light-hearted, pliable, and reckless rovers from old France—its peasants, its soldiers, its convicts and criminals, and none the less for its nobles and courtiers—in the range and lawlessness and wild indulgences of their forest companions. Of course the savages heartily responded to and genially accepted all this accordancy and

abandon of their once civilized visitors. The French thus from the first won an influence over their savage intimates which the English never in the slightest degree attained, nor even seem to have desired to win. I have noticed many slight but most significant tokens of the fact, that, when in some occasionally critical emergencies it was quite important for the English to conciliate or draw into action with them any one conspicuous individual, party, or tribe of the Indians, the work was set about in a blundering, dictatorial, or harsh way, which would seem likely to defeat the object aimed for. "Brothers," or "Children," was the term constantly on the lips of the French in addressing the natives. I do not find the words as ever employed by the Puritan fathers of New England. The French priests were always more than willing to unite a Frenchman and an Indian woman in Christian wedlock. I cannot conceive that John Eliot would have approved or sanctioned the relation between one of his own countrymen and the most pious woman among his native converts. The few lingering remnants of the old tribes in New England are all of them of blood mixed from the African. Not many, if indeed any, specimens of this mixture could be found among the half-breeds of the North and the West. Had it ever been desirable or likely that the solution of the problem of two races on this continent should have been sought or found in their assimilation, the French would have been the most likely medium for securing the result. They had, indeed, made considerable progress towards it, and many every way respectable and flourishing families in Canada and the Red River region attest its degree of success.

If ever, in any case under the stress of circumstances and exigencies, the French felt a distrust or dread of the Indians, or were watchful of their craft and treachery, they took pains to conceal all tokens of the sort. When strolling Indians or chiefs on business errands visited the French trading-posts or forts, they were made much of;

they were allowed to strut with full complacency in their forest bravery and toggery; their conceit and dignity were not reduced; the meal, the camp-fire, and the bed were shared with them on a footing of perfect equality; they were cajoled and feasted; and, coming and going, were greeted with military salutes, as princely visitors. Quite otherwise was it between the English and the Indians: the distance, often wide and deep in reserve, was never overcome. By this natural—and if at some times assumed—assimilation with the natives, the French won a vast prestige with them. On a signal occasion the French Governor Frontenac, much to the admiration of his barbarous spectators and friends, put himself in Indian array, feathered, greased, and painted, while he howled and yelled and gesticulated in the war-dance in rivalry of any native braves. He has an extraordinarily daring imagination who can present to himself a sober governor of any New England colony in that guise. Sir William Johnson, the British Indian Agent, said, however, that on some occasions he had worn their garb.

The representatives of France among our Indian tribes from her earliest enterprises on the continent were composed of three classes, — priests, fur-traders, and soldiers; but little account being made of colonists, in the full sense of the word, as planters, attaching themselves to spaces of cleared land, from which they intended to draw their full subsistence. The soldiers are no longer here, though they hold such a place in the history of the contests for rival empire on the continent. The priests and the fur-traders have kept themselves in living activity, though with a wasting and less significant hold and range in the developments of the last century.

The traffic of the traders in Canada — distinguishing them from those in Acadia and off the coast as fishermen — was almost exclusively confined to peltry. The trade was a source of constant vexation, annoyance, rivalry, and quar-

relling among the adventurers and settlers. A monopoly of it had been given successively to different individuals, who utterly failed to secure its privileges. Then a joint company of adventurers sought to control it by a partnership in expenses and profits. But they were openly defied by single persons, whose common plunderings interested them so strongly that they had substantially the influence of a banded fellowship acting without a charter. In the spring or early summer the Indians, from the far-off scenes where they had been patiently gathering the coveted peltry, would congregate in clamorous hordes near Montreal with their laden canoes, to barter their cargoes. Scenes of blood, of riot, and of drunkenness ensued, and the once quiet wilderness heard every sound of a Babel of tongues vociferous in passion and imprecations. This bartering of the coverings of animals for the lives of men, skin for skin, was beyond measure demoralizing. Soon the most dauntless of the French would stroll off, alone or in couples, to distant beaver dams and forest treasures, or rival traders would waylay an incoming party and anticipate the regular market. The brandy traffic, too, flourished with a vigor that defied police, military, and spiritual threats and prohibitions.

It might be debated whether such sway as France once had here should in its predominance be assigned to the priests or the traders. Repeatedly and emphatically was it affirmed by the principal promoters of the first colonizing of New England, that the chief and paramount end of their coming hither was religion. By their own interpretation of the scope of their meaning, we understand them to have included in this avowal the enjoyment of their own religion and the conversion to it of the heathen tribes. But practically viewed, the relative place of interest which the religious prompting proved to have, in comparison with mundane schemes of thrift, trade, and commerce, will depend upon the severity or the leniency of the judgment

which we visit upon the New England colonists. No candid student of our history, however, can fail to allow and affirm that the founders of New France in America, in their zeal and heroic toil and endurance for the conversion of the savages, present us on the records examples of nobleness and devotion which Puritan history cannot parallel. True, the words "religion" and "conversion" signified very different things—in substance, in processes, in methods, in tests, and results—to the Puritan and the Jesuit; and it is no breach of charity to say that the Jesuit was fully satisfied with tokens of success which the Puritan regarded as utterly insignificant, and even mockingly futile and false. We may but incidentally anticipate here a subject which will later engage a chapter in this volume, in an examination of the priestly and Protestant aims, methods, and results in the attempts for Christianizing the Indians. The Jesuits present themselves for brief notice at this point as one of the three first representatives of France in the New World. The Jesuit's method was by ritual, with an altar, however rude, with scenic demonstrations, a procession in the woods following the cross, if but just cut from the forest, and graced by a flock of naked savages bearing their bayberry torches. The Puritan's method was by doctrine,—a body of divinity, didactic teaching, and experimental cases of conscience. The good Apostle Eliot put the Indian vocabulary to a severe strain in opening to them high Calvinism,—with adoption, election, reprobation, justification, etc. But the Jesuits were not the first of the Roman priesthood in New France.

The measures for the introduction into New France of religion and its missionaries, to secure the avowed object of the conversion of the savages, were at first wholly lacking in zeal, and were soon sadly complicated by the mixture of Catholics and Huguenots, alike worldly in their enterprises, and by rivalries between the Franciscan and Jesuit orders. Father Gabriel Sagard, a Récollet, of the

Franciscan Friars, is the faithful historian of the struggles and contentions involved in this missionary work.¹ The editor of Sagard says it was difficult to quicken any zeal for the work in France. He makes light of the assumption of the Pope in giving over the whole continent to the Spaniards and the Portuguese, and thinks the Papal oracle as absurd as if it had affirmed that America did not exist, and had excommunicated any one who might say that the earth had two hemispheres. The editor also quotes the "fine raillery" of Francis I. about these grasping claimants: "Eh, how is this? They quietly divide between them the whole of America, without allowing me to share in it as their brother. I wish much to see the item in Adam's testament which bequeaths them this vast heritage."² The Huguenot Sieur De Monts, while the patent for Acadia was in his hands, brought over with him in 1604 a minister and a priest, besides a miscellaneous company of convicts and ruffians, the sweepings of the prisons and purlieus. The two divines not only quarrelled in their arguments, but came to fisticuffs. Sagard tells us that soon after coming to land they both died, near the same time, and that the sailors, who buried them in a common grave, wondered if, having been in such strife in life, they could lie peacefully together in the pit.³

Two Jesuit priests came to Acadia in 1611, but did not long remain. One of them, Father Biard, was taken with Saussaye in Argall's raid at Mt. Desert. He narrowly escaped the halter in Virginia, and the being thrown overboard off the Azores, lest he should betray there to the Catholic authorities the deeds of his Protestant captors. But he was snugly hidden under deck while the vessel was searched, and getting back to France might have resumed

¹ *Histoire du Canada, et Voyages que les Frères Mineurs Récollets y ont faits pour la conversion des Infidèles, depuis l'An 1615*: par Gabriel Sagard Deodat. Ed. par H. Émile Chevalier. Paris, 1866.

² Vol. i. p. xi.

³ Vol. i. p. 26.

his professorship of theology at Lyons. The other Acadian Jesuit, Father Enemond Masse, was afterwards a missionary in Canada. The first missionaries to Canada were four of the Franciscan friars who arrived in Quebec in May, 1615. Sagard is their faithful eulogian. His last editor reflects on the Jesuit historians Garneau and Charlevoix for their neglect and light esteem of Sagard's work. The friars appeared in their monkish garb of rope-girdled and hooded robes, and bare feet shod with heavy wooden sandals, — not a very fitting foot-gear for the egg-shell canoes in which they were to pass to their missions. They celebrated the first mass in Canada on June 25, 1615, in a little chapel which they built at Quebec. The first burial there with holy rites Sagard records as that of "Michel Colin," March 24, 1616. One of the friars, Father Dolbeau, went with a band of the Montagnais up the Saguenay in December. Reduced, after two months, near to blindness and much agony from the smoke of the filthy lodges, he prudently judged, says Sagard, that our Lord did not require of him the loss of his sight, but that he ought carefully to guard what was so essential to him for his great enterprise.¹ Another of the brethren, Father Le Caron, bravely accompanied a band of Hurons returning up the Ottawa, from their voyage down with furs to Montreal. He wisely had a lodge of his own on the outskirts of their village, where he wintered. He celebrated the first mass there Aug. 12, 1615. He wrote frankly to a friend of all the disagreeables, the disgusts, and terrible hardships of his new mode of life. But he cheerily adds: "Abundant consolation I found under all my troubles; for when one sees so many infidels needing nothing but a drop of water to make them children of God, he feels an inexpressible ardor to labor for their conversion, and sacrifice to it his repose and his life."²

¹ Sagard, vol. i. p. 40.

² Parkman: Pioneers, etc., p. 364.

Sagard was himself a missionary for many years among the Hurons; and, besides a Dictionary of their language, he wrote a very interesting book upon the country and its people.¹

He seems to have been a guileless and simple-hearted man, homesick at times, but zealous in his work. His credulity was extreme, and he was greatly disturbed by the demoniacal vaporings and tricks which were thought to infest the land and the people. He was adopted by an Indian family, and was finally reconciled to make his principal food of *sagamite*, the Indian maize.

The mission of the Récollets was superseded by the coming of Jesuit Fathers to Canada in 1625. Henceforth none but faithful disciples of the Roman Church were to be allowed to abide there.

As a reader of the sources of history for the time and place muses over the record, he pauses to ask whether these spiritual guides found their own countrymen or the savages the more tractable and hopeful subjects of their ghostly charge. A rough set alike they were for such oversight. One contrasts in thought and fancy the work of teaching and discipline there with that contemporaneously going on in the meeting-houses and homes of the New England Puritans. We may be sure that the Canadian was far lighter and most easy where that of the Puritans was most austere and grim; yet what verdict has time and trial set upon the long results of the two methods! The whole influence and example of Champlain and of a few devout men and women were given to encourage the priests within their own holy functions. But they had a restive, wild, and unregenerate crew around them, and it was not easy to bring them even to outward reverence for the ritual. Occasionally, after years of lawless and wholly ungirt roaming

¹ Le Grand Voyage du pays des Hurons, situé en l'Amerique vers la Mer douce, és derniers confins de la nouvelle France, dite Canada, etc. A Paris, 1632.

in the wilderness, a *coureur de bois* or a *voyageur*, under some prickings of conscience, would come into the settlement that he might obtain shriving, at least for the past. If he made a clean breast of it, a guileless-hearted priest must have felt a heavier burden lying upon him than that which the penitent hoped to throw off.

A more favorable character is given by a good authority of some of the descendants of this race of men. The Earl of Dufferin, late Governor-General of Canada, on his return way from his interesting overland visit to British Columbia, in September, 1877, in addressing a meeting at Winnipeg, made the following laudatory reference to this class of men, of whose character and influence he had had opportunities of observation:—

“There is no doubt that a great deal of the good feeling subsisting between the red men and ourselves is due to the influence and interposition of that invaluable class of men, the half-breed settlers and pioneers of Manitoba, who — combining as they do the hardihood, the endurance, and love of enterprise generated by the strain of Indian blood within their veins, with the civilization, the instruction, and the intellectual power derived from their fathers — have preached the gospel of peace and good-will and mutual respect, with results beneficent alike to the Indian chieftain in his lodge and to the British settler in his shanty. They have been the ambassadors between the East and the West, the interpreters of civilization and its exigencies to the dwellers on the prairie, as well as the exponents to the white man of the consideration justly due to the susceptibilities, the sensitive self-respect, the prejudices, the innate craving for justice of the Indian race. In fact they have done for the colony what otherwise would have been left unaccomplished; and they have introduced between the white population and the red man a traditional feeling of amity and friendship, which but for them it might have been impossible to establish.”¹

These remarks of the Earl gave high gratification to his auditors, many of whom were of the class to whom he re-

¹ Speeches and Addresses of the Earl of Dufferin. London, 1882. pp. 237
238.

ferred, though generally of a mixture of other than French blood. Some of these half-breeds in the Northwest are called "Metis."

Nor did the priests wholly escape the jealousies and reproaches of the more intelligent of their flock, whose rivalries in trade, whose intrigues and quarrels, either as rebuked or espoused by the Jesuits, brought upon some of the latter the imputation of having an interest in the peltry and even in the brandy traffic. A study of the work of these French priests will occupy a subsequent chapter.

We must note, not only the difference, but the fundamental and radical antagonism between the motives, agencies, and principles under which French and English enterprise and colonization began upon this continent, so far as they have a bearing upon their relations with the natives. The French, who had by some fifty years the start in their earliest tentative voyages for prospecting and trade, came here with royal grants and privileges, with the patronage of court nobles, and the sanction and zeal of powerful ecclesiastical orders. They retained an unbroken connection with the primary sources of power and authority at home. Viceroys of France were the governors of the colony, reporting to and receiving orders from the chief cabinet minister, and frequently directly to and from the sovereign. Military sway, with martial vigor and appliances, controlled the administration of the colony. But, by an intricate and confused method in the supreme supervision of the enterprise, there was introduced an element of constant irritation and quarrelling in the direction of affairs, by the appointment, under the title of Intendant, of a sort of civil officer whose functions and powers, not sharply distinguished from those to be exercised by the viceroy or the governor, were ever bringing the two heads into quarrelling over cross purposes, rights, and dignities. The Governor and the Intendant kept a jealous watch on each other, conciliated and won their respective

partisans and abettors, set traps and played intrigues for mutual annoyance, and by separate channels of intercourse through rival parties at court did what was in their power to make mischief for each other. Self-dependence, independence of foreign oversight, authority, and aid were what was never for a moment meditated or desired by the French here, at any stage or period of their colonization. New France was not only as much a part of the empire as any portion of the realm, but it was to be, so far as circumstances would allow, administered as a home province, with a transfer of feudal institutions, seigniories, bishoprics, proprietary rights, noble and privileged orders, and stingy allotments for common people. As the event proved, these distinctive and primary characteristics of French dominion in America, so widely contrasted with the course and principles of the English colonists, could not be transferred from the Old World so that they would take root here. They were uncongenial with, disastrous to, any hopeful enterprise. And we are to find in this fundamental quality of French dominion, with all the zeal and heroism engaged in it, the reason for the fact that France has no heritage here.

By no means, however, is it to be inferred that the French were in all cases politic, humane, or just towards the Indians. On the contrary, there were tribes, the Iroquois especially, to whom the French were from the first and always a scourge, relentless and destructive. Raid after raid was made from Canada, beginning with Champlain, into the domains of the Five Nations; and when the savages fled from the armed hosts, their pleasant villages were wasted and their granaries and cornfields destroyed to bring them to starvation. One act of shameful atrocity, with dark treachery, was perpetrated by the French, in 1687, on some peaceful and confiding Iroquois at Cadarakui, the captives from which, La Potherie says, forty in number, were sent to France to work in the galleys. Charlevoix

tells us that Louis had written to the Governor of Canada, La Barre: "As it is of importance to the good of my service to diminish as much as possible the number of the Iroquois, and that as these savages, who are strong and robust, will serve usefully in my galleys, I desire that you will do everything in your power to make as many of them as possible prisoners of war, and send them over to France." Some of the survivors were afterwards brought back to Canada.

How unlike were the way, the means, and the intent of the first English colonists on the Atlantic seaboard! The most resolute, the most successful of them,—those the fruits of whose enterprise have been the richest and the most permanent,—stole away, we may say, from England, under a covert. The New England colonists asked no royal patronage beyond that going with their parchment charters, the main intent and value of which were to secure their territorial rights and jurisdiction against foreign rivals and jealous intruders of their own stock. They neither borrowed nor begged supplies in ships, armaments, or subsistence. They sent home no reports of progress or failure to the officials of the mother country, nor received from her any challenge to return a reckoning to her. No civil or military function was discharged among them by commission or appointment from abroad; but their magistrates, judges, and captains were elected from among themselves. Occasionally, under the sharp pressure of their poverty or misfortunes, or in the apprehension of some collision with the Dutch or the French, a suggestion was dropped by one or another of the less sturdy of the New England stock, that they should look to the mother country for counsel or help. But the timid purpose was at once repudiated, on the ground that the call upon England for the slightest favor, or even the acceptance of one unasked, would afford a pretext to her for intermeddling in the affairs of her exiled offspring, whose spirit and direction of self-management

indicated from the first that same sense of virtual independence as asserted itself in the fulness of time in our Revolutionary War. So while the Old-World feudalism and despotism underlaid the colonization enterprise of New France, and sought to reproduce and reconstruct itself among these forests on our North and West, a pure and rejuvenated democracy was rooting itself and rearing its popular institutions and sway among the hard-working farmers of New England when their settlements were still on the seaboard. Possibly if France had allowed and encouraged, instead of expressly prohibiting, her heretic Huguenots to represent her in her New-World colonization, she might still have had provinces and dominion here. But a Puritan democracy, inoculating the system of Englishmen, proved to be the right spirit and constituency for securing a heritage in the New World. Whether, indeed, the Huguenot faith and blood transported hither might not have adapted itself to and improved for noble uses this free opportunity for colonial empire, is a question which might be differently answered. No great statesman suggested this method for disposing of that ever-increasing body of heretics which no edicts, disabilities, threatenings, or aggravation of cruelty could suppress, and which was not exterminated by the shocking massacre on St. Bartholomew's day. Both England and New England were glad to welcome such of the hounded exiles from France as sought in them a refuge. Those who found in either place a new home, with fields and workshops for their industry and thrift, and causes to engage their patriotism for the places of their adoption, have incorporated their descendants into the most honored ranks of society. But if Old France had opened New France even only as a place of enforced banishment for the Huguenots, leaving them without threatening or burdens to make the best of new homes in the wilderness, two results worthy of the exercise of a nation's wisdom in council and foresight would have fol-

lowed. France would have been saved from some dreadful stains of persecution now on her annals, and the affinity between the Huguenots and the Puritans of New England would have greatly modified that century and a half of warfare which was waged by two sovereignties and their subjects here. If France had none the less been despoiled of all her territory here, she would have been more largely represented by Frenchmen all over the continent.

What effect, if any, this possible transfer hither of a large French population, with political and religious proclivities in accord with those which have gained the mastery here, would have had upon the fortunes of the Indian tribes, it might be difficult to decide. So far as the substitute in Canada of a Protestant for a Roman Catholic people would have qualified the hostility of Puritan New England (that it would have largely done so is altogether probable), there would have been less occasion for and embitterment of the rivalries and jealousies which brought in the Indians, — never in the dignified position of umpires, hardly even in the equality of allies, — to find themselves losers in every case, whichever of the principals claimed the advantage. Certain it is that the contentions between the English and the French, engaging their respective Indian allies, were intensely aggravated by the differences in religion of the principal combatants. It was at a time when the hatred of the Papacy and the Papists was aggravated for all Englishmen by the policy and diplomacy which entered into the intrigues of European peoples engaged in the rival ecclesiastical systems. Massachusetts followed the statutes of England in sharp legislation against the Papists. In the view of the French Canadian Government it was but an axiom of natural reason, a prompting of common-sense, that they should engage and employ Indian allies. But this obvious suggestion did not at all relieve the matter in the view of the Puritans. It was enough for them, — in their amazement, protests, and

groans, — that Papists, calling themselves Christians, should engage the tomahawks and firebrands against even heretics, who also, after a sort, were Christians. There was a region between Acadia and the Penobscot and Kennebec rivers which was always in controversy as a boundary between the European claimants, while the Indians insisted that they had never parted with its ownership. This region was the scene of desperate encounters, of pillagings, slaughter, and burnings; the English being the chief, though by no means the only, sufferers. Nor did the savages confine their warfare of ambushes and night surprises to that region, but they came alarmingly near to Boston. The Puritans were maddened by the suspicion, often assured by positive knowledge, that the French priests inspired, indicated, and directed these assaults, and sometimes accompanied the war-parties of the savages. This complaint was hardly a consistent one, coming from those whose ministers were an equal power in military and civil as in religious affairs. The English also were wont to take chaplains on their expeditions. There is on record a graphic sketch of a vigorous conflict between a minister and a priest, on a spot of contested territory, to assume the spiritual charge of a band of heathen, already nominal disciples of the Roman Church. Indeed religion, in anything but name, keeps itself well out of this fearful strife. In the melancholy relation now to follow, the Roman priests stand charged with a most odious agency.

A tragic incident in the long struggle between the French and English, with their respective Indian allies, on our northern bounds, connects itself with the forcible removal, in 1755, of a people in Acadia, known as the "French Neutrals." The theme has been wrought by the pen of genius, with all the richest charms of romance and tender sentiment, into the exquisite narrative and descriptive poem "Evangeline." In the interests of

hard, historic truth, with all its stern, acrimonious, and distressing aggravations, we must read that incident in sober and saddening prose. Acadia, or Nova Scotia, the oldest French colony in North America, had been for near a century and a half occupied by that people, and had always been a scene of distraction and destruction. The peninsula, in the fortunes of rivalry and war, besides passing by royal patent from one to another French proprietary, had been transferred some half-a-dozen times by treaty negotiations alternately to the English and French crowns. That single statement tells the tale of what sea and shore had witnessed. The treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, closing one of the paroxysms of strife, had ceded it to England. It was never to be transferred again; but the tenure of it was long at risk, and the possession of it was worse than of doubtful value to the English. There were at the time about twenty-five hundred French inhabitants. There was, of course, an uncertainty, keeping open a dispute, as to what were its bounds. The English soon found that it was the purpose of the French to restrict these as narrowly as possible. The English drew the boundary line as east from the mouth of the Kennebec to Quebec, including the southern shore and islands. The latter insisted that the St. John and the lands north of the Bay of Fundy were not included in the cession, and that Acadia signified only the southern part of what is now Nova Scotia. It was provided by the treaty that the subjects of the King of France in Acadia might, within a year, move away at their pleasure, disposing of their real and personal property; or, if they chose to remain, might retain their religion and their priests, and be as free in all respects as British subjects under British laws. As successive British sovereigns came to the throne, orders were sent over that these so-called Neutrals should take the oath of allegiance, while not required to bear arms against the French or for the

English. Under the influence of their priests, threatening them with ecclesiastical penalties, they were warned not to transfer their allegiance, but to keep their loyalty to France, and to refuse the required oath. The priests in Acadia were under the pay of the French Government, and received secret counsels from the authorities in Canada. Of course there was a state of restlessness, insubordination, and not even concealed lawlessness and rebellion, — waiting for another cast of the dice of warfare or diplomacy. There was a continual series of aggressions, inroads, assaults, and slaughters upon the English settlers on the outskirts of Maine, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts. These were instigated from Canada, and the Acadian priests were believed to be engaging their flocks in open or secret connivance.

The Indians claimed as theirs the lands on the Kennebec, on which the English were steadily intruding. In reprisal the latter enlisted and sent their war-parties for punishment and vengeance. On a second attack, made in 1724, by the English and some Mohawk allies, upon the Indian village of Norridgewok, during the sack and burning of the houses and the church Father Ralle was killed and scalped. He was then sixty-seven years old, enfeebled by twenty-six years of hard service in the woods, and much beloved by his red disciples. He was a devoted missionary and a scholar. His dictionary of the language of his Indians is preserved in the Library of Harvard College. The English rejoiced over his violent end, as they regarded him as a crafty enemy, and believed from his papers which they rifled that the evidence was complete of his evil machinations from instructions received from Canada. In an ambush in one of the raids of the savages Captain Josiah Winslow was killed. He was a brother of General John Winslow, who on this account might have thrown warm will into his charge of removing the Neutrals from Acadia.

After thirty years of a qualified sort of peace between France and England, trouble again opened in 1743, which of course signified a renewal of open conflict between the Europeans and the red men here. The great and enormously costly stronghold of Louisburg, into which the constructive skill and the lavish outlay of France had been wrought for thirty years, was taken by a colonial and English army and fleet, and having capitulated on June 15, 1745, its vast stores and defences were removed. After this first capture it was restored to the French by treaty. It was again taken by the English in 1758, when its walls were dismantled, and all the toil and money spent upon it showed a heap of wreck. Another interval of rage and havoc followed. French fleets and armies were to sweep the coasts and destroy Boston, as well as drive out the English from all their Eastern strongholds; but tempests and deadly pestilence thwarted the enterprise. This war was closed by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748.

If one could search the depths and the soundings of the Gulf of St. Lawrence and of all the coasts of northern New England and the British Provinces, what harrowing secrets would be revealed of wrecks of heavily armed frigates, and of vessels of every name and size, which have gone down there in storm and battle, carrying with them their human freight sinking to death in the rage of passion or in the dreads and horrors of the method of their end! What engines of havoc, what implements, fabrics, and fruits of peaceful ingenuity and industry are buried in those dank chambers of the ocean, the watery trophies of the victory of the elements over the common spoils of humanity!

After the English had held Acadia for thirty years, they had nothing to show for it except the cost of the charge. Many schemes and attempts were devised to bring in English settlers and residents. Here arose the troubles with the uncongenial and hostile people then in occupancy, the French Neutrals, who insisted upon remaining as French,

refusing the oath of allegiance to Britain, though at times threatening to remove from their lands. The evidence is sufficient and undeniable that they were under the influence of a priest, Le Loutre; and it was but to be expected that he should exercise that influence in the French interest. This priest was to the English especially odious, as not only intermeddling with civil affairs out of his clerical province, — as did all his brethren, much to the disgust and annoyance even of the French magistrates when they controlled Acadia, — but as a most crafty and treacherous and vicious man, engaged also in profitable trade. He was Vicar-General of Acadia under the ecclesiastical rule of Quebec, and was the agent of all disaffection and mischief. He threatened to withhold the sacraments from all his flock who succumbed to the English, and to set the Indians upon them.

Orders came from the English Government that these Neutrals who would not come under allegiance should be removed. We all know how romance and poetry invest them. What were they in condition, character, temper, and naked reality to those who had to deal with them in earnest?

The Abbé Raynal seems to have been the first to introduce into literature the ideal view of the Acadians, as a gentle, loving, peaceful, pastoral people, in sweet innocence and home delights sharing the joys and prosperity of a simple, guileless life. He mistook Acadia for Arcadia. He had a purpose in his essay: it was to set in contrast the prosperity and happy condition of these transatlantic villagers with that of the peasants of France before the Revolution. So he heightens every element and coloring of that contrast. He says the Acadians had no quarrels, no lawsuits, no poverty. Their loved and unworldly priests settled all their variances, made their wills, and guided their affairs. With mutual sympathy and generosity they relieved each other's misfortunes. Early marriages averted celibacy and

vice. Their houses were as substantial and comfortable as those of European farmers. With their flocks and fields and cattle and fruits and laden barns they filled the round of a happy existence.

Those who had to deal with these Neutrals as neighbors, magistrates, military officers, report them to us very differently. We must let reason and candor mediate for us as we hesitate between romance and reality. The records of governors of Acadia, both French and English, with official and other papers, are preserved in abundance and of full authenticity. Alike these complain of the mischievous and malignant influence of the priests over the people as arbitrary and treacherous, and tending always to alienation and strife, and urging to a resistance of government. The people are described as idle, restless, roaming as bush-rangers, dissolute among the Indians, leading a squalid and shabby life. The council at Quebec and the English courts were worried with their petty and constant litigation. Their dwellings were "wretched wooden boxes," dilapidated and filthy, and without cellars. Nor was this all that was alleged to their reproach and offence: they were called "neutrals;" but parties of them had been known to have prompted and engaged in the bloody raids of the Indians on the English settlements, to have done many acts of violence and treachery, to have acted as spies and informers, and to have supplied the French with cattle and grain while refusing such trade with the English garrison. The great Seven Years' War between France and England was then threatening across the water, the direst rage of which was to be felt by the colonies of England here, Braddock's defeat in 1755 opening the series of catastrophes. The French monarch was working his own Huguenot subjects in the galleys, while the English masters of Acadia covenanted to the Neutrals their own religion and priests. The English said that they would gladly have had the Acadians remain if they could have been relied

upon as merely harmless. They were not oppressed by any burden, or subject to any tax save that which their own priests exacted of them. It is believed that they would have been content, and would have come under British allegiance, had it not been for the malign and defiant influence of those priests. The English affirmed that they were at great charge for keeping up garrisons; that for forty years they had had no benefit from their treaty possession; that they could not induce their own countrymen to come in as colonists, unwelcomed by such uncongenial neighbors; and that the professed Neutrals were among them an ever-threatening element, ready to turn to most active enmity as military or diplomatical complications might afford the opportunity. A thousand of the Acadians had indeed moved away voluntarily in 1750, leaving their houses and barns to be destroyed by the Indians. Nearly double the number that were soon to be forcibly removed by the English, had been induced or compelled by the French to withdraw from the end of the peninsula to the north of it, and were there a threatening power.

Under this condition of things the English governor, Lawrence, acting by instructions from the King through Lord Halifax, after disarming many of the remaining Neutrals, made most deliberate and persistent efforts, but all in vain, to induce them to take the oath of allegiance. Deputies sent from their different villages positively refused to do so. In counsel with the Governor and two English admirals, who advised the measure, it was decided that those thus recusant should be removed with their families, taking with them their money and household effects, and that they should be supplied with provisions and distributed over the southern provinces at distances which would prevent any concert between them. Additional reasons were found for this measure in charges that the Neutrals were idle and improvident, and had neglected field labor and fishing, as most naturally would be the case

under the uncertainties and anxieties of their condition. The proffer of French authorities to transport the Neutrals to France was rejected, as not likely to be fairly and fully carried out.

The measure having been decided upon, steps were at once taken to effect it, and different agents were appointed to complete the design at the different villages. The inhabitants of Chiegnecto fled into the woods and kept out of the way. All who could affirm that they had not been in arms against the English, and would at last take the oath, were at liberty to remain. Colonel John Winslow, of Massachusetts, in command at Mines, did his work with resolution and completeness. Of the inhabitants, four hundred and eighteen unarmed men were enticed into their church, on Sept. 5, 1755, as if to listen to a message from the King of England. By a bold ruse they were seized and borne to the waiting vessels. Nearly two thousand were removed from Mines, and eleven hundred from Annapolis. A party of two hundred and twenty-six Acadians seized the vessel in which they were conveyed, made off with it, and were not recovered. About three thousand in all were removed. They were distributed over the provinces, of course as a public charge, a burden and a nuisance to those who were compelled to receive them, forlorn, homeless, wretched, and sick at heart themselves. At intervals of between a few months and several years about two thirds of them, in various ways, got back to their loved Acadia.¹

Such is the rehearsal of this tragic story as it stands on the pages of authentic history. No morbidness of senti-

¹ In dealing with this painful episode, I have been greatly indebted to and have gladly followed the lead of Mr. James Hannay, in his "History of Acadia, from its First Discovery to its Surrender to England by the Treaty of Paris. St. John, N. B., 1879." The author, most thorough and comprehensive, in his documentary research shows also a judicial and most candid spirit, seeking to present both sides in a harrowing historical incident, and affording his readers of different sympathies the means of strengthening their own from the full and calm statements which he sets before them.

ment, no tricks of fancy, are needed to enhance its sadness; for it is indeed a most piteous story. Allowing it to stand in every fact, detail, argument, and vindication as related and urged by the English, it still records one of the most distressing outrages which either military or diplomatic policy or necessity has instigated and carried out amid civilized scenes of the earth. We may in measure and degree exculpate the English, and perhaps affirm that there was no alternative course for them under their annoyances, perplexities, and aggravations; but still we can put ourselves into such sympathetic and appreciative relations with the victims — if of necessity and circumstance — as to see only what they saw, to feel as they felt, and to confess that their course would most likely have been our own. They were a rude and simple peasant race. Their priests represented to them the law of their highest reverence and allegiance. Their home had been amid the forests and fields and ocean shores of their peninsula for four or five generations. In spite of fog and ice and long, dreary winters, they had prospered by the farm, the fishery, and the hunt: they had flocks and herds. They had perpetuated among them the characteristics of the peasant life of France when their ancestors came hither. Their range of existence was narrow; their habits were mean and earthy, with much that was merely animal and sordid. All the more was what they had of joy and good and opportunity, and associated fellowship in interest and pleasure, very precious to them. They loved to hold dear the tie to their beloved France. They might yet come again under its protection. They had no reason to respect or to succumb to the English: loyalty and religion drew their hearts another way. They had to witness and mourn over the wreck of their domestic life. They were scattered, unwelcome, and only as objects of dislike and disgust among uncongenial scenes and strangers. Often — but not with intent, or heartlessness of cruelty — families among them were parted never

to be knit together again. We acknowledged, in entering upon this narration, a conflict between its rehearsal as history and its drapery in romance. But there is no need of admitting this. Amid all the stern or disagreeable aspects of this prose tragedy, there are elements from which poetry may work its richest, fairest, and tenderest wreathings of sentiment, with the human heart to prompt and to respond to its melancholy images of devastated scenes and tortured affections. *Evangelines* and *Gabriels* are the representatives of a large fellowship of parted, seeking, and hopelessly saddened sufferers.¹

The tragedy at *Mines* and *Grand Prè*, with its exasperating effect upon the French, might well introduce the series of horrors and catastrophes of the seven years which followed. The incidents of this closing stage of a continuous struggle must be left for summary notice in the next chapter, as belonging more strictly to the general theme of the European colonial relations with the Indians. New actors came into those distressing scenes. The whole power of Great Britain—with competent and incompetent leaders, with councils of various degrees of wisdom and weakness—was engaged in that decisive campaign of a protracted strife of rivalry for supreme sway in the New World. I have already plainly expressed the shock which it gives to our idea of justice in the disposal of the issues on which the honor and destiny of empire depends, that France—after all her heroism of toil, enterprise, and exploration on this continent—should have no heritage here. On those rocky cliffs, those high-raised

¹ The next in the series of volumes which Mr. Parkman has promised, as relating to the close of French dominion on this continent, is waited for with much interest. The theme is one which will engage all his talents and rich resources. Especially will his faithful researches add to our accurate knowledge of the tragic story of the removal of the *Neutrals* from *Acadia*. It is understood that he has possessed himself of a mass of original documents, which will throw much light upon the intrigues and secret movements of that incident.

plains of Quebec, those island grandeurs overlooked by the Royal Mount,—where Champlain and Frontenac laid, in noble purpose, the foundations for empire and glory of transatlantic France,—the sentence of destiny was pronounced. It was fitting that Wolfe and Montcalm, leading the ranks of the combatants in the last struggle, should mingle their life-blood on the rocky field. The treaty of Paris, in 1763, left to France a little group of fishing islands, Miquelon and St. Pierre, off the coast of Newfoundland.¹

The close of the long and bloody conflict between Great Britain with the aid of her colonies and the French with their Indian allies, which insured the conquest of Canada, by no means put a period to the presence and influence of the French on the continent, especially their influence over the Indian tribes. By their sagacious policy in dealing with the savages, their domestic and social affiliation with them, and their generosity, they had conciliated the larger number of the nearest tribes, and drawn some of them under bonds of strong friendship, which hold even to this day; so that the subjection of the French by no means secured that of the Indians to the English control. In fact, by a curious retributive working, the French left precisely the same after-penalty of savage warfare to the English which the English,

¹ There is now in course of publication, in Paris, a series of volumes under the following title: "Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans L'Ouest et dans Le Sud de L'Amérique Septentrionale (1614-1754) Memoires et Documents Originaux, Recueilles et Publiés par Pierre Margry, etc." Four volumes of the series have already appeared, — the first covering the period 1614-1684, in 1875; the fourth, 1694-1703, in 1880. These Memoirs and Documents are of the highest historical value and authenticity. They are printed without any accompanying note or comment, from manuscripts, and present a noble memorial of French enterprise on this continent. Their interest to us as a nation very properly prompted the patronage of our Government in their publication. Congress subscribed for several hundred copies, which are to be improved by exchanges for other valuable publications, for the benefit of the Congressional Library.

twenty years afterwards, left to us when our ties of allegiance and dependence were severed. The formidable conspiracy which that greatest of Indian chieftains, Pontiac, organized among the native tribes, at the date when the triumph of British power was established on this continent, was prompted, as he alleged, by sympathy with the French, whose supremacy he hoped to see re-established here. He said he was willing to regard the King of England as his uncle, but not as his superior or sovereign. The idea had dawned upon his master mind that the sovereignty of the wilderness rested with the red men. His intelligent casting of the horoscope of the lowering future for his race led him to seek boldly and consistently to sap the very roots of the threatening calamity for them, by advising them to be no longer dependent on the white man's goods or to cherish any lurking partiality for the white man's habits of life. The peace, the security, the old pristine heritage and prosperity of the savage depended on his reversion to, his content with, his bold defence of, his forest domain, unviolated by the intrusion of the white man, however plausible or profitable his errand. Pontiac had doubtless carefully, and with discrimination, weighed in the scale of his own calm judgment the gain and loss to his race of their intercourse with foreigners. In his view the loss predominated in sum and in particulars. He inherited the policy and the sagacity of King Philip of Pokanoket, and added to them a philosophy which was his own. We are yet to read of the methods and stages of his success in organizing a dark conspiracy among the Indians, which came only so far short of full success that it stopped with the glutting of vengeance, the English colonists quailing before its wreakings of rage.

And just here it was that England trifled with her opportunity, and intensified all the toil and peril of the end she had in view. All through the previous hundred and fifty

years the French had gained great advantages by showing themselves to be far more sagacious and politic in conciliating and winning power, influence, and absolute sway over the savages than the English. The Indians were keenly observant of the difference in its full import and in all its details. The French, as has abundantly appeared, flattered, cajoled, and assimilated with them. And they were also generous, even lavish, towards few or more of the red race who represented its good or bad traits. The English took no pains to conceal their haughty and insolent contempt of the savages. They were also stingy and niggard in the bestowment of the gifts, the receiving of which the savages had come to expect in all their intercourse with the whites; for the savages were to the last degree mercenary. The very proudest of them was ready to become an importunate beggar, and would barter all his dignity for a trinket, a blanket, or a draught of fire-water. At this critical time, when the agents of England under the heavy expenses already incurred were trying to practise a penurious economy, the savages would tauntingly remind them how generous their French Father had been in clothing and arming them while they had been his allies. It was natural, too, that the tribes which had been long in contact with the whites through the fur-trade, and in alliances, should have come to depend upon the implements and conveniences of civilization, even to the extent in many cases of disusing their old bows and stone tools and skin robes. Nor could even Pontiac wean them from these flesh-pots. The French had never asked of the savages the formal cession of their territory, and had represented that the strongholds built within it did not signify a formal possession. Stoutly, too, had the savages repudiated the idea of their being under obligations of allegiance in any full sense as subjects even to the King of France: though he was their father, he was only a brother to the chiefs. Bluntly did English officers announce to them, that, being conquered, they were subjects

of the British king, that their land had become his, and that the forts in their old domain were to represent his Majesty's sovereignty. Even after the force of the conspiracy of the tribes for rooting out the English had been broken, Colonel Bradstreet, in his camp, in a preliminary council with some of the abettors of Pontiac, had the folly to require of them, as the first condition of peace, that they should submit themselves as subjects of the King of Great Britain and own his sovereignty of their domain. As the Indians were never subjects of their own chieftains, and never were in allegiance, it is not probable that they had any ideas answering to the import of those terms.

One other very important fact is to be taken into account in connection with that fiercest struggle with the savages and the English which took place on the continent on the cession of Canada and the Ohio Valley. Embittered and humiliated Frenchmen, traders, half-breeds, and a very busy and pestilent class of vagabonds and renegades in their interest, took pains to nerve the exasperated Indian tribes with rumors and positive assertions that their French Father had merely fallen asleep, but was awake again, and that fleets and armies were already on their way, with mighty resources, through the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, to crush the English interlopers, to protect and reinstate the natives in their rights, and to renew the now halting trade, under the suspense of which they were suffering. Miscreant deceivers were on the alert to rally the faltering vigor of the enraged savages all through the stages of their bloody work, by reiterating this falsehood. The delusion was ruinous to those who trusted in it. At no period in our Indian history, including that of the war of 1812 and those of recent years, has there been extended among the tribes such a wrathful spirit, such desperate resolve, such fired malignity of rage against the whites. The native chiefs, according to the measure of their intelligence, their forecast, and their wild and fervent patriotism, seem

then first to have fully realized their impending doom, and to have summoned all their resources of barbarous rage, ferocity, cunning, and prowess, with something of real skill and concentration in their wilderness tactics, to avert that doom. Intelligent, fervid, pathetic pleading and remonstrance were not wanting from them; but hate and exasperation infuriated them.

Then came upon the scene that ablest and most daring and resolute savage chieftain known in our history. There have been three conspicuous men of the native race,—the towering chieftains of the forest, signal types of all the characteristics of the savage, ennobled, so to speak, by their lofty patriotism,—who have appeared on the scene of action at the three most critical eras for the white man on this continent. If the material and stock of such men are not exhausted, there is no longer for them a sphere, a range, an occasion or opportunity in place or time here. The white man is the master of this continent. An Indian conspiracy would prove abortive in the paucity or discordancy of its materials. What the great sachem Metacomet, or King Philip, was in the first rooting of the New England colonies, which he throttled almost to the death throes; what Tecumseh was in the internal shocks attending our last war with Great Britain,—Pontiac, a far greater man than either of them, in council and on the field, was in the strain and stress of the occasion offered to him after the cession of Canada. Pontiac conceived, and to a large extent effected, the compacted organization of many of the most powerful of the Western tribes, in a conspiracy for crushing the English as they were about to take possession of unbounded territory here in the name and right of the British crown. Pontiac, the chief of the Ottawas, and the recognized dictator of many affiliated tribes, as well as an able reconciler of hostile tribes, was a master of men. Then in the vigor of his life, he exhibited signally that marked characteristic of all the ablest, bravest, and most dangerous

of the native chiefs who have most resolutely resisted successive European encroachments on their domain : namely this, that while especially well informed and familiar with the resources and appliances, and supposed advantages of a state of civilization, they have most passionately repelled and scorned it, and stubbornly avowed a preference for their own wild state of Nature,—the forest and lake and river, with their free range,—and the simple nakedness of its indolence and activity.

We must allow Pontiac, by anticipation, this mention here, because he represented France, among the savages, as its avenger. When he first encountered small detachments of the English forces penetrating the lake and wilderness highways to establish themselves in the strongholds to be yielded up by the French, he seemed for a brief interval disposed to reconcile himself to the change of intruders, and to receive the new comers with a real or a feigned tolerance. But his stern purpose, if not before conceived, was soon wrought into a bold and far-reaching design, with a plan which, as a whole, and in the disposal of its parts and details, exhibits his own great qualities. His plan was to engage all the Indian tribes in defying the hated intruders and keeping the heritage of their fathers inviolate for their posterity. So far as he could impart to or rouse in other native chieftains his own sad prescience of their doom, or stir in them the fires of their own passions, he could engage them in that plan. He roamed amid the villages of many scattered tribes, and to others he sent messengers bearing the war-belt and the battle-cry. He held councils, the solemn, meditative silence of which he broke by impassioned appeals, sharpened with bitter taunts and darkened by sombre prophecies, in all the fervent picture-cloquence of the forests, to inflame the rage of his wild hearers and to turn them on the war-path. He found inflammable spirits. Jealousy and hate, and what tried to be scorn, had already

nerved many chieftains and their tribes to attempt what to them doubtless appeared a possible enterprise, if they entered upon it pledged to triumph or to death. An Iroquois sachem, at a conference in Philadelphia in 1761, referring to the traps already set by the French, about to be re-baited by the English, said: "We are penned up like hogs. There are forts all around us: we feel that death is coming upon us." The conspiracy, the whole aim of which from the first was futile and impossible, was nevertheless successful in many of its details, and in the sum and shape of the horrors attendant upon that success. The siege and destruction of the lake and river forts, and then a ruthless rage of slaughter, havoc, and burning on the whole belt of frontier settlements, were the elements of that savage campaign against civilization. The forts at Detroit and at the present Pittsburg, on the forks of the Ohio, alone held out, and then only through sharp straits of peril and almost superhuman endurance, against the Indian foe, lurking everywhere with a lynx-eyed glare and a crimson ferocity. The pent-up garrisons in these two defended posts, starved and sleepless, listened as messengers, like those to Job, brought tidings of woe from all the rest.

In the mean time the adventurous settlers who had scattered themselves on either side of the Alleghanies, accepting the rough conditions of frontier life and well matched in resource and forest skill with the natives, were subjected to the fury of the wily and sanguinary foe. The horrors of those appalling scenes and events, in ghastly butcherings, tortures, and mutilations, with the sack and burning of the rude homesteads, and the hunting in the woods for the wretched, starving fugitives, have left records in our history of the most dismal and dreary tragedies. It was then and there that—midway in our country's history—men, women, and children came to know the meaning and character of Indian warfare. Then and

there were scorched into the hearts of agonized and maddened beings, themselves only in a crude stage of civilization, though under Christian nurture, a hate and rage such as only fiends in their diabolic ravings might be supposed to fire in a human breast. We can well understand, as we read the records and heed the traditions of that wasted border, that for years afterwards white men (who alone survived in their families, orphaned or solitary by those dire woes) lived only for revenge, to prowl in the woods like wildcats, and deal the death-blow to every one of the red race—man, squaw, or pappoose—that they could bring within range of the rifle or under the keen edge of the knife. A thousand families were broken up, with here and there survivors, trying, through a treacherous wilderness, to find their way back to the settlements. From one to two thousand of the whites were slain. Sir William Johnson, the Indian Commissioner for Indian affairs in New York, by the firm control which he had acquired over the tribes of the then Six Nations, succeeded by wise management in holding back all but a strong party of the Senecas from joining in the wide-spread conspiracy. Had those well-trained and ferocious savages joined in the work of desolation, doubtless English dominion here would have encountered a staggering peril. As it was, the exposed colonists were racked with dread uncertainty as to the constancy of these restrained fiends, who might at any moment prove treacherous, and who were held only by flatteries, gifts, and promises. When we note, as often we may, the assertion that Britain has always been more fair and humane than our Government in dealing with the savages, we cannot but pause upon certain facts on record in that fearful crisis which look quite in a contrary way. The British commander-in-chief, Sir Jeffrey Amherst,¹ anticipated the

¹ When, in 1776, General Amherst was raised to the peerage, he chose as one of the *supporters* "on the sinister a Canadian war Indian, holding in his exterior hand a staff argent, thereon a human scalp, proper." Collins's *Peerage*, vol. viii. p. 176.

project of some of the most desperate spirits in our own civil war, by favoring the dispersion among the Indians of blankets infected with the small-pox, and the sending for bloodhounds to be used in hunting the scalpers. The campaign of the bold and gallant Colonel Bouquet, with a strong body of provincials, put a period to these border massacres, and brought the conspirators to sue for peace. Pontiac, raging under the failure of his first prospering enterprise, made one desperate effort to enlist the tribes farther West, on the Illinois. Orders had come from France, in 1763, to the French officers to surrender to the English the strongholds which they still held here. The French traders openly and covertly abetted the futile effort of Pontiac to change the scene of the same struggle, by embarrassing and delaying the formal occupation of the territory by the English; but there was only delay, with the mutterings and threatenings of the discomfited French and their Indian partisans. The triumph on the side of colonization and civilization for that line of frontier longitude was secure. The great chief, heartbroken and worsted in his schemes, was treacherously killed in the woods near Cahokia by a drunken Indian, bribed by an English trader, in 1769.

CHAPTER VI.

COLONIAL RELATIONS WITH THE INDIANS.

THERE is matter of intensely exciting interest and of momentous bearing upon the fortunes of the red man running through the whole colonial period of our history before we had become a nation, with a central power and a common responsibility for our acts. During this colonial period, — beginning with the first scattered and independent settlements, from Acadia and Canada, down along the seaboard to the Gulf, and ending with the war of the Revolution, — each isolated group of colonists was of necessity left to its own methods and policy in intercourse and treatment of the savages. There was of course an ultimate reference to the authority of the different sovereignties at home, represented here by their respective subjects. Instructions were from time to time received as to the way in which the natives should be dealt with. But the straits and emergencies of each feeble and exposed band of settlers had to decide for them their own attitude and course of conduct towards the aborigines. It was from the beginning a steady struggle between the forces of civilization, aided by intelligence and arbitrary power, and the natural rights and the impotence of barbarians. The result was an inevitable one; but the wrongs and outrages which secured it sadly stain the record of the white man's triumph.

This chapter by its title covers the period and the events reaching from the first settlement of the territory of the United States by Europeans down to the Revolutionary

War, which left us an independent people. It is to be limited in the main to the relations established by the colonists themselves with the natives, as it will be convenient to deal with the relations of the mother country, as a government with the same people and over the same field, in a separate chapter. A dividing-line might be drawn — at first sharp and distinct, afterwards becoming blurred — between the periods and the circumstances within which the English colonists, unrecognized and not interfered with in this matter by the mother country, disposed of all their relations with the savages, whether hostile or peaceful, by their own judgment, at their own charges, and the period and circumstances when foreign interference or help came in as a new element in those relations. The whole force of the distinction between these times and circumstances will present itself to us when we set in the strong contrast of the facts in either case the earliest with the latest relations of the colonists with the Indians, — the mother country in the former being an outside, indifferent, and unconcerned observer, if even so much as that; while in the latter she was the principal party, actor, and contributor of ways and means.

In the early wars of the New England colonists — and the same might be said of those of Virginia — with the natives, the whole brunt of the strife, in loss of life and goods, and in charges for military stores and operations, came upon the actual settlers. The three desolating “massacres,” wrought by conspiring Indian tribes in Virginia, found the colonists unaided from abroad, and uncompensated for their losses of property. In the Pequot war the New England colonists assessed themselves for all its charges. In the crushing and almost exterminating ravages of the conspiracy for their destruction by King Philip, we find that nearly two thirds of the plantations and towns were either wholly or partially destroyed; that one in ten of the men of military age were victims; while the expenses

and losses of the war, including its episode against the Eastern Indians, were estimated at "more than one hundred thousand pounds."¹ Nearly one half of this charge fell upon the Bay Colony. The loss of Plymouth Colony was said to exceed the whole valuation of its personal property. But the English exchequer was not drawn upon. Such was the state of things in the earlier colonial times. In the later period, covering the whole century previous to the war of the Revolution, Great Britain came in as a party, with a stake of her own at hazard, amid steadily increasing risks, demanding mightier efforts and heavier charges, till at the settlement the cost proved to be enormous. This of course was during the struggle between France and England for the dominion of this continent, the colonies coming in for attention either as allies or as needing protection. Whenever mutterings of war or open hostilities manifested themselves abroad between the two nations, their colonists on this side of the water, willingly or unwillingly, were compelled to imitate the doings of their respective principals. As we have said, the cost to England of extinguishing French dominion here was enormous. But a heavier penalty and sacrifice than that was to be visited upon her as a direct consequence, — even this of the loss of her colonies. At the close of the French and Indian War her prime minister called together the resident agents of the colonies then in London, laid the bill before them, with the amount of the debt incurred "for their defence," and suggested that they should contribute to her revenue by a tax, for the relief of the suffering and protecting mother. The loyalists, in our days of rebellion, thought it was but fair that we should be thus taxed. The patriot party raised a question whether England came in upon a strife, which the colonies had long maintained at their own charges, for the motherly purpose of protecting them, or for securing aggrandizement in land and

¹ Records of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, iii. 508.

dominion for herself. At any rate the colonists thought they had borne their full share of the expense in life and treasure.

We turn now to the earlier colonial relations with the savages.

There are some general statements applicable to all the original settlements made by Europeans on our present domain; excepting always those invading raids of the Spaniards, which can hardly be classed under the designation of settlements.

In the first place, it may be said with equal truth alike of the French, the Dutch, the English, and the Swedish adventurers who came hither with a view to the permanent occupancy of American soil,—for tillage, traffic, and commerce,—that they had in mind no purpose of conquest, or of taking possession by violence, through war with the savages, or by driving them clear of the territory. Not a hint or intimation, I think, can be found in any of the primary sources of our earliest colonial history that the colonists in either settlement felt before their coming that they would have to fight for a foothold, or even contemplated the necessity of so doing. Of course they were wholly ignorant of the numbers and the strength of the native tribes. But they seem to have taken for granted the sufficiency of free wild space for themselves and the natives to live in amity. Doubtless, too, they felt sure that the barbarians would welcome them as bringing with them the blessings of civilization, the tools and implements, the food, the seed, the clothing, the habits, the redeemed humanity, which the savages would be so ready to accept with an overflowing gratitude as a substitute for their rude resources and their benighted, bewildered, and dismal way of life. But in the last resort, knowing themselves to be of a nobler stock than the red men, privileged too with a higher intelligence, and above all armed with deadly weapons in comparison with which the bows and the stone hatchets of the Indians were

as toys, it was enough for the white man to feel that he was able to hold his ground.

Again, the early colonial enterprises were all feeble, and with scarce an exception attended with sharp and almost extinguishing disaster, in which, if the Indians appear at all, it is simply to give relief. Often did they perform these acts of mercy to wretched white men in their extremities. As has been said before, these kindly acts of the savages were in every case ill requited. The Spanish invaders of the south of the continent and the first French voyagers at the north, after partaking of a gentle wilderness hospitality, both kidnapped some of the Indians and carried them across the ocean, leaving their intimidated relatives to wonder over their fate.

Neither had our English seamen to our own coasts failed to commit the same treacherous acts. Captain Weymouth himself publicly told the story in London of his kidnapping five Indians at Pemaquid, in 1605, though he said that he treated them well, and that his object was to promote civilization and trade. Again, in 1614, Captain Thomas Hunt, without the knowledge of Captain John Smith under whose orders he was, kidnapped twenty-seven Indians, in or near Plymouth harbor, who were sold in Spain for slaves. By the humanity of Spanish friars some of these were redeemed and sent back. Some of the tribe to which these belonged—the Nausits—were those who had the first encounter with the Plymouth Pilgrims on their landing. The Pilgrims in their first straits of hunger, while exploring for a permanent place of settlement, helped themselves to some of the buried corn-heaps of the natives. The justifying excuse for the act was necessity, and a sort of restitution was afterwards made to the owners.

First impressions made and received when strangers come into intercourse often decide the future relations between the parties. If we could learn how the natives were affected by their first knowledge of the whites, we should

probably find that they regarded the English as a somewhat unscrupulous people.

Further, we must note that it soon came to be understood that the relations of Europeans as they reached here, towards the native races, would be decided in each case by the intent and purpose of each party of the strangers as they appeared, whether that purpose involved transient traffic, as in the fisheries and the fur-trade, or permanent occupancy of the soil, with extending farms and towns. The Dutch and the French might, for their purposes, have had peaceful relations with the savages, to their mutual benefit. The English colonists, radiating from their original landings, and steadily extending into the interior, found, for obvious reasons, that their relations with the natives must be hostile. Why? Simply because the temper and habits, the prejudices and purposes of English yeomen made it utterly impossible for them to have the savages as co-residents on the soil, or even as proximate neighbors. In fifty years, more than as many English towns had been planted on our shores and in the nearest border of the wilderness, in valleys, on river bottoms and mill streams. In the skirting forests the savages still harbored, and the primary antagonisms of the two modes of life at once presented themselves with sharp and practical issues. When King Philip found that the value of the land which he had sold to the whites was so enhanced by their use of it, he regretted that he had parted with it. Conspicuously intelligent as he was for a savage, and proudly independent in spirit, like the other great conspiring chieftains with whom we have come into conflict, he stoutly withstood civilization and what was offered to him as Christianity. He forbade all mission work, all attempts to convert his people. He preferred by inclination and conviction the wild state as best and fittest for them. Such views of Christianity as he had formed from contact with its white disciples and the converts they had made from

the red men were unfavorable, and he repelled it. He complained that his own people were withdrawn from allegiance and tribute to him, and that the white man's laws and court processes were forced upon him. The white man's fencings and fields prevented free travel, while the fencings did not prevent the white man's cattle breaking through them and trampling the Indians' corn. Though the whites seem to have taken for granted that a nomadic roving or a transient occupancy over wild territory gave no valid title to it to barbarians, yet the Indians evidently thought it theirs, at least as much as it was the white man's. So it was all over the continent. When the French colonist Ribault, entering the St. John River in Florida, in 1562, quietly set up by night a stone pillar bearing the arms of France, and took possession for his king, the savages, seeing it the next morning, gazed upon it with stolid bewilderment, regarding it as an altar of worship, not as a royal prerogative, not realizing that their territory had passed from their possession. When the Popham colony, in 1607, took their position for a fort on the Sagadahoc, the natives objected to the effrontery of the act, as no permission had been asked and no compensation offered. In 1631 a Dutchman, in Delaware, had set up a post with the arms of the Dutch. An Indian pulled it down. His chief had him killed to appease the Dutchman. This stirred up the Indians, and they "massacred" every one in the Dutch fort. When Lord Baltimore was making his first settlement on the Potomac, he asked the chief if he might plant himself there. The cautious savage replied "that he would not bid him go, neither would he bid him stay; he must use his own discretion."

When the four New England colonies confederated themselves in 1643, the preamble to their covenant assumed a very lordly tone towards the natives, thus:—

"Whereas we live encompassed with people of several nations and strange languages, which hereafter may prove injurious to us or

our posterity; and forasmuch as the natives have formerly committed sundry insolences and outrages upon several Plantations of the English, and have of late combined themselves against us, etc."

It is to be remembered that our aborigines were the first of the class of human beings called "heathens" which our English ancestors had ever known or seen. The theory about them was that they were a wrecked and doomed portion of the race of Adam, under a curse,—the spoil of the Devil for eternity. The human form, with a mere fragment of the intellectual and moral endowment of our race, could secure at best only pity for such creatures. It was among the rough frontiersmen of the West that the saying originated, that the Indian has no more soul than a buffalo. Our ancestors allowed him a soul, though under the circumstances it was a questionable endowment. It may fairly be inferred from the estimate our fathers made of the natives, that they believed that existence had no intrinsic value for an Indian. Taking into view also the fact that the whole history of humanity on this globe gives us but a succession of wars of races, the strong against the weak, the lighter color against the darker color, the civilized against the barbarous, we have to add to it also another,—that the claim to possess, under divine mercy, a true and pure religion, has been made the pretext for visiting what is called the divine wrath upon all who are left in the darkness of heathenism.

Our colonial period covers a series of woful and racking experiences to the native tribes, uniformly disastrous to them and beyond measure demoralizing to them as regards any form of permanent good which they might have derived from intercourse with the whites. All the tribes that had any dealings with the Europeans, hostile or friendly, and even some distant tribes that had as yet been unmolested in their forest recesses, were from the first parties to all the fierce strifes waged by the white men of rival nation-

alities to obtain the mastery in dominion here. The contests in their prolonged and embittered animosities, with devastation, massacre, and the heightening of all the horrors of civilized warfare so called, were all of them waged at the expense of the natives for their own soil, and they were sure to be the chief sufferers whatever might be the result of each collision, and whichever party prevailed. But none the less, under the fatuity of their destiny, they became discreditable allies of one or another of the contending nationalities, and needless foes of each other in quarrels not their own. The same fatuity of circumstances which first assigned them to one or another party as friend or foe, forced them, in the changing relations of all parties, to shift their alliance here and there as fate impelled them. The Spaniards never concerned themselves with any anxiety or sense of responsibility as to the territorial rights of the savages: the Church's sacred prerogative carried all other claims with it. Nor was it within the purpose or practice of the Spaniards to become colonists or agriculturists through any outlay or labor of their own, in occupying and subduing wild lands. They looked for an easier and a more exciting thrift. The leaders, officials, and functionaries of their invading columns did indeed seek to become proprietors of islands and of immense stretches of territory for mining or cultivation, or for their products. But while the fee of these conquests might vest in Spanish nobles, hidalgos, or ecclesiastics, the work upon them was to be done by the imported African slaves, and by the natives reduced to the same condition. And it was the Catholic monarch, not the natives, who transferred the title to these fair islands, fields, forests, and mines, and issued patents for their possession and government. Were it not for statutes of limitations, if the sense of natural justice and the benevolent impulse for the righting of all wrongs should ever reach a paroxysm over the hearts of civilized man, many descendants

of the despoiled would furnish business for a high court of claims.

A selection from our local annals of a few of the numerous cases recorded of the sale of parcels of land or of stretches of territory, by the Indians to the whites, may help us to form some idea of the nature of the transaction and of the conditions involved in it. It is to be observed that the transaction was always a loose one, whatever attempt may in any instance have been made to make the terms and warrants formal. There was in most cases an utter neglect of all definiteness and precision as to boundaries; a disregard of all rival claims that might be set up by other parties than the sachem who made the transfer; and no absolute quit-claim as to any reserved rights which might be implied, and which in many cases, as it will appear, were afterwards asserted.

We find frequent positive and even boastful assertions in our early New England records,—like that repeated by Increase Mather,—that till Philip's war, in 1675, the English did not occupy a foot of land without fair purchase. This assertion, if true in the spirit of it as indicating the intent and will of the colonists, is subject to so many abating and qualifying conditions as greatly to reduce the seeming equity of the transactions to which it refers.

There were honest attempts from the first, on the part of the Plymouth and Massachusetts authorities, to prevent the trespass of white men on land that had not been purchased from the Indians. Intruders, in some cases, on complaint being made, were compelled to vacate. Laws were passed to prevent individual bargains. So far as the English were concerned, James II., by proclamation, made the right of purchasing territory from the Indians exclusively a government prerogative. The colonies and States have maintained the same prerogative; but the restriction has been little regarded. In some cases the Indians invited white men to settle and plant among them; but the privi-

lege granted was considered revocable by the Indians whenever they were tired of their company. Plymouth court made an enactment that certain of the best necks of land in their bounds,—like Mount Hope, Pocasset, etc.,—as being most suitable and convenient for the Indians, should not be purchased from them. In Increase Mather's History of Philip's War, he quotes the well-known letter addressed to him by Josiah Winslow, of Plymouth, in which the writer says that the court strictly reserved the first-mentioned sites to the Indians to prevent their parting with them, which otherwise they would have done. It is in this letter that Winslow makes the positive assertion, that "before these present troubles broke out the English did not possess one foot of land in this colony but what was fairly obtained by honest purchase of the Indian proprietors." Yet Dr. Mather begins his History with this sentence: "That the heathen people amongst whom we live, and whose land the Lord God of our fathers hath given to us for a rightful possession," etc. Dr. Mather furnishes evidences — of which there are so many more — of that relentless and vindictive, and we may say savage, spirit which burned in the hearts of magistrates, ministers, and people as the consequence of what they had suffered in their very first wars from the exasperated savages. This was invariably the effect on the feelings of whites who had had experience of Indian warfare. Not one throb of pity or sympathy for the natives softens the bitterness poured out upon them by the Mathers. More rancorous even are the terms used of the Indians by the Rev. William Hubbard of Ipswich, whom the Court made the historian of New England. He calls them "treacherous villains," "the dross of mankind," "the dregs and lees of the earth," "faithless and ungrateful monsters," "the caitiff Philip," etc. Mather said, "The Lord in judgment had been riding among us on a red horse."

Between holding lands by fair purchase from the In-

dians and receiving them as "a rightful possession from the Lord God," there is certainly a confusion of title.

In 1610 Captain West, of the Virginia Colony, purchased of "King" Powhatan the region around the present city of Richmond — whatever that might include — for a small quantity of copper.

In 1626 Governor Minit bought the Island of Manhattan (New York) for sixty guilders (twenty-four dollars).

In 1634 the Maryland Indians agreed that Lord Baltimore's Company, for the consideration of some cloth, tools, and trinkets, should share their town till the harvest; and then, on further like consideration, the Indians would move off, leaving the white man in possession. It is intimated, however, that the accommodating tribe were in dread of being driven from their land by a band of neighboring red men.

In 1638 the Swedes bought Christiana of the Indians for a kettle and some trifling wares.

In 1638 the island of Rhode Island was purchased of the chiefs by Roger Williams's company for "forty fathoms of white beads." But Williams says that it was "for love and favor with the great sachem," not for an equivalent value, that he received it.

In 1638 New Haven was sold to the whites by sachems, for "twelve coats of English cloth, twelve alchemy [metal] spoons, twelve hoes, twelve hatchets, twelve porringers, twenty-four knives, and four cases of French knives and scissors."

In 1642 Gorton and his company bought Shawomet, of Miantonomo and others, for one hundred and forty-four fathoms of wampum.

In 1666 the site of Newark in New Jersey was paid for by fifty double hands of powder, one hundred bars of lead; of axes, coats, pistols, and hoes, twenty each; of guns, kettles, and swords, ten each; four blankets, four barrels of beer, two pairs of "breeches," fifty knives, eight hun-

dred and fifty fathoms of wampum, "two ankers of liquors, or something equivalent, and three troopers' coats." This formidable inventory indicates either that the Indians had become more appreciative of their land and better skilled in bargaining, or that the white purchasers had become more conscionable.

In 1670 Staten Island passed to a white owner for four hundred fathoms of wampum and a number of guns, axes, kettles, and watch-coats.

The first settlers of Boston, besides buying out the right of the lonely first English occupant, paid a trifle to a survivor of the tribe killed off by the plague, and again to his grandson, in 1685.

The sea-shore town of Beverly, with an Indian village and "improvements," was purchased for £6 6s. 8d.

The famous "Walking Purchase" of Pennsylvania land by the Quakers is variously viewed, as a fair transaction, or as an adroit trick of slyness against simplicity.

To one who should care to pursue and probe to the bottom any single case of controversy between the colonists and the Indians, which after being aggravated ended in ruthless slaughter, each side complaining that the other was the first aggressor, that of King Philip's war, in 1675—involving, relatively, the most formidable conspiracy ever formed among the natives, and at one time threatening the absolute extermination of the whites—would furnish the most suggestive instance. Indeed this war, with its provocations, suspicions, and wrongs on either side, has been made a signal example of pleading and championship in our local histories. No Indian historian has left us the relation of its conduct and causes, from his point of view. But though the whites had the whole field for self-justification at the time, and find their side well argued in most of our sober and elaborate histories from their day to our own, there are not wanting vigorous, fair-minded, and effective pleaders who have told the story from the Indian point of

view, in a way to vindicate Philip and his followers as altogether justifiable in their course of resistance to the white man's wrongs and outrages. These Indian advocates have cast upon our ancestral magistrates and soldiers the burden of what to us seems inhuman, and, of course, unchristian.

In the abundance and variety of the printed pages relating to the right and the wrong in Philip's war, it would hardly be worth our while to attempt another discussion of it. It is very easy to make and strengthen a plea on either side, for each had a cause and found justification for standing for it, even to the most dire extremities. It is enough to say that our sympathy, at least, goes with the barbarous victims of their own blind and dauntless effort to resist what we call their destiny; and that the weight of condemnation must come on the English for suspicions and unwise measures and actual wrongs, in the early stages of the strife. They were the intruders; they were arrogant and overbearing; they were the stronger party, and, in profession at least, held themselves more intelligently bound to justice, mercy, and righteousness. The blame, I say, is with them in the opening of the strife. But as it advanced, and in their dread consternation as it strengthened in extent and horror and success; as their frontiers were desolated, and fire, massacre, and torture came nearer and nearer to their centre,—the yell, the tomahawk, the scalping-knife, and the torch working up the nightmare of every man, woman, and child in their scattered settlements,—we can no longer interpose our scruples as to acts or apprehensions of the exasperated and almost desperate colonists. Probably we cannot overstrain the palliation we are disposed to find for the whites, alike in their opinion of the natural fiendishness of the Indian character and their horror of Indian warfare, after their first dire experience of both. White men all over this warring globe have generally suspended hostilities in the dark hours of night, if only that they might distinguish between friend and foe;

but the darkness was the time for the Indian's revelry in horrors. The Indian, in his warfare with the English, availed himself of all those resources of his own which compensated his lack of the white man's means. The patience with which the savage would lie in the covert of the thicket, perhaps for one or several days, to watch the husbandman who might pass to his field or clearing, made the whole space around a settlement, and long reaches between the settlements, haunted as with imps of mischief. The savages, soon learning of the Sunday habits of the English in their rude temples, would steal upon the cabins, where only infants and the infirm were left, and ply the tomahawk, the scalping-knife, and the torch. They dashed the infants against rock or tree before the eyes of their mothers; they maimed and slaughtered the cattle; they bore their prisoners off for unnamed tortures. But it was their onset by night, or before the gray of morning, on an unsuspecting group of sleepers in the rude dwellings on the edge of the wilderness, with their yells and whoops, that heaped the dreads of their warfare. This experience, with all the variations of ferocity, malignity, and atrocity, was especially harrowing for those who shared the realities of Philip's dark conspiracy, and it struck deeply and burned sharply into their hearts and minds their hate of the Indian as an enemy.

I have selected King Philip's war in 1675, rather than the earlier Pequot war in 1636, as affording the specimen case for presenting all the elements which enter into a historical examination and discussion of the causes and occasion and conduct of a bitter strife between the English colonists and those upon whose lands and rights they were trespassing. Whatever was the territorial tenure of the natives here, they were justified in maintaining it, certainly against those who with no claim at all were evidently bent upon dispossessing them. The most significant and distinguishing quality in that war was, that the readiness with which

the master mind of the great Indian chieftain succeeded in engaging in his conspiracy so comprehensive a body of the natives—many of them not of his own tribe—showed how widespread was the hatred of the English, and how easily the Indians could be banded against them. Another exceptional incident in that war was that the whites had no Indian allies, saving only a few individual informers, spies, and guides who were faithless to their own race. Some of the more melancholy complications and consequences of King Philip's war, as thwarting the best intentioned schemes formed by the most humane of the Massachusetts people for the civilization and security of the natives, will present themselves in our dealing with another theme.

The Pequot war of 1636, which was the first in the series of bloody and well-nigh exterminating campaigns of the New Englanders against the natives, involved some peculiar elements, which at least in their own judgment relieved the former of all blame for what they did, and even gave them the honorable merit of avengers of wrong. The Pequots—inhabiting the finest spaces in Connecticut, extending to the Hudson River—were a fierce and numerous tribe, who had driven off the former occupants of the territory in a series of conflicts, and so held by recent conquest. The English had consented to their own proffers of amity. A feud existed between them and their neighbors the Narragansetts in Rhode Island, who instigated the whites, upon provocations which they soon received, to accept them as allies against the Pequots. Even Roger Williams became the adviser and efficient helper of the magistrates and soldiers of the other colonies in the exterminating campaign which was soon opened against them. The Pequots had committed a succession of murders, on the land and river and bay, of individuals and small parties of the whites who had first ventured for trade or settlement upon their territories. They had accompanied these deeds with mutilations of the bodies of their victims, and with defiances and taunts

of the English. Most summary was the vengeance which they had thus provoked. No feature of savage warfare was lacking in the night assault, the burnings, the impalings, the promiscuous slaughter, the pursuit into swamps, by which the whites with red allies extinguished that fierce tribe, reserving only a remnant to be sold for slaves. A modern historian must be excused from relating, as he could not essay to relieve, the sadness and shame of the truthful record of the conduct of the English in that dark episode, closed with their perfidy in sacrificing the noble Miantonomó.

We may infer somewhat of the opinion held beforehand by the Plymouth Pilgrims of the sort of human beings they were to find here, from what the excellent Governor Bradford tells us was in the minds of his associates in Holland when they were hesitating in their purpose to cross the ocean as exiles. He writes: "The place they had thoughts on was some of those vast and unpeopled countries of America which are fruitful and fit for habitation, being devoid of all civil inhabitants, where there are only salvage and brutish men, which range up and down little otherwise than the wild beasts of the same." This was written many years after Bradford had been living here among the Indians, and had had full knowledge of them.¹

Cotton Mather² writes: "These parts were then covered with nations of barbarous Indians and infidels, in whom the Prince of the power of the air did work as a spirit; nor could it be expected that nations of wretches, whose whole religion was the most explicit sort of Devil-worship, should not be acted by the Devil to engage in some early and bloody action for the extinction of a plantation so contrary to his interests as that of New England was." He calls Satan "the old landlord" of the country. It certainly must have seemed to the Indians that the landlord

¹ Bradford's History of Plymouth.

² Magnalia, vii. 6.

had not improved upon his tenantry by substituting white for red men.

A journal written in the Dutch province, at Albany, New York, soon after 1640, traces the beginnings of discordant relations with the neighboring Indians to the misdoings of the whites. The writer says, that, instead of trading, as a company and by system, with the natives, each man set up for himself, roamed in the wilderness for free traffic, and was mastered by a jealous selfishness. They drew upon themselves contempt instead of respect from the Indians by over familiarity,—admitting them to their cabins, feasting and trifling with them, and selling them guns, powder, and bullets. At least four hundred armed savages were then found between the Dutch settlements and Canada, and were thus placed at an unfair and mischievous advantage over other Indians. These charges relate rather, at the time when they were written, to the Dutch than to the English, and were strictly true. The English governor of the province long after its transfer, Governor Colden, tells us how a chief complained to him of the stiffer attitude of pride which the English assumed towards the natives. He said: “When the Dutch held this country, we lay in their houses; but the English have always made us lie without doors.” Colden adds: “It is true that the Plantations were first settled by the meanest people of every nation, and such as had the least sense of honor. The Dutch first settlers, many of them, I may say, had none of the virtues of their countrymen except their industry in getting money, and they sacrificed everything other people think honorable or most sacred, to their gain.” This also was said of the Dutch, not of the English, colonists.

From 1640 to 1643 the war then raging between the Dutch and the Indians threatened to become general through the colonies. The traders up the Hudson had defied all the rigid prohibitions against the selling arms to the Indians, and the Mohawks with their confederates on the

river nearly exterminated the settlers at Manhattan. Then the massacre of the Indians by the Dutch at Pavonia and Corlaer's Hook was attended by barbarous tortures, which rivalled in cruelty and horror even the savagery of the natives. Fearful devastation and terror followed. Two Indians were so shockingly tortured by the Dutch at Manhattan that even some squaws, as they looked on, cried, "*Shame!*" Captain Underhill, leading the Dutch, massacred nearly seven hundred Indians near Greenwich and Stamford. It was estimated that sixteen hundred savages were killed in this war.

Three distinct and most destructive massacres and onsets by the Indians are marked in the early colonial history of Virginia. The first settlers in their almost abortive efforts, renewed in spite of overwhelming disasters and failures, to obtain a foothold on the soil, had been frequently, we may say continuously, indebted to the generosity of the natives in rescuing them from starvation. In ungrateful return they insulted and spoiled their benefactors. Stirred to self-defence and revenge by a resolute chieftain, — successor and brother to the so-called "Emperor" Powhatan, who hated the encroaching whites, — a secret conspiracy was organized among them, long and carefully planned, without knowledge or suspicion by the settlers. On the day agreed upon, in concert, the scattered dwellings of the colonists were set upon, — March 22, 1622. Laborers and loiterers and whole families were taken in the panic of surprise, and in one and the same hour three hundred and fifty whites — men, women, and children — were slaughtered. The miserable remnant took refuge within their rude and rotting fort at Jamestown, and the wonder is that the savages did not follow up their furious onset by starving and extirpating that remnant. Nor did the whites learn wisdom, caution, or humanity from this visitation of vengeance from those whom they so outraged and oppressed.

When the news of this massacre reached London, and it was brought there before the Council of Virginia, the word sent back to the dismayed wretches at Jamestown was this: "We must advise you to root out from being any longer a people so cursed, a nation ungrateful to all benefits and incapable of all goodness,"—the "people" and "nation" thus described being the Indian, not the English. And again: "Take a sharp revenge upon the bloody miscreants, even to the measure that they intended against us,—the rooting them out for being longer a people on the face of the earth."

Another concerted outburst of the savages in Virginia took place in 1644, when nearly as many of the whites as in the previous conspiracy were numbered as victims. Still a third similar combination of the hounded and abused natives, in 1656, renewed the efforts, at any cost to themselves, to visit the utmost vengeance upon their tormentors. Though the whites in this case had Indian allies, the result rather aggravated their disasters.

Were it worth the careful and thorough research which would be required for a full examination of all our materials of local and general history, to pursue the details of these various conflicts between the whites and the Indians as they were first enacted by the earlier bodies of the colonists on the regions nearest to the seaboard, it is believed that full verification would be made of the assertion, that, notwithstanding the white man's superiority in weapons and skill, the victims on his own side in all hostilities far outnumbered those of the red men. That, save in the Quaker proprietary province of Pennsylvania, there should not have been a single exception, near the close of the century so filled with savage warfare, to the universal enactment of these tragic massacres between the two races, might offer another subject for thorough investigation by an interested inquirer. Were there forces working through natural antipathies, through irreconcil-

able race instincts, and through the compulsion of circumstances, which made this struggle inevitable? If so, and if this view of the facts can be philosophically sustained, not in vindication of wrong, but in explanation of experience, then a lesson so signally assured as true in the past must furnish instruction and guidance for the future. But if all this direful rage and havoc of human passion, this goading purpose of mastery by the strong and privileged over the weak and incompetent, were merely a huge struggle of might against right, it is simple trifling to refer it to any principle rooted in the nature of things. Race prejudices have had range and opportunity sufficient to show their strength. Perhaps the world is wise and humane enough now to inquire whether they are just and right, whether they are to be yielded to or discredited.

During our whole colonial and provincial period it was the hard fate of the Indians, as we have seen, to bear the brunt of every quarrel between the rival European colonists in their jealousies and struggles for dominion and the profits of the fur-trade. No sooner had one of the rivals conciliated or established friendly relations with one or more of the tribes, than the representatives of the other rival would seek to thwart any advantage of their opponents by openly or covertly forming alliances with other tribes. Tribes which might otherwise have lived in a state of suspended animosities with each other were thus driven to take the war-path. So, too, it has happened that the whole or a portion of a tribe, or of allied tribes, in the course of a century was found in the pay and service of the French against the English; of the English against the French; of the Spaniards against the French, and of the French against the Spaniards; and then of the armies of Great Britain and our own provincial forces against the French, followed in a few years by their enlistment by Great Britain to aid her in crushing the rebellion of her own colonies.

We have referred thus far only to such acts of warfare with the savages during our colonial period as were without concert between colonists in widely separated localities, each defending its own plantation with its own resources against its own assailants.

This statement, however, as to the separate conduct of hostilities in the early colonial period by each distinct plantation is subject to qualification in the case of the New England colonists. These came into a confederation in 1643, mainly with a view to mutual protection and defence against the savages. They were to be friends and allies in military operations, and to recognize their enemies as common. Though this confederation had not been formed at the time of the Pequot war, as the component parties to it were not all then in being, there was an anticipation of its objects so far as the case admitted. Soldiers from Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Rhode Island, with Narragansett and Mohican allies, composed the army of invasion and destruction. When the colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, New Haven, and Connecticut came into confederacy, a jealousy and dislike of some of the characteristic principles of Rhode Island led to its exclusion, though it had liberty to come in as if really a part of Plymouth colony. In King Philip's war the confederacy proved to be very effective, though there were jars and much friction in its elements and in its executive workings. So this great conspiracy of the natives was met, as were the oppressive measures of the mother country just a century afterwards, by the union of confederated colonial forces. Gradually, as the drama advanced over the stage of the continent, not only did all the colonial governments find themselves drawn into more or less of combined hostility against the natives, but England came into the strife with fleets and armies.

The rivalry between the English and the French colonists, which for nearly a century and a half had been fomenting here, — varied by broils, intrigues, local conflicts,

and bloody struggles in the wilderness and on the frontiers, with naval encounters, sieges, and changing success and failure, with occasional pauses by truce and diplomacy,— was substantially brought to a decision by what we call emphatically the French and Indian War. The final struggle was protracted for seven years, the period closing a little more than a decade before the opening of our Revolutionary War. By the Peace of Paris, in 1763, France ceded to Great Britain all her territory here lying east of the Mississippi; retaining Louisiana, as then so defined, which, however, by a secret treaty she ceded at the time to Spain, to be regained afterwards by France, and then sold to our Government. While France was still maintaining her hold upon Canada and the Ohio Valley, she had won to her side the Western Indian tribes, and had even to some degree conciliated her old-time relentless foes, the Iroquois of New York. But from the first tokens of the crippling and failing of the sway of France, her Indian allies began to manifest their inconstancy and fickleness and their mercenary spirit by trimming for English friendships. The English had already encroached upon the fur-trade; and though their enterprise of this sort had been perilous, it had proved profitable enough to prompt extension. England, as has been observed on a previous page, had now an opportunity which she wasted or trifled with, so as to turn against her the fiercest and most disastrous and the most concentrated struggle against their destiny which the Indian tribes had ever been goaded into making since their first collision with the white man. The effect in the diplomacy of the courts of the cession by France to Britain of Canada and the Ohio Valley was to transfer all the Indian tribes of those vast regions to British sway. The Indians became as much subjects of the British Crown as were the white colonists. They had no part in this treaty transfer, whatever might have been their part in the war which was closed by it. They had no idea of being thus made over,

with their territory, by one foreign power to another, both being alike intruders and interlopers. England did indeed, after the treaty, by proclamation, reserve the Ohio Valley and the neighboring region for the Indians, and forbade the whites to intrude for settlement upon it. But the Indians had not at the time the knowledge of this royal provision for them; and in fact it was made too late, for the mischief which it was intended to avert had been already done. That country had been penetrated by English traders, who coursed over portions of it with their trains of pack-horses. More than this: daring and enterprising men, with or without their families, had cleared and occupied many settlements or isolated homes scattered over its attractive spaces. Wofully did they have to meet, in addition to the toils and buffetings of their pioneer life, the vengeance of their exasperated savage foes.

The first move of the regulars of the Crown with provincial troops was to take possession of the forts and strongholds ceded with the French dominion, to change their garrisons, and to substitute the British flag for that of France. These strongholds were sadly battered and decayed. The French had cajoled the ever-jealous savages to wink at their establishment, as trading-posts and mission stations, on the pretence that they would be a security to the favored tribes against their foes. The British forces at the time were much reduced; only skeletons of regiments left here and others weakened by service in the West Indies being available, as the body of the troops had been disbanded and sent home at the peace. It was under these circumstances and with such means that the lake and valley posts passing from the sway of France were to be occupied by the English at a cost not foreseen.

In reading from original and authentic sources the letters, journals, and narratives relating to the French and Indian wars and to our own immediately subsequent conflicts under Great Britain with the infuriated savages, we

are profoundly impressed by the prowess, heroism, outlay of arduous effort and exhaustive toil by the English and provincial forces. Their work was in gloomy and almost impenetrable forests, often pathless and treacherous, beset by ambushed foes, whose stealthy tread was as noiseless as their fiendish shrieks and yellings were appalling, when they broke from the woods with tomahawk and scalping-knife upon their wretched victims. The policy of all the European colonists — whether their main object was the occupation of interior territory in their rivalry for possession, or to secure a centre of trade with the Indians — was to push forward armed parties, with supplies, to seize strategic posts for strongholds. These were advanced beyond the actual settlements, and were planted at the forks or near the sources of rivers, at portages, and on favoring sites on the shores of lakes. These forts were defended and protected as well as circumstances would permit. They would have been but as houses of cards in the warfare of civilized men; but they were of service against the simple tactics of the savage. A blockhouse of solid timber, with rude barracks, a magazine, a well, the whole surrounded by a high stockade with loopholes, — such was the wilderness fort. They were designed to admit of communication with each other, and so with the centres of civilization, whence from time to time supplies and reinforcements for their garrisons might be brought to them. Often when there were any outlying and scattered settlements near these defended posts, the dismayed and perilled frontier families, or fugitives escaping from a massacre, would flee to them for a refuge. When the savages in their rage and rapacity were lurking around one of these exposed forts, or daringly besieging it with their crafty demand for a parley, or their mocking taunts and hideous bellowings, they racked their barbarous ingenuity for means for outwitting the hated white man. Night and day the slender garrison, often weak from scant fare and exhausted by sleeplessness,

would need to watch every moment lest an arrow, winged with flaming tow, should fire their combustible defences, or they should expose head or limb to foes armed now with the white man's weapons as well as their own, and skilled already in some of the arts and guile of their enemies.

The courage of the garrison was nerved in every fibre and muscle to hold the fort; bearing almost inconceivable drafts upon their fortitude and endurance, because they well knew what horrors and torments would attend their fate if they faltered and were vanquished. We read with creepings of our flesh, and as if we were having part in the long-drawn agony, the literally faithful reports from these forest strongholds. As when we witness the marvellous feats of acrobats and jugglers, or listen to the strains of some gifted musician, or admire the genius of an artist in some consummate work, we are led to marvel at the manifold and latent capacities and aptitudes of our common human nature in its play and in its finer endowments,—so, when we are made to realize what men have dared and done, what they have effected and endured, and how they have existed and also found the zest of a strange joy through perils and woes, even the relation of which we cannot bear, then also are we reminded of what there is of latent power and ability in men. One grows distasteful of sentimental romance and the creations of fiction who has informed himself of such real things in man's exposures and ventures and endurings. It seems heartless to play with such stern experiences as if fancy or rhythm could either soften or heighten them.

In keeping up communication between these forest garrisons with each other and with their base, it was always necessary — and the emergency was greatest when the peril or disaster was most threatening and dire — to send expresses through the haunted wilderness. Whenever the straits or the baffled wits or the deliberate judgment of the officer in command decided that a scout or messenger

must be sent forth on that stern errand, he had a right to name his man. He knew whom to select; and very rarely—I know not if in any case—did the order find the man to refuse or to quail. To creep through the gate in the darkness; to track his way by night through forest, swamp, and watercourse, with snow-shoes or mocasons torn by the tangling briars or soaked with the ooze of the woods and marshes, listening to the music of howling wolves and hooting owls, as sweet compared with the shriek and yell of the red man; to find a covert by day, and so—alone, famished, fireless, and pinched by the cold to his very marrow—to alternate by light and darkness, still undismayed, till his errand was sped or dismally baffled;—this was his work and its conditions. Amazement comes over us when we know how often this venture of heroism succeeded. We willingly leave unveiled in tragic gloom the cases in which message and messenger were often shrouded.

What herculean toil, what a strain upon all human resources of vigor and endurance, were exacted in the planting and supply of a wilderness stronghold! The pack-horse was comparatively a deferred help in this work. Human hands and backs and shoulders did the earliest, the hardest, and the worst of it. If the convoy needed something broader than the Indian trail (the forest pathway) for a train in Indian file, then a military road was to be opened, the fallen trees making a lurking-place for skulking Indians, while the stumps and rocks impeded the lumbering wagons, with their cannon and flour-bags and meat-barrels. Cattle, too, were to be moved over those pastureless highways. When the English, after the cession of Canada, went with their scant forces and the help of provincials and occasionally some friendly Indian allies to take possession of the farther forts on the lakes, the enterprise was thick with the perils of sea and shore. On the route from the seaboard, whence artillery, muni-

tions, and all heavy supplies were to be received, lay the carrying-place around the Falls of Niagara, — the most rough and dangerous of all portages, in which was the trap well called “the Devil’s Hole.” While all supplies had to be carried in hand or on packs over this interval of precipices and maddened waters, the batteaux and the armed vessels for the lakes had to be constructed above it to receive the freight.

It is to this harrowing period of our colonial warfare with the savages, after the conquest of Canada and before our Revolutionary struggle, that Mr. Parkman devotes his marvellously skilful pen, in his “Conspiracy of Pontiac.” Though the theme of this work, wrought with such graphic power in its absorbing interest, properly closes the history of New France, in his series of volumes it was the first to be given to the public; and the author has since, in successive publications, been dealing with the periods and incidents preceding it. It was this, his first historical publication, that engaged for the author the highest appreciation of his readers, as one who had been long looked and waited for as competent, gifted, and inclined to give to the most characteristic and thrilling themes and scenes of our history a treatment worthy of their grand materials and actors. The wilderness opens its depths, its grandeur, its solitudes, and all its phenomena of scenery and adventure to his eye and thought, to his rare genius of description and interpretation. His delineation of the “Indian Summer” at Detroit is more a painting than a piece of writing. His portraiture of the savage on the war-path — in his fierceness and rage, in his weapons of hand and passion, in his weak as well as his strong qualities, in his inconstancy as in his resolve — is the most faithful that has ever been drawn in all literature. His relation of sieges, ambushes, stratagems, and fights, his details of the vigils of the imperilled in garisons and in lonely cabins, and of the desolations and woes of victims amid scenes of horror, are relieved of actual tor-

ture for the reader only by the arrest of the pen when to be told more would be unendurable.

How far the Indian tribes with which in our turn we have to deal are to be regarded in blood and lineage, in descent or affiliation, as representatives of those with whom the European colonists came into these protracted conflicts, may be an intricate question for examination. There has been a series of such conflicts on successive strips or regions of the continent, and corresponding changes in the names of the tribes encountered and vanquished. The Indians with whom the first colonists came into collision may all be supposed to have seen the salt water, as living near the seaboard where they met the invaders. Their names have dropped from speech and their tribes are regarded as extinct, whether because they have wholly perished, or because what remnants of them remain in descent have been adopted or merged in other tribes. At all events we hear nothing nowadays of Pequots, Mohicans, Narragansetts, Pamankeys. In the second century of the colonies such familiar names as the Hurons, the Mohawks, the Delawares, the Shawanoes, and the Miamis, with the Ottawas and the Ojibways, engross our attention. Now with each new year of Western enterprise some of the old names of tribes drop out of use, and new ones appear in Government records and in the papers, as the Arapahoes, the Comanches, the Apaches, the Snakes, the Blackfeet. Whether these tribes last made known to us are affiliated with those of our earliest acquaintance, or have been disclosed to us as reserved and original sections of the same old race of red men, independent in lineage and position, certain it is that they are the same sort of men in all their marked characteristics, — in nature, habits, traits, ways of life, method of warfare, jealousy and hatred of the whites, and steadfast dislike of civilization. The exceptions to this statement are few and quite recent. The savages roaming near the passes and plains of the Rocky Mountains

are identical in barbarousness with those once near our seaboard, and those once on the borders of the Great Lakes and in the Ohio Valley. The red race is unchanged in its specimen examples and in its staple, save as to the adoption by some of them of the white man's weapons and goods. In the mean time the characteristics, the habits, the feelings and sentiments of the white race have been modified even as regards the attitude assumed towards the Indians. No body of the whites now, holding relatively the same social and moral position as the stock of our first colonists, would maintain that the Indians are to be exterminated or denied the rights of humanity because they are heathens or because they are savages. Their claim to territory and to generous treatment is more frankly and emphatically recognized to-day than ever before; and this because of the white man's advance in humanity.

It is noticeable that the spirit of humane philanthropy, of leniency and sympathy as regards the Indians and their treatment, has been and is to-day exceedingly variable, not so much among classes of our people as in the places where they happen to live. The farther any community is in space, or in the dates of its history, from actual experience of Indian conflicts, the more kindly will the people in it be towards the savages in general; commiserating them, and advising their patient and forbearing treatment. Scarce one single loud breathing of pity or sympathy would have been indulged in our own neighborhood two hundred or more than one hundred years ago. Those whose eyes had beheld, or whose household memories and fresh traditions kept alive, the scenes of devastation, burning, and butchery in the New England settlements in King Philip's war would with scarce an exception have avowed, that absolute extinction, without mercy in the method, was the necessary and the rightful doom of the savage. Much the same, scarcely softened, would have been the judgment of our

soldiers and their families, and of communities living but little more than a score of miles from Boston, when the Indians goaded and led on by their Jesuit priests and the French from Canada brought devastation and massacre on so many of our frontier settlements.

The wounds of those days of agony and torture are healed. The dismay and exasperation, the rage and deeply implanted hate which fired them have cooled. The Indian has passed from our sight and range. We know him only in story, or as our daily papers tell us of distant encounters with wasting tribes, and puzzle us with confused pleadings and reproaches as to the right and wrong of each fresh outburst. He would have been a hero in nerve, and a saint or a fool in spirit or judgment, who a little more than a hundred years ago had advocated the peace policy amid the border settlements of Pennsylvania and Virginia, when, goaded by the master-purpose and plan of Pontiac, the region between the Alleghanies and the Ohio Valley was the scene of the most dire carnage, desolation, and horror; when a thousand scattered households were destroyed with all the atrocities of savage warfare, and two thousand men, women, and children suffered all the ingenuities of mutilation and torture. It does not surprise us to read that even the peace policy of the Friends, under which they had lived for more than sixty years generally so amicably with the Indians, should have yielded—some think ludicrously, others think contemptibly—under the strain and agony of that bitter crisis for humanity. In its earlier stages that frontier havoc by the infuriated league of savages hardly disturbed the tranquillity of the thrifty Quakers in Philadelphia. It was charged that their pity and sympathy for the Indians exceeded their regard for the scattered settlers on their frontiers, principally Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, who had all become victims or fugitives. The Friends, too, had a controlling influence in their provincial Assembly. When,

after imploring appeals and impassioned remonstrances, they were induced to vote a sum of money as a supply for the defence of the province, they prudently called it a gift for the service of the King. But the time came, with the straits of dire necessity, when those Philadelphia Quakers were found armed and drilled, with all the stern paraphernalia of fight and battle, with cannon planted in their barricaded streets. And that battle array was forced upon them, not for an encounter with actual Indians invading their city, but to ward off a troop of well-nigh maddened rustics,—the Paxton Boys,—the survivors and champions of their murdered neighbors, who came to insist that the peace policy should no longer trifle with the dire emergency. Hardly, under the circumstances, are we staggered at reading the tariff of bounties already mentioned, which the governor, grandson of William Penn, offered by proclamation,—as, for a male Indian prisoner, above ten years old, one hundred and fifty Spanish dollars; for a female, one hundred and thirty dollars; for the scalp of such a male, one hundred and thirty-four dollars,—of a female, fifty dollars. The Assembly voted to send three hundred men to aid in protecting the frontiers; and by the earnest request of Colonel Bouquet, as he informed General Amherst, the commissioners agreed to send to England for fifty couples of bloodhounds to be used by the Rangers on horseback against Indian-scalping parties. It was remarkable that the accumulation of all that is harrowing and desolating in the methods and atrocities of Indian warfare should have been visited upon the province which in the purpose and policy of its proprietary founder was expressly and solemnly pledged to just and amicable relations with the savages. It is but right, therefore, to make recognition of the fact that the Quakers had no initiative agency in these hostilities, and did their utmost, even to what seemed an indulgence in supineness, apathy, and indifference to the calamities visited upon the white

settlers on their bounds, to restrain the visiting of any vengeance upon the savages. The principal sufferers on the outskirts of the province were not Quakers, but, as we have noticed, Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. Though these venturesome pioneers themselves provoked the hate of the savages, they suffered as common victims of the great conspiracy of the tribes.

An important word, which we meet more frequently than any other in every historic reference to our Indian relations, is that word "Frontiers." It is used to define a supposed and somewhat imaginary boundary line between the fixed white settlements and territory vacant or still occupied by the Indians. That boundary line has always been, as it is now, a very ragged and unstable one. It has proved to be like the horizon, when one is walking towards it: it has never been a real barrier, but always movable, and always a line of strife and conflict. It has been shifting between every mountain range and every broad river between the Gulf of Mexico and the Lake of the Woods, till it has become self-obliterated, and no longer a significant word. Our frontiers, which that boundary line was supposed to limit, have become merged and blurred on the whole of this side of our continent, and have begun to advance inwards from the Pacific coast.

Less than three hundred years ago, there was not that number of Europeans on our broad domain: there are now more than forty millions of that stock here. In the development reaching to that result, it would be difficult to say where, for the space of even a single year, the frontiers of the white man have rested. The present domain of the United States may be set before our view, under joint European discovery and occupancy, as parted in three longitudinal strips dividing the continent to three great nationalities. Thus to Spain would be assigned the Pacific coast, advancing towards the Rocky Mountains; to France, the middle strip, from those Mountains to the Alleghanies;

and to Great Britain, the Atlantic seaboard. As we follow out in the records and romances of our history the steady advance of exploration and settlement under crown and proprietary grants, opening the inner recesses of our continent, we trace the workings of two great branches of enterprise, — the one, combined and public, associated and aided by royalty and patronage; the other, guided wholly by individual energy and resources. The rival efforts and conflicting claims of European sovereignties have set the great stake on trial by the ordeal of battle between white men. The ardor and heroism of individual pioneer adventurers have pushed beyond the ventures of any associated enterprise, and, with a persistency of purpose which has seemed almost like the goading of fate, have resolved that this magnificent domain should no longer serve for the tramping covert of roaming and yelping savages, but should yield itself to the uses of civilized man. Hard would it have been for the aborigines, at any time since their first sight of Europeans, to have said where the frontier boundary line was to be drawn.

Yet none the less has there been here always a line, however unstable and shifting, which may be said to have marked the frontiers of the white settlement. Deeply and distinctly, ineffaceably forever, has that line been drawn at different times, in the records of heroism and tragedy, in deeds and tales of courage, daring, barbarity, and agony. I think I speak within the bounds of sober truth, when I say that there is not anywhere on this continent an area of twenty square miles that has not witnessed a death struggle between the white and the red men, not merely as individuals, but in bands. Never was a people so concerned, as within the last half century our own people have become, in searching out the local history and tracing the human associations of every spot of our settled territory. Indeed, we are overlaying our history with piles and masses of literature which no one lifetime can ever master.

And the records or traditions of every town and village narration begin with an Indian story. We might expect it would be so as regards our seaboard, but it is equally and even emphatically the same with the youngest settlement of the West. If there might be judicious digests of personal experience and adventure in our successive frontiers, with the fresh coloring of real nature and actual life, without any heightening from romance, what stores of exciting and thrilling literature in biography and ballad would be provided for our young readers in the coming generations! When there are no longer here any virgin soil, nor pathless forests, nor lurking beasts, nor rivers unbridged, undammed, reposing with their lakes in wild solitudes; when cities and villages, manufactories and railways, fast dwellings and secure highways, stretch from ocean to ocean,—how breezy and rejuvenating will be the gathered lore of our early days of pioneers and adventurers, of white men who became Indians, of hardy and self-reliant solitary explorers and trappers, who trod only on grass and leaves, lived on their surroundings, drank from the stream, slept under the stars, and were ready at any moment for the yelling savage and his tomahawk!

We are to remember that, with the single exception of the English Puritan colonists, the first Europeans to come here were for a considerable time only men, without women, and to a man adventurers, daring, self-reliant, full of nerve and vigor,—often, too, reckless. It was not in the nature of such men to remain still anywhere. They did not love any kind of industrious, quiet occupation any better than did the Indians. Tillage and handicrafts were an abomination to most of them; they meant that the soil, the waters, and the woods should yield them free sustenance. The large mass of them deliberately cast themselves upon the Indian supplies, meagre as these often were. But as the stream of colonization swelled, the necessity of labor for life became a stern one. Then single settlers,

groups, or families began to trace the rivers inland to their sources, in search of fertile meadows and bottom lands, and game and peltry. From that time we began to have frontiers, and we have had them ever since. We may draw their lines as they advanced from year to year, by our river courses, and our mountain ranges and rich valleys. The Alleghanies seemed for a brief time as if they would be a permanent barrier to the English, especially as on the other side the Indians were already armed by the French and allied with them. If the genius of Walter Scott has invested with a romantic glow the raids of cattle-lifters and freebooters on the Scottish borders, as the Highlanders rushed from their glens to plunder the Lowlanders, what may not the pens of ready writers for all time to come do with a region like that which we first called the West, with its tales of prowess and heroism, of lonely settlers and sparse garrisons, and of fierce struggles in which every creek and meadow and hill-top was the prize at stake between red men and white men! The field for our storytellers and romancers and poets is indeed a rich one. Cooper's tales and Campbell's "Gertrude of Wyoming" have hardly trenched upon its mines.

When enterprise, courage, and victory had secured the line at the foot of the Alleghanies, single pioneers had already advanced the line, and lonely settlers were carrying the frontier onwards. It crossed the territory of our Middle States; then Mississippi, Illinois, Wisconsin, Missouri, and Iowa, Kansas, Dakota, and the Plains, reaching the foot of the Rocky Mountains; and then the restless and adventurous white man traversed the whole land course to meet from the Pacific coast the traffickers who had gone round by sea to exchange cargoes on the Columbia.

Stockade forts, army posts, sylvan camps, military roads, emigrant trains, and mail stations have year by year marked the advances of this frontier line. There is hardly a more interesting and suggestive theme than that caught either

by a glance of the eye or by the close study of the mind over a full series of maps found in the journals of explorers or in our voluminous Government archives, illustrating the westward progress of our race and power on this continent. Along the courses and at the forks of all our great rivers, at their mouths and at their sources, on lake and creek, we find dotted the successive posts occupied for defence, for refuge, or for supplies. They are simply stages, — hardly so stable as that: they are scarcely more than the footmarks, the tread from step to step, of the restless white man. And the names which these earthen burrows or palisaded defences bear on the maps (for they are in many cases passing into oblivion) are the head-lines or titles of so many stories, — the names of military heroes, or hapless victims, or tragic scenes of endurance or massacre. It is hardly strange that our Western countrymen should be open to the charge from our mother land of having corrupted, or barbarized, or vulgarized the English language. Our Western explorers and adventurers have had occasion for words or vocables not found in the dictionaries, and they have not hesitated to invent them, or to let Nature do it for them. Our Government has under preparation an authentic and elaborate map, which is carefully to mark the original native names for the whole continent, and to note the successive nomenclature of red and white men. And the map will be a history. It will not, however, be desirable to perpetuate the names which pioneers and “prospectors” have transiently attached from their mean and often foul vocabularies to fresh wilderness scenes. Of these the following present specimens: “Tarry-all Ranche,” “Cash Creek,” “Gulcher Diggings,” “Buckskin Joe,” “Fair Play,” “Strip-and-at-him Mine,” “Hooked-Man’s Prairie,” etc.

And before or following after these military occupations of our inner expanses have gone the frontiersmen, alone or with their families. And what description, but one that

includes infinite variety in feature, array, fortune, character, errand, and experience, will answer to that race of pioneers, borderers, or frontiersmen? They have been like the people in our cities and towns, — the best and the worst, and of all shades and textures. Looking to the promptings which move white men to turn their back upon all civilized scenes, we have to recognize alike what is noble and what is base in them, besides all those impulses which are indifferent as regards moral qualities, and partake simply of restlessness, enterprise, a love of adventure and variety. Misanthropes, outlaws, desperadoes, and barbarized Christians (so called) have sought the woods and wilds, and have moved on farther as they have heard behind them the tread of any followers who may represent humanity. It is curious to note how soon individuals taken prisoners, lost in the woods, or dropped out from the company of the first European explorers, — Spanish, French, and English, — long after they had been given up as dead, found a home among the natives, and became themselves Indians. From time to time we meet strange surprises in the old histories, as we read how these lost men, hardly preserving enough of the look and language of their former life to make themselves known or intelligible to their countrymen, turn up at the right moment to serve as interpreters to a later company of venturesome white men. Thus De Soto, on his first march into Florida from Tampa Bay, sent a detachment to charge upon a body of the natives, in 1539. An officer was startled by the cry, — seeming to come from one of them, — “Slay me not: I am a Christian!” The cry came from the man named on a previous page, Juan Ortiz, a native of Seville in Spain, who had eleven years before been taken prisoner by the Indians in the expedition of Narvaez. He had just the accomplishments which De Soto required in the emergency, and proved invaluable to him. Instances of like character were frequent; and such cases suggest the number of that

class of men on our changing frontiers who have bridged over, in every respect, the whole dividing chasm between the European and the native, between civilization and savagery. The red man and the white man on the frontiers have very often interlinked their lot and destiny, and merged all their differences. Hundreds of white men have been barbarized on this continent for each single red man that has been civilized. The whites have assimilated all the traits and qualities of the savage, and mastered his resources in war and hunting, and his shifts for living, in tricks, in subtlety, and cruelty. And the savage has been an apt pupil of the companion with whom he has consorted on familiar terms. He has caught English words enough to enable him to swear, and, as has been said, has seemed to regard oaths as the root-terms of our mother tongue. And with the use of the rifle and ammunition the savage acquired the taste for "fire-water," which turns him into an incarnated fiend. He has caught also the white man's guile and fraudulency, which, while perhaps no worse than his own, are of another species. Foul and debasing diseases have come in desolating virulence from the miscegenation of white and red men on the frontiers. Mixed breeds of every shade and degree have brought about the result, as on good vouchers we are informed that full one sixth of those classed among the Indians have white kindred.

Doubtless we must credit some advantages and facilities, as well as much trouble and mischief, to the score of these white men — recreants to civilization, outlaws, adventurers, prisoners, and half-breeds, in all their motley and miscellaneous crews — who have made themselves Indians among the distant tribes, in advance of white settlers of a better sort. They have served as go-betweens, as interpreters, as scouts and guides, and have enabled Government agents and military officers to hold some sort of intelligent intercourse with the natives. Something, however, is to be abated from any general statement of the

use of these semi-barbarized white residents among the Indians, in their very responsible functions as interpreters. Grave consequences, very serious issues, costly money bargains, and complicated covenants in sum and detail have often been set in very risky dependence upon the intelligence, the skill, and the integrity of these interpreters. There is no question but that on very many important occasions of treaty and agreement in settling feuds and entering into stipulations, sometimes the Government, sometimes the Indians, sometimes both parties, have suffered from the incompetency or dishonesty of these interpreters. It has been comparatively easy for these men, living with and adopting the habits of the Indians, to catch the few words in common use,—names of persons and objects, terms of ordinary occurrence in the converse of the camp, the hunt, and the woods,—while at the same time the interpreter, if himself capable of evolving abstract ideas and of the higher processes of thought, explanation, and argument, would be wholly unable to make them matters of intelligible expression in the language or dialect of a rude tribe. And there are occasions in which an interpreter may find his account in deceiving and bringing about a serious misunderstanding between the parties with whom he is supposed to be a competent and trustworthy medium. Many shrewd agents and army officers have agreed with a remark made by Colonel Dodge, in his "Life on the Plains," that there are special occasions on which there ought to be several interpreters present, so that each might, out of the hearing of others, give his version of what is said on either side.

But these individual whites and half-breeds who have affiliated and assimilated themselves with the Indians (outlaws, desperadoes, adventurers, or merely trappers, hunters, and restless roamers) are precursors of another set of men,—a class of frontiersmen, who are in the advance of actual settlers with their families on our shifting bor-

ders, intending at least a temporary occupancy of the bush or the valley, even if they afterward move or "locate" themselves, as their word is, on a new spot. These self-reliant men, not infrequently too with wives and children who match them in their vigor and resource, passing beyond the ever-moving line and tide of emigration, have been well described as hanging like the froth of the billows on its very edge. These, too, are a miscellaneous gathering from our common humanity. While there have been among them law-defying scoundrels and wretches, carrying with them every form of demoralization and disease with which depraved humanity in its most degraded wrecks is ever afflicted, there have been also some who, discouraged by the selfish competitions and the struggling rivalries of human society alike in city and village, have been ready to sacrifice what would be their stinted share in the blessings of civilization for a hap-hazard lot in the woods.

These, however, are all scarcely more than the rags and tatters of humanity, fringing the borders between civilization and savagery. The legitimate and substantial characteristics of frontier life, steady and permanent in its hold upon each league of advance on this continent, are found in a class of persons, always to be named with respect, and to be regarded with a profound and admiring sympathy. They have gone out to labor, and to endure all manner of sacrifices, buffetings, and risks, with a view oftener to the ultimate prosperity of their families than their own. The romance of their lives, their exposure, their general success, was an element in which they had no conscious share; for all was reality to them,—prose, not poetry: the romantic is for other persons and other times to appreciate. It has come to be a common and pleasant fancy or opinion among vast numbers of our citizens, that we must henceforward look for our great statesmen, our presidents and high officials in the nation's service, to

those of a third or even a second generation in descent from such of these pioneers as in circumstance or training, through the brain, or fibre, or blood of parentage in father or mother, have developed their signal powers in frontier life,— as Lincoln, who, rising before us as if moulded of Western clay, was transformed before our eyes into a statue of Carrara marble.

It has been largely with these legitimate frontier settlers, and in their behalf and interest, that the successive contentions and quarrels of our Government with the savage tribes have found their origin and embitterment. I have used the word "legitimate" in reference to these advanced pioneers of civilization on our borders. The rightful use of the word will be disputed only by those who are prepared to stand for the theory that barbarism has prior and superior rights over civilization, to the occupancy of the earth's territory. As the waters of the sea seek their freest flow with their refreshing tides up every river, inlet, and creek, so vigorous and vitalized humanity expands and penetrates everywhere, seeking fresh fields. The people among us who are the Government claim freedom of unoccupied soil; and all soil is in their view unoccupied, which is not wrought upon by human toil, cleared, fenced, tilled, dug, and improved. Our frontier settlers are agents and witnesses of the transition between the wilderness and the cultivated field. They come into immediate contact with the Indians, by a collision of interests. The rights which each party assumes and claims cannot be adjusted between them, because the basis on which they respectively rest is not common in its nature and reasonableness to both parties.

CHAPTER VII.

MISSIONARY EFFORTS AMONG THE INDIANS.

- I. *General Remarks on Aims and Methods in the Work.* — II. *Roman Catholic Missionaries.* — III. *Protestant Missionaries.*

IN the Introductory pages of this volume a brief reference was made to the fact that many earnest and costly efforts had been exerted by the white colonists of this continent to offset and atone for, by benefits and blessings, the injuries they had inflicted upon the natives. The subject of Christian missions for their conversion, civilization, and instruction was deferred for this more deliberate treatment. So large and comprehensive a theme as this, with all its variety of material and interest, can be dealt with here only with a conciseness hardly consistent with its importance. It will be convenient to distribute the contents of this chapter under the three sections indicated in its title.

I. *General Remarks on Aims and Methods of Missions.* — The severest test to which the Christian religion has ever been subjected is not that of a critical searching by scholars of its historical documents; nor that of an acute, speculative, and often irreverent philosophy; nor even that of an estimate of its practical effect upon the characters and lives of its professors. The sternest and sharpest trial of Christianity has come from the attempts made by its instrumentality to instruct, reclaim, convert, indoctrinate, and redeem a race of heathen savages. The trial on quite

another field has been a severe one, and as yet without decisive or satisfactory results, in the attempts to Christianize civilized heathen, — those reclaimed from barbarism, but still pagan (as we call them), — and the Orientals who hold to more or less adequate religions of their own. But it is with the efforts to Christianize barbarians, savages, that we are now concerned. We accept at the start the formidable obstacles to be encountered in offering to savage people a religion which had its birth and development under a highly advanced civilization, and which requires and implies a state of society intelligent, refined, and elevated, for its existence and exercise. With a qualification more or less emphatic to be made for the opinions and aims of the Jesuit missionaries, all who have labored in this arduous field have strongly and decidedly affirmed their full conviction that civilization must precede, or step by step accompany, every effort to Christianize our Indians. Of course it was understood that the two agencies were to be mutually helpful. But, as a general rule, the religious lesson, the condemnation of the faith which the savage was supposed to hold, and the urgent proffer of a substitute for it, have preceded any actual redemption of the savage from barbarism to a stage of civilization. The Jesuit view of missionary duty and success consisted with the allowance of a great deal of undisturbed savagery, ignorance, and intellectual torpidity. The Protestant idea has always involved the absolute necessity of civilization for Christianization. Christianity implies a civilized state for man. Its institutions, principles, and occupations of life, — its habits, virtues, charities, can coexist only with civilized people. It first appeared among a civilized community, with letters, arts, and laws, and is vitally dependent upon them. The Christian religion also is eminently, and above all other of its qualities beside those which concern its individual influences, a missionary religion. It once had but a dozen voices to proclaim it, a dozen laborers in its

vineyard. Through them it went forth from a despised province of the Roman empire, even beyond its farthest bounds, to make disciples in faith of those not held in law or tribute to its sway. It is a profoundly serious and interesting subject for those responsible for its wise discussion, to account for the comparative lack of energy and success in modern missionary enterprises when set in contrast with those of the earlier Christian ages. Is it that the missionaries have lost their zeal, their fervor, their skill and power, in their work; or that what they offer, without much response of acceptance or gratitude from the subjects of their labor, is not the simple original boon of blessing once so triumphant in its peaceful conquests?

More than three centuries have passed through all of which the solemn avowals of nations calling themselves Christians, and claiming as such lofty prerogatives, have recognized, in obligation and purpose, the duty of making fellow-Christians of our aboriginal tribes. These nations have had large resources and appliances. They could cross mysterious and overshadowed oceans. They could take possession of vast reaches of territory, and assert easily and successfully their towering and divine right over wild lands and wild people. Making sure of conquest and possession, they palliated or justified all that there was of incidental woe or wrong, all the spoiling and tragic suffering of the heathen, by the supreme and ultimate purpose of blessing and saving them. There was no misgiving as to the fearfulness of the doom awaiting them hereafter simply because they were heathen and had had the direful misfortune of being born under a curse. In view of that, any infliction visited on them during their lifetime was of trivial consequence; and all outrages and enormities practised upon them were only blessed means of discipline, if committed with an ultimate view to their conversion. The creed of the invaders embraced two tenets, — one, the desperate condition of the natives; the other, the solemn obli-

gation of Christians to save them through a boon which Christians could impart. Both these tenets pointed to the same duty of securing their conversion.

With the instigation of that master and mighty motive, the redeeming units or millions of our human race from an appalling doom, what has been accomplished in positive results by all Christian effort? Unquestionably there have been results which candor and charity and appreciative estimates may plead with a varying measure of satisfaction; there have been translations of the Scriptures, and good books, grammars, dictionaries, and primers, for sacred instruction; there have been missionary posts, schools, churches, and converted and educated native preachers, with their native flocks. But how limited, inadequate, and unsatisfactory in the sum are all these results! Every branch and communion of the Christian Church — Roman, Puritan, Moravian, Episcopal, Quaker, Baptist, Methodist — has established and maintained missionary labors among our Indians. No one of these Christian fellowships — with a possible exception, soon to be recognized, in the work of Jesuit missionaries — has ever found self-satisfaction in its success. Nearly every effort made by them, after signs of promise and reward, has failed, most of them with accompaniments of deep sadness and overwhelming disaster.

Perhaps the very best relief or palliation to be found for all the shortcomings, the wasted labors, the failures of Christians in their purposed efforts to convert the heathen here or elsewhere, is to be spoken in this confession; namely, that during all these ages a constant and earnest debate, sometimes a very passionate and angry one, has been going on among Christians themselves — the very best and most intelligent of them — as to, What is Christianity; what makes a Christian; what is it to be a Christian? This question has been put and kept in a sort of chancery suit; and it is by no means out of court yet, nor really carried up by consent to the court of last resort. And

probably the utmost and the best which the wisest and saintliest persons among us would claim is, that they have very slowly been growing to comprehend for themselves what Christianity really is. These radical differences of opinion among Christians themselves as to the substance, the meaning, the work, and the effective fruits and triumphs of their own religion cover the whole field of opinion, means, efforts, agencies, and desired results involved in it. Is the religion a very simple or a very abstruse one in its elements, statements, and principles? Does it appeal to the common understanding and reasoning powers of man, or does it envelop itself in mysteries, in perplexing doctrines which are to be announced on authority and accepted with implicit, unquestioning assent? May it be directly received and appropriated, in its lessons and spirit and full effects, by each individual; or does it require, to make it effective, the instrumentalities of a priesthood, with commission, functions, organization, institutions, and a human mediumship and an ecclesiastical system? And then as to discipleship of this religion, such as entitles one to the name and secures to him the benefits of it,—what are the essential terms and conditions? The alternative answers to this question of course are the holding or assenting to certain tenets for belief and conviction; or the forming of a certain character and the leading a certain course of life. But this answer does not cover the whole question, as it still leaves open the whole scope of the inquiry whether the belief required is simply that which will have a practical effect on character and conduct, or a professed assent to doctrines and dogmas which lie wholly out of the range of our knowledge, and which cannot be put to any test for proving their actual verity, but must be accepted through the assumed authority of the teacher. How earnestly and passionately these vital questions have been discussed by those who have been equals in sincerity, intellectual vigor, and ability to form unbiassed opinions, and into what sharp

and even embittered parties differences of conviction have driven them, needs no recognition here.

And if the question, "What is Christianity, in the substance of its teaching as vital truth, and in the effect to be produced by it upon life?" has proved a puzzling and a distracting one to the most intelligent and cultivated of our race, what must be its perplexity when an attempt is made to teach it to barbarians, and, as the word is, to convert them to it? If, while progress appears to be making here or there in Christianizing a tribe by one school of missionaries, the barbarians come to learn that another class of missionaries, professing the same religion, condemn their first teachers as false deceivers, and offer quite different lessons and doctrines, what must be the consequence? Over and over again has that perplexity been visited upon the heathen in various regions, but especially here among our Indians. As to sincerity in belief and purpose, it would be a simple piece of impertinence to attempt to decide which had the most of it or the more of it, the Jesuit Father or the Puritan and Moravian missionary. They were both alike sincere to the very core of their hearts; and yet they looked upon each other as fatally deceived and as misleading and endangering their converts. Frequent references are to be found in our missionary literature to the intense dislike and disapprobation, and the dread and horror, and even hate, which the Catholic and the Protestant missionaries among our Indians have felt and expressed towards each other. Evidently each party thought that the other might better have left the Indians in their natural heathenism than have taken them out of it into deadly heresy. As between the parties themselves, of course not a word is to be said here; it is the natural and inevitable effect upon the Indians of such distracting teaching that we have in view. When our New England fishing-smacks went to trade or our soldiers to fight with Indians on our Eastern coasts, they fell in with natives who were under

the training of the French priests. Our people told these natives that their priests, though calling themselves Christians, were deceivers and idolaters, and were luring them to everlasting perdition. The priests taught their converts to reply that the New Englanders were wicked heretics, children of hell themselves, into which they would carry all who trusted in them. Occasions there doubtless were in which an Indian trained by a French Jesuit, and one trained by a Dutch Dominie or a New England Puritan, might have rested in the woods to discuss or quarrel over their creeds, — affording us a reduced copy of Milton's angels, when they "reasoned high, and found no end, in wandering mazes lost."

This is no place or occasion for polemical discussions or for entering into religious controversies. Our concern is only with facts and incidents which present themselves as we engage with that profoundly interesting subject in its historical relations, — the attempts to Christianize our savages. Let us go back for a moment to first principles.

The Author and Teacher of the Christian religion gave utterance to the most sublime and august conception which has ever had expression on this earth for all time: it was the conception of one world-wide and universal religion, comprehensive of the whole human race; independent of time, place, or condition. His commission and promise to his messengers were: Go out over all the world and preach the gospel to every creature: go and teach all nations. I will be with you as you do it. No unanointed lips ever spoke forth such an utterance as that. And the message was described as one of "Glad tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people." As that religion would comprehend all people, it would unite and benefit them all.

Three very simple but most essential conditions are implied in that commission: first, that the religion taught should be intelligible to all persons of our average humanity; second, that it should be practicable, so as to be com-

plied with ; third, that it should produce good effects, and prove a blessing. There should be nothing in the message but what the simple and well-meaning could understand when spoken ; what it required and prescribed in character, conduct, and way of life should admit of being put into practice in any climate or country, in any age, by every class of people ; and this practical trial of the religion should have a direct effect of good, with benefits and blessings for all. Such are the primary essentials of a universal religion. No idealizing of any teaching with the institutions into which it should organize itself could enhance the attractions or the expected practical benefits of such a religion offered to men. Language (and that the most simple) and sympathetic benevolence would seem to be the only agencies needed as a medium in communicating it successively to those all over the globe who could be reached by its missionaries. Here again we have a problem most worthy of engaging, for the instruction of all, the thought and wisdom of the responsible teachers of truth, to explain to us whether the neglect to keep in view one, two, or all three of those essentials of a world-wide religion is chargeable for the very limited success of modern missionary effort.

The rich experience gathered from missionary labors among the heathen here and elsewhere has drawn out very distinctly and sharply among professed Christians a radical difference of opinion and estimate applied to their religion, which we may state in plain and familiar terms as amounting to this : one class of persons will interpret and value and teach Christianity, as the means of saving souls one by one, redeeming them from guilt and an endless doom of woe ; another class look away from this individual work of Christianity save as each will have a share in a common good, and identify Christianity with a general influence of civilizing, humanizing, refining, elevating, and reforming effects on whole communities. The one class will, so to speak, view this work of individual conversion and salva-

tion as in this respect like the inoculation of persons, one by one, to secure them from a terrible sweeping pestilence, or like the escape of a favored few in the long-boat from a crowded company on a sinking ship. The other class will survey a whole community, and judge of the evidence of the presence and effect of Christianity by the amount of virtue, justice, righteousness, wide-spreading, humanizing, and elevating influences and charities in it.

Now, according as different persons have in their minds the one or the other of these views as to what Christianity means, what it is to effect, and what are the evidences of its presence and influence, will they decide very differently upon the matter of fact as to what has been accomplished by missionary labor in Christianizing the Indians. We can turn to many pages written in a devout, cheering, and hopeful tone, filled with details, statistics, personal narratives and proofs, which confidently assure the reader that a glorious, blessed, and benedictive work has been done by Christian missions among the Indians, crowning them with a success fully proportioned to the faith and cost and toil spent upon them. We can turn to other pages, not always, though it may be for the larger part, written by sceptics, the indifferent, and the worldly,—for some of them come from thoroughly good, sincere, and philanthropic witnesses,—affirming that Christianity has not on any extensive field made any perceptible change in the manners, characters, and lives of savages. Those who are but moderately versed in the missionary literature of recent times are well aware that while the work of which it is the record assures the confidence of its supporters in the generous supply of funds for sustaining it, “men of the world,” so called, are more than dubious about its rewards.

We can refer this discordance of judgment and testimony among discreet and sincere persons only to that radical difference of estimate just stated, as to what is Christianity, its real effective work, and the evidence of

it. The count of a number of persons who individually, one by one, have been converted and "found salvation," a church, a Sunday-school, native teachers, prayer-meetings, etc., established among a tribe or settlement of Indians, are satisfactory evidence to one class of Christianization. Other observers look on. They ask this question: Suppose the white man and all his influence, supplies, and helps were withdrawn to-day from that Indian community, and it were left wholly to itself, would not the surviving element of ignorance and barbarism in it very soon overbear and kill out its feeble stage of Christian civilization?

The case is presented thus: The Christian missionary comes to the savages with the evangel, the gospel, the glad tidings of great joy. His first intelligible message to them is that they are a wrecked and ruined race, born under a curse, and destined to an appalling doom, to live forever in suffering; and he offers them a way of escape, one by one. Now the Indians certainly had no previous knowledge that they were in such an awful condition, with such a dreadful destiny before them; and so far as they bring a questioning, reasoning mind to bear upon the subject, the explanation given to them of how they came to be in such an awful plight—of a race cursed for the sin of the first man—may be wholly unsatisfactory. So far, the announcement made to them cannot be called "good news," whether coming, as it did alike, from Jesuit or from Protestant. The gospel quality of the message came in afterwards, as applied to the means of escape, the way of relief, from their curse and doom. Here the Jesuit and the Protestant were found by the Indians to part company. The one held up a book as the means of deliverance; the other, the mediation of the Church. The priest himself, not only as the teacher of simple lessons, but as a personal medium of sacramental graces, was the essential agent for securing salvation to the Indians. In the nature of things it was utterly impossible for the savage

to understand how the drops of baptismal water on his forehead, and the fragment of the holy wafer, remedied his foredoomed subjection to the eternal pit of woe. He accepted the relation between the evil and its relief on the word of the priest. And we may recognize, in effect, the same perplexity for the savage in trying to apprehend the curative process wrought by the Puritan creed as drawn from a most mysterious book, which, though held in the hand of a man, was made and given by the infinite spirit above.

Loskiel, in his "History of the Moravian Mission in North America," gives the following as the address of the Missionary Rauch to a tribe of Indians in Shekomeko, on the borders of New York and Connecticut, in 1740:—

"I came hither from beyond the great ocean, to bring unto you the glad tidings that God, our Creator, so loved us that he became a man, lived thirty years in this world, went about doing good to all men, and at last for our sins was nailed to the cross, on which he shed his precious blood, and died for us, that we might be delivered from sin, saved by his merits, and become heirs of everlasting life. On the third day he rose again from the dead, ascended into Heaven, where he sits upon his throne of glory, but yet is always present with us, though we see him not with our bodily eyes; and his only desire is to show his love unto us," etc.

The missionary says he perceived to his sorrow that his words "excited derision," and that his hearers "openly laughed him to scorn." Yet persevering steadfastly upon this doctrinal or dogmatic interpretation of the gospel as the basis for preaching and the work of conversion, the Moravians soon began to have such a measure of success as gratified them. Less than any class of Indian missionaries holding in substance the same dogmatic creed, did they attempt to deal with its metaphysical or perplexing elements. They tried not to overtask the intelligence of their rude and simple hearers. From their church register, under date of 1772, it appears that they had baptized

seven hundred and twenty converts. Nor did they by any means perform that rite on the easy terms with which the Jesuit Fathers were satisfied. They required of the candidates protracted, patient, and intentionally thorough previous discipline as evidence that they understood and appreciated the significance of the rite, and consistency of feeling and conduct after it. The Moravians were especially faithful in didactic, moral teachings, in purity, sincerity, and integrity,—making changed habits and manners essential. The Moravians also insisted, as much as did the Friends, on peace principles. Their converts were to be non-combatants. To this we are to ascribe in large part the trials and sufferings and removals to which they were subjected. The heathen Indians despised them as cowards, lacking in patriotism, and the whites believed they were secretly treacherous.

Apart from all deeper tests and the preferences resting upon our individual views and beliefs, we may freely admit and even commend the great advantages which the Roman Catholic forms and methods have over the bare and didactic teachings of Protestants, in effecting what is called the “conversion” of savages. The ceremonies, the altar ritual, the emblems and symbols of the old Church—often as easy of exhibition and as readily furnished in a wilderness, and really perhaps more imposing and impressive in the rude forest surroundings, in groves, on lake and river shores, than anywhere else—would be attractive, even awing, to simple, childlike people. The very few and the very elemental lessons, positively spoken, never argued, never explained, in which the accompanying teachings were conveyed, asking only assent and implicit faith, would not make a severe exaction on the savage mind. That mind was called a docile one because of the facility with which it yielded its assent,—all the readier, as the Jesuits themselves allowed, in exact proportion to the lack of comprehension of what was taught. Father

Garzes, on his mission in Upper California, carried a canvas banner, with the Virgin Mary attractively drawn on one side, and the Devil stirring the flames of hell on the other. This he unfurled when he reached an Indian village. The natives of course exclaimed, of one side, "It is good;" of the other, "It is bad." The more glaring a painting the better was it suited for use in a mission chapel. Perouse said the picture of hell in the church of San Carlos had done a mighty work of conversion, where Protestantism, without images or ceremonies, would have been powerless. The other side of the same banner-picture, which presented the charms of Paradise, was wholly ineffective. The Indians pronounced it "tame." Langsdorff tells us of the wonders wrought "by a figure of the Virgin Mary represented as springing from the coronal of leaves of the great American aloe, instead of the ordinary stem."

The Roman Church has been in a measure compelled—and shall we not say justified?—in its abundant and various use of the scenic, dramatic, symbolic, and ritual element in addressing such masses of the ignorant, rude, and simple in deserts and wildernesses. These are the same scenic and ritualistic elements which, lifted by refining tastes and elegant appliances, with vestments, music, and processions, have the highest æsthetic effect for the most cultivated.

Father Palon's first baptism on one of his missions in California must have exhibited an interesting family group. An Indian presented himself with a mother and three daughters, to all four of whom he was the husband, and each of the daughters offered a son by him for baptism. The infants were nearly of the same age. The dependence upon their ritual altar furnishing must, however, at times have embarrassed the good Fathers. We read that after De Soto's disastrous battle at Mobile, in October, 1540, in which all his sacramental furniture was burned, the priests

and officers held a council to consider if they might substitute the meal of Indian corn for wheat flour for the Mass. It was decided that they could not. The vestments and ornaments having all been destroyed, some dressed skin-robos and rude altar-trappings were provided. On Sundays and holy days the introductory prayers were offered; but the consecration was omitted. This was called the "dry Mass." Yet simple as was the rite of baptism, we frequently read in the frank relations of the Jesuits that the savages refused to have it performed on themselves and their children, regarding it as an evil charm. Captain Bossu, of the French Marines, in his Travels through Louisiana (1759), says:—

"I saw a Choctaw Indian recently baptized, and, because he afterwards had no luck in hunting, supposed himself bewitched, and made complaint to Father Lefèvre, who had converted and initiated him. With angry excitement, he demanded release from the enchantment by the annulling of the ceremony. The priest made some show of complying with the demand. The Indian soon after killed a deer, which made him very happy."

There were embarrassments also occasionally met by the priests when they attempted to explain their mysteries to an acute-minded savage. We have a graphic account of an interview of Cortes and his priest with Montezuma, in the effort to attempt his conversion. The barbarian emperor accepted Cortes's account of the creation, as conformed to his people's traditions; but the abstruse doctrines and mysteries of the Christian faith announced to him baffled him. Especially was his mind exercised when Cortes, after a sharp reproach upon him for human sacrifices and the cannibal eating of human flesh, undertook to explain to him the doctrine of transubstantiation in the holy wafer at the Mass. That, said the emperor, was eating God,—a far more monstrous act than the eating of a human being.

A Jesuit Father, writing of a famous chief, Therouet, who died at Montreal, says he was a true Christian, and as

such was buried with pomp and with the rites of the Church; "for when the passion of Christ crucified by the Jews was explained to him he said to me, 'Oh! had I been there, I would have revenged his death and brought away their scalps!'"

A good illustration of the perplexity of mind in an intelligent savage, caused by the proffer of religious instruction by the various Christian sects, is found in the calm judgment uttered by a high chief in the Red River region. Catholics and Protestants had rival missions around him. The chief said to Father Derveau, the priest: "You tell us there is but one religion that can save us, and that you have got it. Mr. Cowley, the Protestant minister, tells us that he has got it. Now, which of you white men am I to believe?" After a long pause, — smoking his pipe, and talking with his people, — he turned round and said: "I will tell you the resolution I and my people have come to; it is this: when you both agree, and travel the same road, we will travel with you; till then, however, we will adhere to our own religion: we think it the best."

Missionaries had been stationed, Catholic and Protestant, for more than thirty years, twenty-seven in number, within the Red River region of two hundred miles, at a charge on Christian benevolence of £50,000 sterling. The judgment is that the labor had been nearly fruitless, the system defective, the method radically wrong. The Hudson Bay agent and explorer, Samuel Hearne, in his "Journey from the Prince of Wales's Fort to the Northern Ocean," in 1771, gives the following account of his meeting with some Copper River Indians, and of the impression he made upon them: —

"As I was the first Englishman whom they had ever seen, and in all probability might be the last, it was curious to see how they flocked about me, and expressed as much desire to examine me from top to toe as a European naturalist would a nondescript animal. They, however, found and pronounced me to be a perfect human

being, except in the color of my hair and eyes. The former, they said, was like the stained hair of a buffalo's tail; and the latter, being light, were like those of a gull. The whiteness of my skin, also, was in their opinion no ornament, as they said it resembled meat which had been sodden in water till all the blood was extracted. On the whole, I was viewed as so great a curiosity in this part of the world, that, during my stay there, whenever I combed my head, some or other of them never failed to ask for the hairs that came off, which they carefully wrapped up, saying, 'When I see you again you shall again see your hair!'

The author adds the following sketch of the character and religion of his guide to the Copper River, the Indian chief Matonabee, who, his father dying when he was young, lived for many years with, and was educated after a fashion by, Governor Norton, of the Hudson Bay service, at Prince of Wales's Fort:—

"It was during this period that he gained a knowledge of the Christian faith; and he always declared that it was too deep and intricate for his comprehension. Though he was a perfect bigot with respect to the arts and tricks of Indian jugglers, yet he could by no means be impressed with a belief of any part of our religion, nor of the religion of the Southern Indians, who have as firm a belief in a future state as any people under the sun. He had so much natural good sense and liberality of sentiment, however, as not to think that he had a right to ridicule any particular sect on account of their religious opinions. On the contrary, he declared that he held them all equally in esteem, but was determined, as he came into the world, so he would go out of it, without professing any religion at all. Notwithstanding his aversion from religion, I have met with few Christians who possessed more good moral qualities, or fewer bad ones. It is impossible for any man to have been more punctual in the performance of a promise than he was: his scrupulous adherence to truth and honesty would have done honor to the most enlightened and devout Christian, while his benevolence and universal humanity to all the human race, according to his abilities and manner of life, could not be exceeded by the most illustrious personage now on record."¹

¹ P. 349-51.

“He could tell a better story of our Saviour’s birth and life than one half of those who call themselves Christians ; yet he always declared to me that neither he nor any of his countrymen had an idea of a future state. He was an advocate for universal toleration, and I have seen him several times assist at some of the most sacred rites performed by the Southern (Canada) Indians, apparently with as much zeal as if he had given as much credit to them as they did. And with the same liberality of sentiment he would, I am persuaded, have assisted at the altar of a Christian Church, or in a Jewish synagogue ; not with a view to reap any advantage himself, but merely, as he observed, to assist others who believed in such ceremonies.”¹

This interesting person kept eight wives in good order.

Let us quote briefly the judgment passed by a missionary of one Christian fellowship upon his brethren of another communion. The Roman Catholic Bishop Taché,² having referred to the *zeal* with which Protestant missions had been conducted in the Northwest, cautiously qualifies his estimate thus :—

“I say the *zeal*. The word may surprise, and I may be asked my reason for using it. ‘But have these Protestant ministers zeal?’ If by zeal he meant that sweet and divine flame which consumes all that is merely human, that sacred fire which enwraps the heart to the extent that a man wholly forgets himself that he may entirely consecrate himself to the search, to the preaching, of the truth, to the sanctification of his fellow-creatures, I will say without hesitation, No! the ministers of error have no zeal, and they cannot have it. If, on the other hand, for having zeal it suffices, for one motive or another, to spend in the service of any cause a vast amount of energy and efforts, alike for giving prevalence to this cause and for combating that which is opposed to it, above all that which opposes it with the force of repulsion which the truth has against error, — then I will say that these men have very much of zeal. Some of them bring to their ministry an ardor, an activity, sometimes even a devotedness, certainly worthy of a better cause. Would to Heaven that they had not so much zeal! that

¹ P. 344.

² In his “Vingt Années de Missions dans le Nord Ouest de l’Amérique.”

the infinitely good God would arrest such as these on the way to Damascus! that the hand so gentle and so strong of his infinite pity might cause to fall from the vision of their hearts the scales which hinder their sight of the true light, which would thus make them chosen vessels to preach to the gentiles the veritable gospel of the grace of God.”¹

These earnest words, in which one kind of zeal seems to outrun any kind of charity, may well introduce the second section of our large theme.

II. *Roman Catholic Missionaries among the Indians.*— We have to recognize the fact that the whole world-wide communion representing the Roman Church has found vastly more encouragement and satisfaction in its missionary work among the Indians and elsewhere than have the Protestant folds. True, the Protestants have no secrets about such matters. Everything of success or failure becomes public. It may be that in the Roman Church discipline and authority suppress what it would be discouraging to divulge, and that we do not know of shortcomings and failures. However this may be, it is worthy of emphatic statement, that in no one of the voluminous and minute reports returned to their superiors by the priests is there to be found any confession of regret, of disappointment of expectation, of unrewarded labor,—any looking back to easy and cheering fields from the most lonely, gloomy, and saddened wildernesses of stern exposure, peril, and toil. There are no more sunny, hopeful, and grateful laborers than these hard-tasked missionaries. All of them seemed to wear rose-colored glasses. These devoted men, absolutely secluded from all the exciting and engrossing interests and incidents of public and civilized life, with no personal or political ambitions, no means for self-indulgence even in listless idleness, very few mental resources save in their engrossment upon the most rudi-

¹ Quoted in Joseph James Hargrave's "Red River" Appendix.

mental exercises, could have no other spur or solace than what they found in their clerical duties. The tedium of life, in its utmost oppressiveness, could be shaken off only by complete engrossment in their work and such satisfaction as its faithful discharge afforded. Very rarely would one or another of the Jesuits in the forests indulge a scholarly, artistic, or philosophical proclivity which had been manifested and encouraged in his education as a youth in the seminary. This might enhance his enjoyment of wild scenery, make him a curious observer of natural phenomena, of botany or natural history, give a zest to his life and converse with rude humanity, and yield him solace in his loneliness. Yet we have from the Jesuit Fathers, besides their Indian vocabularies and translations of religious works, a few excellent narratives of travel and adventure, some contributions to natural philosophy and history, and a few able scientific works written here. They were contented — yes, even happy — in their service, never complaining, reluctant, or regretful.

In the motives and instruments first engaged in behalf of France, for discovery and colonization in the New World, there was certainly no element of nobleness which exalts them above or even raises them to the level of those which insured success to the seaboard English colonies. The glowing zeal and the heroic devotion of the Jesuit Fathers gave to one period of the history of New France in America a sublime and a tragic interest, the narration of which will never fail to engage the profoundest homage of the appreciative reader. But they were not the earliest actors in the enterprise. The fisheries and the fur-trade, with reckless adventurers, felons, and outlaws, mingled with a qualifying but not an overruling element of men of loftier motive and purpose, came first upon the scene of New France. In inaugurating the work of colonization in Acadia, De Monts brought thither a mixed company of nobles, gentlemen, thieves, convicts, and ruffians. Champlain, as

voyager, explorer, administrator, and organizer of the most successful of the whole series of undertakings, fills the eye with the majesty of his form and bearing, and meets the scrutiny of the keenest study of his motives and of his whole career. Poutrincourt and his son Biencourt, who are identified with the hopes and the disasters which gave such a checkered series of fortunes to Acadia, win our regard for their persistency under sharp discomfitures. Catholic priests and Huguenot ministers, as fellow-passengers, had abundant time on their long voyage for initiating the contentions to be pursued on the virgin soil. Poutrincourt brought with him to Port Royal a secular priest, La Fleche, who at once set himself to the work of making Christians of the natives, so far as could be done by baptizing them. A famous chief, named Membertou, figures prominently in the early narrative. He appears to have been an astute and wily savage, making himself very pliant and serviceable to the adventurers, and finding his account in it. He is said, when he appears on the scene, to have been of the age of one hundred and ten years, and all that time in the service of the Devil, — reckoning probably by the sum of his sins, rather than by the number of seasons which had toughened him. His end, however, satisfied the standard of his priestly instructors. La Fleche first took him in hand, and with all the pomp and manifestation which the resources of time and circumstance admitted, baptized him and his family of twenty-one members — squaws, children, and grandchildren — on the shore of Port Royal. The historian Lescarbot describes the scene, solemnized by a procession, the *Te Deum*, and a volley of cannon. The savage group received the names respectively of the members of the royal family, and of some of the high nobles of the empire; and the registry of their baptisms was sent to France. La Fleche seemed, however, to have been very willing, after having in one year diligently performed the rite for more than a hundred of such converts, to take his

homeward voyage on the appearance of the Jesuit Fathers Biard and Masse, who, as the first of their Order to set foot in New France, arrived after four months of peril on the sea, at an anchorage at Port Royal, on the feast of Pentecost, May 22, 1611. They both wrote home their first report, June 10, 1611. Their letters are given in Carayon's "Première Mission, etc." Gilbert Du Thet, the third of the Fathers, joined his brethren in 1612, and soon went back; but returned here again the next year with a fourth missionary, Du Quentin. Biard applied himself with great zeal and industry to master the language of the savages, that he might improve upon the method of La Fleche; for he had resolved that while he baptized as many infants as possible, he would delay the rite for adults till he had offered them something in the form of Christian instruction. It seems that he was sadly trifled with by a waggish or a scoffing Indian, upon whose aid he relied as an interpreter. Putting himself in the place of a pupil before his naked and presumptuous instructor, he received in good faith the Indian terms offered to him as equivalents for such sacred words as Faith, Hope, Charity, Sacraments, Baptism, Eucharist, Trinity, Incarnation, etc. Whether or not the Indian vocabulary had equivalent terms, is a question that can hardly be raised to palliate the trick put upon the good Father by his swarthy teacher, who gave him as definitions some of the foulest and filthiest words that ever came from the tongues of the natives. As these were introduced by the Father into his catechism, they were of course received with shouts of derision, when he repeated them in his teachings in the wigwams. The same trick was afterwards played upon Le Jeune, one of the missionaries to the Hurons, by his Algonquin teacher, who, as a famous sorcerer, was his rival. It may deserve mention that the Apostle Eliot does not appear ever to have been made the subject of such trifling, which would have introduced foul blots into his Indian Bible.

The sachem Membertou was gloried over by Father Biard as his first and most eminent convert, with more confidence than the Apostle Eliot expressed over his own disciple, the chief Waban. A son of Membertou's had been miraculously raised from mortal sickness through the help, says the Jesuit, "of a bone of the precious relics of the glorious St. Lawrence, Archbishop of Dublin, which M. de la Place, the worthy Abbot of Eu, and the Priors and Chapter, had graciously given to us to convoy our voyage." This bone, laid on with a vow, restored the sufferer. "Membertou," says the Father, "was the greatest, most renowned, and redoubtable savage in the memory of man; of noble frame, tall and muscular, and bearded like a Frenchman. He bade us hasten to learn his language, in order that, as soon as we had mastered it and had thus been able to teach him the faith, he might become a preacher like ourselves. He was the first of all the savages in these regions who had received the first and the last sacrament, — baptism and extreme unction; the first who of his own will and direction received Christian burial." Membertou proposed an improvement in the Lord's Prayer. He did not like the limitation in the petition to "daily bread," and wished to include "moose-meat and fish."¹

In 1615 the noble Champlain made another resolute attempt to plant a colony at Quebec. Profoundly religious, though not an implicit instrument of the Jesuits, he brought with him four Franciscan Friars, of the Order of the Récollets, and two more soon followed. They were faithful and devoted men, heroic and all-enduring in their zeal and sacrifices, and they nobly began the missions among the distant Hurons, though soon surrendering the stern service to the Jesuits, whose fervid toil and more than apostolic warfare with Nature and heathendom promised for a brief season a

¹ I am indebted to the studies and the references of Mr. Parkman, in his "Pioneers," etc., for my principal information and guidance to authorities, in this brief notice of the first Roman Catholic missions in Acadia.

glorious triumph, to be shrouded in the most dismal and appalling disaster. The Récollets, as before stated, celebrated the first Mass within the territory of Canada.

By the request, or at least by the consent, of the Friars, three Jesuit Fathers, the first of their Order in Canada, came to undertake the mission there in 1625. This was fourteen years after their brethren, Biard and Masse, had come to Acadia. Two more Fathers joined them in 1626. Up to this time Huguenots had been free to share in the enterprise of colonization in New France, but after 1627 the privilege was rigidly restricted to Catholics. The brief episode of the English possession of Canada, on its seizure by Kirk, threatened to thwart the whole project of the French missions. But the field was restored to the original adventurers in 1632. The Récollets then resigned their honorable and peaceful beginnings in a consecrated work; two more Jesuits joined those already in their forest sanctuaries, and thenceforward the record of endeavor and endurance, of constancy and patience, of single-hearted zeal and of martyrdom, protracted through long years of misery, pain, and all mortal extremities, is written under the title of "The Jesuit Missions in New France."¹

The heroism of piety and zeal, certified by absolute self-renunciation and consecrated fidelity to vows and obligations, finds its loftiest and consummate examples in the world's whole annals of holy purpose and endeavor in the work of the Jesuit Fathers in New France. Protestantism, in none of its forms or sects, has a match for them. No preferences, prejudgments, animosities, or entailed antipa-

¹ Mr. Parkman devotes one of the volumes in his series upon his grand theme, so ably wrought by him, to the subject of "The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century." The volume, in its narration of events, its delineation of scenes, its condensed summaries of incidents and experiences, and in its generous appreciation of the characters and work of heroic men acting under the inspiration of high motives, is all the more faithful to its purpose because the author's respect and sympathies go with the sincerity of the men rather than with the methods of their mission.

thies of our own; no conclusions or convictions, however intelligently and dispassionately drawn from the fullest and most candid study of the distracted pages of controversy and rivalry among those who are called Christians,—can bid us deny or grudge to those intrepid soldiers of the cross of Christ (the Jesuit Fathers) the meed of our reverential homage and admiration. Their vows were the sternest in their severity and exactions, and those who took them intensified that severity in the self-testing of their own fidelity to them. Their pupilage and training in discipleship decided the constancy of their apostleship. The appalling contrast between the scenes and the spheres to which many of the most devoted of them were born—in palace and chateau, and for the life of court gayety and intrigue—and the scenes and companionship of their solitary toil in dreary wildernesses of savages and peril, is a symbol of their characters and their work.

Trained in the rigid discipline of the seminary, under the keen, soul-penetrating search of his spiritual director, to an entire self-disclosure and an absolute self-surrender in abnegation and obedience, the pupil yielded his whole being, thought, purpose, will, and inclination to the control of his superior. No searching tests or methods of the alembic or crucible so thoroughly expose the elemental constituents of the ore or the vapor as did that soul-search open to all the secrets of the inner being of the novitiate. And on the knowledge thus reached was planted the authority of the superior or director. This absolute authority was not exercised by caprice or wilfulness, nor with any partiality or favoritism, but it was conscientious and discriminating; for the director was under the same constraint of subjection in vow as was imposed upon his scholar. By that knowledge of the make and fibre of the soul of his pupil, his aptitude, his strength or feebleness of tone, and his special fitness for a special work, the director assigned his place and service. Sometimes these

accorded with, sometimes they crossed, what we should have called the longings and preferences of his pupil, save that no such inclinations were longer to be felt in his subjugated and enthralled personality.

And there was a stage at the entrance on his mission work, and at every crisis of danger and endeavor in it, when the Jesuit, no longer a novice, found his highest joy in adding, of his own free choice, to his pledged vows. He could select his own patron among the glorified and beatified saints. In his ecstatic devotions his kindled eye would have visions of their shining hosts, and the fervor of his zeal and his hidden energies of patience would be quickened in the deep calm of his unfaltering trust. In the hour of mortal peril, as at every crisis of his lot, in the preparation for each missionary enterprise, and when the direst fate of his wilderness exposure was impending over him in starvation, in freezing cold, or from savage malignity, he would make a solemn contract by special vow with the Holy Mother or his heavenly Patron. The tranquillity, the resolve, and the unflinching steadfastness which then possessed him came as a fond assurance that the unseen contracting party in the skies had listened to his vow, ratified, and recorded it. The deepest, dearest longing of the good Father's soul was for the palm of martyrdom. His otherwise joyless life transferred all pleasure and benediction thitherward. To yield his spirit in the sweet rewarding service of Holy Church, the blessed Saviour, the Virgin, and the saints, by suffering, torture, or mortal extremity, was to him the consummation of bliss. But there was a condition, a stern one; and this faithful conscience did not grudge or shrink from it. That crowning glory of martyrdom was to come in the path of simple duty, as a necessity and a boon, — not self-sought and won, not by rash daring, or running unadvised into peril. The least courting of avertible risks on his way to death would deprive him of the coveted palm.

So we follow these heroic pioneers of the Cross deep and far into their mission stations of the wilderness, which they were the first of white men to penetrate. They would go alone if so it were best; they asked no companionship for their own safety or cheer. To one obligation which kept them in converse with the world they had parted with they were ever considerately faithful. Once in a year at least, if by any possibility it could be effected, it was their duty to send from their lonely posts a report of the work of their missions. Many a birchen skiff, paddled by an Indian through the calm or fretted waters of our lakes and rivers, has for centuries borne to Quebec or Montreal these Jesuit "Relations" for transmission across the water to the Superiors of the Order. Blindly did the Indian courier marvel over the mystery of the packet with which he was intrusted, and which he was bid to guard as the choicest portion of his trading freight. Written often on birch bark, with charcoal and grease, or with the juice of some wild sap or berry, these Relations told many a story of dire extremity, of dauntless courage, and occasionally of exultant joy over some gleaming success. Truthful, candid, and full of a sweet and gentle placidity of spirit are those wilderness missives. One, two, three, even more years did the solitary apostle pursue his strange toil among fickle and capricious disciples without the sight of a white man. To soothe and soften their savage breasts, to save their doomed souls from a fate worse than the torturings which they inflicted on their victims, and to impart just so much of the teaching of the most elementary instruction in the faith as would justify the giving of Christian baptism,—this was his task. An Indian infant just passing out of life needed only the water-drop, moistening the sign of the cross, to rescue his soul for bliss. When the jealous savages, visited with contagious diseases or plagues, turned fiercely on the priest who was so eager to perform the rite, and charged him with sorcery or magic wrought for their de-

struction, it would seem as if only special help from heaven could protect him. Thus, destitute of what we call the necessaries of life, even without salt; clinging only to their simple altar furniture; patching their black robes, worn to shreds, with hides and skins; making a common home in what Roger Williams well calls "the filthy, smoky holes" of the natives; eating their loathsome diet, sharing their indecencies and vermin, and supporting life in wilderness exigencies on berries, roots, and even their own moccasins and apparel; tramping through the forests on snow-shoes, through oozy swamps and bogs; paddling the unstable canoe, and bearing without a murmur or regret the most dreaded privations and risks, — these Jesuit Fathers, the crusaders of New France, performed their missions. Rightfully have many of them left their enshrined names on rivers, bays, capes, and estuaries, through all our north and west, festooned in wreaths of admiring homage, as the regions which they opened to the light once were with the vines and mosses of the primeval forest.

The method of life pursued by the Jesuit Fathers in their missionary labors among the natives was substantially as follows: In some instances, in promising fields and with a considerable tribe of Indians, there would be resident two or more of the Fathers. In more cases, however, each was alone, a single man, isolated from his fellows and from civilization, in a remote station, with infrequent intercourse with the world beyond him. Occasionally the Father would have, under the title of a *donné*, a young lay assistant, equally devoted with himself to his holy work, and able and willing to render him a variety of services, — menial, functionary, and official, — helping in the work of interpretation, of translation, and the instruction and oversight of catechumens. Many instances there were of constancy, devotion, and patient suffering of these lay brethren. As a general thing, the missionary conformed to the mode of life of the savages, — sharing their viands, and bearing their

hardships in common ; always on the route content with their foul, smoky, and vermin-infested lodgings ; sleeping on boughs or skins, or on the bare earth, with pestiferous odors, and children and dogs crawling over him. He never attempted to carry with him the luxuries of life, leaving them all behind him. We read of one of them who had contrived, through all the perils of canoe navigation and of trappings by the portages round the cataracts, to transport into the far wilderness a clock. The wondering savages would come into his cabin to hear it strike the hours, apparently at the command of the missionary. Indispensable to him as his own luggage, however, were the materials and paraphernalia of altar furniture for the daily celebration of the mass and for festival occasions : his own robes, a little wine and wheat for the sacrament, rosaries, crucifixes, bells, and pictures, — if possible, a robed and painted image of the Virgin Mary or a saint, and writing materials. For a year at least he could expect no replenishing. His severest deprivation was when he could not obtain a few grains of wheat or a drop or two of the juice of the grape for the sacrament. One of the Fathers, after leaving Quebec with a few Indians for the Huron wilderness, was sadly discomfited when an Indian, on the first night's encampment on the Isle of Orleans, became crazily drunk, having purloined and consumed the contents of a little keg of wine, the year's supply of the missionary.

As soon as possible, on taking up residence in an Indian village, the missionary would construct a simple log or bark chapel, rough and rustic, surmounted with a cross. A large central cross would also be planted in or near the settlement. Either in connection with or beside the chapel he would provide a rude cabin for himself, with two apartments, — one of which he reserved for strict privacy, the other accessible for a wonderful variety of business with the Indians. The daily altar offices, which indeed were seldom omitted even on the wilderness tramp, were at once

regularly established in the village. The savages were engaged by eye and sense before it was possible to reach their minds by any lessons. Heroic, resolute, and unflagging was the zeal of the missionary to master the language of his disciples, as teaching them his own or that of the Church was out of the question. He would select one of the most intelligent as his interpreter and instructor in his cabin. He would — as soon as he could venture to do so — make a vocabulary, and put his sacred formulas into the native tongue. Instances have been already mentioned in which roguish tricks were played upon the confiding missionary, odious and filthy terms being given to him in Indian as the equivalents of sacred words.

The station would be put under the name of a saint of the Church calendar, and be committed to his or her patronage. Sooner or later a miracle of mercy or help would attest that the pledge was recognized from above. There was never the slightest faltering in the mind of the Jesuit as to which incidents, events, and agencies he should assign to the saint, and which to the Devil. The division was generally an equal one. The daily routine of life in the lulls from the war or hunting excitements found all the natives gathered in early morning about the cross, or in the chapel, attending upon the Mass, and so towards evening on Vespers. Hours of the day were assigned for instruction. In every case the missionary was zealous to baptize every infant within his reach, especially those who were dangerously ill. The missionary meant to be scrupulous — we can hardly say cautious — about performing this saving rite for adults. Some instruction, with a generous and easy conviction that it was understood, must precede. The Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the Apostles' Creed, a simple catechism, and a few hortatory words on the divine authority of the Church were the medium of full conversion.

The Fathers, alike from preference and from policy, ven-

tured to abstain as far as possible from confusing the minds of the savages with abstract instruction, with arguments or explanations. The savages assented most readily to propositions which they least understood. Implicit trust and obedience were what was required of them, and, within a limited range, yielded. Especially were the Fathers—quite unlike all Protestant missionaries in this respect—very careful not to interfere with the habits, the modes of life, the inclinations, the superstitions even, of the savages, beyond what was absolutely indispensable for their purposes. They did not aim to civilize the savages, to confine them to industrious toils and handicrafts, to limit their roaming life, to meddle with their usages, to change their relations to their chiefs and warriors, or to restrain their warlike ferocity, or absolutely to forbid polygamy. In their earlier residence and work among the savages the Jesuits found their wisdom, patience, and efforts sufficiently tasked in securing their own footing, in having their presence tolerated among a wild, suspicious, and capricious set of stolid and superstitious barbarians. At times they needed to practise extreme caution, to show no fear, to temporize and endure, but never to yield, give over effort, or run away. The jealous savages, forming but the faintest conception of the real object, the wholly unselfish and consecrated aim, of the missionary, would imagine all evil of him. On occasions of plagues or prevailing diseases, many an evil eye would be turned upon the Jesuit; the knife or tomahawk would be threateningly brandished, on the dark, dread suspicion that he had artfully introduced the malady and was working hellish charms upon them. The missionary, thwarted and threatened, stood firm and unquailing. He was perfectly willing, he would have been triumphantly happy, to die as a martyr; but if in haste, or lack of prudence, or heat of zeal he in any way provoked or facilitated death, or failed to use every human effort to avert it, he lost the glorious palm.

We meet with frequent and very candid admissions in the relations of the Jesuit Fathers, that the most formidable opposition which they encountered in their mission work came from the medicine-men, the magicians, sorcerers, and medical practitioners among the Indians. The Jesuits regarded these priestly physicians as diabolical agents, and of course were viewed in their turn as rivals in the same evil ministry. Working on the fear and superstitions of the Indians when under a cloud or ill, these medicine-men, partly through their own craft and partly by the credulity of the people, were invested with a supernatural character. Yet the element of fraud in their pretensions and practices does not seem to have been so predominant but that they may have been the dupes of their own ignorance and delusion. It was, however, a matter of first importance with the Jesuits to win over, dissuade, and convert these medicine-men, and failing in that effort, to expose their pretences and incompetency. This was always a difficult, and often a critical and dangerous undertaking, disturbing the traditional belief and usages of the wild men inherited from generations. The Jesuits were occasionally cautious in dealing with this perilous mischief; but they faithfully met the risk, and calmly or boldly defied the impostors, as they regarded them.

Nor is it at all strange that the good Fathers themselves, as they candidly tell us, were often regarded by jealous and hard-hearted savages as sorcerers and magicians. It was altogether natural that it should have been so. Arrayed in their long robes, surplices, and other vestments which had a magical look, with their backs to the people, with frequent changes of attitude and posture, genuflections and crossings, they were seen to be handling the altar furniture, putting something into their mouths,—not enough for real sustenance,—and muttering some unintelligible sounds which might be charms. This ritual service of

the Mass was a profound mystery in its show and emblems to the lookers-on. Then there were occasions of prevailing disease among children, the parents dismayed as to the cause. The Jesuits asking permission to baptize a dying infant, and being sternly forbidden as if it were an evil charm, were occasionally observed performing the rite by stealth. The savages having no answering conception in their minds as to the meaning of the act would be infuriated, and would regard the priest as a sorcerer of the most malicious kind.

All the more should we hold ourselves to the loftiest appreciation of the sincerity, the devotion, the heroic fidelity of those Jesuit Fathers, because, whether it be from our Protestant prejudices or perverseness, or with good reasons for our judgment, we put so slight an estimate upon the results reached by all this holy endeavor. Those who did that work felt that it was blessed and rewarded. Buffeted and thwarted as they were, they kept their serenity of spirit, and reported with modest assurance, that had no quality of boasting, a success which made them happy at heart. They tell by thousands the number of their converts, and do not hesitate to call them Christians here, and to claim for them the heaven of the redeemed. There is something of an almost languishing tenderness, of even a maudlin sentiment, in the fond relations of the docility and the simple reliance of their converts as creatures of an Arcadian paradise. Shrewder and keener observers of the Indian character have told us with what facility and responsiveness an astute savage will assent to any abstract proposition or any assertion beyond the scope of his thinking; that this assent was all the readier and more beaming, the less the proposition made was understood. Very hospitable is the savage to the incomprehensible in words and ideas. He is a natural transcendentalist.

But this assent of his wild catechumen was to the good Father conviction and faith, at times even the effect of

supernatural grace. It would be unreasonable in us, using our tests and standards, to affirm that the Jesuit Fathers made no attempt to impart to their wild converts those Christian ideas, sentiments, motives, which go to the roots of one's being, work the great inner conversion, and build up character, renewed and vitalized. The Jesuits attempted what is in our view the utterly futile task of Christianizing without civilizing the savages. The fundamental difference between their aim with what they regarded as their success in it, and those of every Protestant communion in their missions among the Indians, is this: The Jesuits can make their discipleship accord with the habits, the life, the mental range, the moral laxness, the forest license of those who are still barbarians; the Protestant missionaries are primarily teachers, reformers, civilizers, requiring of their disciples industry, toil, humanity, restraint of passion, radical changes in all their views and customs of living.

The champion and eulogist of the members of the Society of Jesus might well find his account, in a polemical or historic essay, in pleading, that, for the purpose of claiming for them a just and kindly estimate, he would isolate one single company of them in one single field of their effort and devotion, and try and test the spirit of their Order in aim and motive and method there. Leaving all the tangled and irritating questions concerning their intermeddlings, intrigues, and complications with court policy and secular ambitions and strifes, he would study them as remote from scenes where these angry feuds and soiling schemes have place, and as engaged simply and purely in their mission work. Such a restricted field and such a selected fellowship of Christian evangelists might well be claimed to present themselves within the range of our present subject. The Jesuit missionaries in New France came as near to such isolation from the reputed motives and methods of their Order, as the organic and vital rule of it would under

any circumstances admit. Of course the vow of obedience, the rigid bond of discipline, the subjection to directions from a superior, the bounden duty of self-reckoning and of detailed reports, and the animating soul of the company which enthralled all separate, abnegated wills, as if unified by one inspiring and directing volition,—these were ties and sentient chords which distance and loneliness only quickened and intensified. Martyrdom, uninvited, but ventured and longed for, if it could be met in the path of patient, courageous duty, was the all-coveted reward; but it could crown the sacrifice only of a consecrated and pledged life. But early in the mission life in Canada we begin to meet interminglings of motive for the extended dominion of France, for anticipated collisions with heretics, and for the gains of trade and power. Still, allowing for all these limitations and qualifications of the perfect zeal exclusively and thoroughly religious, coming later into the mixed motives of the missionaries, the palm of pre-eminent self-consecration in a service than which none more severely exacting was performed on this earth by man for man, was nobly won by them. Whatever repelling and odious associations of subtle intrigue, sinuous policy, and artful casuistry the word Jesuit has gathered around it, from courts, confessionals, and the directorship of female consciences, it surely parted with them in the depths of the Huron wilderness. There was no occasion or material for such things there. Had the Jesuits not entered upon their work with a single consecrated aim, they would have been held to its sole regard in the American forests.

In our European histories, biographies, and court and police records we meet with the wily and plotting Jesuit disguised as soldier, sailor, courtier, travelling merchant, day-laborer, Protestant preacher even. It may be that as in the case of many who have achieved an ill repute, including even the Evil One himself, they have incurred the odium of mischief which they never did. But the Jesuit put on

no disguises here. The insignia of his order and profession, clung to in all extremities and hazards, were the only outward badges of his pride. His glorious privilege to the investiture, marking him as one of a pledged company who were facing the perils of all climes on their missions, was a compensation for all the inconvenience and risks of such a garb. For, indeed, alike in the wilderness tramp and in the frail canoe by lake or river, the long, closely-fitted cassock, which secured for the wearer the Indian title of the "Black Robe," was the least convenient form of apparel. This, with the wide-brimmed, flopped hat, the cross, and the rosary, were the badges of his profession, inviting respect from friends and pledging constancy in the presence of foes. For two, three, and even more years, hundreds of leagues within wildernesses in the region between the Gulf of St. Lawrence and Lake Superior, remote from all converse or succor from European colonists, the Jesuit would wear this garb by day and night, in the wigwam and along the route, and even in its tatters he would preserve its semblance with patches of bark and skin.

The discipline of the novitiate, in the seminary and under the sway of an astute and thoroughly skilled director of conscience, had subjugated and enthralled the individual will, the conscience, the mastering motives, of the candidate for membership of the Order. Obedience, unquestioned and unreasoned, to his superior, was the complement and sum of all his virtues. To do what was assigned to him, to go where he was sent, to report himself only as in the way of his duty, to raise no alternatives of preference or prudence, never to forecast consequences, to measure risks, or turn aside from peril or death,—such were his vows. His calling was from outside of this world; and therefore the powers of this world, in motive, fear, or reward, were not to be recognized by him. His record and reckoning were for the world to come. What was signified to the Jesuit by the term *faith*, either as the matter or the way

of belief, may seem to us like the weakest credulity and the most puerile superstition. To him it was peace, patience, fortitude, courage, gentleness, and a victory over all physical longings and all mortal dreads. Nothing that we call, in these days, emancipation of the reason, intelligence, strength of mind, scientific vigor, or discernment of truth, has ever wrought with such a potent and unyielding sway over the inward essence and the outward conduct of a human being as has the *faith* of a Jesuit. The courage of the soldier, the dauntlessness of the hero, are but fragments of the sum of his prowess and self-mastery. Even the miracles which the Jesuit believed were wrought for him by St. Joseph and the Virgin were really less marvellous than the effects produced in himself by his faith in them. His great exemplar in remote and perilous missionary endurance, St. Francis Xavier, rather than his soldier-founder Loyola, was the model and inspirer of the height and fullness and measure of his zeal. His life among the savages was but a series of exhausting hardships, vexations, anxieties, discomfitures, ever-impending fatalities, changing disappointments and ultimate failures; and death came to most of the Fathers in a series of variations of the sombre tragedy of humanity. Father Le Jeune wrote from Quebec to his Provincial: "The chastity of our temperament must be altogether angelic." Father Brebeuf wrote from St. Joseph to his General, in Rome: "That which above all things is demanded in laborers destined for this mission is an unfailling sweetness and a patience thoroughly tested. It is neither by force nor by authority that one can hope to gain our savages." Father Jogues, the lamb and the lion of the missions, found in the stroke of the hatchet which ended his work a mild release from all the ingenuities of savage torture. Father de Nouë, at the age of sixty-three, was frozen into ice in the attitude of prayer in February, 1646, on the shore of the St. Lawrence, having lost his way in the snow while on a lonely errand of kindness. A

French noble, and once a court-page, he had lived in the wilderness twenty-one years. Father Masse, after thirty-five years of service, died the same year of hardships in it, at the age of seventy-two, at Sillery. Father Daniel, twenty years in the Society, pierced with arrows and balls, was flung, in 1648, into the burning ruins of his chapel at St. Joseph's, at the age of forty-eight. The sturdy-framed and the lion-hearted Father Brebeuf, of the race of the English Earls of Arundel, founder of the Huron Mission, in the twenty-fifth year of his service, came to a martyr's death, March 16, 1649. He bore unflinchingly the extremities and barbarities of the tortures which all the revolting ingenuity of his tormentors could devise. They drank his blood, that it might transfuse into their veins his intrepid heroism, while their chief devoured his heart. His skull, in a silver bust of him sent from France, is preserved as a holy relic at Quebec. His companion, Father Jerome Lalemant, met a similar fate on the next day. He had been in the country less than three years, and was thirty-nine years of age. Physically he had the weakness and delicacy of a woman, but he had the soul of a hero. Father Chabanel, in his seventh year of service, to which he had bound himself for life by a solemn vow, was murdered by a renegade Huron catechist, Dec. 8, 1649. Father Garnier after thirteen years of mission life, yielded it under gunshot and the hatchet, while administering the last offices to his disciples slaughtered in a ferocious assault of the Iroquois. He also was of noble blood and gentle nurture. His beardless face, after he was thirty years old, made him an object of ridicule in Paris, but it added a grace to him for the eye of the Indian. Father Buteux was waylaid and killed, in 1652, while on a most arduous and perilous journey, with one companion, from Three Rivers, in a mission to the distant Algonquin nation of the White Fish. Father Marquette, in May, 1675, died at the age of thirty-eight, as he had wished that he might die, on

the bare earth of the deep inner wilderness, with two humble attendants carrying his worn and sinking frame to the spot where he was to find release. There he consecrated the holy water for his last needs, and instructed his rude nurses how to keep the crucifix, which he took from under his robe, before his closing eyes; how to prompt his closing lips, in his last agony, with the words Jesus and Mary; how to compose his lifeless form for burial, and then to raise the cross over his grave at the spot which he indicated, at the mouth of the river that now bears his name.

Of the five Récollets who had begun the Canada mission, one, Nicholas Viel, was killed in 1625. The others, as above stated, returned. Of the twenty-five Jesuit missionaries to the Hurons recorded by Father Martin in his "Relation Abregée," seven were killed, one was frozen to death, one died of his wounds, eight died in service, and eight returned to France after the catastrophe which overwhelmed the Huron mission in the direful fate of the nation. Their field extended over the region between the Gulf of St. Lawrence and Lake Superior.

A lively sketch of the inner life and the daily work of the Jesuits in one of their remote residences will be found in the following, translated from Carayon, from a letter of Father Francis Du Peron, at La Conception, among the Hurons, April 27, 1639, to his brother Joseph, a Jesuit in France:

". . . We are lodged and we live after the manner of the savages; we have no ground for cultivation except a little borrowed patch where we raise French wheat merely sufficient for the host for the Mass. We leave the rest to divine Providence, who supplies us with more of Indian corn than if we had the best fields: one will bring us three ears of corn, another six; one a pumpkin; one will give us a fish, another bread baked in the ashes. We live happily and content with our lot. For their presents we return little glass ornaments, rings, awls, and knives. This is all our money. Of the good things of France we have none here; the ordinary sauce of our viands is pure water, and for gravy, corn or pumpkins. The luxuries which come from France do not get up

beyond Three Rivers. All that we can transport farther are some church ornaments, wine for the Mass (of which we use only four or five drops in the cup), and some vestments, with a few prunes and raisins for the sick, everything being at great risk on the way. We have lost this year two of our packages. Our platters, though of wood, cost more than do yours, their worth being that of a beaver skin, — that is, a hundred francs.

“The kingdom of God makes a grand advance in these countries. We have here a foreign nation of refugees, in part from their enemies the Iroquois, as also because of a pestilence which had been very fatal among them. Nearly all of them are baptized before they die. I have baptized some of them, and the Fathers have no small task, morning and evening, in visiting and instructing the poor sick ones who seem to have escaped a cruel death from their enemies only to meet the happy end of the elect. I leave you to judge if it be not a great consolation to those who give their prayers and their toils to the conversion of these poor souls, that God is willing to save them if we, on our part, offer no hindrance to it. I ask and implore for this end the assistance of the prayers of your Reverence and of my acquaintance. I salute them all with a heart of affection; I believe they will not fail me.

“Here, now, is a little journal since my arrival. Having fortunately reached the land of the Hurons after a journey of twenty-six days in a canoe, or rather a bark cradle of a birch tree, on September 29, at one o'clock in the morning, and being put in the way of reaching one of our residences in season to celebrate the Mass on that day, the rain and the exhaustion caused by the preceding journey, in which we were on the water from one o'clock in the morning till after midnight, without a chance to rest, and induced, by the hope of being able to say Mass, to eat nothing after my landing, the rain and the fatigue, and also the distance of the place, — five or six leagues, — and ignorance of the paths, constrained me to stop at the first village and to take some little nourishment. I then entered the cabin of a chief of the settlement; they passed me the compliment of a *chay* (welcome) in their language, the ordinary salute as ‘good day,’ and immediately spread a mat on the earth for me to lie upon, and then took four ears of corn which they roasted and presented to me, as also two pumpkins roasted in the ashes, and a platter of sagamy. I assure your Reverence that this was delicious food to me. The little children and others gath-

ered in the cabin with wonder at looking at me. Ignorance of their language kept me dumb, and their habit of saying nothing but the word of welcome to a stranger made them also mute; only they scanned me from head to foot, and all of them wanted to try on my shoes and my hat, each of them putting the hat on his head and the shoes on his feet. After having remunerated my host for his welcome and kind treatment with a knife and an awl, I asked him to provide me a savage to carry my sack and to conduct me to one of our residences. He brought me to the Fathers' by six in the evening. They received me with all love and affection, though my entertainment was no better than that of the savage, for the good things of life are common to us and the natives: that is, a porridge of Indian corn and water, morning and evening; for drink a draught of icy water, the savages sometimes scattering some ashes in the sagamy for seasoning, and at other times a sprinkling of water. These are like the cakes of the Provence, for grand occasions and festivals. The most thoughtful of them, after the fishing season, reserve some fish to mix with the sagamy for the rest of the year. For fourteen persons they put in about half of a large carp, and the more rotten the fish is the better it serves. As for drink, it is hardly to be named, the sagamy serving for solid and liquid, as one may be six months without drinking, except on a journey.

"The importunity of the savages who continually infest our cabin, and sometimes push open the door, throwing stones into it and hitting us, compels us to have as strict rules for our hours as in the French colleges. At four o'clock the bell rouses us; after our devotions comes the Mass, till eight o'clock, during which we have an interval of silence, reading a spiritual book and saying the Small Hours. At eight we open the door for the savages till four in the afternoon, during which time we allow them free converse, alike for their instruction and that we may learn their language. The Fathers also, during this time, go out to visit in the cabins of the settlement to baptize the sick and to instruct those who are well. For me, my occupation is the study of the language, guarding the cabin, praying for the converts and the catechumens, and keeping school for the children from noon till two o'clock. At two we are summoned to examination of conscience; then comes dinner, at which a chapter in the Bible is read, and often the Philagie of Jesus, by the Rev. Father du Barry. We have the blessing and the grace in Huron for the sake of the savages who may be present at the time. We

dine seated on stools round the fire, with our platters on the ground. At noon I begin the school for the children, which lasts two hours. Sometimes I have but two or three scholars. Sundays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays the school closes at one o'clock, at which time we teach the most notable of the settlement, whether Christians or not; on Thursdays only the Christians and catechumens; Sunday morning the Christians only. At the public Mass there is a sermon; before the Mass the holy water is consecrated with singing, and at the offertory the sacred bread is distributed among the savages. On the great feasts we have singing and the Mass. After dinner on Sunday, at one o'clock, we chant the Vespers; then comes instruction of Christians and catechumens. At five we chant the Compline, and Saturday evening the Salve with the Litanies of the Virgin. On the same day, at the close of the school, there is a little catechising of the children; and during the month there is a public catechising for the whole settlement, besides the daily instruction which is given in their cabins. At four o'clock in the afternoon we exclude the savages, and say in quiet together our matins and lauds, at the end of which we consult for three quarters of an hour on the progress or the obstacles in the way of the faith in these regions; then we study the language in conference, till supper time, which is at half-past six; at eight we have the Litanies and the examination of conscience, and then to bed. We have here no whole night's repose as in France. All the Fathers and our domestics, except one or two, myself being one, rise four or five times each night, as the fashion of resting here is on a mat with all your clothes on. Since I came from France I have never taken off my cassock except to change my underclothing. Thank God! I have found no inconvenience in it, and I daily realize how little will satisfy nature; and I believe that we are subjects rather for envy than compassion. For ourselves we do not envy the condition of any one in our France, — 'Better is a day in Thy courts than a thousand,' etc. It is true that we have the reality, as you do, only in a picture. How precious is the gift of the Faith! We have to deal with a people which has been wholly enslaved to the Devil ever since the deluge."

In a manuscript letter of Father Garnier, to a friend in France, copied by Mr. Parkman, we have a confidential disclosure which shows a shrewd conception of the means

most apt to work effectively on the imagination of an Indian. In specifying articles needed for the mission, the writer asks for "a picture of Christ without a beard," the Indians disliking that appendage. Several Virgins are desired, as also several representations of *âmes damnées*, to show variety and intensity in the forms of their torments through an ingenious arrangement of demons, dragons, and flames. One happy or beatified soul will suffice in that kind. The pictures must not be in profile, but in full face, looking squarely with open eyes at the beholder; and all in bright colors, without flowers or animals, which only distract. Some of the missionaries who lived within reach of the bayberry soon learned to boil its fruit, and, mixing the product with animal fat, to supply themselves abundantly with good candles. The wild grape afforded them wine for the sacrament; the rosary was found a very serviceable help; the cross always and everywhere held its place of veneration. Images and devices on tin and pewter came to be coveted rewards. A yellow calico dress formed a change in the wardrobe of the Virgin. Father Ralle had trained forty young Indians to assist at the Mass, in chants, and processions.

In a letter to his nephew ¹ he writes: —

"I have built a church which is well arranged and richly adorned. I have believed that I ought to grudge nothing, either in its decoration, or in the beauty of its ornaments which adapt it for our holy ceremonies; trimmings, chasubles, copes, sacred vessels, everything is becoming there, and would so be regarded in our European churches. I have provided a little clergy of about forty young savages, who assist in divine service in cassocks and surplices; they have their several functions, as well for serving at the holy sacrifice of the Mass as for chanting the divine office, for the benediction of the Holy Sacrament, and for the processions which are made before a grand concourse of savages, who often come from a great distance to see them. You would be edified with the perfect order which they keep, and by the piety which they manifest."

¹ *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses.*

He says that he had also planted two chapels on the outskirts of the village; one on the way to the fields, the other on the edge of the forest. These were dedicated respectively to the Virgin, with her image in relief, and to the Guardian Angel. The Indian women rivalled each other in lavishing upon these chapels all their trinkets and finery.

In the "Relation" of Father Jacques Bigot, from the Silvery Mission of St. Francis de Sales, in 1684, we read the following:—

"On the 29th of January we dressed anew an Altar much more richly ornamented than the previous one. The Reverend Father Superior of all our missions in Canada had given the most beautiful ornament of this Altar, which was a very large image of St. Francis de Sales upon satin. I had enriched it with a border of gold and silver. I verily say that I never saw in France a more beautiful image of the Saint, nor more enriched than this. Indeed, to speak freely, I had scruples as to the expense we had incurred for this when we were so poor that we had not even the necessaries of life for our mission, not even for the most miserable. But my scruples did not last long, judging that on so important an occasion as this we ought to spare everything to insure the utmost efficacy to implant sentiments of piety in these poor savages whom we wish to win to Jesus Christ. Our image, thus ornamented, was set upon a little satin carpet with a fringe of gold and silver. This carpet was put on the top of the Altar of the Saint, and showed the image in its whole size. At the base of the image was a splendid circlet of china, ornamented with porcupine quills, which our savages," etc.

Without these altar furnishings the Jesuit was as a workman without materials or tools. Father Le Jeune, in the "Relation" for 1637, writes:—

"The heretics are greatly blamable for condemning and destroying images, which admit of such good uses. These holy representations are half of the instruction which one is able to impart to savages. I had applied for some representations of hell, and of a damned soul, and there were sent to me some on paper; but they were too confused. The devils are mixed in with men in such a

way that one cannot get at any meaning without a very sharp study. If one would paint three, four, or five devils tormenting one soul with divers agonies, — one applying fire, another serpents, another red-hot pincers, and another holding him bound with chains, — it would have a fine effect, especially if the whole were distinctly shown, and rage and misery should appear on the features of this damned soul."

The good priest does not seem to have remembered that his Indians had often seen and taken part in the reality of which he desired a painting. If, instead of teaching the savages that the Great Father of the human race imitated them in the infliction of torture, what would have been the effect upon them of a picture of the benedictive Saviour, the Great Physician, standing in a group of sufferers by every ill and woe, who received from him relief and blessing?

How in contrast with all this was the stark realism of the Puritan meeting-house and worship, without altar, painting, symbol, or ritual!

If space permitted, I might introduce here a sketch of the noble and tragic ministry and career of Father Jogues, a young Jesuit scholar, who arrived at Quebec in 1636, and went among the Iroquois. The narrative of his zeal and fidelity, of his sufferings and mutilations, of his escape from a long captivity, of his reconsecration to his work, and of his final martyrdom, is so thrilling, so wrought in with marvels of heroism and endurance, as well as with variety of picturesque and shifting scenes, that it might be called a romance, if it were not for its fearfully sombre cast and close.

So also is the narrative of Father Bressani, an Italian Jesuit, who in 1642 was put upon desperate service as a missionary among the Hurons. No hero ever did nobler work, in trial and endurance. Captured by the Iroquois, he was tortured and mutilated, but, escaping with life, returned to his work till the scenes of missionary labor

among the Hurons were reduced to a desolation. Some extracts from his narrative will present us the most instructive reports and descriptions of the missionary work of the Jesuits :—

“Bressani¹ gives us an approximation to the results of the Jesuit Huron missions after some sixteen years. ‘I will say only, in one word, that the number of our neophytes would have been much more considerable, and that we should in a short time have made the whole country Christian, if we had had regard only for numbers and the name. But we had been unwilling to receive a single adult in perfect health before we had got their language, and had subjected to long trial, sometimes protracted through years, their pious resolution to receive baptism and to be faithful to the law of God, which called them often to grievous difficulties. We sought to augment the joy of heaven rather than to multiply Christians in name, and we should have incurred a sharp reproach if any one among us had deserved to have it said of him, “Thou hast increased the people, but hast not increased the joy.” So that in the space of a few years we have baptized about twelve thousand savages, of whom the greater part are now — as we are confident — in heaven, because of their sublime fervor and their admirable constancy in the faith. We had predicted the eclipse of the 30th January, 1646, which began here an hour and a quarter before midnight. Our Christians were on the watch ; so that when it occurred one of the more fervent, consulting only his zeal, ran to rouse some of the savages. “Come,” said he, “see how worthy our missionaries are of our confidence, and hesitate no longer to believe the truth which they preach.” A good old man, a fervent Christian, who knew nothing of the answer of the King St. Louis, on the subject of the miracle of the holy sacrament, said with much shrewdness, “that those who doubted the truth of the faith went to see the eclipse. They have no other evidence than that of their sight ; our faith has better proofs.” Some of our neophytes have visited the colony of the European heretics. When they understood that they were reproached for making the sign of the cross, and for wearing the beads round their necks, not only were they undisturbed by it, but they themselves took these heretics to task for their irreligion, with a liberty truly Christian. Some of

¹ Memoir of Father Bressani, by Father Martin.

them having seen that the colonists in New Sweden had but little reserve with the women, had no difficulty in preaching to Europeans the virtue which these should have been the first to have inculcated on them. The struggle against their temptations has been the occasion of many heroic acts. We have more than once seen the neophytes, after the example of the saints, throw themselves into the snow in the severest rigors of the winter, to cool the ardor of their concupiscence, or repressing it by the flames, as if in view of the pains of the life to come. How many young girls have preferred death to the loss of their honor! How many savages have openly espoused the faith, in spite of their fellows, and have willingly offered blood and life to defend it! I am convinced that one would have found among them many martyrs, if he had dared to persecute them. The grace of God produces everywhere the same effects. It can transform stones, and make of them children of Israel.'

“Some persons have had a pious curiosity to know the arguments which serve for the conversion of the savages. We put foremost the grounds of credibility generally given by theologians. Those which are the most effective may be reduced to three. The first is the accordance of our law and of the commandments of God with the light of reason. There is nothing forbidden by the faith which is not equally so by reason, and nothing commanded or allowed by the faith which reason does not also approve. Thus, the first of our Christians, in asking for baptism, made this avowal to Father Brebeuf: “I have meant for three years to speak to you of the faith taught by this man endowed with an excellent judgment; and as you have been preaching I have silently said to myself, ‘He speaks the truth.’ Since the first day, I have begun to put in practice what you have taught me.” In this view, our savages are indeed much superior in intelligence and constancy to the people of the East, of whom our Indian apostle, St. Francis Xavier, drew so sad a representation in his letters. They yield readily to reason. My second argument was drawn from the written monuments,—not only Holy Scripture, but also the works of men; and with this argument we shut the mouths of their false prophets, or rather charlatans. They have among them neither books nor writings, as we have said. When they recount their fables about the creation of the world, about the deluge (of which they have a confused idea), and about the land of souls, we ask them, “Who told you

that?" They answer, "Our elders." We reply, "But your ancients were men like yourselves. They could deceive themselves as well as you, who in your relations so often mix up exaggeration, deceit, and falsehood. How then can I believe you with confidence?" This argument cuts them keenly. They are bombastic in their tales. They make up fables, and have no hesitation about lying. We follow up the argument thus: As for us, we carry with us irrefutable witnesses for that which we teach, — namely Scripture, which is the word of God, and which cannot falsify. Scripture does not change like the speech of men, which is a deceiver almost by nature. After having admired the excellence of the material Scripture (which we are not wont to appreciate, because of familiarity), they come to recognize the certainty of the divine word, which we show them contained in the holy books dictated by the Lord himself. We read them the promises, the commandments, the threatenings; and often the simple and artless recital of the judgments of God and the pains of hell prepared for the guilty stirs them with a fear and terror like that which we read of as taking hold of the unjust judge Felix.

"But the strongest argument was that which we drew from our case after the example of the great Apostle to the Gentiles. Without prejudice to his profound humility he recounted to his disciples at Corinth, but in the third person, not only his sufferings and the labors which he had undertaken in the service of his Master, but also the revelations and the marvellous gifts which he had received from them who had sent him to preach his holy gospel. We did not scruple to use this language to our savages:—

"You see us here, Brothers, among you, languishing rather than living, in ashes and smoke, half-naked, pierced with cold, dying of hunger and wretchedness. Remember now that we were born and educated in a country where all things abound. There we did not have for a bed, as here, a rough bark or a coarse plank, but a bed of soft fleece. Salt was not the only seasoning of our food, but there was so great a difference between ours and yours that those who were nearly famished among us would not touch their lips to what you eat. Our houses were not dark and filled with smoke, like your cabins, but large, commodious, and light. Ask your people who have visited the French at Kebec [Quebec] the difference there is between their way of life and yours, and if it be possible to compare the blessings they enjoy with your miseries. And still they

have many deprivations so far from their rich country. Draw your own inference, then. If these men are wise, as you believe, they must have some motive for so great a change of their abode; they must have set for themselves some design. You love dearly your own country, parents, and friends, and we ourselves are neither marble nor stone. We also love ours, and perhaps with more reason than you, who cannot expect of them such great and good services. Still, we have willingly left all; we have said adieu to happy Europe; we have trusted ourselves to a cruel and perfidious element instead of fearing it. For every one dreads those rafts by which we cross the seas. A spark in the powder makes it fly into destruction; the winds rend the sails to tatters; the waters threaten to engulf them; the shoals of sand and the hidden reefs wreck them. In fine, to reach your shores — that is, your dismal deserts — at the risk of meeting the burning piles of your enraged enemies, we have braved a thousand tempests, a thousand shipwrecks, a thousand accidents, without fear even of the pirates who day and night sweep the wide seas. Can we do all this without motives inducing us?

“Some of us among you have been subjected to the torments of the Iroquois, and have been obliged to return to Europe for the cure of mutilations. Still, after such fearful sufferings, our parents and friends have not been able to prevail upon us to remain with them even for a few months, as we regard it a solemn duty to return to these forests. Should we consent to this without grave and pressing reasons?

“Nor are you ignorant that we have never sought to gain what you value most, or to secure any of your goods. On the contrary, in spite of our poverty we make you every day rich presents. Then it is not our interest which moves us, but your welfare. The end we have in view is one of the highest importance. It is your souls, and not these woods, nor these rude cabins, that have drawn us here. Being of such value in the eyes of God, can we esteem them too highly?”

“Such is the example which has proved the most effective means, in the hand of the Lord, to plant the faith and the standard of the Cross in this wilderness.”

His wounds having been dressed, Bressani returned to Canada in season to be present at Three Rivers at the

mock treaty with the Iroquois, in July, 1645. Here he met with kindness some of his tormentors. In the autumn he started for his former Huron mission, ignorant of the language, but preaching by the veneration won for him by his mutilations and scars, and his dauntless heroism. After three years of isolation in a service beset with direful perils, the Hurons, cut off from trade and in extreme want, resolved upon a desperate effort to open communication with the French at Three Rivers. In July, 1648, Bressani started with a convoy of two hundred and fifty Indians, more than half of whom were Christian catechumens. Just as they were reaching their destination they were set upon by a party of ambushed Iroquois, but came off victors, taking thirty-five prisoners. Bressani's functions were needed in absolving, instructing, and baptizing the dying. On this occasion some Algonquin allies of the Hurons were the first to refrain, under the influence of their mission teachings, from torturing a prisoner, given to them for that purpose. The Hurons said they could admire but could not imitate the humanity. While the Indians drove their traffic, Bressani went to Quebec, full of glowing zeal and undiminished constancy to win more laborers and to obtain altar supplies. Five more Fathers were designated for the mission. Said one of them: "We shall be taken, we shall be massacred, we shall be burned. Let it be so! The bed does not always make the happiest death. I see no one drop his head. On the contrary, each craves the post. To reach the field one must smell the smoke of the Iroquois cabins, and perhaps be roasted by a slow fire. But whatever befalls us, I know well that the hearts of those whom God shall call, will there find his paradise, and that their zeal will not be stifled by water or flames." The party returned safely, with twelve soldiers, some workmen, and a cannon, twenty-six Frenchmen reinforcing it. But on reaching their villages they were torn with horror and rage at the scene before them. The Iro-

quois, continuing the war of desolation and extinction on which they had entered, had struck an appalling blow at the mission of St. Joseph, killing seven hundred Hurons, with the missionary Father Daniel. On the 6th of March of the next year, 1649, the mission of St. Ignatius shared the same appalling fate,—Fathers Brebeuf and Lalemant perishing with their flock. The inhabitants of five of the Huron villages, in their fright and despair, burned their cabins and dispersed to various other mission stations. There were then eleven of these stations,—eight for the Hurons, and three for the Algonquins, served by eighteen of the Fathers. Forty Frenchmen, soldiers, traders, and domestics lived with them. The principal mission was that of St. Marie, which a fort was supposed to make safe and tenable; but famine compelled its desertion, and Manitoulin Island was sought as a refuge. The Huron chiefs were reluctant to go so far, and the missionaries, yielding to their passionate entreaties, agreed to go with them to the Island St. Joseph. It was with heavy hearts that they abandoned St. Marie, which with all its woes and wretchedness had become to them a second country. Here, too, in their new refuge, famine made horrible ravages with the wretched remnant. Soon news came of the massacre at St. Jean, in which Father Garnier perished. The heroic Bressani was again sent for relief to Quebec, and reached it in safety; but he vainly sought succor from the enfeebled colonists. He longed to return, even empty of relief, to his despairing flock, but could not start till June 15, 1650. His errand then was, as had been agreed upon in Quebec, to gather the Huron remnant to the neighborhood of that place. As the party were encamped near the mouth of the Ottawa they were set upon furiously by ten Iroquois, six of whom fell. Bressani was dangerously but not fatally wounded. Farther on in their route they met Father Ragueneau, with a crowd of three hundred of every age and sex, rushing on to throw themselves under the pro-

tection of the French. Bressani and his party returned with them to Quebec, where shortly all the missionaries left alive, with the sad remains of their flocks, gathered for an asylum. The Huron mission was ended. Many of the Fathers were sent back to Europe. Among these was Bressani. Only his vow of obedience would have reconciled him, though wrecked in health, to leave the scene of his labors and woes and his dear neophytes. He embarked for Italy, Nov. 1, 1650. His strength was renewed. He preached with great power and acceptance in the principal cities of Italy. He could say, "I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus." He retired at last to the house of the Novitiate at Florence, where he died, Sept. 9, 1672, full of years and of honors.

The series of catastrophes which thus brought a complete discomfiture upon the heroic efforts of the Jesuit Fathers marks the surrender of the Huron missions. One by one their villages, and then their places of refuge, had been desolated. The proud hopes which rested on visions and ecstasies and anticipated the crowns of martyrdom were blasted. But those in whose heroic breasts such hopes had glowed with more of just assurance than any human longings can claim, did win and now wear the martyr's crown. Such of them as returned to Europe were ready and anxious, at the word of their superior, to come back to the scene of their sacrifices. Of those who remained here, most became victims. Another company of the Fathers were yet to find the field for similar labors and woes in the far West. But of those whose way of peril and of death we have been tracking, we repeat responsively the words of Mr. Parkman, so apt and eloquent: "Their virtues shine amid the rubbish of error like diamonds and gold in the gravel of the torrent." He bears witness to the softening influence of the Jesuits on the ferocity of the savages. He also regards the series of Iroquois onsets at this period, which nearly annihilated the Hurons and the Algonquins, as closing the missionary

epoch in Canada, and yielding the field to the aims of French policy and trade for secular dominion. In this case it was not by invading white men, greedy for territory and plunder, but by the ferocity of their own kindred tribes, that the Hurons were extirpated. Yet the Iroquois were armed by the Dutch. The result might have been otherwise. Prosperous and extended missions might have brought the whole region of the lakes and the West under priestly sway, through France; and an Indian empire, "tamed but not civilized," might have grown up while the seaboard colonies were weak.

III. *Protestant Mission-work among the Indians.*—As we have taken the Jesuit Fathers of New France to represent to us the missionary work of the Roman Catholic Church for our aborigines, so the Puritan ministers of New England may represent to us the same work under Protestantism.

After the settlement of Massachusetts Bay, the first publication through the press in London, specially prepared in the form of a Report of the fortune of the enterprise, was a vigorously written pamphlet issued in 1643, entitled, "New England's First Fruits; etc." The first subject presented is the relations established between the colonists and the natives, with particular reference to the work of conversion. The pledges made in the charter, and the avowals and professions of the colonists as to their intentions and obligations towards the Indians were then fresh in their minds. With the exception of the bloody and almost exterminating war with the Pequots, which is represented as having been provoked by the savages, and to have had peculiar reasons for justifying it, there had been a show of amity between the whites and the few red men they had encountered. There is a tone of satisfaction and heartiness about the report of the progress of a Christian work among the Indians. Instances are given of apparently real convictions

and conversions, according to the Puritan standard. There are several English families which have Indians for servants and laborers. Many of these enjoy an attendance on "the Word," religious and Bible lessons, family prayers, grace at meals, etc., and offer evidence of being really reached by compunctions of sin, and good hopes. Their sagamores had welcomed the whites, and mutual courtesies had passed between them. Rights in land had been fairly purchased, and no trespasses were allowed.

But,—and here comes in full recognition the characteristic disgust of the English for the Indians, which the French seem never to have felt or else cautiously suppressed,—the authors of this pamphlet arrest themselves while most complacent in their account of the Indians, thus: "Yet (mistake us not) we are wont to keep them at such a distance (knowing they serve the Devil and are led by him) as not to embolden them too much, or trust them too far; though we do them what good we can." "No real intentions of evil against us" have been seen in any of them, "excepting that act of the Pequots. . . And if there should be such intentions, and that they all should combine together against us, with all their strength that they could raise, we see no probable ground at all to fear any hurt from them, they being naked men and the number of them that be amongst us not considerable."

In the charter patents of all the New England colonies, in the directions and instructions issued to their magistrates, and in the professions of their leading officials, the Christianizing of the native savages of the continent held, as we have seen, a very prominent place. They were to be treated justly and kindly, to be converted to and by the gospel, and to be civilized. When John Eliot and Thomas Mayhew simultaneously first set about an efficient effort to fulfil these obligations and avowals, some of the most inquisitive of the natives put to them the natural but embarrassing question, why the English should have allowed

nearly thirty years, the period of a generation, to pass since they had occupied the soil of Massachusetts, without undertaking the serious work. The colonists had learned enough of the Indian tongue for the purposes of trade and barter; they had made the natives feel the power and superiority of the white men, and kept them at a distance as barbarians and pagans, holding them subject to their own laws for theft, polygamy, and murder, and waging dire war against them for acts which the Indians regarded only as a defence of their natural rights: but as yet, and not till a long interval of years had passed, had the white men proposed to make the savages equal sharers in the blessings of their civilization and religion. So far as the needful efforts to this end would have required expense and any combined and systematic labor, the colonists might reasonably have explained and excused their delay by their own scanty means and the extreme difficulty they found in maintaining their own existence, and in laying, through toil and struggle and many buffetings, the foundations of their commonwealth. Incidentally, too, we must recognize the fact, that from the first all the Indians who came in contact with the English received from them help, tools, appliances, resources, and many comforts to relieve the wretchedness of their lot and life. The childlike sincerity of Eliot furnished him with a reply which best apologized for the neglect of the past by regret and by the earnestness of his purpose for the future. The Presbyterian Baylie, in his invective against the New England "Church way,"¹ charges upon its supporters a neglect of the work of conversion. He says that they were, "of all that ever crossed the American seas, the most neglectful" of that work. The grounds of his charge rest upon quotations from Roger Williams. On his voyage to England, in the spring of 1643, Williams employed himself upon his "Key into the Language of America," which was published in London in

¹ A Dissuasive from the Errours of the Time. London, 1645.

the summer. He had also published a "little additional discourse . . . of the name Heathen," treating of these natives of New England "and that great point of their conversion." Of this latter work no copy was known to be in existence until one was discovered last year.¹ Baylie quotes from it the following sentences:—

"For our New England parts, I can speak it confidently, I know it to have been easy for myself, long ere this, to have brought many thousands of these natives — yea, the whole country — to a far greater antichristian conversion than ever was heard of in America. I could have brought the whole country to observe one day in seven: I add, to have received baptism; to have come to a stated church meeting; to have maintained priests, and forms of prayer, and a whole form of antichristian worship, in life and death. . . . Woe be to me if I call that conversion to God which is indeed the subversion of the souls of millions in Christendom from one false worship to another!"

He says, "God was pleased to give me a painful, patient spirit to lodge with them in their filthy, smoky holes to gain their tongue." Baylie exempts from his censure Williams alone, who "in the time of his banishment did essay what could be done with those desolate souls." It is possible that the publication of Williams's *Key*, with the interest which it awakened in England, may have prompted the action of the General Court of Massachusetts in some further enactments for the Indians. At the Court in March, 1644, some of the sachems, with their subjects, had been induced to come under a covenant of voluntary subjection to the Government, and into an agreement to worship the God of the English, to observe the commandments, and to allow their children to learn to read the Bible, etc. An order of the Court in the November following provided that the county courts should care for the civilization of the Indians and for their instruction in the knowledge and worship of God. Again, in October, 1645, the Court desired

¹ See *note*, p. 74.

that "the reverend elders propose means to bring the natives to the knowledge of God and his ways, and to civilize them as speedily as may be."

President Dunster, of Harvard College, seems to have been regarded as eccentric because he urged that the Indians were to be instructed through their own language rather than through the English. In November, 1646, the Court, admitting that the Indians were not to be compelled to adopt Christianity, decreed that they were to be held amenable to what it regarded as simple natural religion, and so should be punished for blasphemy, and should be forbidden to worship false gods, and that all "powwowing" should at once be prohibited. "Necessary and wholesome laws for reducing them to the civility of life" should be made and read to them once in a year by some able interpreter.

The conspicuous and ever-honored representative of Puritan zeal and labor in civilizing and Christianizing the Indians, who with his co-worker Mayhew can alone "match the Jesuit" in this work, was the famous John Eliot. Edward Winslow, in his "Glorious Progress of the Gospel among the Indians" (London, 1649), had spoken of Eliot as "the Indian *evangelist*." The modest saint, writing to Winslow at the close of the year, after he had seen the above tract, expresses a wish that that sacred word "could be obliterated, if any of the books remain" unsold; because Winslow had seemed to use the title "for that extraordinary office mentioned in the New Testament." "I do beseech you," he adds, "to suppress all such things, if ever you should have occasion of doing the like. Let us speak and do and carry all things with humility." What would Eliot have said to the title of "the apostle," which he has long borne and will ever bear unchallenged; or even to that of "the Augustine of New England," which M. Du Ponceau attached to his name?

John Eliot, born near Nasing, in Essex, England, in 1604, graduated A. B. at Jesus College, Cambridge, in 1623,

and prepared for the ministry. From the first he was distinguished for his talent and proficiency in the study of languages. He became an assistant in the grammar-school of Mr. Hooker (afterwards of our Cambridge), at Little Bad-dow, in Essex. He came to Boston in November, 1631. Having pledged himself to become the minister of his fellow-voyagers if they should claim his services, he accepted the office over them in their settlement at Roxbury, as constituting the First Church there, Nov. 5, 1632; though he had to resist the urgent desire of the Church in Boston to become its pastor, in the absence of Wilson. He was soon married to a lady to whom he had been engaged in England, and who followed him hither. He retained his office in Roxbury till his death, May 20, 1690, at the age of eighty-six,—his faithful partner, Mrs. Ann Eliot, having gone before him, in her eighty-fourth year, March 24, 1687.

It would appear that Eliot had given heart and thought to a Christian service for the Indians in their instruction and civilization, immediately upon his settlement at Roxbury. As soon as the enterprise exhibited hopefulness, and through the efforts of Edward Winslow, at the time agent of the colony in London, had been brought to the notice and sympathy of friends in England, measures were taken, first privately and then by a parliamentary corporation, to draw to it patronage and funds. But it should always be mentioned to the honor of Eliot, that his sacred aim was self-prompted. Mayhew, of Martha's Vineyard, appears to have engaged simultaneously in the same effort, and in similar ways; but there had been no concert between the two. In fact, Eliot's first announcement of his purpose met with incredulity and opposition from some around him; and though he was afterwards greatly cheered and aided by sympathy and funds from the English society, his initiatory work and his hardest-won success preceded its organization, as well as the very moderate recognition of the

interests of the Indians by the Massachusetts Court, which in 1647 voted him a gratuity of ten pounds. Incidentally it should be mentioned that the early struggles and poverty of Harvard College found in that same society more efficient and needful patronage than has been generally recognized, in direct and indirect aid from its funds.

Eliot says that the first native, "whom he used to teach him words and to be his interpreter," was an Indian who was taken in the Pequot wars, and who lived with Mr. Richard Collicott, of Dorchester. He took the most unwearyed pains in his strange lessons from this uncouth teacher, finding progress very slow and baffling, and receiving no aid in it whatever from his skill in other tongues so differently constituted, inflected, and augmented. Though he is regarded as having gained an amazing mastery of the Indian language, he frequently, during the full half century of his work, avows and laments his lack of skill in it. We can pick out from his extant writings scraps of information about his difficulties and his mastery of them. His main dependence was upon securing the more intelligent, and, as he calls them, "nimble-witted" natives, young or grown, to live at his house in Roxbury, to be the medium of communicating to him words and ideas, to accompany him on his visits, and to be, with him, mutually teacher and learner.

Singularly enough, his greatest success was attained in a direction which we should have thought least likely,—namely, in his being able to convey to the Indians, through what seemed to be their own poor and scant vocabulary, spiritual ideas, truths, and relations. Mr. Shepherd, in his "Cleare Sunshine," etc., paid him a beautiful tribute, when he wrote: "In sacred language, about the holy things of God, Mr. Eliot excels any other of the English that in the Indian language about common matters (trade, etc.) excel him."

Quite different opinions were at the time expressed by

those who essayed, as interpreters, teachers, and preachers, to master the tongue, as to the construction and compass of the language, and the difficulties or facilities of its acquisition. It would seem that of it, as of other languages, ancient and modern, barbarous or cultivated, written or unwritten, it was easy to catch enough of it for the common intercourse of life in the woods, the wigwam, or traffic. The embarrassment of communication in it increased according to the importance or dignity of the theme. Mr. William Leverich, a very successful preacher to the Indians in Sandwich, Mass., wrote, in 1651 : —

“I cannot but reckon it a matter of success and encouragement that, though the Indian tongue be very difficult, irregular, and anomalous, and wherein I cannot meet with a verb substantive as yet; nor any such particles as conjunctions, etc., which are essential to the several sorts of axioms, and consequently to all rational and perfect discourses, and that though their words are generally very long, even *sesquipedalia verba*, yet I find — God helping — not only myself to learn and attain more of it in a short time than I could of Latin, Greek, or Hebrew in the like space of time, when my memory was stronger, and when all known rules of art are helpful to fasten such notions in the mind of the learner; but also the Indians to understand me fully (as they acknowledge), so far as I have gone. I am constrained by many ambages and circumlocutions to supply the former defect, to express myself to them as I may.”¹

Eliot seems even to intimate that Cotton of Plymouth was his superior in a mastery of the Indian tongue, and he relied largely upon Cotton's aid in his translation and printing of the Scriptures. He gave two full years of close study and practical trial of the language before he ventured to preach in it. Feeling that the time had fully come to justify the experiment, he invited the petty chief Waban and some of his Indians to gather near his wigwam, under an oak tree on a hill in Nonantum, now Newton, Mass.; and on the 28th of October, 1646, he discoursed to them in their

¹ The Further Progress of the Gospel, etc.

own tongue, from Ezekiel xxxvii. 9. This, his first service, lasting for an hour and a quarter, was introduced by a prayer in English, because he scrupled lest he might use some unfit or unworthy terms in the solemn office. This prompted an inquiry from his hearers whether God and Christ could understand prayers in their own tongue. In his second service, a fortnight afterwards, he ventured to pray in Indian. In his successive visits to his deeply interested but much confused disciples, his method was, to offer a short prayer; to recite and explain the Ten Commandments; to describe the character of Christ, how he appeared on earth, where he is now, and his coming to judge the good and the wicked; to teach the creation and fall of man; and then to appeal to them to repent and pray, and come to Christ as their Saviour. The Indians were then asked and encouraged to put questions which arose in their own minds, or were prompted by what they had heard. As we shall soon see, they exhibited much acumen in using this privilege, generally putting apt and pertinent inquiries, showing that their minds were naturally active or readily quickened. For instance, they were at once puzzled to understand how man could be made in the image of God, when the Fourth Commandment forbade such an imitative work. Cotton Mather, in commending Eliot's style in sermonizing, says: "Lambs might wade into his discourses on those texts and themes wherein elephants might swim." Such a style must have been equally apt for his white or red auditors.

From time to time, one or more of his brother elders and of the magistrates, with the Governor and some of the leading men of the colony, accompanied Eliot on his missionary visits, listened to the exercises, and learned to sympathize with his devoted efforts; and, however they may have measured or estimated the stages of progress or the prospect of desirable and rewarding results, they, with scarce an exception, showed a most grateful and hearty appreciation of his zeal and purpose. . . . From the very first

stages of his exacting task Eliot was sure that his success was dependent upon the establishment of Indian communities in settlements exclusively their own, with fixed habits of life and industrious occupations, ultimately with school-teachers and dames, mechanics, preachers, and local magistrates of their own race, and with all the comforts and securities of the towns of the white men, and their organized churches. He wrote, "I find it absolutely necessary to carry on civility with religion." The Rev. John Danforth, the poet divine of Dorchester, whom Eliot helped to put in office, commemorated the Apostle and his wife, "the virtuous consort," in some verses after their decease. He thus puts into rhyme Eliot's matter-of-fact opinion on this subject:—

"Address, I pray, your senate for good orders
To *civilize* the heathen in our borders.
Virtue must turn into necessity,
Or this brave work will in its urn still lie.
Till *agriculture* and *cohabitation*
Come under full restraint and regulation,
Much you *would* do you 'll find *impracticable*,
And much you *do* will prove *unprofitable*.
In common lands that lie unfenced, you know,
The husbandman in vain doth plow and sow ;
We hope in vain the plant of *grace* will thrive
In forests where *civility* can't live."

After many visits of search and exploration over a wide circuit, with Indian companions for counsel and help, Eliot chose a region of territory a part of which now bears its original name, — Natick, — to begin his great experiment. "The praying Indians" came to be the term, henceforward, for designating those of the natives who had been brought under degrees of instruction and of voluntary submission to Christian influences. By the earnest and effective agency of Eliot a large company of these were gathered to the above named site in 1651, as a place for their permanent settlement and abode, for further progress in civilization and religion. Besides engaging in his behalf the most

zealous and kind-hearted of his own brethren, Eliot was careful to secure for every stage of his undertaking the sanction and patronage of the General Court, which he addressed in his petitions, and which he kept informed of his plans, hopes, and progress. It is noteworthy to read in the records of the Court its orders for selecting, bounding, and securing to the successive settlements of the Indians, for their ownership and improvements, portions of that wilderness territory of the whole of which, but a score of years before, they had been the unchallenged owners. From the date just named, onward, the entries on the Court records indicate that its legislation for the Indians alternated in measures of apprehension, caution, and restraint, with intended patronage and favors.

It was about the time of Eliot's most busy and anxious employment in planning his first Indian town, that there occurred an incident in his life at Roxbury which, however much or little significance it may have had for him, presents to us a suggestiveness and a charm that persuade us to linger for a moment upon it. The incident was a visit made to the Puritan Eliot by an honored and devoted Jesuit Father, who was laboring in the same cause, though in another way. Father Gabriel Druillettes, born in France in 1593, was sent as a missionary to New France, with two of his Jesuit brethren, in 1643. The horrid smoke of the Indian cabin, in his first winter with the Algonquins, deprived him, after intense suffering, of his sight, as he thought permanently, — the application of Indian remedies having destroyed his hope of restoration. Hundreds of leagues of lake, river, mountain, forest, and swamp kept him from all aid and sympathy from his brethren. He was led about by a child, and performed his offices and functions by memory and touch. His faithful neophytes proposed to draw him to Quebec on a sledge. He laughed at this proposal; and, instead, invited them to try the power of prayer. A votive Mass to the Virgin was

speedily offered, at which he felt his way among the vessels of the altar and recited the office by memory. Just as he was raising the Host his sight returned, and never failed him again, through a long-protracted service in various places, till his death at Quebec in 1681, at the age of eighty-eight. He was sent twice by the Governor of Canada on diplomatic missions to New England, — alone in 1650, and with Godefroy, of the Canadian Council, the next year. This diplomatic character was his full protection, and, in Massachusetts at least, his salvation from imprisonment and banishment; and from death, should he break confinement or return again. Such was the reception Massachusetts then gave by her law, copying that of England, to “Papistical and Jesuitical” intruders, unless they might be shipwrecked on the coast. Respect, hospitality, and kindness — for which the Father expresses his warm recognition and gratitude in his own journal (fortunately in our hands) — was the far preferable treatment extended to him. He says he was called the “Patriarch” on the Kennebec and the coast of Acadia. Leaving Quebec Sept. 1, 1650, he went to Norridgewock, where he met John Winslow, the agent of the Plymouth colony at that post, and brother of Edward, who had procured from Parliament, July 27, 1649, the charter of the Corporation for Propagating the Gospel here, in aid of Eliot’s work.

It would seem that Druillettes and Winslow must have had even a jolly time together in the warmth of good fellowship and cheer, for the Jesuit expresses himself as heartily upon it as became his cloth. Leaving Augusta by land for Merry Meeting Bay, and sailing thence November 25, they reached Cape Ann December 5, and, partly by land and boat, came on shore at Boston December 8. We may be sure that Winslow took care that the Jesuit should at once be known as an ambassador. The latter playfully calls Winslow his “Pereira,” — in allusion to the Portuguese merchant who had shown like care and love, as a

friend, to St. Francis Xavier. His mission, founded upon previous correspondence with Governor Winthrop, was to induce the Massachusetts to enter into an alliance with the French for protection, and even warfare, against the Iroquois, or the Mohawks or Maquas. Winslow took Druilletes to the house of Major-General Edward Gibbons, a man of multiform and varied experience, serviceable, and of some repute, but of dubitable sanctity as a Puritan under church covenant. He was a most cordial host, giving the Jesuit a private room, with "a key," in his own house, and being thus probably an abettor of the first service of the Mass in Boston. The Jesuit was next taken to visit the Governor (Dudley) at Roxbury, to whom he presented his letters. Here, too, he was most cordially received, the Governor promising to notify the magistrates, with whom, in strange grouping, the Jesuit dined on the 13th. He represented himself as ambassador in the interest and for the protection of his catechumens at Kennebec, as against their deadly foes the Iroquois, who sooner or later would be in hostility against the English. He was turned over to the authorities of Plymouth, as having jurisdiction over the region from which he came. Winslow accompanied him to the Pilgrim colony, where he arrived December 22, lodging with Mr. Paddy. The excellent Governor Bradford, with much courtesy, received him at dinner, which, it being Friday, was considerably one of fish, and paid all his expenses. He returned to Boston by land on the 24th December. He had further interviews with Ellery and Dudley, and, embarking for the Kennebec Jan. 5, 1651 (N. S.), was compelled by bad weather to put into Marblehead. Here, he says, the minister "received me with great affection, and took me to Salem to visit Governor Endicott." This stern Puritan of the Puritans was most friendly and hospitable to the Jesuit, conversing with him in French, giving him money, as he was penniless, and inviting him to dine with the local magistrates.

It is pleasant to follow in Druillettes' Journal, through its marvellous misspelling of the names of places and persons, his recognitions of kindly and cordial treatment. The one that especially engages us is that in which, as he was returning from Plymouth to Boston, he tells us that he went to see "Mr. Heliot," the minister; adding, "He treated me with respect and affection, and invited me to pass the winter with him." Here then, face to face together, in the humble cottage, but by the generous fireside of the village wilderness pastor, were seated in respectful and affectionate converse two Christian men, each and both of whom spent nearly half a century in what was to them the most sacred of all labors. It must have been on or near Christmas day. We know well how much there was to alienate them in opinion, in prejudice, in profoundly sincere convictions, and in experience. Had they been so disposed, the very sight of each other in times of religious ardor and passionate strife, like those through which they lived, might have prompted a bitter and aimless discussion. But we are certain that nothing of this sort passed between them. They were Christian gentlemen. Peaceful, gentle, and respectful, however otherwise earnest, must have been their interview by the fireside on that winter's day. The season of the year, so dreary and perilous for the Jesuit's return journey, doubtless suggested the kindly invitation to him to make his winter's home with the Puritan pastor. We picture the scene to our minds, and love to gaze upon it as full of pleasing and elevating suggestions. We might be interested in the subject of their conversation for itself; we certainly should be interested in their talk, because it was theirs. A letter of Eliot's of that date shows that he was seriously exercised upon the question whether the natives of the continent were the descendants of the lost Jewish tribes. The question was then one of exciting interest and discussion among the Puritans, and it appears that some of Eliot's own brethren were cool in their sym-

pathy with or distrustful of any great success in his labors among the Indians, because they were persuaded that the conversion of the heathen was to be deferred until after "the coming in of the Jews." Now if these heathen were at the same time dispersed and degenerate Jews, Eliot, of course, would find his side greatly cheered and strengthened. But this was rather a *bon bouche* for Puritans than for the Jesuit, and it is hardly likely that Druillettes had any special views about it or would care to discuss it.

As to Druillettes' errand, this is to be said. There seem to have been a hope and purpose that the union of the four New England colonies, in 1643, should have been more comprehensive, embracing the French and the Dutch, each colony to retain its own language, religion, and habits, but all to be confederate for protection, thrift, and commerce. Hutchinson¹ says proposals had in 1648 been made to D'Ailleboust, Governor of Canada, for a free commerce with Massachusetts. These were received with pleasure, and correspondence was continued till Druillettes was sent on his mission in 1650. The prime condition exacted by the French was that the English should combine with them in hostilities against the Iroquois, as common enemies. Here we note the working of the complications of the rival relations of the European nationalities with our aborigines. The Dutch had already armed the Iroquois at the cost of the French. Massachusetts was safe from that foe, and did not wish to open a war. Plymouth was willing to comply with Druillettes' proposal; but neither that colony nor Massachusetts could act in the matter without the consent of the Commissioners of the Four Colonies. Druillettes came the next year with Councillor Godefroy to confer with them, but he did not succeed in the purpose of his embassy. In the records of the Commissioners there is no recognition of the priestly character of the envoy. He is referred to as "Mr. Drovilletty," bearing a letter "to the honored Gov-

¹ History of Massachusetts, i. 156.

ernor from Mounsier Delabout, Governor and Leftenant for the King of France, in the flood St. Lawrence." The Commissioners were quite ready to enter into friendly relations for trade, but were chary of any entanglements in matters of war.

There was matter enough on which the two ministers of Christ could converse together. Possibly there might have been seated by the fireside one or more of those inmates of his family of the native stock whom Eliot continued to turn to his own help in the language. That language and its dialects as compared with tongues more familiar to Druillettes, and a statement by Eliot of the approaching culmination of his plans in an Indian town, may well have been the topics of the interview.

The experiment at Natick, as it was the first of a series of such made with degrees of completeness in several places, was from the beginning, and through its whole development and trial, under the especial care of Eliot. There was not in him a particle of assumption or self-assertion in magnifying his cause, or in insisting upon his own authority or opinion. All along he sought to secure and to deserve the intelligent advice and the hearty cooperation of the magistrates, ministers, and leading men; and he sometimes yielded his own judgment or preference to conciliate and avert variances. There was a stage in the experiment when his well-guarded and moderate hopes seemed to have the promise of being crowned with fair success. The records of his own church and the traditions of his ministry in Roxbury prove that he most faithfully performed there all the laborious routine duties of a teacher and pastor in those days, in Sunday and Lecture service, in catechising, in administering discipline, and in constant oversight of the members of families in their various relations, with cares for the sick, the sorrowing, the dying, and bereaved. His rule was to visit Natick once a fortnight, riding there in all weathers, on his own horse, by paths

through the woods which he did more than any one else to make a road over hills and swamps and streams. The distance was eighteen miles. He was always laden with miscellaneous burdens. Though his own beverage was water, and his diet of the simplest, and he abhorred the use of tobacco, he was willing that the Indians should in some cases have wine; and he himself, after his professional work was done, distributed tobacco to the men, and apples and other little gifts to the papposes. Probably some cast-off clothing from the backs of his own flock, with household stuff generally, formed a portion of his load. There are evidences that, like most fond and unselfish laborers for pets of their own fancy, he had acquired that exquisite art of begging gracefully from others, he himself dropping out in the solicitations.

Anything like the weakness of mere enthusiasm or over-expectation from his labors was all along provided against in his case by the lack of them in many others around him. The worldly-minded and "the ungodly" — and there were some such even in his Puritan community — ridiculed his schemes, and did what they could to thwart them so far as they would tend to protect the Indians against contemptuous treatment or injustice in trade. Even some of the sincerest yet narrowest sympathizers mistrusted lest Eliot's project was premature, as they thought the time had not been providentially reached "for the coming in of the fulness of the Gentiles." The magistrates were cautious and often hesitating, and in many cases failed to carry into effect provisions of their own enactment designed for the benefit of the Indians. Though the Puritan missionaries, in the field of their effort, did not encounter such malignant and ingenious opposition as did the Jesuits from the *powwows* and sorcerers, — the Indian practitioners of divination and medicine, — they felt the effect of it, and had difficulty in reasoning it away. The Indians, whose whole resource for aid in their troubles and extremities had been

in their *powwows*, feared that if these fell into discredit or disuse, in any case of emergency in the future in which the help of white men should fail them they would be without relief. Eliot wrote to England to invite over doctors and surgeons for them, with appliances and drugs, and thought it desirable that they should have lectures, with the help of an "atomy," or skeleton. In a letter to Mr. Boyle, he wrote: "I have some thoughts, if God give life and means, to read medicine, and call for such roots — for they altogether use the root, and not the herb — as they have experience of." His chief difficulty, however, came from the apprehensions, the distrust, and in many cases the positive hostility of most of the sachems, sagamores, and grades of chieftains among the Indians. These apprehended that they would henceforward be deprived of the tribute which they had been wont to receive or to exact from their people. Eliot tried to act as a fair umpire in this matter, enjoining that the tribute due as such to chiefs should be continued, though qualified and reduced according to circumstances. While concentrating his labors at Natick, and dividing them among some half-dozen other Indian settlements soon initiated, he sought to make his movement one of wider compass, at least to other New England tribes; but his success was slight. The famous King Philip, taking hold of one of Eliot's coat-buttons, told him he cared no more for his religion than for that; and Uncas, sachem of the Mohicans, utterly forbade any proselyting work among his Indians. Roger Williams, in a letter to the Commissioners of the United Colonies, in 1654, wrote that in his recent visit to England he had been charged by the Narragansett sachems to petition Cromwell and the Council in their behalf, that they should not be compelled to change their religion.

The Charles River — sometimes fordable, sometimes swollen — ran through "the place of hills," which Eliot and his guides had chosen for their experiment in "cohabi-

tation and civility." The bounds of the plantation were laid out by the Court in 1652. Mainly by the labor of the Indians, a strong, arched foot-bridge, eighty feet long and eight feet high, had been thrown over the stream, with its pilings heavily laden with stone. Proud were its rude builders when it stood through the frost and freshets of the next season, which wrecked a bridge built by the English over the same stream at Medfield. Three wide parallel streets ran, two on one side and one on the other side of the stream, through the projected village; and the territory was portioned into lots, with walls and fencing, for houses, tillage, and pasturage. Fruit-trees were planted, and a palisaded fort enclosed a meeting-house fifty feet long, twenty-five broad, and twelve high, built of squared timber after the English fashion, with sills and plates, mortises and tenons, and a chimney. The Indians had no other aid in this work than that of an English carpenter for two days. The lower story was to be used for a school and for preaching and worship, and the loft for a place for keeping furs and garments, and for a bed-room for Eliot. Wilson, the Boston pastor, describes the scene when he was present at a lecture. He says the women and the men sat apart on benches, there being about one hundred Indians, "most, if not all, clad in English apparel," and thirty English. The place soon began to wear the aspect of industry and thrift, and to offer the comforts and securities of household life, with fields fenced and broken for crops, and fruit-trees set in the ground. The Indians preferred to construct their dwellings in their own style; but cleanliness and a regard for decency were strictly required of them. A sort of magistracy among themselves was established in the autumn. Eliot, throughout his plan, followed the theocratic model after which the colonists themselves were self-governed. He directed the Indians to choose among themselves ten rulers of tens, two of fifties, and one of a hundred, by the Scripture pattern. On Sept. 24, 1651,

they solemnly, after prayer and counsel and exhortation, entered "into covenant with God and each other to be the Lord's people, and to be governed by the word of the Lord in all things." In the mean time diligent efforts were in progress for the primer and catechetical training of children, for their education in English, and for the preparation in school, and even in college, of promising natives for teaching and preaching.

From the first tokens of hopeful promise and possible ultimate success in his arduous work, Eliot began to cheer himself with the joy which he should realize in setting before him, as a crowning result, the establishment in exclusive Indian towns of the perfected idea of the Puritan church. This required a company of covenanted believers, men and women, "saints by profession and in the judgment of charity," keeping strictly the Sabbath and the ordinances, with teachers of their own race, educated, consecrated, and duly ordained, and in communion with sister churches. The pastor of an Indian church should be such, in attainment, ability, and piety, as would put him on an equality, certainly for all official functions and regards, with the ministers of the English. Communicants should be received, as among the whites, on giving satisfactory evidence of their conversion, their conviction of sin, their spiritual experience and renewal, and their sincere purpose to lead a consistent, godly life, observing all the then requisite conditions and methods,—prayer and Bible-reading daily in their families, grace at meals, and the religious training of their children and households. The brethren and sisters thus covenanted together were to have a rigid watch and ward over each other, jealously guarding themselves against reproach or scandal, keeping all wrong-doers in awe, attracting the well-disposed, and proving themselves a body of the elect. Only the children of covenanted parents should be baptized, and the gifted of the flock were to be encouraged "to exercise in prayer and exhortation."

But all this was prospective, in the future. The more fervently it was desired and aimed after, the more wisely and diligently should every intervening step and condition be regarded. With all his zeal and fervor, and his clear apprehension of his final object which alone would be success, Eliot was a most patient, sagacious, and methodical overseer of his own work. He thoughtfully and prudently kept in view all needful conditions and preliminaries; he was content with very slow progress; he calmly met all obstacles, and gently treated all mistrusts; and he did not hurry to anticipate the result. Companies of his converts, after he had catechised and preached to them for a little more than a year, began to importune him for an entrance upon full Christian standing and privileges. Kindly, and with reasons which seemed to convince, he postponed the solemn work which they would have hastened. It proved to be four years before he and they were fully gratified.

He felt that he had planned wisely in planting the Indian towns as remote from those of the English as would consist with the occasional intercourse needful for their oversight and direction. One very desirable end he thought would thus be secured, in restraining what had come to be realized as a troublesome and dangerous evil, — the loitering of Indians, as vagabonds or pilferers, on the skirts of the English towns. Even the best of them had so far only intermitted spasmodic periods of labor for themselves, or on wages for the whites in harvest-time, with wide wilderness roamings. So long as they pursued this course they could not be held to the social and legal obligations of a community, much less to the rules of Christian morality and church discipline. As soon as it was thought safe to do so, what may be called the municipal concerns of the Indian settlements and the adjudication of petty issues between man and man were administered by some among themselves. English magistrates were appointed by the Court to make periodical visits, to dispose of more impor-

tant causes. In 1656 the Court chose and commissioned Mr. Daniel Gookin to have the general oversight, as magistrate, of all the Indian towns. He sympathized warmly with the plans and labors of Eliot, was a man of great purity and nobleness of heart, of excellent judgment and exemplary patience, and became the most steadfast friend under severe discomfitures and trials of those who were committed to his charge. His office and work proved as exacting as those of Eliot.

The Society incorporated by the English Parliament for obtaining and administering funds for these gospel labors among the Indians drew to it many and very liberal friends. Its income came to amount to six or seven hundred pounds. The Commissioners of the United Colonies were, by provision of its charter, in relations of correspondence and advice with its officers, and were intrusted with the disbursing of its funds. Communications were sent over from Boston in a steady succession, reporting each stage of hopefulness and promise in the work, with full and minute information. These were indorsed by Presbyterian and Independent ministers in and near London, commended to the notice of the Puritan Parliament, and printed. Indifference, mistrust, and opposition to the cause as useless or overstated occasionally manifested themselves, but were met and silenced.¹

The funds were to be used for various specified purposes, — salaries of ministers, interpreters, and school-teachers, the building of an Indian college at Cambridge and the support of native pupils and scholars, the purchase of clothing and books, etc. The Records of the Commissioners give evidence that there was some little friction in their agency

¹ The series of publications reporting the progress of Eliot's work, under titles indicative of the advance from dawn and daylight towards full noon, are, in their original issue, exceedingly rare, and are rated at extravagant values by bibliophilists. Most of them have been reprinted in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and they make together a unique class of literature.

as correspondents with the English Society, in overseeing the work and distributing and accounting for the funds, as they were thus brought into delicate relations with Eliot. The Commissioners preferred that he should make report of his work through them, and not by any private letters; and that all gifts to him should pass through their hands, or be within their knowledge. He began his labors and accomplished some of the most difficult parts of them unaided and at his own charges. He afterwards received a salary, first of £20, then of £40, and finally of £50, from the funds of the Society.

An illustration here presents itself of the mighty solvent power of that faith, common so far to the Puritan and the Jesuit missionary, which could so readily distribute the alternations of promise and disappointment in the stages of their work, assigning the encouragements to God and the discouragements to Satan. Thus, in connection with the active and costly enterprise at Natick, the English Society had been enlisted to send over large quantities of farming tools and implements of industry and household thrift, clothing, etc. A vessel laden with these was on its way, and Eliot had quickened the hearts of the Indians by telling them what warm and generous friends God had raised up for them across the sea. The vessel was wrecked with great losses on Cohasset rocks, though some of its freight was saved in a damaged condition. "Satan wrecked the vessel, but God rescued some of its contents." Again, on the eve of the occasion appointed for instituting a church at Natick; "three Indians of the unsound sort had got several quarts of strong water." The natural consequences followed. Of this Eliot says: "There fell out a very great discouragement, which might have been a scandal to them, and I doubt not but Satan intended it so; but the Lord improved it to stir up faith and prayer, and so turned it another way." Mighty indeed is that assuring trust which can thus allot the bane and the blessing of human life!

To the communications made from time to time by Eliot for the sake of their being printed by the Society in England, in order to draw confidence and funds to the mission work, he generally attached some interesting matter indicating the active intelligence of his Indian disciples. As has been said, one of the exercises in Eliot's religious services on his visits to Natick was his allowing and prompting his hearers to ask him any questions which seriously sprung up in their own minds, as they tried to understand and appropriate his teachings. We know how fruitful the creed of Calvin, and doctrines drawn from the Puritan estimate and mode of using the Bible—the Jewish and Christian Scriptures—have been in puzzles for the brains of civilized and well-trained men and women. It is not strange that the savages found in them riddles and perplexities. The Jesuit put foremost to his more docile disciples the creed, the authority, and symbols of his church, thus leaving to a reduced and secondary place of importance the promptings of the reasoning faculty on speculative and didactic points. But the Puritan stirred a spirit of disputation, with which he found it difficult to deal. Eliot, however, with kind and honest frankness indulged the liberty which he had offered. So he was wont to append to his communications to his English patrons some of the questions which came to his mind when he wrote, as having been put to him by the Indians. He says: "They are fruitful that way," though some of them ask "weak questions, which I mention not; you have the best." The excellent Gookin, who was often present, writes: "Divers of them had a faculty to frame hard and difficult questions, touching something then spoken, or some other matter in religion, tending to their illumination; which questions Mr. Eliot, in a grave and Christian manner, did endeavor to resolve and answer to their satisfaction."

It was altogether natural that the Indians, being so positively told by those who seemed to have knowledge in the

case, that they were the natural bond-subjects of Satan in life and in death, and being generally treated by the English in conformity with this teaching, should be especially interested in learning all they could about their dark, spiritual adversary. So most of their questions had reference to him and his unseen realm. They asked, "If there might not be something, if only a little, gained by praying to him?" "Whether the Devil or man was made first?" "Why does not God, having full power, kill the Devil, that makes all men so bad?" "Why do Englishmen so eagerly kill all snakes?" "If God made Hell in one of the six days, why did he make Hell before Adam had sinned?" "If all the world be burned up, where shall Hell be then?" "If all the Indians already dead were in Hell, and only a few now in the way of getting to Heaven?" Some of their queries showed no slight skill in casuistry. Eliot, insisting that his disciples should have but one wife, was asked, "If an Indian have two wives, the first without, the second with children, which of them shall he put away? If he renounces the first, then he wrongs the one who has the strongest claim upon him. If he discards the second, then he breaks a living tie, and makes his children bastards." "If one man sins knowingly and another ignorantly, will God punish both alike?" "If God loves those who turn to him, why does he ever afflict them after they have turned to him?" "Why did not God give all men good hearts, that they might be good?" "When Christ arose, whence came his soul?" When Eliot answered "from Heaven," it was replied, "How then was Christ punished in our stead, afore death, or after?" "Whither their little children go when they die, seeing they have not sinned?" Eliot says, "This gave occasion to teach them more fully original sin, and the damned state of all men. I could give them no further comfort than that when God elects the parents, he elects their seed also." "If a man should be inclosed in iron a foot thick, and thrown into the fire, what would

become of his soul? Whether could the soul come forth thence, or not?" There is a singular beauty in one of the questions put by these pupils of natural religion: "Can one be saved by reading the Book of the Creature [Nature]?" Eliot says, "This question was made when I taught them that God gave us two books, and that in the Book of the Creature every creature was a word or sentence."

A specimen of the "weak questions" is the following: "What shall be in the room of the world when it is burnt up?" Eliot calls this "an old woman's question, yesterday." The women were allowed to ask questions through their husbands, — not always, either in savage or civilized life, a satisfactory medium.

Only once does there seem to have been trifling. Eliot says, "We had this year a malignant, drunken Indian, that (to cast some reproach, as we feared, upon this way) boldly pronounced this question: 'Mr. Eliot, who made sack, who made sack?' [the word for all strong drinks]. But he was soon snibbed [snubbed?] by the other Indians calling it 'a pappoose question,' and seriously and gravely answered, not so much to his question as to his spirit, which hath cooled his boldness ever since."

This wicked Indian, named George, seems to have been a sad reprobate. He killed and skinned a young cow belonging to a settler in Cambridge, and had the effrontery to pass it off as "a moose" to Mr. Dunster, the President of the College, "and covered it with many lies." He was "convented before an assembly of the elders," and made confession, which was kindly received.

Patience, gentleness, and dialectic skill must have been equally needed by the good Apostle under these questionings. Supposing his readers well furnished at such points, he does not give us his answers.

Eliot made several distinctly marked stages of his work in the process of preparing his flock at Natick for and admitting them to the full privileges of what he calls "a

Church estate." He and they looked longingly forward to that crowning result. The most earnest of his converts were anxious to be put upon the same level with the English in the coveted enjoyment of all ecclesiastical rights and ordinances. He was himself naturally deliberate and scrupulous in avoiding all haste and in making sure of his ground. There were additional reasons also for hesitancy and delay in the case, furnished by the jealousy, the lingering prejudices, and the still unreconciled opposition of some of his own brethren. English pride and self-respect, and watchfulness for the dignity of the Puritan institutions, would keep careful guard over all the preliminaries for the recognition of a Church composed of natives. Stragglers and groups of them occasionally attended upon the Sabbath assemblies of the whites, with uncertain edification, understanding but little, and not always welcome, — though invited, and even constrained to come. The best of them might well realize that any good they were to derive from such services could be secured only when they met to worship by themselves, with "exercises" in their own language. Perhaps curiosity, novelty, and the love of imitation had their influence. As the Indians became impatient at the deferring of the consummation of their wishes, Eliot most wisely improved the opportunity by efforts to keep them steadfast, and to reconcile them to the delay by making sure of the gains already reached. It was hard to wean them from a roaming life and to accustom them to that fixed residence, "cohabitation," which was the prime essential to religious discipline and a covenanted religion. They must dwell together if they would be "a people with whom the Lord would delight to dwell." One stage in the tedious and responsible work had been secured in the measure already noticed, by which the families occupying the fifty lots in the new town had entered into a civil compact, after the model of the Jewish Theocracy. One of the laws which they had themselves made, of course under Eliot's prompt-

ing, was in these words: "All those men that wear long hair shall pay five shillings." Eliot says "they had a vain pride in their hair," so that the sacrifice was a hard one. He himself was sturdily opposed to the wigs worn by his own brethren. In the summer of 1652, Eliot began to pursue, with a few of the most promising of the male Indians, precisely the same process by which in his own Puritan church individuals in the congregation from time to time became members in full communion. And he followed this method with even more formality in every subsequent step of the process. He drew from some half-dozen of his converts what are called "confessions,"—relations of private religious experience. These he translated and wrote down, and then submitted to a meeting of his own ministerial brethren. Oct. 16, 1652, was appointed for their assembling at Natick on a day of solemn fasting and prayer, for the hearing of further "confessions," which were to be formally interpreted, opportunity being given for searching examination of them. These confessions, with an accompanying narrative, were sent to England and published in the interest of the Society which fostered the Indian missionary work. Eliot waited for the receipt of some of these tracts from England, that the circulation of them might reassure the confidence of friends here and remove what still remained of doubt or opposition to his work and purpose. He had another reason for delay, as "the waters were troubled" by threatening of war with the Dutch neighbors, and it seemed wise to wait for calmer seas. Eliot availed himself of the occasion of a great gathering in Boston, on a meeting of the Commissioners of the colonies, to bring his cause before the assembled elders, with the book of confessions. He asked for their approval of his proceeding to admit his Indians to a "Church estate," and induced them to attend upon a solemn meeting to be held at Roxbury in July, 1654, for hearing the confessions of some of his candidates from Natick, to be se-

lected by himself. To insure impartiality in interpretation, Mayhew came to help him. The natives gave to the appointed day the term *Natootomuhteac*, "the day of examination;" and they were advised to prepare themselves for it by private religious exercises. A public fast occurred in the interval, which those natives observed. Eliot suffered just at this time a dreadful, staggering blow, which almost disheartened him. As with hopeful heart he was mounting his horse, ten days before the set occasion, to prepare his candidates, word was brought to him that three drunken Indians had drawn into their revels the son of one of his foremost disciples. He was the more distressed because, as he says, one of the culprits, "though the least in the offence, was he that hath been my interpreter, whom I have used in translating a good part of the Holy Scriptures; and in that respect I saw much of Satan's venom, and in God I saw displeasure. I lay him by for that day of our examination, and used another in his room." The men were judged by their own local magistrates, put in the stocks, and whipped at a tree. The boy was put in the stocks for a short time, and then whipped by his father in the school.

When the great day came, Eliot proceeded with the utmost deliberation, with full caution, and charming candor. He wished to secure a rigidly fair interpretation and a clear understanding of the candidates by the elders, so that all should be scanned and tried. "For my desire was to be true to Christ, to their souls, and to the churches." Eight candidates were examined, and we have the proceedings in full in one of the London tracts. Eliot frankly said, as to the subjects of his efforts in general, "We know the profession of very many of them is but a mere paint, and their best graces nothing but mere flashes and pangs." If, according to the literalism of the Puritan faith, the names of all true covenanted Christians are written in the "Lamb's book of life," there may be found upon it the names of the following members of the fold in Natick: Tother-

swamp, Waban, Nataôus, Monequassum (the native schoolmaster, who could spell, read, and write, then wasting in consumption), Ponampam, Peter ("a ruler of ten, a godly man," who soon after died in sanctity), John Speen, Robin Speen, Nishohkon, Magus, Poquanium, Nookan, Antony, Owussumag, and Ephraim. Eliot says the Indians were abashed in making their confessions. The hearing of them deliberately spoken and then interpreted, must have been a tedious trial of patience to some of the English listeners, "who whispered and went out." Eliot says, "These things did make the work longsome, considering the enlargement of spirit God gave some of them." Sunset was near before the close. "The place being remote in the woods, the nights long and cold, and people not fitted to lie abroad, and no competent lodgings in the place for such persons, and the work of such moment as would not admit of huddling up in haste,"—it was concluded not to complete it on that day. The Indians were disappointed; but Eliot comforted them, as the elders did him, with just praise and encouragement. The poor man needed all sympathy and cheer. He says he "missed some words of weight in some sentences,—partly by my short and curt touches of what they more fully spake, and partly by reason of the different idioms of their language and ours." The schoolmaster especially, in his confession, had the "enlargement of spirit." "The graver sort thought the time long; therefore, knowing he had spoken enough (at least as I judged), I here took him off. Then one of the elders asked if I took him off, or whether had he finished. I answered that I took him off. So after my reading what he had said, we called another."

These "confessions" doubtless suffered in the interpretation. They are juiceless and parrot-like, formal, constrained, and technical, wholly lacking in the unique and picturesque originality of the Indian speech. They are for the most part accounts of thoughts or impressions ascribed

to a text on which Eliot had preached, or suggested by something he had said.

It was not until 1660 that a church of native members was instituted after the Puritan pattern at Natick. On the occasion, of which we do not know the date, Eliot officiated, baptized the candidates, and administered the Lord's Supper.

It would seem that the great accomplishment of Mr. Eliot's life, growing out of his missionary work,—the translation of the Scriptures entire,—so far from having entered into his original plans, had been regarded by him as impossible. In a letter to Winslow, in England, June 8, 1649, he wrote:—

“I do very much desire to translate *some parts* of the Scripture into their language, and to print some primer in their language, wherein to initiate and teach them to read, which some of the men do much also desire, and printing such a thing will be troublesome and chargeable; and having yet but little skill in their language,—having little leisure to attend it, by reason of my continual attendance on my ministry in my own church,—I must have some Indians, it may be, and other help continually about me to try and examine translations, which I look at as a sacred and holy work, and to be regarded with much fear, care, and reverence; and all this is chargeable: therefore I look at that as a special matter on which cost is to be bestowed, if the Lord provide means; for I have not means of my own for it. I have a family of many children to educate, and therefore I cannot give over my ministry in our own church, whereby,” etc.

This allusion to his responsibilities, as the head of a family, reminds us of the different conditions under which Eliot and a Jesuit labored in their respective fields. Eliot had a daughter and five sons. All these five sons he trained for Harvard College, dedicating them all to the Indian work. One of them died in his college course; the other four were preachers, one being his assistant at Roxbury. The daughter, with one only of the sons, survived the father. He writes:—

“Moreover, there be sundry prompt and pregnant witted youths — not viciously inclined, but well-disposed — which I desire may be wholly sequestered to learning, and put to schools for that purpose, had we means.”

In 1650 he writes, pleading earnestly for help to support an Indian school: —

“I have compiled a short catechism, and wrote it in the master’s [the native teacher’s] book, which he can read and teach them; and also all the copies he setteth his scholars when he teacheth them to write are the questions and answers of the catechism, that so the children may be the more prompt and ready therein. We aspire to no higher learning yet but to spell, read, and write, that so they may be able to write for themselves such Scriptures as I have already or hereafter may (by the blessing of God) translate for them; for I have no hope to see the Bible translated, much less printed, in my days.”

There had been grammars and dictionaries of native languages in Spanish America, published a century before Eliot meditated a similar work. There are intimations in the correspondence of the Commissioners, as agents of the Society in London, that they feared he might be tempted to print some of his translations before he was sufficiently skilled in the native tongue, with its possible variations of dialect even with New England tribes. In a letter to him dated Sept. 18, 1654, they say: —

“We desired that Thomas Stanton’s [the official interpreter in their affairs with the Indians] help might have been used in the catechism printed, and wish that no inconvenience be found through the want thereof. And shall now advise that before you proceed in translating the Scriptures or any part of them, you improve the best helps the country affords for the Indian language, that, if it may be, these Southwestern Indians may understand and have the benefit of what is printed.”

Eliot, in his sensitiveness, misapprehended the intent of this advice, for at the meeting of the Commissioners in the year following, in a reply to a letter from him, they say:

“The Commissioners never forbade you to translate the Scriptures for preaching, or for any other use either of your own or of your hearers, but advised that what you meant to print or set forth upon the Corporation charge might be done with such consideration of the language and improvement of the best helps to be had therein, that as much as may be the Indians in all parts of New England might share in the benefit ; which we fear they cannot so well do by what you have already printed.”

Mr. Abraham Pierson, of Connecticut, came under the patronage of the Society for his labor and skill in the mastery of the Indian language. Fifteen hundred copies of an Indian catechism made by him, printed by the Society in our Cambridge in 1659, preceded any work of Eliot's. The quaint simplicity of Eliot's remarks at the close of his Indian Grammar, also printed in Cambridge, 1666, makes them worthy of being copied here :—

“ I have now finished what I shall do at present ; and in a word or two, to satisfy the prudent inquirer how I found out these new ways of grammar, which no other learned language (so far as I know) useth, I thus inform him. God first put into my heart a compassion over their poor souls, and a desire to teach them to know Christ and to bring them into his kingdom. Then presently I found out (by God's wise providence) a pregnant-witted young man, who had been a servant in an English house, who pretty well understood our language better than he could speak it, and well understood his own language, and hath a clear pronunciation. Him I made my interpreter. By his help I translated the Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and many texts of Scripture. Also I compiled both exhortations and prayers by his help. I diligently marked the difference of their grammar from ours. When I found the way of them, I would pursue a word—a *noun*, a *verb*—through all variations I could think of. And thus I came at it. We must not sit still and look for miracles. Up, and be doing ; and the Lord will be with thee. Prayer and pains, through faith in Christ, will do anything. *Nil tam difficile quod non.* I do believe and hope that the gospel shall be spread to all the ends of the earth and to the dark corners of the world by such a way, and by such instruments

as the churches shall send forth for that end and purpose. Lord hasten those good days, and pour out that good spirit upon thy people! Amen."

One cannot but wish that Eliot might have had for his help and guidance some of the best practical hints which the science of phonography has in recent years suggested in the way of simplicity and labor-saving in the writing and printing, at least, of a language which as yet has only been spoken. The evidence is abundant that many of the English teachers acquired great facility in speaking the Indian language, but no two of them, in attempting to put into writing a page or a single sentence of it, would have fallen upon the same mode of spelling, or would have used the same number or order of the letters for the same word. Indeed the field was an admirable one for the trial of phonography. And it was of course wholly by the sound that Eliot was guided in his choice and collocation of letters for a word. He had arbitrary power in the case. Any one who mechanically turns over the pages of either of his Indian works can hardly resist the conviction that he might have dispensed with a considerable number both of the consonants and vowels lavishly used by him. But he sought to do full justice to those large elements of the medium of converse among his disciples which he found to consist of gutturals and of grunts. Within the space of a few pages of the same book we notice the words *aukooks* and *ohkukes*, as giving the name of the stone-kettles of the Indians. Either of a dozen other collocations of letters would have served equally well for the symbol of the sound. It was to his great relief and help that Eliot learned that in the structure of the Indian grammatical forms there was a regularity and method as strict and systematic as in those of the classical languages, though quite unlike theirs. Gender and number, moods and tenses, direction, relation, etc., found their full definition in augments or inflections. As in our unskilled ignorance we try to understand anything

in Roger Williams's *Key*, or in Eliot's *Grammar*, it seems to us as if an Indian word began little and compact, like one of their own papposes, and then grew at either extremity, and thickened in the middle, and extended in shape and proportion in each limb and member, and was completed with a feathered head-knot,— thus assimilating each acquisition of knowledge and experience as well as of food and ornament. Such we feel sure must have been the history of the genesis and development of a word before us in forty-three letters.

The Jesuit Biard, in *Acadia*, says he was satisfied with translating into Indian "the Lord's Prayer, the Salutation of the Virgin, the Creed, the Commandments of God and of the Church, with a short explanation of the Sacraments, and some Prayers, for this is all the theology they need." But Eliot, true to the Puritan idea that the Bible ought to be to all Christians what the Church was to the Romanists, considered that the seal of his life's work and the pledge of its continuity and security would be found only in a complete translation of the Holy Scriptures, of both Testaments. The Puritan made no discrimination as to the divine authority or edifying use of one or another portion of those writings. The Bible was one book,— a whole in itself. What in it was not of present application had value as authenticating its most vital and essential teachings. So the devoted and laborious Apostle gave himself to the task of transferring the details of the patriarchal history, of the wars in Canaan, of the Levitical institutions and the tabernacle worship, of the genealogical tables of Kings and Chronicles, and of the burdens of the Prophet, as well as the Psalms of aspiration and the sweet benedictions and parables of Christ, into an equivalent in the barbarian tongue. An unskilled person, in turning over the pages of the Indian Bible, will see that he found relief from what would have been an impossibility had he felt himself bound to give an Indian equivalent for proper names and techni-

cal terms in the Scriptures, by simply using the Bible word and adding an Indian termination. A story has obtained currency, that when Eliot was rendering the passage in Judges v. 28, where the mother of Sisera is said to have "cried through the lattice," after much perplexity to find an Indian word for *lattice*, he adopted one given him by a native, which, to his amusement and regret, he afterwards found signified "an eel-pot." The story is a fiction. In both editions of his Old Testament the word *lattice* is rendered *latticent*,—the English fitted with an Indian termination, though it is said that the word is Indian for "eel-pot" by haphazard. It is in evidence, too, that the Indian teachers and preachers found it easy and pleasant to use his Bible for all the purposes for which, with such zeal and toil, he had labored upon it. References are frequent, many years after, in the decaying Indian towns, to copies of the book which showed the same tokens of having been conned and pored over with the reverential affection lavished upon the English book in Puritan households. Eliot made two catechisms, one for younger and one for older scholars. He also provided a simple Indian primer. He translated some of the Psalms into Indian metre, which are said to have been "melodiously improved" by his disciples in their worship. His translations of Baxter's "Call" (1664) and of the "Practice of Piety" (1665), the former undertaken at the request of the Hon. Robert Boyle, were in the same service of the style of Puritan religion into which he would train his converts. After his grammar appeared, the use of it must have furnished facilities alike for teachers and pupils. It would seem that two editions were printed of most if not of all his works.

By a letter from the Secretary of the Society in London, of date May 18, 1661, the Commissioners were informed that under the new order of things, in the restoration of the monarchy, the Parliament's Corporation was dissolved by

legal defect. But the hope was confidently expressed that the King would renew it. The Commissioners therefore availed themselves of the fact that Eliot's translation of the New Testament was about to issue from the press in Cambridge, Mass., to improve it to a good purpose. The volume appeared Sept. 5, 1661. The title is, "Wusku Wuttestamentum Nul-Lordumun Jesus Christ Nuppoquohwussuacneumun." The Commissioners had a dedication prepared and printed in several copies, offering the strange work, with their homage, to Charles II., as appearing in the first year of his reign, and making it the appropriate medium of their petition that he would be graciously pleased to re-establish and confirm the defunct Corporation. The next year brought them the grateful tidings that his Majesty had renewed the charter under a prestige which drew in the patronage of "many of the nobility and other persons of quality." The materials for the expensive work of printing, and Mr. Marmaduke Johnson, as overseer, had all been furnished by the Society. The Old Testament, having been three years in the press, engaging the constant pains of Eliot and his assistants, was published in 1663. It was bound up with the New Testament, with a Catechism, and a translation in metre of the Psalms. The copy that was sent to the King was elegantly bound, as were also a few others in London. These were furnished with a somewhat fulsome dedication, though the donors might well find pride and satisfaction in their offering. In inscribing the New Testament to their sovereign, they had expressed their "weak apprehensions" that his Majesty had "a greater interest in this work than we believe is generally understood." In dedicating to him "the whole Bible" in the language of the natives of New England, they recognize his favor in the reincorporation of the Society, and congratulate him as being the first European sovereign that ever received such a work, with such "a superlative lustre" upon it, from his subjects. There were a thousand copies of this edition.

In 1680 a second edition of the New Testament was printed, and in 1685 another edition of two thousand copies of the Old Testament appeared, to supply the loss in the wreck of King Philip's war. The cost of this second imprint of the Bible was a thousand pounds. Its title is, "Mamusse Wunneetupanatamwe Up Biblum God Naneeswe Nukkone Testament kah wonk Wusku Testament." Copies of the book have been sold recently for more than a thousand dollars each. Generous as were the contributions made in England to this work, the Commissioners were equally earnest in their appeals for more, and needed an occasional reminder from the officers of the Society that their funds were limited. It is somewhat curious to note a fact appearing on the record, that these officers of a society with the King's charter, in making remittances here of silver "pieces of eight," — Spanish dollars, — approve the reminting of the specie, at a profit, in Boston, in contravention of the King's prerogative.

Father J. F. Chaumonot, who spent fifty years among the Hurons, made a dictionary of their language which has never been recovered. Father Sebastian Ralle made a vocabulary of the Abnaki tongue, which, as one of the spoils of war, was seized by the Massachusetts soldiers, and has been published by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Eliot's Indian Bible, having long since ceased to serve the uses of piety, — except as the very sight and history of it will ever have a sacramental power, — has a value assigned to it in abstruse philological and linguistic studies by such scholars as Adelung, Duponceau, Pickering, Professor Whitney, and Max Müller.

What would have been the later working and the continuous and final results of the experiment put on trial among the Massachusetts Indians, if left to a natural and peaceful development, fostered and not obstructed, is certainly a question of interest. But it would seem to admit of but one decision, to be inferred from all the knowledge

we have since acquired by actual trial of similar experiments. Some new phases and complications of the problem of the co-existence of two races on different levels of intelligence, ability, and thrift, — living in immediate proximity, the inferior overborne by the superior, — would have offered more intricate issues for our politics and more puzzling perplexities for our philanthropists. The calamitous occurrences soon to be referred to, which violently arrested the working of the experiment and brought most grievous disappointment to Eliot, while entailing bitter inflictions on the Christian Indians, will be regarded by different persons according to their varying judgments, as either merely precipitating a foregone conclusion or thwarting a prospect of fair promise. Mr. Gookin, the earnest and self-sacrificing English magistrate charged with the oversight of the Indian towns, wrote his carefully prepared account of them for the Society in England, in 1674, though the manuscript was first put into print by the Massachusetts Historical Society not until 1792. His account of the progress of the experiment up to the date of his writing represented the prospect as prevaillingly fair and hopeful. He himself had labored jointly with Eliot, with so much zeal and patience, and with such an unselfish and devout spirit, that he had attained a full knowledge and appreciation of all the exactions and embarrassments of the enterprise. While himself cheerful and assured, he was not over-sanguine, still less enthusiastic. He was always cautious, moderate, and discreet, recognizing alike the serious difficulties of the undertaking from the rude material with which he had to deal, and from the distrust and lack of sympathy of many of the English. He counted seven tolerably well established settlements or villages of the more or less Christianized Indians, and seven others in a crude state working towards that condition. The former were occupied substantially by natives who, with some exceptions in each, had abandoned a vagabond life, and were

trying to subsist on the produce of the soil, with occasional hunting and fishing, on wages paid them by the English for labor, and on the profit of some simple employments in handicraft. The first seven of these villages had their forts, their outlying fields, fenced or walled, their more cleanly and decent cabins, their blacksmiths, their meeting-houses, native preachers, teachers, and petty magistrates, and their administration of local affairs, with occasional help from the whites. Fruit-trees and growing crops gave a show of thrift and culture to the scenes. The Indians were kept under a jealous and rigid Puritan oversight, which could not but have been irritating, even if necessary in restraining them. It might be said that no scheme or effort, in its device or conduct, undertaken by Europeans for the Christian civilization of the natives of this soil, and indeed that no missionary enterprise among pagans in any part of the earth, was ever more sincerely attempted, or pursued with more practical wisdom and with more reasonable grounds for a rightful success, than this. Yet even with this experiment in full view, without the discomfiture brought upon it, a general and sweeping conclusion might with something more than mere plausibility be drawn, that the Indians cannot be civilized by the agency of the white man instigating and co-operating with them. Inherent and insurmountable obstacles from the blood and fibre, the instincts and temperament, — the nature, so to speak, — of the red race withstand all such efforts. As well essay, it may be said, to expel the game-flavor from the deer or the sea-fowl. Eliot and Gookin had to realize, from the first and increasingly, the distrust, the antipathy, and even the firm-set opposition, of their own countrymen to the work they were performing. And these feelings were by no means to be ascribed in all cases to unworthy or even unchristian motives. The Indians were said to have in view "the loaves and fishes," to be untamable, and in fact likely, as hypocrites or weaklings or dependent and shift-

less paupers, to prove more of a nuisance in their simulated state of civilization than in their wild condition. Candor also requires the acknowledgment that the considerable cost and charges of the work among the Massachusetts Indians were not borne by the colony treasury, nor relieved to any extent by contributions of the colonists themselves, who might have reasonably excused themselves by their own necessities. The experiment was in the main supported by the charitable and pious sympathy and gifts of the contributors to the funds of the Society in England.

But a copy of the manuscript of Gookin's hopeful narrative could not have been long in England before he was compelled, under date, at his residence in Cambridge, of December, 1677, to employ his pen in finishing a most sad narrative. This second narrative, after an obscured existence in England, was found there long after in private hands, and was put into print merely as an antiquarian document, by the American Antiquarian Society, only in 1836. Even at this late day, and while the pangs which it cost the writer, and of which as borne by others it was the faithful record, have long been stilled in peace, it cannot be read without a profound sympathy of sorrow. It is entitled, "An Historical Account of the Doings and Sufferings of the Christian Indians in New England, in the years 1675, 1676, and 1677, impartially drawn, by one well acquainted with that Affair," for the Corporation in England. The gentle, earnest truthfulness, the sweet forbearance, the passionless tone, and the full, minute, and well-authenticated matter of this record, draw to the writer our warmest respect and confidence. The substance of it is a matter-of-fact, detailed rehearsal of the jealousies, apprehensions, and severe measures on the part of the people and Government of Massachusetts, in their dealing with the "Praying Indians," during the horrors and massacres of that exterminating war which is accredited, somewhat doubtfully, in its plan and conduct to the astute and able Metacomet, or

King Philip, sachem of the Narragansetts. Gookin and Eliot were fully persuaded, from their own knowledge, that the Indians under instruction were then sufficient in numbers, with constancy and sincerity for the emergency, if they had been judiciously managed, to have been most effective allies of the whites in that war; and that their settlements were in fact admirably adapted to be a wall of defence. But from the outbreak of that havoc of burning, pillage, and carnage arose horrid apprehensions of treachery fostered in the Indian towns. Rumors that Philip's runners and messengers were engaging in the bloody work all the natives, even of distant tribes, filled the air. Tribes heretofore hostile to each other and harmless towards the English were said to be in the league. The darkest jealousies, which could not be reasoned with, popular panics, and bruited or whispered suspicions, had full sway. The word was, "We have been nourishing vipers." It was affirmed that, either by artifice, or threats, or promise of reward, Philip would sooner or later induce the converted Indians to make common cause with him as spies or traitors. This jealousy was natural, and is not to be wondered over. The magistrates seem to have tried to withstand it. Many of their first measures in dealing with it were considerate and forbearing, as they remonstrated with the popular excitement, and endeavored to restrain it, manifesting a true sympathy with the suspected and odious parties. But it was all in vain. Just enough cases also did occur, which, when aggravated by rumor and generalized upon, seemed to warrant suspicion and distrust of all the Christianized Indians. Some few who had settlements in the towns, and a larger number of those who had never committed themselves directly to the experiment on trial in their behalf, slipped away into the woods. In three instances barns or outbuildings in exposed situations were set on fire, as was suspected and alleged, by Indians who had been under the kindly care of the whites. In no in-

stance, however, was such a deed proved against any one of them, while there were mischievous and malignant strollers enough in those dismal days to have done many such acts, and worse ones. In the mean time several outrages and even murders were committed against the Indians by the exasperated whites, and the juries would not convict the offenders in the courts, though the magistrates faithfully instructed and urged them to do so. It would appear that, as the excitement and panic increased, something of the effect followed which had from the first been apprehended. Many of the Indians who were not the most constant or attached to their new mode of life, with others who had taken a disgust to its restraints, and still more who were discouraged or maddened by the jealousy which was turned against them, did leave the villages and enter with some measure of sympathy and active malice into the schemes of the enemy. It cannot be denied that some who had been regarded as pledged to civilization and Christianity, and who were under obligation to the whites, did prove false in various degrees of criminality. Even a young, intelligent, and well-taught Indian, called James Printer, *alias* Wawans, who had been Eliot's main dependence in printing his Bible at Cambridge, ran off to the enemy, though he was afterwards received as a returning penitent, he being acute enough to offer excuses or to plead for palliation. In the histories of the then frontier towns of Massachusetts which have of recent years been prepared and published by local antiquarians, we find mention of one or more Natick, Grafton, or Marlborough Indians as seen in the files or ambush parties of the devastating foe.

As day by day brought fresh alarms, with tidings all too true, that the infuriated enemy, maddened by their own unchecked advances, had burned one after another of our outlying towns, and would inevitably come within the frontiers to the older settlements, the suspicions and animosities against the Christianized Indians could no longer be

held in check. Some indeed were ready to turn against them with the deadliest weapons. The General and the County Courts were compelled to act in the case by some decisive measures. A committee of the magistrates advised that the Indians should be removed from their own settlements to the close neighborhood of the seaboard English towns, — to Cambridge Plains, to Dorchester Neck, and Noddle's Island, and some to Concord and Mendon. But this proposition only exasperated the more the inhabitants of those towns, as it would but bring the dreaded scourge nearer to them. It was evident, all along, that the greater familiarity into which the whites had been drawn with the natives, in the process of their so-called civilization, only made such as were not influenced by the highest considerations of religion and true commiseration, regard them with more repugnance than when they were in their wild state. The rooted race-prejudice stirred the English blood. Their occasional assumptions of equality, induced by their common Christian profession and observances, made the Indians offensive. Timid and thrifty persons dreaded the strolling or camping of a few of them in their neighborhood, as worse than gypsies. The Indians observed and felt all these things, and it is not to be wondered at that they sometimes gave the whites reason to dread their proximity.

But there was no alternative to the removal of the Indians from their settlements; and that at Natick, the most secure, and the least likely it was thought to furnish traitors, was put under treatment from the misfortunes of which it never really renewed its first prosperity. Eliot and Gookin stood resolutely and most affectionately for the championship of the objects of their care. They had no distrust, no wavering in their love. They pleaded, remonstrated, and offered themselves to be sureties for the fidelity of the wretched and cowering converts. Gookin was confronted and insulted for his conduct in the case, and even Eliot was treated by some with reproaches and dis-

dain. The courts were compelled to yield to the wishes of the panic-stricken whites.

Those who have read in detail the history of these melancholy years in Massachusetts cannot but muse sadly as they pass the present site of the United States Arsenal in Watertown, formerly called "The Pines," in Cambridge, over a scene that was presented there in the autumn of 1675. The magistrates had reluctantly ordered the removal of the Natick Indians to Deer Island, which was then largely covered with forest trees, and used for the grazing of sheep. The owner, Samuel Shrimpton, allowed this use of his island, with a covenant that the trees should not be cut down nor the sheep molested. A friendly person, Captain Thomas Prentiss of Cambridge, was charged with the removal of the Indians. With a party of horse and six carts, to transport a few movables and the sick and lame, he brought about two hundred of them away from their ripened crops, their rude homes, and all the associations which had become dear and sacred to them, to camp temporarily at the Pines. Good Mr. Eliot and some sympathizing English met them there, and were deeply moved by their submissive patience. He prayed with, comforted, and assured them. At midnight, the tide serving, on October 30, they were shipped in three vessels for the island. Their numbers were increased before the end of December to about five hundred, by the Punkapoag or Stoughton Indians. Eliot then went down to cheer and encourage them. He writes of them:—

"I observed in all my visits to them that they carried themselves patiently, humbly, and piously, without murmuring or complaining against the English for their sufferings (which were not few), for they lived chiefly upon clams and shellfish, that they digged out of the sand at low water. The Island was bleak and cold, and their wigwams poor and mean, their clothes few and thin. Some little corn they had of their own which the Council ordered to be fetched from their plantations and conveyed to them by little and little. Also, a boat and man was appointed to look after them."

The continued distrust of the "Praying Indians" was steadily met by the confidence and urgency of the few friends, who made themselves personal enemies by so doing. By and by, the English found that all their efforts against the wily foe, at ruinous sacrifices of money, property, and life, were baffled by the mode of the enemy's warfare, in ambushes and surprises, in dense forests and in swamps. It seemed as if the advantage was on their side, and that the white settlements would all fall before the torch and the massacre. In this dire extremity Eliot and Gookin proposed that some of their disciples, for whose fidelity, prowess, and skill in Indian warfare they would pledge themselves, should be employed as guides and allies, especially on errands for redeeming such captive whites as had not been tomahawked, and to penetrate swamps and thickets. With extreme misgiving and caution, and not without sharpening new jealousies, the suggestion was heeded, and the resource proved to be highly serviceable. At first one, then two, and slowly more, of the poor wretches on Deer Island were put to this use. The allies proved faithful. They stripped and painted themselves like the enemy, and tracked them to their lairs. At last a company of eighty of them was put under the command of Captain Hunting of Charlestown, and did eminent service. Gookin affirms that in the summer of 1676 the Indian allies, in scouting and in battles, had killed at least four hundred of the enemy, and that their co-operation "turned the balance to the English side," and "the enemy went down the wind amain." It was alleged that an Indian would always yield to the temptation of liquor, and would become infuriated by it. Gookin said, that, being used only to water, a very little spirit would intoxicate one of them. He could not bear the fourth part of an Englishman's dram. Gookin had "known one drunk with an eighth of a pint of strong water, and others with a little more than a pint of cider." Another statement of Gookin's on this point may

be quoted, though it can hardly be said to relieve the responsibility of the English in furnishing the Indians with liquor, inasmuch as they must have taught them how to make it:—

“If it were possible, as it is not, to prevent the English selling them strong drink, yet they have a native liberty to plant orchards and sow grain, as barley and the like, of which they may and do make strong drink that doth inebriate them; so that nothing can overcome and conquer this exorbitancy but the sovereign grace of God.”

It had still been intended that the removed Indians should remain, and work and plant on the islands in the harbor. But the good service done by many of them helped a relenting feeling. The distressed condition of the old men, the women, and the children drew pity towards them. Good Thomas Oliver, their friend, offered to harbor them at his place on Charles River, Cambridge. Their release in May, 1676, was a jubilee to the poor creatures. It was estimated that about a fourth part of all the Indians in New England—Massachusetts numbering three thousand—had been more or less influenced by civilization and Christianity. It was believed by some that had it not been for these, and had they on the other hand been leagued with Philip, the whites would have been exterminated. After the war the “stated places” for Indian churches in Massachusetts were contracted to four. Occasional stations were established for preaching, where the natives met to fish, hunt, or gather nuts. In Plymouth colony and in the Vineyard there were ten in each, and in Nantucket five. In 1670 Eliot, with Cotton of Plymouth, and Mr. Mayhew, ordained at the Vineyard Hiacoomes, the first converted native pastor of the Indian church,—a worthy and noted man. He had had a promising son in Harvard College. An Indian church was soon after gathered at Mashpee, with an English pastor. The “Praying Indians” in Massachusetts, Plymouth, and the Vineyard, in 1674, were numbered at

3,600. Eliot, writing in 1673, names six Indian churches at Natick, Grafton, Mashpee, Nantucket, and two at the Vineyard. All these, he says, have regular native teachers, except Natick, where, "in modesty, they stand off, because so long as I live, they say, there is no need." In 1687 President Increase Mather wrote to Professor Leusden, of Holland: "There are six regular churches of baptized Indians in New England, and eighteen assemblies of catechumens (or candidates for baptism), professing the name of Christ. Of the Indians there are twenty-four preachers of the Word. There are also four English ministers who preach the Gospel in the Indian tongue." In 1698 Grindal Rawson and Samuel Danforth, as a committee appointed to visit Natick, reported: "We find there a small church, consisting of seven men and three women. Their pastor (ordained by that reverend and holy man of God John Eliot, deceased) is Daniel Tahawampait, and is a person of good knowledge. Here are fifty-nine men, fifty-one women, and seventy children under sixteen years of age. We find no schoolmaster here, and only one child that can read." Up to the year 1733 all the town officers of Natick were Indians. They were partially such till 1762, after which date there were none. The place was incorporated as an English town in 1762, having been under its former character from 1651 to that date. By the census of 1763 there were in the town thirty-seven Indians. In 1792 there remained but a single Indian family, that having five members.

October 28, 1846, there was a local celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of Eliot's first visit to the spot. Two very suggestive incidents, deeply pathetic, marked that occasion. There was present at the exercises a girl of sixteen years, who was the only lineal descendant of the Indians known to exist. A copy of Eliot's Indian Bible—purchased by subscription for the purpose, from the sale of the library of the Hon. John Pickering—was then presented for deposit among the town's records.

Not the least among the sad memories shrouding this wilderness-work,—earnest and sincere in its purpose, but so utterly thwarted and blighted in its time for fruitage,—are those of the Indian boys and young men for whose special use the first substantial building was erected on the grounds of Harvard College. The flavor and restlessness of a forest life were to be extracted from their blood and fibres by a classical and scholarly academic training; though the forest would have been sure to reclaim every one that consumption or the change in diet and habit might spare. Six youths, after a preliminary training in a grammar-school, were in the classes at one time. Of two, who were just about to graduate, one—the most promising, a son of Hiacommes, the much-esteemed convert at the Vineyard—was murdered on a vacation visit home. The other, Caleb Cheeshahteumuck, whose name alone is on the catalogue, graduated in 1665, a classmate of the royal Governor Joseph Dudley. He died within a year, of consumption.

Eliot set up a fortnightly lecture at Natick for the Indians, “in logic and theology,” in their own language. Six young Hurons were contemporaneously taken by the priests into a seminary in Quebec. At the end of five years they had run off into the woods, carrying their Latin with them. The only one who had “commenced Bachelor of Arts” followed after them.

No laments could deepen the melancholy in which this story finds its conclusion. To moralize over it would be to open an inexhaustible theme. There were places where feeble remnants of these partially-civilized natives remained a little longer than at Natick. But the longer they survived the more forlorn was the spectacle they presented. Here and there may be seen in Massachusetts, in these days, a poor pensioner or vagabond, in whose veins are mixed Indian and African blood. Still there are trust-funds for their relief and benefit, which happily are legally available

for poor fishermen on islands and headlands. The only knowledge of the ancient race which young persons in Massachusetts have by actual eyesight is when their summer sojourns bring them to the waters of the Penobscot, the great hostleries near the mountains and the lakes, and the borders of Canada. Here are still humiliated and taciturn specimens of full-blooded Indians. Such religion as they have is the legacy of the Jesuit missions.

As we view the devoted and zealous laborers in those first Indian missions, we have to say that the task with which the Jesuit charged himself was intellectually far lighter than that assumed by the Puritan ; that is to say, it was a lesser task to turn an Indian into a Christian by the Jesuit than by the Puritan method. It is not easy for us to learn with any minuteness or fulness of detail exactly how and what, in the nature of intellectual instruction in religious and Christian truths and duties, — their authority, scope, and consistent influence, — the Jesuit taught the Indian disciple. We have but slight information on this point in the earliest records of their missions. The authority of the Church passed for very much, and the recognition of this, in an assent to whatever its priest should teach or require, seems to have been the great comprehensive demand of the missionary. The savages who came with most docility or with the least resistance on their part under the training of the priest, seem to have done so without argument or much explanation. Those who resisted the appeal, and who in any way tried to justify their rejection of the proffered blessing, were able and ready in some cases to give reasons — of weight with themselves — for so doing. We have to judge that the Jesuit method was the easier and the more compliant one, because he was much more readily satisfied than the Puritan would have been as to the evidences of Christian conversion required of and manifested by one of the heathen. This easier work of the Jesuit applies only to the strain upon his own intellect and

that of his disciples. If, however, the test be applied to the relative exaction of toil, sacrifice, and personal endurance of the two classes of missionaries, the Jesuit was put to a far sterner trial; and nobly did he meet it. Starting for at least a year of isolation in the deep forest, with his Indian crew, he tucks up the skirts of his cassock and takes off his shoes, so as not to carry sand or water into or to pierce the canoe. He bears his share of packs over the portages. He has at hand flint and steel to light fires and pipes. He must be patient and cheerful, and never tease or worry the Indians with questions. He goes to share with them the life of squalor and dreariness already described, in close intimacy. He became, as we may say, fond of his companions.

The first Puritan ministers who labored for the Indians were men with families, and generally with parishes of their own. They visited the Indians at intervals, but never domiciled with them. They compelled them to cut off their hair and to wear clothing. Eliot drew upon the cast-off wardrobes and ragbags of his friends, as well as upon remnants of old sails and horse-blankets, that he might prepare his red flock to enter Paradise with some of the apparel which Adam put on when he was leaving it. This teasing interference with all the personal habits of the Indians is an illustration of that strong antipathy, already remarked upon, which the Englishman felt for the native. This antipathy, and the hauteur accompanying it, alienated the Indian. When Major Gibbons was commissioned, in 1645, to aid our allies the Mohicans, he was instructed "to make good use of our confederates, having due regard to the honor of God, who is both our sword and shield, and to the distance which is to be observed between Christians and barbarians, as well in wars as in other negotiations." The historian Hutchinson¹ remarks on this advice: "It seems strange that men who professed to be-

¹ Collection of Papers, p. 151.

lieve that 'God hath made of one blood,' etc., should so early and upon every occasion take care to preserve this distinction. Perhaps nothing has more effectually defeated the endeavors for Christianizing the Indians. It seems to have done more,— to have sunk their spirits, led them to intemperance, and extirpated the whole race."

Wilson, the pastor of the Boston Church, writing to the Missionary Society in England, refers to the visit to the town, in 1651, of "Humanequim, a grave and solemn man," ordained by Mayhew as pastor of an Indian church in Martha's Vineyard. Wilson says he was "a great proficient in knowledge and utterance, and love and practice of the things of Christ." "On the Lord's Day, in the Assembly," Wilson said he asked one of the brethren "to receive that good Indian" into his pew, which he did. Why did he not share the pulpit? It stands, however, to the credit of the Puritans that they raised up native preachers, which the Jesuits did not. And yet candor requires the acknowledgment that one may easily read between the lines of many contemporary writings, that to the stiffer and sterner of the Puritans, both clerical and lay, such imitative approaches to the ways and manners of the whites as were reached by a few of the educated natives only made them more repulsive. Their "civility and humanity" seemed but a parody of the bearing into which ages of softening and refining processes, with the decencies and sanctities of home life, had trained the colonists. The official and clerical services of Indian preachers, and the ecclesiastical proceedings of their flocks,—rude and even ludicrous as for the most part they must have been,—must on occasion have tried the spirits and pride of grim-faced observers. Cotton Mather betrays the disgust working in his own feelings in this sentence of his *Life of Eliot*: "To think of raising a number of these hideous creatures unto the elevations of our holy religion, must argue more than common or little sentiment in the undertaker." Too often

under forced training the Indian lost whatever of spontaneous or inherent simplicity or dignity he might have caught as he roamed the woods, a child of nature. The virility of his manhood yielded to a humiliated sense of inferiority. His former attitude of spirit which stood for self-respect was bowed into conscious dread, though not always deference, for the white race.

Some of Eliot's successors, such as Sergeant, Edwards, Brainerd, and others, attempted a simpler method in teaching the Indians. The first of these, though a Calvinist, said he had "learned not to meddle with high themes, such as predestination and the origin of evil, but preached faith, repentance, and morality." The Jesuit teaching must also in its way have had many elements for confounding and puzzling the minds of their disciples. One of them, a prisoner in Boston, said that he had been taught—or at any rate had so understood the lesson—that the Virgin Mary was a French woman, and that Christ was born in France. Certainly the extremes of difference in means and methods for reaching a result which had any common significance to both parties—such as the making of Christians in belief and life—could hardly present themselves in sharper antagonism than did those of the Jesuit and the Puritan.

The abundant quotations which have been made in the preceding pages from prime authorities, and the comments upon them, present to us in full view the little that has been common between the aims and methods of the two great branches of the Christian church in their efforts to convert the natives. As to the larger proportion of what has been variant and discordant, and even antagonistic, in those aims and methods, charity and wise judgment will best guide the reader in his own decision. The statement has been made with this fulness as regards the beginnings of this missionary work, because, as our space will not allow us to trace its progress and present aspects down to our own time, we may feel relieved of the task by the simple

suggestion that the beginnings of the work set the example which has substantially been followed since by both parties of Christians. That missionary work among the Indians has never to this day been given over. In spite of all the perplexities and embarrassments which have attended it, and notwithstanding all the discouragements, thwartings, and failures which have clouded it, the inspiration of faith and duty has always won to it earnest and zealous laborers, and has secured to them the full sympathy and the generous patronage so essential to its support. Driven from one field of labor by war or ruin, the missionaries have sought another; disappointed in the trial of one scheme, they have soon devised a substitute. As each new organization or society, starting with hopefulness in friends and funds, has languished and been left to die, a fresh enterprise finds a ready rallying at its call. And all this is true, notwithstanding the frequent rebuke that heathen across the seas engage the sympathy which is needed for those at home.

It is further to be observed that Roman Catholics and Protestants, in their continued and unintermitted missionary efforts, still pursue substantially the same divergent aims and methods in their service among the Indians which we have found were adopted by them at the first. Perhaps, however, this statement should be subjected to the following qualifications: namely, that the Jesuit missionaries have of late been more regardful of the obligation and necessity of direct efforts for civilizing the Indians, while Protestant missionaries have to a certain extent subordinated direct religious, or at least dogmatical, teaching to preparatory training in secular education, manual industry, and morals. The Jesuit has adapted his efforts to the changes in the circumstances of the lives and conditions of some Indian tribes incident upon their removals, the crowding upon them of the whites, and their increasing dependence upon the helps of civilization. Let us take the testimony of two Jesuit missionaries in quite recent years.

Here is Father De Smet's description "of the deplorable condition of the poor petty tribes, in 1846, scattered along the banks of the Columbia, of which the numbers visibly diminish from year to year: " —

"Imagine their dwellings, a few poor huts, constructed of rush, bark, bushes, or of pine branches, sometimes covered with skins or rags. Around these miserable habitations lie scattered in profusion the bones of animals and the offal of fishes of every tribe, amidst accumulated filth of every description. In the interior you find roots piled up in a corner, skins hanging from cross-poles, and fish boiling over the fire, — a few dying embers, an axe to cut wood being seldom found among them. The whole stock of kitchen utensils, drinking-vessels, dishes, etc., are comprised in something like a fish-kettle, made of osier and besmeared with gum. To boil this kettle stones are heated red-hot and thrown into it. But the mess cooked in this way, can you guess what it is? No, not in twenty trials; it is impossible to divine what the ingredients are that compose this outlandish soup!

"But to pass from the *material* to the *personal*: what strange figures! Faces thickly covered with grease and dirt; heads that have never felt a comb; hands — but such hands! a veritable pair of Jack-at-all-trades, fulfilling in rapid succession the varied functions of the comb, the pocket-handkerchief, the knife, fork, and spoon. While eating, the process is loudly indicated by the crackling and discordant sounds that issue from the nose, mouth, throat, etc., — a sight the bare recollection of which is enough to sicken any person. Thus you can form some idea of their personal miseries, — miseries, alas! that faintly image another species infinitely more saddening; for what shall I say in attempting to describe their moral condition?"¹

Upon this unpromising field of labor, and others like it in a wide neighborhood, Father De Smet with several of his brethren planted themselves. Never was there a more serene, hopeful, and joyous spirit than is manifested on the pages of his book. His eye and skill, in observing and

¹ Oregon Missions and Travels over the Rocky Mountains in 1845-46, pp. 236-37. By Father P. J. De Smet, S. J. New York, 1847.

describing the scenery and life of the region, mark him as a man of a refined spirit, of delicate tastes, of broad culture, and of an artistic genius. But his enthusiasm over the promise and success of his work, his doting fondness for his "good Indians," his relations of the almost womanly affection which they manifest to him, and his exultant record of conversions, of baptisms of infants and adults, of first communions, and of the gushing joy on the church festivals with their rude resources, would hardly have been edifying reading for an old Puritan.

The aim and method of the Roman Catholic system of dealing with the natives are well set forth, though scarcely with any breadth of charity for other workers, by the Abbé Em. Domenech, a missionary among them :¹ —

"In general the Americans, above all, only consider civilization, not as a blessing which might polish savages, preserve their natural good qualities, extend the elements of well-being they already possess, reform their faults and vices, and modify their inclinations and character, but rather as a means of clearing this rich and fertile country of an independent, jealous, cruel, or at least useless, embarrassing, and degraded population. Religion, whose solicitude extends over all mankind, has shown that what human philanthropy would not or could not achieve, from impotency, was to her quite possible; and that the civilization of the Indians was a problem easy to expound, and a work equally useful to humanity and the general interests of nations. Missionaries — with no aid but their faith, their zeal, and their love of all the souls redeemed by the divine blood shed on the Mount of Calvary — have gone forward, crucifix in hand, among the great deserts of the New World; and far from attempting to annihilate savages and destroy their natural character, have raised them to the rank of Christians and men regenerated by an eminently civilizing religion. They have preserved the customs and dress rendered necessary by climate and habit to the rude industry of the desert. They have added elements of European industry, useful or indispensable in regions where wants are so few, and have softened the social feelings to

¹ See his "Seven Years' Residence in the Great Deserts of North America." 1860. Vol. ii. p. 441.

that degree that wars have become rare among tribes over whose territories the missionaries' influence has not been paralyzed by the advice and instigation of white people; so that civilization produced by Christianity for these unfortunate people is not a destructive and demoralizing work, but one of happiness and improvement."

As was remarked on a previous page, the Moravians — taking up their residences with Indian communities, and devoting themselves in schools, workshops, and fields to the joint objects of civilizing and Christianizing the natives — found in their early zeal and efforts more rewarding results than have been attained by any other Protestant fellowship. Men that are justly entitled to the epithets "saintly" and "apostolic," coming from a pietistic communion in Germany, gathered considerable bodies of the natives in communities, — first in New York and Pennsylvania, and afterwards in Ohio. These gave such promise of full success as gratified, if they did not reward, the devotion and hopefulness of the missionaries. But the same tragic fate, from similar causes and agencies, befell most of these communities at a critical stage of their training, as was visited upon Eliot's Indian towns in Massachusetts. Except that in the case of the Moravian settlements not only Indians hostile to their objects, but whites also, were the agents of their destruction in the closing years of the French war, and in the distracting strifes of our own Revolution.

Only in the most summary terms can we recognize here the continuance, under various modifications and adaptations, of missionary efforts devised by Protestants for the benefit of the Indians. They have never been neglected or intermitted up to our time. Humane and generous sentiments instigating a work of obligation, with funds supplied to sustain the work, have devised a succession of schemes of local or general operation in the service of the Indians. Very many of such among them as showed promise of

being efficient helpers of their own race have been educated by the whites in academies and colleges, on farms and in manufactories, that they might impart to others, in their own way, some share of their own attainments and experience. Zealous missionaries, with or without families of their own, and supported by their various religious denominations, have resided and labored among several of the tribes. These have sometimes proved to have more zeal than practical good sense or aptitude for the work. As might naturally have been expected, in conformity with what was said on an earlier page of this volume, such missionaries report to us different views of the Indians than do soldiers or frontiersmen whose relations with the savages are so unlike. But discouragement and failure have not infrequently disheartened even these missionaries. We may say of the Indians, as indeed we may also of the whites, that religious dogmas avail but little for the sterner work of life.

The most promising measures and methods for the relief and the elevation of the natives are those which are just now on vigorous trial as a part of the "Peace Policy" of our Government. This matter will engage our attention in the concluding chapter of this volume. Here it needs only to be said that all the most hopeful interest of our present efforts centres upon the principle, adopted as an axiom, that the Indian must be rid of all his savage qualities and habits by being, even compulsorily, subjected to civilizing processes, before he can receive any real benefit from our religion or humanity. This alone can protect him from the hostilities of his own race, and from the aggressions of the whites. In connection with the agencies supported by the Government among the Indians, the various religious denominations are invited at their own charges to send missionaries to reside among them. So far as these devote themselves to secular education also, and to teaching and aiding industrial pursuits, the Government furnishes them aid in funds and materials.

CHAPTER VIII.

RELATIONS OF GREAT BRITAIN WITH THE INDIANS.

THE subject of this chapter involves matters so controverted in some of their bearings as to require most candid treatment in strict conformity to historic truths. It has often been affirmed, and it has generally been allowed to pass unchallenged as if it were a well-established fact, that the British, as represented by their Government, have always been more just and wise in their dealings with the savages, and in the treatment of them, than were the English colonists here, and than the United States Government has ever been down to the present year. We are reminded that Great Britain has always had and still retains immense Indian territories here, over which she exercises administrative control; and that this has always been peaceful. As in sharp contrast with our own hostile relations with our Western tribes the fact is brought to our notice, that, within the three years last past, our latest Indian foe with his band sought and found refuge in British America. Indeed, it has been claimed that the British have been substantially discreet and generous guardians and benefactors of the Indians, protecting them from outrage and oppression, distributing among them bounties, and prudently leaving them to follow their own mode of life. Put in this positive and unqualified form, it would seem as if some huge blunder or some grievous injustice on the part of our Government was the sole cause of disadvantage in which we are thus placed when compared with our mother country.

Referring to the unsatisfactory state of the Indian question in British Columbia, in an address which he delivered there in 1876, the Earl of Dufferin, then Governor-General of Canada said :—

“Most unfortunately, as I think, there has been an initial error, ever since Sir James Douglass quitted office, in the Government of British Columbia neglecting to recognize what is known as the Indian title. In Canada this has always been done; no Government, whether provincial or central, has failed to acknowledge that the original title to the land existed in the Indian tribes and the communities that hunted or wandered over them. Before we touch an acre we make a treaty with the chiefs representing the bands we are dealing with, and having agreed upon and paid the stipulated price, oftentimes arrived at after a great deal of haggling and difficulty, we enter into possession; but not until then do we consider that we are entitled to deal with a single acre.”¹

I have quoted these remarks from a most honored and well-informed official of the British crown, simply as an emphatic statement of the prevailing view already referred to. I have no intention of making a special challenge of the correctness of his Lordship's assertion. Only as it conforms in letter and spirit with the terms of very many similar assertions from a large number of persons whose words have not the weight which attaches to his, do I use it as a sort of text to be commented upon with frankness, as it stands in the light of facts in the past and in the present.

Great Britain, as a government, first gained dominion here by invasion and conquest, after her colonists had independently of her patronage secured a footing on the soil. She acceded also by conquest to the territory which had been held by France, precisely as our Government afterwards did to what had been held by our mother country. At the time of each transfer from the French to the English, and from the English to the United States, the natives who had

¹ Speeches and Addresses by the Earl of Dufferin, p. 209. London, 1882.

been in occupancy were, so to speak, "thrown in." Not a motion, not a thought, apparently, was entertained about any bargain or settlement in either case with the natives. Nor has England ever added to her territory thus first acquired, as the United States has done, by purchases from other European nationalities. What consideration did the natives receive when Charles II., by a stroke of the pen, made over to his cousin the vast expanses known as Rupert's Land, afterwards the Hudson Bay Company's territory? At what date, then, did the affirmation of purchase in the Earl of Dufferin's statement begin to have a warrant? It would seem to be applicable only to comparatively recent transactions under a great change from the original circumstances. There were vast spaces of lonely, desolate, and uninhabited territory stretching all round the settlements of the French which were ceded to England. For nearly a full century British residents in Canada and the Northwest had no occasion to raise the question of extinguishing Indian titles. While our own people, beginning before the war of the Revolution, were steadily pushing forward their Western frontiers, often displacing for the second time remnants or combinations of remnants of tribes which had been displaced before, the matter of purchasing or extinguishing Indian titles, with compensations and annuities, was continually presenting itself. The occasions, too, were often aggravated by contentions as to whether the Indians in possession for the time had acquired any real ownership of certain regions in dispute. The vigorous and restless activity and enterprise of our own people made this a chronic and embittered trouble. The British on their side of the line, in the long lethargy and apathy as to any extension of their colonization, were spared all this strife. Lumber and furs could be gotten for their traffic without raising contentions with the natives. It was only when, in the planting of the Earl of Selkirk's colony in 1811, and more recently in extending settlements

in Canada beyond the original centre, the whites began really to press upon communities of natives, that bargain and contracts for territory began to be matters of interest. It may be that the Dominion is to have in the future some of the troubles which we have encountered.

The explanations, qualifications, and abatements to which this alleged claim on behalf of the British Government is to be rightfully subjected, reduce it in such a degree as to leave but little if anything on the credit side. Before our Revolutionary War the dealings of that Government, as such, with the Indians are hardly distinguishable from those of our own colonial authorities. Since the establishment of our Government the matter is more complicated. While we were still colonies Britain sought, as we did, alliances with Indians against Indians; our wars with the savages were in her interest as well as our own, and the declaration of war against them came more than once from the other side of the water. When we were struggling for our independence, agents of the British came and resided and intrigued here to set the savages against us, and succeeded in so doing. After we had achieved our independence, Britain, by retaining the western posts which she had covenanted to surrender, kept us more than ten years at warfare with her Indian allies. More than this, Britain secured the alliance of Indian tribes for working immense havoc and horrors to her colonists, on the solemn pledge on her part to remunerate the savages. She did not do so, but left them, impoverished and infuriated, on our hands at the end of the war. Indeed, it may be safely affirmed that some of the worst aggravations and strifes with the Indians on our borders till the close of the war of 1812 were from the entail or the renewal of hostile relations for which the British were largely if not malignantly responsible.

We strike at the very root of this assumption in behalf of the wise and kindly British policy towards the American

Indians, when we recognize the fact that that Government, as a government, has never had any such relations with the savages as did our colonists, and as the United States now have. That Government, as such, never undertook and managed the work of colonization on this continent by public initiation, patronage, fostering care, and military support, as it has done in India and Australia. It put its seal to charters and to proprietary rights, but it left adventurers to their own charges; and in fact it awoke to the realization that it had American colonies only when it became aware that they had prospered so as to be available for taxation, and were too strong and independent to yield to the demand. Not in a single instance has the British Government sent over at its own cost a body of colonists to this soil. The Government, therefore, as such, has never had to meet and deal with the Indians on the same footing as did the actual colonists. Those actual colonists were English people exiled from their own homes. As they came for a permanent stay, — not as transient, wandering traders, but as agriculturists and laborers on the soil, — they were brought into intimate relations with the Indians; they had to struggle for a foothold, to secure local property, to provide steadily for an extension of their territory as their numbers increased, to conciliate or subdue bands of the aborigines, and to lay and defend the foundations of a new empire here. Then, in very early stages of their hard enterprise these English colonists, without any aid from their Government at home, had to meet their first collisions with Dutch and French rivals struggling for dominion in the New World. When these antagonistic complications had reached a stage at which Britain, having in view — which ever it might have been — whether her own jealous pride of empire or the defence of her imperilled and exhausted colonies, sent her armies and fleets with generals and admirals to crush the French, she too was forced to put herself into the same relations with the savages as her colo-

nists had maintained, — making alliance with some of them, and visiting the scourge of war on others. We shall have occasion to note how she treated the Indians. Again, when Britain sought to crush the spirit of independence among her colonists, and in the second war to tyrannize over the young republic, she again put herself into relations with the savages, — whether more just than ours we shall see.

The simple truth is, we have been resident and extending colonists from the beginning, mostly from British stock. Britain, in her presence and power here, has been only an intermittent visitor, appearing on the scene in arms. As is soon to be stated, the chief relations of Britain with our savages have been for ends quite other than colonization, — ends inconsistent with colonization; and so her position towards the savages has been quite unlike that of the early colonists and their representatives here in our country. The British Empire in North America is much larger in area to-day than that of our own Government. We have an area of 3,026,094 square miles. British America has an area of 3,620,500; that is, Great Britain's domain exceeds our own here by more than half a million of square miles. Nineteen twentieths of her domain is the same old unsettled wilderness that it ever was; but our own people seem already crowded for room. The Northwest Territory of Great Britain is nearly as extensive as our whole domain. Formerly belonging to the Hudson Bay Company, whose charter expired in 1863, it passed to the Crown nearly three millions of square miles of territory, with a population almost wholly of Indians, of which there are 85,000. Had the work of colonization here by Great Britain been as brisk and vigorous as that of her own American offspring, we should have seen lively times on the north and northwest of this continent. As it is, from the acknowledgment of our independence to this day, whenever we have had border troubles with the savages, they

have invariably found aid and comfort, arms and supplies, from our brethren on the other side of that border. Had there been for a hundred years a rivalry between us for actual colonization of those vast wildernesses, we should certainly have found a Sitting Bull as well as John Bull formidable allies against us.

The Hudson Bay Company was for a long time the representative of the enterprise — wholly commercial and monopolizing — of Great Britain on this continent. A sketch of its plan and operations will show how different were the relations into which those concerned in it were thrown with the Indians, from those of our own people and Government.

The Hudson Bay Company had its origin in a charter given by Charles II. to Prince Rupert, under date of May 2, 1670, on the return of a party of adventurers in the bay from an enterprise under Captain Gillam, in the "Nonsuch" ketch. The charter conferred upon the Company the whole region whose waters empty into the Bay, with the right "to use and enjoy the whole, entire, and only trade and traffic, and the whole, entire, and only liberty, use, and privilege of trading to and from the territory, limits, and places aforesaid, and to and with all the natives and people inhabiting, or who shall inhabit, within the territories, limits, and places aforesaid," etc.

Captain Butler, in 1870, when he travelled in the region, well described it in the title of his book, as "The Great Lone Land." There is a grim significance in the motto of the chartered company, — "*Pro pelle cutem.*"

The enormous and vaguely bounded territory thus bestowed was called Rupert's Land. The Prince was its first governor; his associates, as a committee, were the Duke of Albemarle, Lord Craven, Lord Arlington, and other nobles. More than forty years before the date of this charter, Louis XIII. had made a similar grant to "La Compagnie de la Nouvelle France." Rupert's rights were made rigidly

exclusive, and the Company became a gigantic monopoly. No ends or purposes of actual colonization were intended or provided for in it; in fact, the interests of the Company discouraged and withstood colonization. No attempt in a design to civilize or benefit the natives was proposed by it, nor was any effort whatever made in that direction. The Company existed and was managed simply in the interest of trade, and that proved enormously profitable. The dividends made from its original stock,—after that, in modern phrase, had been well “watered,”—for 110 successive years, from 1690 to 1800, averaged between sixty and seventy per cent. Beginning its enterprise with a single factory or post near the shore of the Bay, it extended the field of its operations far into the Northwest, and with a wide embrace of regions producing the fur-bearing animals. Its chain of posts or forts was connected by streams, lakes, and portages, by which the natives brought their peltries to the Company’s clerks and agents to be bartered for European commodities. It was but rarely that these posts were fortified, as mutual advantage from traffic secured peaceful relations. There is something very significant of English policy in the names given to these chief factories in Rupert’s Land; such as York, Albany, Churchill, Cumberland, Nelson, Carlton, etc. As if to cheer the agents of the Company,—who, as winterers in the stations far inland in the lonely and dreary depths of the wilderness, needed the help of their imaginations for a solace,—these remote posts bore such names as Resolution, Providence, Good Hope, Enterprise, Reliance, Confidence, Hudson’s Hope, etc. The posts extended from Oregon to Ungava, and from Mingan to the Mackenzie. The region of country claimed under the charter of the Company took in between two and three millions of square miles,—nearly fifty times the surface of England.

One might gather a whole library of volumes that have been written about the Hudson Bay Company, chiefly by

those in its employ,—its agents, servants, resident clerks, and winterers. These books cover the whole period of its existence, all its operations, and its controversies. Most commonly the employés of the Company were young men from Scotland and the Orkneys. They were sent out on covenants of apprenticeship or service for terms of years, on salaries, wages, and prospective rewards by promotion. As a rule they proved intelligent, capable, and honest; soon conforming themselves to the conditions around them, and occasionally reaping rich advantages in a fair way. Some of them developed a genius that could turn to account their hazardous and arduous kind of life,—which, however, at intervals became dismal and dreary. The books from their pens would be most interesting and healthfully exciting reading to our young persons who love to read of wild and adventurous life, especially when assured that the narrative is truthful.

The Company had in its service at one time about three thousand persons; and the hunters and trappers who supplied it roamed over a region of five million square miles. Of course this vast extent of operations involved complications of affairs, and jealousies and rivalries in the management of the Company, among its employés, and with French and afterwards with American fur-traders. It is not strange, therefore, that most of the books just referred to—written by the servants of the Company, and often in the dreary winter seclusion of its posts—contain free and not unfrequently severe strictures on its management. Its rapacity and greed in mere money-making, its partiality in distributing its favors, its indifference to the just complaints and grievances of its servants, and its utter neglect of the present and prospective welfare of the savages, whom it dealt with only with reference to their rich spoils, are strongly reflected upon. The Company; intrenched in its chartered monopoly, paid slight attention to these charges. The mercantile interest in England more than once brought about a

Parliamentary inquiry, alleging the monopoly and the inefficiency of the Company. It appeared that the Company had never in any way recognized the Indian title or rights in the territory, nor made any attempt to extinguish them. The defence was, that, as it was not a colonizing Company, and in fact had always discouraged colonization, territorial rights were not essential to it. This defence induced a further complaint. The Company was known to oppose and thwart all attempts at exploring the country for curiosity, science, or any other purpose that would interfere with or throw light upon its own affairs. To meet these charges the Company sent Samuel Hearne, who had long been a resident agent, to make a journey of exploration to the Copper Mine River and to seek a Northwest passage. His journey was between 1769 and 1772; and he tried to extenuate the complaints against the Company for selfishness and lack of enterprise, made by Dobbs, Ellis, Robson, and others of its employés. He was absent from the post nearly nineteen months; he reached the river and the mines, but was disappointed in the results. Being an observing, intelligent, and cautious man and writer, he made a close study of Indian life and character, and gave a good description of the country, its animals, and products. He somewhat qualifies the reputed sagacity of the beaver, especially as regards its skill in the use of its tail as a trowel. He shows how readily a white man could conform himself to the habits of an Indian. He was unable to humanize his savage companions, or to dissuade them from inflicting a most hideous massacre on the Esquimaux whom they met upon the coast.

While the Company had thwarted any attempt to obtain information about the Indians in the interior, in order that their territory might be kept simply as a preserve for furbearing animals, the French from Canada were pushing their influence and enterprise. La Salle had first conceived and executed the design of opening a way through the con-

continent from north to south, and the French in 1731 were the first of white men to penetrate to the Rocky Mountains. So far as the natives were made parties to the struggles and rivalries of the different traders, the influence upon them was simply demoralizing. The keenest of the traders and of their employés would endeavor near some carrying-place to intercept a band of savages with their peltries, on their route to the centre of their supplies, where they were under contract for credit given to make a return. Where other temptations offered to them failed, rum was generally found to serve the purpose. Those inner reaches of the continent, once wildernesses unpenetrated except by savages, have cast the shadows of oblivion over many dismal tragedies of violence and suffering.

Edward Umfreville, who had been eleven years in the service of the Hudson Bay Company, and four years independently in the Canada fur-trade, published a volume in London, in 1790, on the state of the Company at that time. The book is judiciously and temperately written; but is very searching and severe in its strictures upon the management of the monopoly. He says that every one of its servants that has written upon it has censured or condemned it. When he was in its service in 1771, the Company employed two ships and a sloop,—all less than six hundred tons,—to bring merchandise and to take home peltry. Their crews being seventy-five, and there being only 315 employés resident, he thought this was a pitiful company for such a privilege and realm. In 1749 Arthur Dobbs and others had appealed to the House of Commons for an investigation, with a view to break the monopoly which restricted such a privilege, and to lay open the chartered territory to the trade of the nation at large. But the attempt was thwarted by the Company. Though the charter enjoined kindness to the Indians, and the reclaiming them to Christianity and civilization, Umfreville says the injunction was set at nought. The Company then really

consisted of but seven persons, and was acting illegally, as the time for which Parliament had renewed its charter had expired.

As has been said, the profits of the traffic were enormous, as may be inferred when we read that a good gun, costing twenty-seven shillings sterling, sold for twenty beaver skins, valued at £25; and two yards of cloth, costing twelve shillings, were exchanged for £10 in beaver. At first a single ship was annually sent from England to the Bay, and wintered in the ice of some sheltered inlet; but it being found that a vessel could go in, exchange cargoes, and return within the year, a gratuity of £50 was given to the master who accomplished the feat. The rivalry of the French in Canada with the interests of the Company was very soon experienced, as the Indians were early provided with French guns and found to have a smattering of French words. The number of half-breeds, French and Indian in blood, was another significant token. The operations of the Company gave service and training to that remarkable class of men, daring, skilful, patient, and all-enduring,—as much the growth and product of forest and wilderness as the wild beasts,—who have been referred to as “coureurs de bois,” “voyageurs,” etc., who assimilated all the traits and qualities of the Indian, with the addition of some special acuteness and versatility of their own. These “voyageurs,” for the most part half-breeds, with a complement of the natives and in company with an agent from one of the factories, would course the way between the posts, navigating the rivers and lakes, carrying their burdens, peltries, and canoes over the portages, and employing dogs to drag their loaded sledges over the snow. They were a wild and daring and self-reliant race, capable of enduring exhaustive fatigue and sharp extremities of cold and hunger. They had their intervals of fun and license, of feasting and dancing, and riotous and reckless living at the posts, and the solaces without all of the responsibilities of matrimony.

When the natives came to the posts, bringing the products of their hunting and trapping from far-off swamps and forests, business was postponed till they had indulged in a wild drinking-bout. Liquor made them furious, and turned them into fiends incarnate, desperate and murderous to all within their reach; so that this drunken and reckless riot was prepared for by the squaws, by taking away and hiding all the weapons of their lords and masters.

The name "fire-water" has a most expressive signification, and a pertinence not always found when we go to the roots of words. A cheap and maddening kind of intoxicating liquor, manufactured in England, was brought thence in great quantities by the Company's vessels, and distributed among its posts. For convenience of transport by boat or portage, it was divided from the barrel into small kegs or runlets, holding one or two gallons. The appreciable value of the liquor for barter, and its ferocious effects upon the savages in its full proof, soon led to a custom of reducing it by equal or larger parts of water, so that the contents of one keg might be parted into two or three. But the Indians had become expert enough to test the deception. The reduced commodity palmed on them as the pure article would extinguish fire; but the real, original, true stuff would support a flame. Hence rightfully the term "fire-water." The mischief wrought by intoxicating liquors among the Indians has had a more deadly effect upon them all over the continent than has war, or the small-pox, or the plague. Very early in the operations of the Hudson Bay Company, restraints, and then an interdict, were put on the introduction of spirituous liquors among the Indians. Occasionally the restriction may have availed, but for the most part it was futile. More than one plain-spoken savage who had had experience of this "fire-water" is credited with this description of it: "It could only have been distilled from the hearts

of wild-cats and the tongues of women, it makes me so fierce and so foolish.”

After the savages, on their visit to the trading-post, had recovered — not without a sense of shame and humiliation — from the drinking-riot, they were ready for business, tempted by the sight of the goods in the store, — guns, ammunition, clothes, various commodities, and bright calicoes, ribbons, trinkets, and gewgaws for their squaws. But the first transaction required a payment of their debts, for they were generally a year behindhand, having on their previous visit taken up goods on credit. Generally, too, they were honest debtors, bringing with them enough beyond their obligations to insure a credit in excess of their surplus for another season. The liquor was hidden away during these transactions, and efforts were made to prevent the draft upon what they might carry off with them till they had gone some distance from the trading-station. How diligently the savages followed the work of trapping beaver alone for the Company may be inferred from the fact, that, in the year 1788, more than 127,000 skins were shipped to London. The barter business at the posts was transacted by the aid of small marked sticks, defining values. These were given to the Indians according to the matter in their packs, and then received back again, at the same rate, for the goods which they might select from the store-house. The unit of value was the beaver skin, other peltries being estimated by fractions or multiples of it. The packs of goods which were to be transferred into the wilderness and those which were brought out of it were generally each of them a hundred pounds in weight, with reference to one or two of them being slung over the back in crossing portages or carrying-places between the water-runs.

Some of these commercial transits were made when the streams were open; others in the depths of winter, when the frozen surface of snow in the wilderness and of lakes and streams gave a zest and rapidity to the journey.

Those who, by the comforts of the winter fireside, enjoy reading tales of adventure or descriptions of home life in far-off solitudes and under grim and perilous surroundings, will find the Hudson Bay literature a rich repository. How some of those young men, exiled from the Scotch Islands, made life tolerable and even gay in those posts, with Christmas festivities and on occasions of arrivals of mails, of supplies, and of bands of trappers, may be read in many graphic and truthful relations.

From the first incorporation of the Hudson Bay Company there were constant rivalries and feuds between its employés and the French hunters and traders, — a wild and adventurous race, who were experts and heroes in all wilderness prowess. After the cession of Canada, by conquest, to the British, in 1762, the French, not dislodged from the woods, still continued the fur-trade through the *coureurs de bois*. The English monopoly for a while slackened in its vigor. The prize at stake, however, was a tempting one. Individual and associated enterprise, involving fierce altercations and treacherous alliances with the Indians, were enlisted in the fur-traffic. In 1783 some merchants of Montreal entered into a partnership company, and in 1787 united with another, thus constituting the famous Northwest Company. It was for a time very prosperous. It had twenty-three shareholders or partners, and employed two thousand men as clerks, guides, interpreters, and boatmen, scattered over the inner lakes and rivers at immense distances to receive peltries and distribute supplies. As no attempt was made by the foreign agents to colonize or permanently occupy Indian territories, but as the aim was to keep them in their wild state for hunting and trapping, the natives took no umbrage against the intruders, but on the contrary, learning to appreciate and to depend upon British goods, they became strongly enlisted in the British interest, as Americans have found to their cost. The Hudson Bay Company supplied the Blackfoot

Indians of the far West with fire-arms. Their enemies, the Snake tribes, tried to procure the same implements from the Spaniards in California; but as the latter wisely refused, the Blackfeet crushed the Snakes.

In 1796 the United States Government became jealous of this absorption of the internal Indian trade by foreigners, and sent out its own agents with supplies to engage in it. But these agents proved slack and inefficient. John Jacob Astor and others thus found their prompting to undertake the traffic. Mr. Astor, in 1794, was the agent in London of a fur-trader. In 1807, entering the business on his own account, he was thwarted by the rival Mackinaw Company. In 1809 he got a charter from New York for the "American Fur Company," with a capital of a million dollars, all held by himself. The enterprise of that rich merchant for planting a great trading settlement at the mouth of the Columbia, for commerce with the eastern continent and islands, and for the internal fur-trade, has found a fascinating relator in Washington Irving. A series of cross-purposes, plunders, wrecks, disasters, and catastrophes of every shape and kind overwhelmed the enterprise, and English rivals came in for the reward. The overland party, which was to join at the post the other party which went by sea, was under the guidance of Captain Hunt, took eleven months for crossing the country, travelling 3,500 miles, double the distance in a straight line, and exhibited heroic effort and endurance.

Irving thinks it marvellous that so many Indians should have survived at the West, considering the stern conditions of their life, their fierce wars with each other, fragments of almost extinct tribes timidly cowering in mountain fastnesses and wasted by the ravages of the small-pox. Even their names bear witness to their degradation, — such as Flatheads, Blackfeet, Crows, Pierced Noses, Big Bellies, and Snakes.

The circumstances under which those vast inner ex-

panses of mountain, plain, lake, river, valley, and hill have been visited by the wild, lawless, and desperate roamers have attached to the localities names often vulgar, low, and filthy. These offensive names ought not to be retained to degrade and vilify the regions, often so fair and sublime, especially as the Indian names which they displace are so beautiful and fitting. Why call the grand summits the Rocky Mountains? All mountains are rocky. The Indian name for them is the Chippewyan.

The once famous Red River Settlement, another enterprise not of the British Government, but of its subjects, dates from 1811. The Earl of Selkirk, Thomas Douglas, a large proprietor in the Hudson Bay Company, purchased from it and from the Cree and Sauteux or Ojibwa Indians, for an annuity of one hundred pounds of tobacco to each,—not a very generous equivalent,—land on both banks of the Red River and the Assiniboine. This had long been in its undisturbed wilderness condition as a mere preserve of the fur-bearing animals. It was roamed over by wandering Indians, who visited the trading-posts of the employés of the two rival companies,—the Hudson Bay and the Northwest. The enormous herds of buffalo which once coursed it have disappeared. The settlers under Selkirk were Scotch. They planted themselves on the soil with many discomfitures and hardships. Being under the patronage of the Bay Company they were attacked by those in the interest of the Northwest Company, Canadians and half-breeds, and twice driven from their settlement. On their return for a third trial, grasshoppers and myriads of blackbirds consumed their growing crops and reduced them to famine. Not till 1821, after nine years of sturdy toil against all obstacles, did the enterprise become in a measure successful. The two rival fur-companies formed a coalition. In 1835 the Bay Company purchased the Red River Settlement of Lord Selkirk's executors. He had spent upon his colony £85,000 sterling. Near Opashkwa Lake, in the Red River

Territory, is the height of land, the dividing ridge, which parts the waters flowing into the Hudson Bay and the Gulf of Mexico.

The inhabitants of the region at the time were of as motley and miscellaneous a make-up as any extensive region of the earth would have afforded, — Canadians, half-breeds, Indians, and naked, painted, and feathered savages strutting and fuming, *voyageurs*, farmers, hunters fishermen, furnished with missionaries of rival creeds, and not without means of education. Groups of human dwellings presented the strongest contrast as between well-furnished and well-stocked houses and farm-barns and the filthiest, dreariest cabins and wigwams. Any of the Indians who were inclined to adopt the usages of civilization had the progressive stages of it set before them and facilitated, all the way up from and all the way down to barbarism. Many of the settlers, however, were faithful to their Indian wives, sought to raise them and their habits and mode of life, and sent their half-blood offspring to Canada and Europe for education.

The object of the British traders was to open a road from Lake Superior through the Rocky Mountains to British Columbia, for direct commerce with China, which was the market for the costliest furs. From the Saskatchewan Valley all the way to the mountains only the agents of the Bay Company wandered. The region covered an area of 65,000 square miles, or forty million acres, much of it rich soil. It is this region, now the Province of Manitoba, which under the prompting and enterprise of land companies, vigorously pressed, is fast becoming populous with settlers, and giving promise of vast prosperity. A just and reasonable energy, not necessarily involving any jealousy, is engaged in this enterprise to offer inducements to colonists under Great Britain to stay on their own territory instead of making preference of that of the United States. Not by any means, however, is this preference overcome in

all cases. Still, with largesses and other inducements offered, not only to British but to other peoples, the enterprise is full of promise. Settlers from Russia, companies of Memnonites, and others from Iceland, are in thrifty communities on the spot. The project of the Canadian Pacific Railway to British Columbia is one which will task the funds of its proprietors. These enterprises will be found to bring British subjects into those more intimate and disturbing relations with the natives which have occasioned so many collisions between them and our people and Government. It remains to be seen if the British will prevail with a policy more just and pacific than our own. Certainly they have an opportunity to improve upon our methods and doings, and our experience may be a part of their practical discretion.

But whatever may be truthfully said about the greater wisdom or humanity of the official dealings of Great Britain with our Indians, the pages of authentic history are deeply stained for our mother country by the course pursued by her agents in the use they made of the savages alike in the war of the Revolution and in the war of 1812. At the outbreak of the former war England had already under her alliance and service nearly all the neighboring Indian tribes. Such of them as had previously aided the French, and as had been concerned in Pontiac's conspiracy, had been mostly won over or crushed. But the moment the colonies opened the rebellion Christian England, not content with the aid of mercenaries from the European continent, regarded every red man in our forests as fit and helpful material for a border warfare of burnings and massacres. And nearly all the tribes within reach of her call answered to it. It is difficult to trace, in her method of enlisting Indian allies and directing their savage instincts against her rebellious provinces, any feeling of humanity or any purpose of benefiting the natives. We certainly cannot at this point discern any greater consideration on her part

than on our own towards them. Nor can we find at this crisis the beginning of what is claimed as her more wise and merciful policy.

The opening of our Revolutionary War was the occasion of yet another of the aggravated issues in which, by a long series, the interests of the white and red men have clashed ever since their first contact on this continent. In all the conflicts for possession and empire on our soil the rival European colonists — as we have had already many evidences — sought, and always with success, to secure their respective supporters and allies from the Indian tribes whom they could influence, and also to set those tribes against each other in quarrels of their own. Our quarrel with the mother country was a matter of amazement to the Indians on our borders, and it was long before they understood its causes, could appreciate all its bearings and consequences, and decide the course which they should wisely pursue with a view to their own interests. Only twelve years before, they had seen the close of a seven years' war, which was in fact but the consummation of a struggle running, — as has been repeatedly stated, — with brief lulls and truces, through a century and a half, between the French and the English for mastery here. In that protracted strife, especially in the fierce war which brought it to a close, with complete victory for the English crown, the French had had a great predominancy of influence over, and of efficient help from, the red men. Indeed, we call that series of struggles by the name of our French and Indian War.

The British authorities, during that war, had come fully to appreciate the importance to them of strengthening their influence and alliance with Indian tribes. The agency which they established for that purpose in Eastern New York proved of substantial use to them; and the great popularity which the Johnsons secured, especially among the Mohawks, was turned to good account. Of course the cause of the colonies up to this time had been a common

one with that of England. But a new rôle was now to open. All the prestige and favor which British patronage and pay had won among the native tribes were likely now to swell the preponderance of power against the rebellious colonists. It became the latter to anticipate the threatened evil from this quarter. We were to have a contemptuous, arrogant, embittered, and vigorous enemy on our coasts, seeking also at various points to penetrate into the interior. Should we have likewise wily foes, murderous, prowling, savage allies with that enemy behind our borders,—apt for all stratagems, haunting the woods, burning our inner settlements, and inflaming rebellion with untold horrors? This element in the apprehensions and disasters of our Revolutionary conflict has been too often overlooked in our histories. To all of our people distant from the seaboard it was the aggravation of their severest dreads and sufferings. There have been many critical occasions in the earlier history of European nationalities on this continent when the savage tribes held something like what we call the balance of power, as a third party. It was of paramount importance, therefore, in the strifes of rivals and in our civil conflicts, to secure for either party their alliance or their neutrality. The English had sought this advantage against the French; and in turn the rebelling colonists sought it against the English. Our first Congress hoped for nothing more than the neutrality of the Indians, who could do us most harm. Knowing how dependent they had become on the English in the French war, Congress could hardly ask them to take up the hatchet against England. They therefore asked the Indians merely to look on the strife as a family quarrel, and to keep still in their lodges. While commissioners were working for this end, the wanton aggressions and murders perpetrated in 1774 by Colonel Cresap's band, on the northwest border of Virginia, stirred the rage of the friendly chiefs Logan and Cornstork, and so alarmed their people as to make a grievous difficulty for our

Government. An Indian department was organized in 1775, and its direct aim was to thwart the intrigues of Sir John Johnson, Guy Johnson, and the famous Mohawk chief, Joseph Brant, who held a British commission in engaging the natives. Brant, who was a great warrior and had a wide range among the tribes, with whom he had done much civil business, was a formidable foe to the colonists. The Six Nations at first agreed to a neutrality. The river Indians favored the colonists, as did the Oneidas; the Cawnawagas were halting; the Delawares, neutral. But the fickle and inconstant natives, governed by caprice and impulse, could be but little depended on. Thus we had around us all the elements of a twofold civil war. Our temporary success in Canada was followed by disasters, the sharpest of which was the affair at the "Cedars," in May, 1776. The policy of Congress was now changed from seeking the neutrality of the Six Nations and other tribes to attempts to draw them into active allied service, under pay. Though Washington favored the measure, Schuyler opposed it. Both parties had occasion to regret the alliance and service of the savages, as wholly unmanageable, regardless of the rules of civilized warfare, plundering, rioting, and carousing, not distinguishing between friend and foe, and watching the changing tide of fortune. New York and Pennsylvania bore the sharpest penalties in broils, murders, burnings, and massacres from this partition of ferocious barbarians in the strifes of civilized men. The Valley of Wyoming has had its tragic woes versified in a poem; and the truth compels the confession, that the white matched the red men in barbaric deeds.

We have to recognize the fact that the experience which French and English colonists had alike had of the cruel inhumanities and the revolting atrocities of Indian warfare had excited among them a dread of that element of their quarrels, and even what may be called scruples of conscience in those who called themselves in any sense Chris-

tian people, as to the employment of savages as allies. Especially among the English at home was there manifested at the time a strong reluctance, and even a bold protest and opposition, to the engagement of Indians as mercenaries, as it was known to be utterly impracticable to restrain them from their barbarities within the rules of what is called civilized warfare. The satire, invective, and denunciation which early in our war were poured out upon Burgoyne, for his employment of Indians and for his absurd proclamation on his route, might be regarded as the expression of a widely prevailing sentiment of disapprobation and disgust.

Near the close of this famous and fulsome proclamation addressed to the rebels as he was advancing from Ticonderoga, are these sentences:—

“I have but to give stretch to the Indian forces under my direction—and they amount to thousands—to overtake the hardened enemies of Great Britain and America, and I consider them the same wherever they may lurk. . . . The messengers of justice and of wrath await them in the field; and devastation, famine, and every concomitant horror that a reluctant but indispensable prosecution of military duty must occasion, will bar the way to their return.”¹

When afterwards defending himself for enlisting the savages, Burgoyne said “he spoke daggers, but used none.” He called these allies “at best a necessary evil;” and he said their blood-thirsty and plundering propensities, which he could not restrain, far exceeded the worth of their services.

¹ *Life and Correspondence of the Right Honorable John Burgoyne*, p. 492. By E. B. De Fonblanque. London, 1876.

In a rebel parody of this proclamation is the following stanza:—

“I will let loose the dogs of hell, —
 Ten thousand Indians, who shall yell
 And foam and tear and grin and roar,
 And drench their moccasins in gore;
 To them I'll give full scope and play
 From Ticonderog' to Florida.”

Still, whatever may have been the extent and influence of such a feeling, it did not avail to deter the British war secretary from bribing, enlisting, and infuriating Indian allies against us. But if any among the English wished and desired that the controversy between the rebelling colonists and the King might be tried and settled without calling into it the tomahawks, the scalping-knives, and the torches of the fiends of the forest, how much more might our own people, who knew so well what Indian warfare was, shrink from and try to avert the worst of their threatened perils!

Of course there has been the usual charging and counter-charging of American and British partisan historical writers as to which of the contending parties was first in the enlistment of savage allies. It seems strange that the matter should not have been regarded as settled by precedent on both sides. It was said in Parliament, when the measure was under discussion, that Congress had already got the start in that policy. Still, the British war minister was sharply rebuked in the House of Lords on account of his savage allies, though they had been advised by Burgoyne to restrain their ferocity. The Earl of Chatham poured forth his indignation so fiercely that it was said that the tapestry-figures on the walls listened with frowns on their faces. Burke thus sarcastically illustrated the appeal to the savages' humanity:—

“Suppose there was a riot on Tower Hill. What would the keeper of his Majesty's lions do? Would he not fling open the dens of the wild beasts, and then address them thus: ‘My gentle Lions, my humane Bears, my tender-hearted Hyenas, go forth! but I exhort you, as you are Christians and members of civilized society, to take care not to hurt any man, woman, or child.’”¹

Our people had to start in the conflict under the reasonable and dread apprehension that they would have to con-

¹ Horace Walpole's Letters, Cunningham's ed., vol. vii. p. 29.

tend with savage foes who had so recently been in the pay and service of Britain against the French. The Provincial Congress of Massachusetts had exercised their forethought upon this matter before the opening of hostilities. A company of Stockbridge Indians had been engaged as minute-men, and were stationed at Watertown. It was known that we had sympathizers in Canada; and the Provincial Congress addressed a letter in April, 1775, to one of our missionaries among the Six Nations in Western New York, seeking that every effort should be used to engage the good feeling, and if possible the active help, of the tribes on our side, or, if that was impracticable, at least to secure their neutrality. British agents, however, had already the start of us in that scheme, and attained considerable success, so that even among the tribes from which we might have looked for aid, as well as from all other Indian tribes, the weight was against us during the whole war.

From the moment in which Washington took command of the American army and saw his work before him, among the perplexities which burdened his mind was this of the threatened part which the Indians would have in the strife. Well did he know the qualities of the Indians in carnage and battle, whether as allies or foes. He also put himself in correspondence with the same missionary, Mr. Kirkland, who had won great influence among the Oneidas, and who visited the camp at Cambridge, with a chief and others of the tribe, whom Washington treated with wise favor. The second Congress, in 1775, appointed that there should be three Indian Departments in its service,—Northern, Middle, and Southern,—with Commissioners for each; and sent an address to the Six Nations, in which they were told that ours was a family quarrel, that had no concern for them; that they were not asked to take up the hatchet against the King's troops, but only to be strictly neutral, keeping quiet at home. A treaty was made with some of them that effected nothing, for the sway over them of John-

son and other agents was supreme. After the bloody massacre at the Cedars, where Indians under a British officer murdered several American prisoners, Congress took active measures to enlist and employ and pay the natives who were willing to enter our service, and authorized Washington to follow up these measures. These Indians were to receive the same pay as our own soldiers, with extra bounties for British prisoners. Yet we had through the whole war but very little, if any, help from the forest warriors. Rather did our frontiers suffer devastation and many a shuddering horror from their insidious onsets, as they fought from a love of cruelty, and their ferocity was fed by the hope of plunder. We gave the British the odium for instigating these atrocities, and rage on that score helped to embitter our strife as it proceeded. Happily, among the causes of self-reproach for the treatment of the Indians by our Government, we have not to add that of ingratitude for any good service done us in the war, either that of the Revolution or that of 1812. This ingratitude was charged severely upon the British.

Before Congress had taken the steps just mentioned, the subject of employing the Indians had been, as before stated, under warm discussion in Parliament. It was known that the ministry had authorized their generals here to engage their aid. Burke, in denouncing the act as criminal, said that while the ministry had made such alliances through the whole country, the Americans had only sought from the Indians promises of neutrality, which British officers were bribing them to break. He thought, even, that the Americans would be more justified in employing their savage countrymen against armed and trained soldiers than the British were in goading them against poor defenceless men, women, and children in their scattered homes. Lord George Germain, the war minister, insisted that we had already solicited and secured Indian helpers in our rebellion, and that it was not

in their nature to remain idle and neutral when a fight was going on. Lord North admitted that the employment of Indians was bad, but affirmed that it was unavoidable.

Previous to the confederation of the thirteen colonies each one of them had assumed control of the natives within its bounds, either under instructions from the Crown, or by its own local legislatures. Our records, therefore, contain a long series of stipulations, provisional arrangements, and so-called treaties made with one or more tribes, disposing of troublesome issues as they rose, generally by a bargain, the consideration in which was either paid down or made a matter of annuities for a longer or a shorter period. When the English took possession of New York, over the Dutch, in 1664, they made a covenant with the Five Nations, which continued without a breach substantially down to our Revolution. The Indians asked to have the Duke of York's arms set upon their "castles." But this was not so much for their love of the English as from their fear of the French. On this ground it certainly might have seemed that if either the mother country or the colonists were entitled to such benefit as might come from an Indian alliance, the former party was entitled to it. The colonists would have been more than content with the absolute neutrality of the savages; but as this could not be secured, the result was but one more of the aggravations of what was so often spoken of as "the unnatural quarrel between mother and daughter." Candor will urge, and will scarcely grudge to allow, in a comparison of the treatment of the natives respectively by Great Britain and by our Government, that, in the matters of difficulty and responsibility when the Indians fell into our hands, our case had been sadly complicated and prejudiced by the state in which Britain had left her red allies. These malign influences affected our first treaty relations with the Indian tribes nearest to us, which began under the confederation in 1778. These were designed, as has been said, to secure

either the alliance of the natives or their neutrality. Of course, the tribes with whom we first formed treaties were few, and were on our immediate borders. Till the beginning of this century the treaties were almost wholly confined to Indians on this side of the Mississippi, after its confluence with the Ohio, and down to the Gulf of Mexico. Till quite recently these treaties have been steadily multiplying with natives on further reaches of territory, and judging by the increase of new tribal names on our records one would suppose that we have come into contact with thickening multitudes of them. There was always an over-estimate of the number of Indians on our soil; and this over-estimate has been helped in our days by the greed of agents, guardians, and bounty distributors, interested to make the number of their wards as large as possible. The census of 1850 was the first in which the United States Government made a systematic effort for anything like exactness in estimating the Indians within its borders. Separate censuses had at times been made by the colonies. The annexation of States and Territories — as Florida, Texas, and California — has of course swollen the Indian census.

During the war of the Revolution we found, as we had every reason to expect, that the savage allies of our British foes, continually plied by active agents among them, under good pay, and well supplied with arms, were, and were long afterwards to be, a pestering and destructive enemy. The confederation had committed to it the oversight and management of the Indians, and the power to make compacts and treaties with them. It accomplished a great deal of hard work in this direction, and negotiated many treaties, such as they were, securing by purchase more than a hundred million acres. It came into collision, however, with the claims and rights asserted by the States and Territories, though at the time of the adoption of the Constitution all these disputes had been adjusted, save those with North Carolina and Georgia. Only the Iroquois and the Chero-

kees were then left as tribes still of much consequence or strength within State bounds. Through all these negotiations down to the very latest, we encountered obstacles and perplexities entailed upon us by the previous relations and measures of England towards the savages. These considerations are fairly to be taken into account in comparing the Indian policy of the two Governments, in view of the circumstances presented to each of them.

In 1779 General Sullivan, with a force of four thousand continentals, went to chastise the Indians of the Six Nations under the lead of the Chief Brant, Sir John Johnson, and other Tories, as hostile British allies. Sullivan was successful in dealing a severe blow, and destroying the Indian settlements. The instructions given to Sullivan by Washington for the conduct of this expedition are so severe and imperative in their terms, coming from so humane and righteous-hearted a chief, as to prove how his spirit had been stirred by the sharp exigencies of the struggle. These Six Nations, with meagre exceptions, goaded on to inhuman excesses even for warfare by their British instigators, were to be dealt with in a way to curb them from any further mischief. Sullivan was to listen to no appeal from them, to make no terms with them, to accept no profession or act of submission or surrender, till he had completely destroyed their towns and devastated their growing crops, so as to reduce them to a state of utter destitution, with no means of recuperation for the immediate future. The General carried out his instructions to the letter. Only he failed of one of the objects which Washington desired to realize; namely, obtaining possession, as prisoners, of the Johnsons, Butlers, and Brant, the main instigators of the savages.

Another large abatement which truth requires us to make from the claim of Great Britain to a more politic and humane dealing with the Indians, is because of the ungrateful and heartless manner in which she abandoned the tribes that had suffered from alliance with her at the close of our

Revolutionary War. The first, the chief, the longest protracted, and the most harrassing of our relations with the savages, at the beginning of our separate nationality, is directly chargeable upon the course pursued by the British Government; and for two reasons. First, the large majority of the Indian tribes had during the war been in the service and pay of Great Britain. They did faithful service, too, under the alarms and atrocities of which the colonists smarted. They fought, and multitudes of their warriors died, for the British, whose officials had promised by solemn covenant, at the opening of the war, that all their losses by the alliance should be made good to them, whatever the result of the conflict. But in the treaty of peace acknowledging our independence, Great Britain made no mention whatever of these her red allies, required of us no terms on their behalf, or lenience or pardon to them, made them no compensation, except as she held them for further mischief against us, and left them maddened and hungry on our hands.

Again, the territorial boundaries which Britain granted to her freed colonies in America took in the ancient hunting-grounds of the Six Nations and other tribes, which she had no right to give away; and by retaining the Lake and Western posts which she had agreed to surrender, she fomented all sorts of strifes for us with the savages. It was by the sinister influence which she continued to exercise over the Indians within our own bounds that Britain was able, down to and inclusive of the war of 1812, to give us constant and costly trouble with tribes instigated and paid by her.

When the English obtained the transfer of the Dutch colony of New York, in 1664, the Six Nations had come under her protection against the French, the Hurons, and the Algonquins of Canada. A very complicated arrangement ensued. England recognized in terms the territorial rights of the natives, but claimed a right of pre-emption

over all other intending purchasers. This right was made over to us; but under the loose articles of our Confederation, the consequent pre-emptory privileges belonged to the respective States within which the lands lay. So in the Legislature of New York, acting under the assumption that in subduing Great Britain and her Indian allies that State had come into possession of the Indian's lands, there were some who proposed to drive off the Six Nations from their remaining territory. A similar measure, on like grounds, was proposed in other States. General Schuyler, thinking this would be an outrage, impolitic, inhuman, and iniquitous, memorialized Congress against the design. Washington heartily accorded with Schuyler, and stood successfully for condoning the offence of the Indians, waiving the right to drive them over the Lakes with those whose allies they had been, and allowing them to remain, thinking by a conciliatory course to get from them cessions of lands as they should be needed for settlement.

But then arose another difficulty still consequent on the entail of trouble which Britain had left for us. In the treaty at Fort Stanwix, in 1784, the savages, observing what power the Americans derived from their federation as one people, began then and thenceforward to feel that they too would be strong if they acted in concert. Some of the chiefs of the Six Nations at Fort Stanwix objected to making a separate agreement with the United States about land, and proposed a general, comprehensive disposal of the matter of boundaries with all the native tribes. But the Commissioners of the United States secured a separate bargain, as alone then possible, leaving open matter for later animosities. As a matter of course, England was on the ground when the conspiracy of Tecumseh at the South and West, in full vigor before the war of 1812, gave her another opportunity, alike from Canada and the Gulf, to renew her alliances with the savages, and to ply and pay and arm them against us.

The great Mohawk chief, Joseph Brant—Thayandanegea—went to England, in 1785, to obtain compensation for the losses of his people. There are intimations that he conferred with crown officers on a plan of his own for confederating the Western Indian tribes—as Pontiac had done twenty years before—whether for war or peace. He sounded the Government of Britain as to help in that design, and obtained the promise of it. England justified her delay in yielding up the Western posts,—Niagara, Detroit, etc.,—on the plea that we had not secured, as agreed, compensation to unarmed Loyalists for losses during the war. Our Congress had agreed to ask, not to secure, this compensation, for it could not coerce the separate States which alone held the purse-strings. So the Indians, countenanced and aided by the English, kept up hostilities at the West. They maintained that the Ohio must be the boundary, and that we should not cross it. They protested against separate treaties with separate tribes by which their lands were alienated by piece-meal. This was at a council held at Huron, a village near Detroit. Our “Thirteen Council Fires” made the chiefs long for an imitation in a confederacy of their own. So a temporary result of a conference with them was attested by the emblems, symbols, or totems of several nations, not as formerly by the names of chiefs. A proposed general Indian council in 1788 was a failure. But a somewhat successful treaty at Fort Harmar in January, 1789, broke or deferred the Indian confederacy.

Our Government authorities knew all the while, that, in all the vexations, embarrassments, and opposition in their first attempted pacifying and covenanting with the wild tribes, English officials, when not openly, were always secretly plying the Indians mischievously with encouragement and aid. This was understood to be one of the remaining grudges of the war. It was the policy of our Government to divide the tribes by jealousies of each

other, and to secure separate treaties with them. If the English can magnanimously claim that in pure love for the Indians they aimed to thwart this disintegrating art and cunning of ours, we might compliment them as for a commendable purpose. It is none the less true that when we are now in trouble with some of our Indians, they are well aware that they will find aid, comfort, and supplies across the border. By Jay's treaty the British on our border, where they retained the posts, were allowed to trade with the Indians, but were to pay duties on goods. This the British evaded. They gave medals of their sovereigns to the chiefs, and put up English flags at fortified posts not belonging to them. So late as 1805, Lieutenant Pike, sent by our Government on an expedition to the sources of the Mississippi, made complaint to an agent of the English Northwest Company of the grievances which we were suffering from the mischievous and illegal dealings of our neighbors, in spite of all agreements and provisions for our security.

I refer to this series of annoyances, grave or petty, not for the purpose of criminating the English, or as charging upon them the whole burden of very much of the incidental hostility into which we have been driven with our Western Indians. My statements are addressed merely to the qualification of the claim that the British have been more just and more pacific in the treatment of the savages than has our Government or its people. The circumstances of the respective parties have been quite unlike, and the occasions of animosity with the Indians have often been wholly peculiar to ourselves. If, therefore, British policy has availed for keeping its own territory or people quiet at our expense, that policy — whatever else it may have been — has hardly been a magnanimous one.

A suggestive illustration of the alleged kindly course pursued by an official Englishman towards the natives is given in "Scenes and Studies of Savage Life, by Gilbert Malcolm Sproat" (London, 1868). He writes:—

“In August, 1860, I entered Barclay Sound, on the western coast of Vancouver Island, with two armed vessels, manned by about fifty men, for the purpose of taking possession of the district now called Alberni. Near the beach was a summer encampment of a tribe of natives. In the morning I sent a boat for the chief, and explained to him that his tribe must move their encampment, as we had bought all the surrounding land from the Queen of England, and wished to occupy the site of the village for a particular purpose. He replied that the land belonged to themselves, but that they were willing to sell it. The price not being excessive, I paid him what was asked, — about £20 worth of goods, — for the sake of peace, on condition that the whole people and buildings should be removed next day.”

The savages — being ten to one of the English, with their faces blackened — made resistance, with bold threats, but concluded to move off when their attention was called to the cannon on the vessels. Sproat visited and saluted them in their new resting-place, and the chief said to him: —

“Our families are well, our people have plenty of food; but how long this will last we know not. We see your ships, and hear things that make our hearts grow faint. They say that more King George men will soon be here, and will take our land, our firewood, our fishing-grounds; that we shall be placed on a little spot, and shall have to do everything according to the fancies of the King George men.” Sproat replied that more King George men were coming, but that the land would be bought at a fair price. The chief rejoined, “We do not wish to sell our land, nor our water: let your friends stay in their own country.” Sproat said: “My great chief (Victoria), the high chief of the King George men, seeing that you do not work your land, orders that you shall sell it. It is of no use to you. The trees you do not need; you will fish and hunt as you do now, and collect firewood, planks for your houses, and cedar for your canoes. The white man will give you work, and buy your fish and oil.” — “But we don’t care to do as the white man wishes,” said the chief. “Whether or not,” replied Sproat, “the white man will come. All your people know that the whites are your superiors. They make the things which you value. You cannot make muskets, blankets, or bread. The

white men will teach your children to read printing and to be like themselves." The chief plainly avowed: "We do not want the white man; he steals what we have. We wish to live as we are."

Mr. Sproat proceeds to argue that he had made a *bona fide* purchase of the land from his own Government, and again from the natives; that his occupation of it was justifiable in nature and in morals; that the natives had only partial and imperfect rights, as they did not occupy the land in any civilized sense, and that the right of actual colonization surpassed theirs and annulled it. He goes further, and urges that Britain even had a right to conquer a peopled and cultivated country like Oude, in India, as it was a delinquent state and endangered neighboring English territories. Sproat says that during the five years of his residence the Indians deteriorated, and sickness and mortality increased, — not from rum or syphilis, but that the Indians seemed cowed, dispirited, discouraged, by the presence of a superior race. Nobody harmed them; they had more comforts; yet they decayed: savagism wasted them.

Nor have the British authorities, when it suited their ends to purchase land of the Indians, been any less covetous or any more generous in their business transactions than has our own Government. The Indians of Canada have, at different times, surrendered over sixteen millions of acres of land at prices from threepence down to less than a penny an acre. The treaty of 1850 surrendered to the Canadian Government a territory as large in area as Britain, — rich in minerals, fisheries, and forests, with less than three thousand Indians upon it, — for the sum paid down of \$16,640 and a perpetual annuity of \$4,400.

I have before me, as I write, two substantial volumes, bearing, respectively, the following titles: "Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to the Secretary of the Interior, for the Year 1881," Washington; and "Dominion of Canada Annual Report of the Department of

Indian Affairs for the Year ending 31st December, 1881, printed by Order of Parliament," Ottawa. These volumes are almost identical in the nature and substance of their contents. Indeed, the reader might turn from the one to the other in perusing their pages, and be unable, except from the names of places in the heading of letters and documents, to decide from which of them he was receiving information. As all the lands within our boundary-lines are called our "domain," so those of the Dominion are called "crown lands." Precisely the same system of reservations, — with agents, superintendents, schools, teachers, resident farmers, etc., — with reports from each of the condition and prospects of their respective charges, with similar qualifications, difficulties, hopes of improvements, special embarrassments, are found in each volume. Supplies, helps, facilities, and inducements for the adoption of civilized ways are noted on both sides of the border. "Improvident Indians" appear in both regions. Some of the Canada agents complain that their red wards kill and eat the cattle sent to them for breeding, and consume the seed given to them for planting. "Some of these poor creatures were discovered, after having planted the potato seed under the instructor's eye, to have returned, unearthed what they had sown, and eaten it" (p. xvii). Another agent writes, "I never was so sick of the work as I have been the last two days: do what you can for the Indian, he cannot be satisfied" (p. xxxi). Many of the agents write of the importunity of some of the Indians to have deeds on paper of personal, private land-ownership. They receive only in special cases "location tickets," conditioned on fixtures and improvements. Glass for windows, locks and other finishings, are given by Government when decent houses are built. The complaint always is that the Indians are most troublesome when in proximity to white settlements. The largest congregated band of savages, partially civilized, in any one place, seems to be those who represent the old Six

Nations in Ontario, numbering three thousand four hundred and thirty. Sir John A. Macdonald, Minister of the Interior of the Dominion, in his last report to the Marquis of Lorne, the Governor-General, sounds the note of warning intimated on a former page, when the Canadians, by the progress of their Pacific Railway, will be brought into relations with the savages more like those which our own Government and people have encountered. He writes :—

“ It will be necessary, at an early day, to give serious consideration to the many circumstances which indicate that ere long a larger force of police would be required to preserve law and order in the Northwest. Altercations between white men and Indians are becoming more frequent, and the influx of settlers consequent upon the rapid construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway will demand additional precautions for the maintenance of peace and order in the territories and friendly relations between the white and the red man.”¹

We suppose these “ Northwest mounted police ” are armed ; but they are not called soldiers. The “ Census Return of Resident and Nomadic Indians in the Dominion of Canada ” presents a total of 107,722. The number of acres of “ Indian lands ” sold in the year ending June, 1881, to new settlers, was 33,293, at the price of \$52,787. The area of such lands unsold is estimated at 539,433 acres. The number of Indians on the reserves, when counted in the Northwest Territories, was 11,459 ; the number of “ absentees ” from reserves was 11,577.

¹ Annual Report of the Department of the Interior, for the Year ended 30th June, 1881. Ottawa.

CHAPTER IX.

THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT AND THE INDIANS.

ON the establishment of the National Government, the Indians became at once the objects of anxious concern and of provisional legislation. Then began the long series of schemes and measures, of tentative devices and processes, of immediate and prospective arrangements, and of efforts and enterprises, alternating between humane and peaceful and severe and military operations, which the ever-changing elements and aspects of the problem have presented to our statesmen and citizens. The Constitution recognized and confirmed all the treaties made with the Indians under the Confederation as the supreme law of the land; and gave to Congress the regulation of trade with them, and to the Executive and Senate the power to make future treaties. The several States were to have the management and control over the Indians within their respective bounds, unless Congress, in the exercise of its superior prerogative, might see cause to overrule their measures. Of course, as might have been expected, trouble, controversy, and direct antagonism, from the very first, arose from the constant obtrusion of questions and issues of a distracting character starting from a conflict between the claims of the States and of Congress when their purposes clashed.

In opening the discussion of this theme, which presents so much matter for variances of opinion even among intelligent and right-hearted men, and also for critical and censorious judgment, we must remind ourselves of the

embarrassments and perplexities under which our Government became charged with its responsibilities to the natives. We must even pause for a moment upon that word "government." The confederation of the colonies was not a government; and, so far as any of its measures in dealing with the Indians implied or required the possession or exercise of authority to give them effect, this prime condition failed. We were left, at the acknowledgment of our independence, in a state of exhaustion and poverty, with no immediate or effective means of relief. Our British enemies had subjected us to a terrific Indian warfare, and, so far from pacifying our red allies towards us, left them to annoy and harass us after the treaty of peace. One of the first makeshifts of our initiatory national organization for replenishing an exhausted treasury, was by following up pioneer settlers, who were rushing into the ceded lands of the Ohio valley and of the Northwest, and exacting of them payment for grants. These pioneers raised quarrels with the Indians, and then called upon the shadowy Government to send troops to their aid, and to try to make treaties with the red men. Altogether the situation was a very complicated one, not promising any better results than such as followed.

The first Congress committed to the Secretary of War the management of Indian affairs; and General Knox, the first of these officials, recommended the anticipatory purchase of large tracts of Western lands and the removal of the Indians from them before the whites would be ready or desirous of occupancy. Congress also voted \$20,000 to defray the expenses of negotiations with the Indians. But tribes both at the North and the South were then making trouble, regardless of their treaties. Instigated and supplied with arms by the British on the Northern frontier, they kept up a steady and destructive warfare. In our war with the Creeks, in 1793, we used Indian allies against Indians. Our treaties with England and Spain, in 1794 and 1795, for the most part cut the natives off from receiving

foreign aid, and left them for a time wholly to us. If space permitted, very many details might be specified, all indicating aggravations of what might have been the simple responsibility of our Government and the mode of exercising it towards the Indians, had it presented itself wholly free from such complications. Even then the responsibility would have been a very exacting one. But it has never since been wholly freed from these original complications.

There is a widely prevalent opinion,—often avowed as a confession, an admission, or a complaint, and generally acquiesced in,—that our Government, as a government, has been unjust, inhuman, grasping, relentless, and perfidious in its treatment of the Indian tribes with which it has successively come into contact, either in negotiations or in hostilities. That there are obvious and various grounds for this opinion, more or less just, cannot be denied. How far any direct charges, founded on specified instances or cases of such injustice or cruelty, may be met with relief or palliation, would involve a discussion requiring much knowledge and much candor.

Having myself shared in this general opinion of the culpability, misconduct, and even reckless and wantonly intentional injustice of our Government, I am gratified in being able to avow that all the increased knowledge which I have sought and reached on a most complicated and perplexed subject has very much modified the first impressions with which I turned to its full examination. Certainly I feel warranted in making the emphatic assertion that there is no evidence that our Government is justly chargeable at any period with intentional fraud or with heedless indifference to its responsibilities in this matter.

These severe reproaches against our Government, it is to be considered, are made to cover the whole century of its existence and administration, and are said to be as just and applicable in these last past years as ever. In view of them, let me distinctly affirm, that, having myself accepted them

previous to a thorough investigation as wholly warranted, I have no intention whatever of entering any other plea for reducing these reproaches than such as is furnished by a fair statement of the facts. It would indeed be painful and humiliating to be compelled to admit, that, in a country like this, strewn all over with the noble institutions of philanthropy, with hospitals for every ill of humanity, sending out funds and laborers for all other sorts of heathen, relieving local disasters by flood, fire, famine, and pestilence by the joint contributions of private benevolence; a country that has proved the asylum of the needy and oppressed from all other civilized lands; and, more than all, a country which hung itself in sackcloth, and bore every form of costly sacrifice to rid itself of slavery,—it would, I say, be hard to yield the avowal that we had, through our Government, combined—with a set purpose of inhumanity, cruelty, and fraud—against our predecessors on the soil. Not denying that there has been very much done and winked at that looks like this, I affirm that at least the intention, the purpose charged against us exceeds the range of truth.

I can say more than this; namely, that I am persuaded that every candid person who will acquaint himself to any reasonable extent with the enormous mass of our national State papers, our official documents, and our general literature on this whole subject, will find abundant evidence that our Government, from the first and always up to to-day, as well as the great mass of our people, have had the most humane feelings and the most generous intents and purposes towards the Indians. Mistakes, vexations, difficulties, and complications of all sorts and kinds, either inherent in or incident to the practical workings of the case, or arising from inconsistency or inconstancy of means and method, will in great part account for the failure of designed right and good, and the substitution of what has been wrong and calamitous. We may justly use terms severe and condemnatory in word and tone, to

characterize the lack of wisdom, of calm, methodical, judicious administration of Indian affairs by our Government; and we may use the most scorching invectives against many of the agents and agencies to which it has entrusted functions most outrageously abused,—but we can acquit our Government of all intentions of inhumanity.

That certainly has been a direful work which has been going on upon this continent during the period of our existence as a nation. A very dark catalogue of narratives—equally perhaps for either party—makes up the history of controversy and strife between the civilized and the barbarous races here. But none the less are we to distinguish amid the elements of the strife those which are to be referred to designed injustice and those which were incident to the inevitable complications of the problem. Our Government started under three most embarrassing and mischievous difficulties in its relations with the Indians; for none of them was it responsible, but each and all of them brought upon us an Indian war.

First, the sullen and grudging spirit in which Britain acknowledged the independence of her colonies led her to perpetuate an after strife and irritation against us. She retained for many years the Western posts which she had covenanted to surrender; she left her impoverished Indian allies unpaid on our hands, while nominally making them and their lands over to us as a part of our conquest and inheritance; and she continued in all our early troubles to ply and pay and arm the savages against us, in our frontier troubles. This entailed warfare was the hardest for us to bear, and we have not yet closed it.

Second, the Indians did not understand that they themselves were included in the close of warfare and in the terms of our peace with Great Britain. Dangerous neighbors were left us among them and the French in the Western territory, which the latter still retained. Our enemies kept up an open communication between Canada

and the Gulf of Mexico, to our annoyance and grievous loss.

Third, the Spaniards on the South and in the Mississippi Valley still retained dominion over large reaches of soil, and we had from them a continuous series of vexing and disturbing controversies, with battles interspersed running down to our Mexican War.

These facts are to be considered because they prevented our starting freely and fairly in our career, as regarded our relations with the aborigines, responsible only for our own public acts and measures. By what is called the Law of Nations—though it can hardly be by the law of Nature—our Government might claim, that, as Great Britain asserted a right of sovereignty over the Indians and their territory within certain bounds on this continent, we, having conquered in the great war of Independence, acceded to that British right, and so that the Indians became our subjects, and their land ours.

But these difficulties, impairing the freedom with which we might have started in our career as an independent people, and in perfectly unprejudiced relations with the natives, are comparatively of trivial importance, when we come to recognize on the one side the inherent difficulties of the original problem, with all the remarkable development of unforeseen, incalculable, and marvellous complications which have gathered around it for a century; and, on the other, that our Government started in its dealing with the subject without any well-considered plan, principle, policy, or even theory: so that its course has been one of surprises, of hap-hazards, of temporary makeshifts, of adjustments to changing circumstances, of pledges given and broken, of evasions of some obligations by assuming others more burdensome, and indeed of those unhappy faults of blundering which, though they are said to be worse than crimes, lack the quality of intention. Our Government never has adopted or given the sanction of

law, from its formation to this day, to any theory as to the tenure by which any band of the aborigines held territory here. We shall soon notice how vacillating, inconstant, and self-stultifying has been the course of our Government from the lack of such a theory held and consistently followed. The development of wealth and enterprise on our domain has been such in its rapidity and amazing results, that the keenest and most kindled imagination could not have brought it into dreams or visions. The rushing in of millions of immigrants from foreign lands, year by year, with increasing volume and force of tide; the steady pressure of restless adventurers, unsuccessful and discontented in the half-developed centres of civilization, to seek unlimited space of new territory, never entered into the calculations of our statesmen, who thought that we should hear no more of Indians if we could once get them to settle on the other side of the Mississippi. President Van Buren bore the epithet of "slyness," but he certainly won the repute of sagacity. There is no reason to doubt his integrity of purpose when, in 1838, he sought to persuade the Choctaws, Creeks, and Cherokees to move to lands in Arkansas, to be covenanted to them in exchange for those occupied by them in Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, and assured them that as the former lands, though admirably suited for Indians, would be of no use to white men, they would never again be disturbed. The title of "The Great American Desert" is still ringing in the ears of men as familiar to them in their youth, who have since seen it parted into flourishing States and Territories, furnishing millionaires with fortunes scraped from its surface or its depths. It is but fair to admit that a policy of government, such as it was, adopted without any prescience of these developments, would find that it had been blundering, though not necessarily mean and unjust in intent, in making, evading, or breaking contracts with Indians. And in reference to a large and grievous class of wrongs which

have been inflicted upon the natives, we shall have occasion to observe that they are to be charged to the account of what, on the side either of good or evil, we are wont to admit, that the people are stronger than the Government. Had the fact been the reverse of this, and had the Government been stronger than the people, the sum and quality of our difficulties might have been different, but perhaps not more tolerable, in another form. These considerations are in all fairness to be taken into account when we examine, whether cursorily or thoroughly, the often humiliating and often discreditable course of policy which the United States Government has pursued with the Indians as a people, or with particular tribes of them.

Neither can there be any doubt that the Indians have in many ways, as a race, — with the largest comprehension of their tribes, and with reference to the amount of general good, — received a sum of benefits from our Government and its people. And this may be affirmed without the slightest hiding from our view what they have suffered from us. It might be a question not readily disposed of if asked, whether there would have been any less actual fighting, loss of life, cruelty, and all the miseries of warfare on this continent during the last hundred years, if the whites had had no part in the strife. There never has been a Quaker or peace tribe of Indians discovered on this continent. Fighting among themselves appears always to have been a chief end of their existence. Probably their having found a common enemy in the whites has checked in some measure their habit of internecine war. War, too, with some foe, has always been, so far as we know, the foremost and engrossing passion of Indians. They were trained for it; and if they did not enjoy it, they found an intense stimulus and satisfaction in its practice. Their great men were their warriors. We have given them another enemy, but we taught them no new lesson of blood.

It is certain that the mass of Indians who have come into

contact with the whites, and have not actually been killed by them, have received from them many appreciable additions to their resources and comforts. The quantities of goods, of useful and desirable articles, that the Indians have been most greedy to receive, which have been carried into their country and distributed among them, are enormous. In fact, for more than an hundred and fifty years the Indians have come to be more and more dependent upon clothing, utensils, and food furnished by the white men. Edged tools, the axe, the knife, the hoe, the spade, cooking utensils, even the single article of matches, all to be used in peaceful ways, have vastly helped to the comfort of the Indian. As the game has diminished in many vast regions of space, the Indians, who had largely depended upon the old fur-trappers and traders, have come to be suppliants to the generosity of our Government. Indeed, our soldiers now have to meet their red foes armed with the very best weapons and ammunition which our armories and arsenals can supply. I have made an approximate estimate, from a wide examination of Government documents and accounts, of the outlay of money and supplies from the national treasury for help of various kinds for the Indians. But I refrain for two reasons from setting down the gross sum in dollars and cents. For, first, the accounts are perplexed by interest on annuity funds, and by reconsideration of some sums once pledged, as well by various special grants on emergencies. And, second, it being understood that large portions of these treasury benefices are scattered by waste and fraudulent agents, while the proximate amount of the largesses would indicate the generosity of the Government, it would not be the real measure of the good secured to the Indians. More to the point is the reminder that all this outlay in money and goods—spent for the service of wild, restless, lazy hordes, roaming over immense extents of territory which they claim as their heritage, but do not improve—is drawn by taxation from the thrift,

hard labor, economy, and savings of an industrious, toiling population, and from enterprises of commerce and manufacture. Further reference to these economical and practical matters will come before us when we deal with the present bearings of the Indian question.

We are concerned now with the perplexities and embarrassments which have from the first thwarted the good intentions of our Government in its policy of dealing with the natives.

It had been the custom of British officers and commissioners in our colonial times to give to Indian chiefs with whom they had friendly relations medals, often of silver, with the figure of the reigning British sovereign, and various symbols and emblems upon them. Our Government found it wise to imitate this effective appeal to the vanity of the savage, who regarded the trinket as a token acknowledging a sort of equality between him and his brother monarch across the sea, only we had no royal personage here to represent sovereignty. Our President, as soon as we had one, had to serve the purpose. Commissioners had been appointed by Congress in 1786 to gather up these medals from the chiefs, and to substitute republican for royal devices. The first of our medals was that given by Washington to the famous Chief Red Jacket, on his visit to Philadelphia in 1792 on a peace embassy. It was a large, well-wrought, oval plate of silver, showing on the obverse the full-length figure of Washington, in uniform, bare-headed, extending a calumet to the mouth of an Indian, who smoked it as he stood by a pine-tree, at the root of which lay a tomahawk; on the background was a scene of husbandry, with a man ploughing; on the reverse of the medal were the arms of the United States. Red Jacket was very proud of this medal; and though he often pledged it for whiskey, it escaped the melting-pot, and was recently in the possession of the well-known General E. S. Parker, an educated Seneca Indian, who was on General

Grant's staff, and his military secretary during our Civil War. Our Government has followed up this policy of providing medals to be struck for presentation to representative Indian chiefs, in treaties, and on their visits to Washington. These Government or Peace medals bear on the obverse the effigies of the President for the time being. The same die for the reverse common to most of them presents the hand of a military officer and of an Indian chief clasped in amity. All our presidents have shared in this peaceful service with the exception of Harrison, whose single month of office may have precluded him from the honor. It seems strange, however, that he who, with Jackson, was largely helped to our highest office through fame and success as an Indian fighter, should not have been commemorated in silver and bronze on a peace medal.

Another part of the policy of our Government in dealing with the Indians, steadily continued from the visit of Red Jacket in 1792, has been to invite and conduct to the national capital, from time to time, chiefs and delegations of various Indian tribes. These sons of the forest have been guided and escorted from their retreats, through our highways and watercourses, with the tokens of advancing civilization as they passed on. They have been courteously and hospitably entertained; and, gazed upon with staring curiosity by street crowds, they have been formally received, on a day appointed, by the "Great Father," at the White House. They appear in all their grotesque finery of feathers and paint, with a strange blending of wilderness and civilized garb, expressing no wonder, assuming the bearing of sheiks and sultans, and showing their common humanity most in their greed and beggary. They are allowed to course the streets, to visit public buildings, and their desire to possess the goods and the trinkets which they see in the shops is generally gratified on the plea that they wish to have them to carry home to their squaws. Their return freight puts them in rivalry with the satirized "Saratoga trunks."

The object of these visits and entertainments is, of course, to impress the savages with a sense of the resources of civilization and of the power of our Government. The effect, however, has often been thought a dubious one. The pride and taciturnity of the savages lead them to suppress what may be their real feelings. They receive and accept everything as a matter of course, as simply due to their rank and antecedents. Doubtless they are more bewildered than impressed. Their interpreters are the most important personages of the escort, and probably the channel through which speeches and replies flow, impregnates them with artificial material. It is suggestive to think how much of misunderstanding and deception may have been caused alike to Government and to Indians by unqualified or untrustworthy interpreters. These visits of the nobles of the forest have been reciprocated by return visits of Government officials to the savages at home, on errands to which we are soon to refer. It might seem strange that a whole century of such intercourse has accomplished so little towards the results of peaceful and friendly relation which it has been designed to secure. It would be difficult to prove that it had really brought about any direct conciliation or assimilation of parties or their interests. The more the whites see of real Indians the less attractive is the spectacle, and the full-grown Indian always prefers his savagery to civilization.

In reviewing the whole course of our Government, for a now nearly completed century, in its dealings with our native tribes, we find that it has always had in view three leading objects or designs, which have from the first prompted and directed its action. These are:—

1. To keep an ever-shifting frontier space between the Indians and the whites; securing this by moving the former farther and farther westward as the latter advanced on new territory for actual settlement.
2. To prevent or suppress all border quarrels and con-

licts as they threatened or broke out; the measures for effecting this interchanging and alternating, as circumstances favored or decided, between peaceful negotiations, presents, bribes, and annuities, and a resolute use of military power.

3. To improve, reclaim from barbarism, and elevate the natives, and to make them fit for citizenship.

There is no inconsistency, no necessary clashing, between these objects. On the contrary, they seem and really are harmonious; mutually helpful parts of a hopeful and promising plan for serving the interests of all concerned, and for advancing the most desirable ends of humanity, civilization, and a common prosperity.

But none the less have practical and very serious difficulties and perplexities, and some very lamentable mistakes and calamities, been encountered by the Government in its purposes and efforts to secure these three objects. It was requisite for success that all these three designs and intents should have been kept in view in every stage of a protracted and complicated responsibility. But circumstances, and, as we may say, emergencies and surprises, have from time to time induced the Government to lay the whole stress of its interest and activity upon a single one of those objects, to the neglect or the sacrifice of the others. Hence has come inconstancy of purpose, change of policy, vacillation of aim, reconsideration of measures, and what has in fact amounted to a thwarting and undoing of its own plans and work. At one time the rapid removal of the Indians has been the chief end in view, and measures to effect it have engrossed attention. Then, in frequent alternations of debate and congressional action, reliance has been placed now on a peace policy, which, being pronounced by military men and frontier settlers a proved failure, next yields to a stern recourse to arms. And, to crown the confusion of the matter, there are many who claim it to be a certified fact that the Indians cannot be civilized.

It is but fair to allow and assert that our Government has from the first given at least equal heed and care for humane as for hostile dealings with the Indians. Congress in 1793 provided securities against impositions practised upon the Indians by individuals in bargaining for their lands, and forbade all private contracts of this sort. It also sought to protect the Indians from all outrages by the whites, and to give them the protection of the civil law. Washington was authorized to send among some tribes cattle, farm implements, teachers, and the means of civilization. The whole series of treaties had incidentally or emphatically in view the securing to the Indians the peaceful and inalienable possession of their lands, and the helping them through annuities and the influence of education and practical instruction in agriculture, the inclosing of grounds, and the building of houses, mills, schools, and churches, to adopt civilized habits. Yet the law of 1796 which excluded all the whites from Indian territories was said to be prejudicial and mischievous, as, while it kept out order-loving and well-disposed whites, whose presence among them would have been of great benefit to the Indians, it failed to restrain the intrusion of the worst class of lawless and reckless adventurers. An Act of the same year authorized Washington to establish a system of trade, through stations, goods, and agents among the Indians, the Government furnishing the capital and managing the business through its employés. This proved to be a most losing experiment, year by year more impracticable and costly; but it was continued under trial till 1822, when it was abandoned.

Up to Jefferson's administration, the nation congratulated itself that the peace policy had greatly advanced the Indians, those of them especially who came nearest in proximity to the whites. The President himself expressed that opinion. But, strangely enough, he himself proposed, as a change of plans, the removal of the Indians as a body as

far as possible from the whites, across the Mississippi. Yet in his own purpose this measure, though it seemed to be made advisable because of the irrepressible encroachments of the whites, was honorably proposed in the interest of the natives. The fact that the Indians have been so often moved in bodies has confirmed the popular assumption that no real permanent tenure of land was secured by mere roamers, who in leaving one tract for another left nothing behind them of property or improvement. General Washington in all his messages or speeches addressed to Congress, with an ever-wise regard for equity and humanity in all things, as the necessary pledge of all prosperity and security, made emphatic references to the kind treatment due to the Indians. He proposed and recommended successive measures in their behalf, as experience and reflection suggested them to his own mind. The following sentence is characteristic in tone and spirit of all his communications. It occurs in his speech to the second Congress, in 1791 :

“A system corresponding with the mild principles of religion and philanthropy towards an unenlightened race of men, whose happiness materially depends on the conduct of the United States, would be as honorable to the national character as conformable to the dictates of sound policy.”

Many sentences of similar tenor and tone might be quoted from the communications of his successors in office. No one would have the hardihood to affirm that they were insincere. And if the high magistrates who uttered these sentiments were compelled under the stress of circumstances to permit measures directly inconsistent with them, something is to be allowed to the intractability of the Indians.

Alexander Hamilton, from his first participation in the direction of the public affairs of our nation, always held and advanced wise and humane views in regard to the Indians. He wrote :—

“Their friendship alone can keep our frontiers in peace. It is essential to the development of our fur-trade, — an object of immense importance. The attempt at the expulsion of so desultory a people is as chimerical as it would be pernicious. War with them is as expensive as it is destructive. It has not a single object, for the acquisition of their lands is not to be wished till those now vacant are filled; and the surest as well as the most just and humane way of removing them is by extending our settlements to their neighborhood. Indeed, it is not impossible that they may be already willing to exchange their former possessions for more remote ones.”¹

Accordingly, as chairman of a committee in 1783, he reported that “the general superintendence of Indian affairs under Congress be annexed to the Department of War,” that “offensive hostilities” be suspended, and that four districts — by the points of the compass — be established in the United States, with an agent for each, to transact Indian affairs. The plan was not adopted, because the Governors of Territories had the power under the War Department.

Tecumseh, with the help of his famous brother, the “Prophet,” essayed to repeat the experiment made, before he was born, by the great chief Pontiac. But he laid even a broader basis for his enterprise. This was to unite the Western, Southern, and Northern tribes, with the open sympathy and the covert aid of the British in Canada, to drive the whites back from the frontiers, and to make the Ohio a permanent boundary between them and the Indians. We know what significance Tecumseh and our President Harrison gave to the word “Tippecanoe.” Tecumseh’s enterprise was already flagging from its first earnestness and hopefulness, when the opening of our war with Britain, in 1812, gave it a formidable aspect. It is curious to note how the savages had learned from our colonies the value and strength of union in a confederacy. Tecumseh’s able

spirit seized the purpose of imitating it among the red men. In the many councils and conferences between Tecumseh and his associated chieftains and General Harrison, the forest champion took and resolutely held two positions, identified, as he said, with the rights of the Indians: First, Harrison having complained of him for trying to unite the tribes in a league, Tecumseh acknowledged the fact, and maintained his right to do so. The Indians might combine and confederate in a common cause as justly as the white men had done. Harrison was the agent for what he called "the Seventeen Fires" united in council, — the States of the Union. "Why might not the Indian tribes unite their council fires?" asked Tecumseh. Again, Harrison insisted on the fact that the territory in dispute had been already ceded by the Miamis to the United States. Tecumseh replied that a few Indian tribes had no right to sell lands which belonged as a whole to the whole Indian race. The whole land being the common inheritance of the aborigines, the Miamis could not alienate one portion, the Delawares another, and so on. The Great Spirit, he said, had given the whole to the red man, and put the whites on the other side of the big water. The whites had no right to come here and gradually dispossess the Indian race by cozening grants of land from single tribes. General Harrison stood stoutly in his answer against Tecumseh's plea. He denied that the Indians ever were or could be regarded as one nation. He urged that the land in dispute had been purchased from the Miamis, who had long possessed it, and that the Shawnees, whom Tecumseh represented, were intruders from Georgia, whence they had been driven by the Creeks, and that they had no right to interfere with the Miamis in the disposition of their own territory. Here we have, put into a practical form, the fundamental question as to the tenure of Indian tribes in unimproved regions, free to be coursed over. Tecumseh's grievance was that in Jefferson's administration the favor-

ite hunting-grounds on the Wabash had been ceded by the Miamis to our Government. He maintained that no single tribe had absolute ownership of any space, and that the chiefs of a tribe had no prerogative of acting for the whole tribe in alienating land. Harrison defended Fort Meigs in two hard-pressed sieges. It has been affirmed that but for Tecumseh our war with Britain then might have left us in possession of Canada. But it was wise that our Government did not at that time involve itself in any further complications as to territory. It is observable, however, that each successive contest with the aborigines which brought under question their land-tenure, never induced or forced our Government to adopt a definition in terms as to what precisely that right was,—a definition to be established as a precedent, and to be recognized under shifting circumstances in its application, whether in any particular case it favored the whites or the Indians.

The fearful massacre at Fort Mims, in Alabama, then a part of the Mississippi Territory, Aug. 30, 1813, threw the whole South into a panic. There were then twenty stockade forts within a stretch of seventy miles. The scattered settlers rushed into these slender defences. There were five hundred and fifty-three whites, with their friends, in Fort Mims; and of these, four hundred were butchered. The Indians were aided by the Spaniards in Florida. The Creeks were then in our pay. The more stoutly and courageously, and for the time successfully, the Indians fought to keep their hold upon any region of territory, the more clearly did our people think themselves justified in contesting it. Savage warfare employed such arts and barbarities as to certify the right and obligation of civilization to bring it to a close. If wild occupancy of land did not secure a tenure, still less did the peculiar method of the Indian in fighting for it confirm any natural right of his to defend it as his own. Indeed one is well-nigh led to imagine that if the Indians had from the first never raised a weapon

against the whites, but had tamely, like sheep, moved off as they were approached, they would have shamed Europeans into yielding through magnanimity what the overcoming of resistance has led them to claim as their rights over the savages.

President J. Q. Adams, in his message of 1828, states emphatically what had been the theory acted upon by the Government since established by the Constitution: "The principle was adopted of considering the Indians as foreign and independent powers, and also as proprietors of lands. As independent powers, we negotiated with them by treaties; as proprietors, we purchased of them all the land which we could prevail on them to sell; as brethren of the human race, rude and ignorant, we endeavored to bring them to the knowledge of religion and of letters."

The decision of the Supreme Court, in 1832 (*Worcester vs. Georgia*), confirmed this view as to the treaty-making power and as to the foreign nationality of the Indians. But it has proved of no avail, either as holding our Government to any consistent course of policy, or as adding to the security of the Indians in any of our negotiations with them. Had the inquiry at any time been fairly pressed by an intelligent Indian upon any one of our statesmen, "Do you admit that my tribe owns the unbounded region over which we roam and hunt, precisely as your people individually own their house-lots and farms?" the answer, if candid and manly, would need to have been, "No; I do not."

The following passage in the recently published diary of John Quincy Adams,¹ is of interest here. It is a record of a Cabinet meeting under his Presidency, Dec. 22, 1825,—the business relating to the affairs of the Creek Indians and Georgia:—

"Mr. Clay [Secretary of State] said that it was impossible to civilize Indians; that there never was a full-blooded Indian who took to civilization. It was not in their nature. He believed

¹ Vol. vii. p. 90.

they were destined to extinction, and, although he would never use or countenance inhumanity towards them, he did not think them, as a race, worth preserving. He considered them as essentially inferior to the Anglo-Saxon race, which were now taking their place on this continent. They were not an improvable breed, and their disappearance from the human family will be no great loss to the world. In point of fact they were rapidly disappearing, and he did not believe that in fifty years from this time there would be any of them left.

“Governor Barbour was somewhat shocked at these opinions, for which I fear there is too much foundation.”

More than the fifty years which Mr. Clay allowed for the disappearance of the Indians have now expired. Still there are “some of them left.” But the experience of all the intervening years in our dealings with them; the steady opposition of one or another tribe as reached by the successive advances of civilization; the discomfiture and failure of such efforts as have been made in their behalf through treaties, agencies, pensions, and missions; the opening of new hostilities with them in each decade of time; the events of this passing year, and, it may be added, the well-nigh universal opinion founded upon these facts,—authenticate the concise judgment of President Adams on the frank avowal of Mr. Clay, “I fear there is too much foundation” for these views.

Our national archives, Congressional and Departmental, our religious and philanthropic historical documents, will indeed, as before stated, furnish overwhelming evidence of an unbroken series of efforts, thoughtfully and humanely planned, earnestly endeavored, patiently pursued, and labored for with enormous cost, to protect, to benefit, and elevate the Indians. With no considerable exceptions to the sweep of the sentence, we have to say that they have all been thwarted. There are those who feel that a deep burden of reproach rests upon our nation on this account. The large majority of our people, however, have always

reconciled themselves to this sad fortune of the aborigines, as of destiny, in conformity with the opinion of Mr. Clay.

If it be urged that all the measures taken by our Government avowedly for the protection of the Indian tribes have invariably been conditioned upon their removal from coveted domains, farther into the West, only to be crowded yet backward when their reservations are reached,—the answer will be a prompt one in these days, when the whole history of evolved life, vegetable, animal, and human, on this globe, is read by philosophy as “a survival of the fittest.” Mr. Edward Everett, in his address at Deerfield, commemorative of the massacre at “Bloody Brook,” boldly vindicated the course of the white man towards the savages as conformed to a providential design and sanction. He urged that if the habitable spaces of this globe are to be the scenes of culture, prosperity, thrift, and happiness for communities of human beings in fields and homes, then it was right that the savages roaming over this new continent should yield it to the needs of those who could make a better use of it.

To all pleas as to the enormous and complicated perplexities with which our Government has had to deal, from its first attempts to dispose of the Indian problem, the easy reply is offered, that the problem would have been a perfectly simple and lucid one, if it had been left to the solution of natural justice and common humanity. And as a comment on this reply it is added, that abstractly and rhetorically the rights and claims of the Indians have been recognized, perhaps often in excess of just reason and extent; but that when they have stood in the way of the advances of civilization, or have conflicted with the greed and wishes of the whites,—the whites being the sole judges in the case,—then the recognized rights of the red man have turned to mere mist.

There certainly has been much allowed and done that has this aspect. But we must look below this aspect. In

conflict with my own former impressions, I have been brought to admit that the intent and purpose of the United States have always been to recognize the supreme obligations of humanity towards the Indians, to protect them, and to be even lavishly generous towards them. Efforts and outlays in these behalfs are testified to in our State papers and in the records of Congress. Inquiries and investigations, commissions, councils, invitations, and visits of Indian chiefs and warriors to Washington and other cities, protracted debates in Congress, and the appropriation of large sums of money, are evidences of right purposes; and they have not been hypocritical. Philanthropic and religious men have been sent with large gifts at the public expense to give a continual hearing to Indian grievances, and even to humor, as well as to conciliate, those who exposed them. Tentative and experimental schemes and shifts, ingenious and temporizing, have been put on trial. And, finally, military forces have been sent among the Indians, not by any means merely to kill them, but also to defend them from each other, and to protect them against wrongs from the white man. Yet none the less, practically and in effect, all these wise and kind intents and efforts have been thwarted, and we have to allow that the Indians have received from us treatment outrageous, iniquitous, and perfidious.

Still we have to say that the inherent difficulties of the problem have baffled the most consummate statesmanship. The sagacity and grasp of mind exercised by our statesmen in our Constitution, and more than one display of wisdom and shrewdness in our diplomacy, have won the encomiums of the civilized world. But this one problem—how to deal rightly and wisely with our joint inheritors of territory broad enough for us all—has not yielded to the mastery of our statesmanship. Are the difficulties in the case inherent and insuperable; or have we invented and intensified them ourselves?

The course of our Government, for the full hundred years, in its dealings with the Indians, has been mischievously tentative, experimental, inconsistent, and wavering,—adopting now one theory and course of action, and following one or another method to secure it; then substituting a different idea or aim; next abandoning them, and reverting to its former view, or devising a third; and, finally, confessing itself baffled, as if it knew not what might wisely and rightly be aimed for, or had undertaken a task for which it was incompetent.

It is no longer than twelve years since, in 1871, that our Government recognized the fact that a radical and fatal error, fundamental and comprehensive in all its elements of mistake and harm, had up to that date vitiated all its policy towards the Indians. It is yet to be tested whether the terms in which the recognition of that error was made, and the perpetuity which was assured by those terms to some of the troublesome contracts under that policy, will avail to set the matter in the right way for the future. An Act of Congress in 1871 forbade the recognition any longer of Indian tribes or nations as independent powers in the sense of being capable of forming treaty relations with us; while the same Act did not invalidate, but confirmed, the lawfulness and force of all existing treaties. Now, is this recent legislation to be taken as an admission of a radical error in the action of our Government up to that year in having regarded the Indians as independent powers with whom, as with European and other nations, we might make treaties; or as simply a recognition of a change in the status of the Indians which had been brought about by time and circumstances? Probably we may refer the enactment for its grounds and reasons to both of these explanations.

The Hon. E. S. Parker, before referred to, himself an Indian of marked abilities, in his report as Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in 1869, addressed to the Hon. J. D.

Cox, Secretary of the Interior, advised that all future covenants and arrangements with the Indians, about their reservations and the aid to be furnished them, should not be of the nature of treaties; as a treaty involves the principle of a compact between sovereign powers, each having authority and force to compel a fulfilment of obligations. But the Indians are not sovereignties with such strongly organized governments as to be able to enforce covenants. They have been led by these treaty dealings with them as independent nations to regard themselves as such, and so to believe that our Government has recognized them as having an absolute fee in the lands for which we have treated with them; whereas the Government has really regarded them as wards of the nation, having simply a possessory title to territory.

These sentences expose to us the very roots of the error under which our Indian policy has, till so recently, proceeded and been guided. Never until now — if even now — has our Government defined, judicially and positively, what is the legal status of an Indian, or of an Indian tribe possessing territory within our domain. For lack of such an authoritative definition, our own policy has been inconstant and inconsistent, having no guiding principle, and so to all effects it has been faithless and unjust. At the same time the Indians themselves, interpreting our covenants with them as acknowledging certain claims and rights of theirs, which in reality we did not recognize, have justly charged us with breach of faith towards them. In fact, without any legally defined status, the Indians have impersonated to us a very large variety of characters, all of them depreciatory to themselves, and admitting of wrong and encroachment on our part, as under none of those characters did we recognize them as appearing in that which we had ourselves assigned to them as independent peoples. The same Indian tribes have been to us alternately wards of the nation, independent proprietors, subject vassals, allied and inconstant friends,

outlaws, and avowed implacable enemies, to be dealt with as wild beasts and then paupers. We have made with them solemn covenants, pledging to them their territory as reservations, and we have broken these covenants as wisps of straw. We have agreed to defend their lands against encroachments by the whites; and then when settlers, surveyors, miners, and railroad engineers have invaded them, we have sent our armies to protect, not the Indians, but the white men. Our national Government has made treaties with tribes, reserving to them territories that soon after were found to lie within the bounds of newly created States, which at once claimed supreme rights of domain. And the Indians have been as much mystified as were foreigners in our late civil war, to dispose of the perplexities arising from a conflict between National and State sovereignty. Meanwhile much is to be allowed to the ever-changing aspects and bearings of the questions at issue, and to the coming in of new and unforeseen elements which have perplexed it. The shifting of the frontiers of civilization, by a much more rapid advance through emigration and occupation than was ever dreamed of, has crowded the Indians; and the discovery of enormous mining wealth, of comparatively little use to the savages, in their reservations which we had made over to them simply as hunting-grounds, has seemed to justify a reconsideration of the bargain. The plea is, "We had given the Indians hunting-grounds; we never intended to make over to them our gold mines."

But the fundamental error in our policy, the root of most of the evil, of wrong towards the Indians, and of acts of perfidy on the part of our Government,—the error, as it is now admitted to have been, with which we started,—was that of entering into treaties with Indian tribes as independent powers or nations. In reality we never really so regarded them; and the only relief we can find from the charge of intentionally deceiving the Indians, in assuming or pretending so to view them, is in uttering the after-

thought of wisdom,—we did not clearly think about or understand what we were doing. A treaty between two nations (and both parties must be nations, sovereigns, in order that they may make treaty relations) proceeds upon certain understood and implied facts,—that both parties stand for the purpose on an equality of rights and dignities; that they thoroughly understand what they are doing; that they have in view joint or mutual advantages, and recognize mutual responsibilities; and that a breach of covenant by either party will justify remonstrance and the use of force, which the other party is supposed to have at command for righting or avenging itself. Now all the forms and pretences of dealing with Indian tribes as independent sovereignties, able to enforce the conditions of a covenant, have been merely farcical. Our authorities have known from the beginning, when authenticating such treaty documents, that the whole proceeding was a ludicrous travesty of the dignified and cautious processes by which we have made our treaties with, for instance, Great Britain, France, and Russia,—nations that could either hold us to terms, or to a reckoning. We may invest with all possible awe and dignity a scene in the forest where white commissioners are holding a council with chieftains of a savage tribe, as the pipe of peace goes round with the grave and taciturn braves; the treaty may be engrossed, signed, and sealed with forest hieroglyphics,—but it is all a mere sham; and it is difficult to believe that the white parties to it did not feel it to be so at the time. No effort of imagination in the civilized party could run any parallel or similitude between the making of a treaty at Ghent, Paris, London, or Washington, as between real nationalities, and the treaty in the woods with grimly painted and greased, blanketed and feathered barbarians, apostrophizing sun and moon in their rhetoric, grunting out their assent or dissent, with an eye to the coming feast and the distribution of the presents. The robed and wigged dignitaries of a court ceremonial

would only make the show more ludicrous. The very names on these Indian treaties, illustrated with bows, hatchets, bears, birds, snakes, and other emblematical devices,—names such as Tall Wolf, Red Nose, Big Head, Porcupine Bear, Looking-Glass, Big Thunder, and Yellow Smoke,—suggest a travesty. The Indians did not suppose that the treaties gave or originated their titles to land, but simply recognized their prior, existing, original rights. And so when the United States asked the privilege of opening military or emigrant routes through these lands, the Indians were confirmed in their view by the agreement of the Government to pay for this privilege.

Such treaties have been made with mere fragments of different, defeated, and allied tribes; with tribes setting up rival claims to the same territory; with tribes that have but for a very short time got possession of strange territory by conquest or roaming. Yet they have all been treated with equal mock dignity as foreigners, independent nationalities; we all the while knowing that in our sober view they were nothing of the sort. In order that a nation may have a footing for entering into treaty relations with one sovereign power, it must be equally free, unless it waives the right, to make treaties with other like powers. Now it would be no unfair test of what we conceive to be the nature of our treaties with our Indian tribes, to ask how we should feel and what we should do, if those red sovereigns entered into similar covenants, say, with Great Britain, France, or Russia.

A volume of one thousand and seventy-five royal octavo pages, from the Government printing-office in Washington, published in 1873, bears the title, "A Compilation of all the Treaties between the United States and the Indian Tribes now in Force as Laws." It is a most remarkable and suggestive, though a strangely perplexing, volume. Its contents are not arranged chronologically in the order in which the treaties were made, but alphabetically, by the

names — often unfamiliar and uncouth — of the bodies of Indians with which the covenants were confirmed. Another “List of all Indian Treaties and Agreements made,” etc., appears in the annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior, for 1881, arranged in the same alphabetical order, with dates. There are six hundred and forty-two such covenants referred to by title in this latter summary. The volume first mentioned gives the full text of the treaties, with the places where formed, ratified, or proclaimed, with revisions and supplementary articles, and several lists and schedules of allotments of land or money distributions to individual Indians, their families or representatives. One would need an elastic patience to read this volume. But the turning over its pages cursorily will alike bewilder, astonish, and instruct. The utter impracticability, not to say impossibility, of keeping the covenants under the conditions pledged to meet the emergencies and crises which our Government has been dealing with for a full century in its relations with the Indians, will be so obvious to the reader that he will be ready to condone some of the wrong incidental to breaches of them. Apart from all that we have to marvel over and to regret on this score, the volume will in future years have an interest of an antiquarian and historical character, something like to that of Homer’s list of ships. Some of the names of Indian bands are already obsolete. It may therefore be of use in coming years for communities in flourishing and populous States in the north and west of the country to recall the tribal designations of some of the bands having covenanted titles to parcels of their territory.

Infinite and harassing, and incapable of adjustment, have been the embarrassments into which our Government has been drawn by its treaties with parties not having the status for enforcing or even making treaties. In the treaty with the Choctaws and Chickasaws, in 1866, Congress cov-

enanted for the rights of people of African descent residing among them. These rights the councils of the Indian nations refused to yield or sanction. So Congress was called upon to appropriate three hundred thousand dollars to remove elsewhere the proscribed race. Probably this assertion of a prerogative and breach of compact by those Indian councils comes the nearest of any instance in our history to an effective assertion and defence of its claimed sovereignty by any Indian tribe. Congress stipulated with the people of Georgia to extinguish the Indian title to all lands in that State, and yet covenanted with the Creeks and Cherokees that they should hold their lands there forever. Now it is not strange that the arts of the white man in making, breaking, and trifling with Indian treaties should seem to warrant what a head of our modern peace commission tells us, thus: "Whatever our people may choose to say of the insincerity or duplicity of the Indians, would fail to express the estimate entertained by many Indians of the white man's character in this respect of broken promises, cunning, cupidity, and cruelty."

But even the principle supposed to have been adopted and followed from the first by our Government in recognizing a right of occupancy and of perpetual use by any Indian tribe of territory actually inhabited and hunted over by them, has by no means been honored in all cases. This local native right would have been of some value to the Indian and some restraint upon the white man, had it really been respected in its terms and consequences as among civilized parties. It is notorious, however, that this right has never been able to stand against the white man's purpose and resolve to acquire any territory when he could plead his need or desire of it. The Indian's right to hold was subordinate to the white man's right to buy,—a right which involved the other right of compelling the Indians to sell, on terms, too, which in effect the purchaser himself dictated.

There have, likewise, been cases in which this occupancy right of tribes to any coveted territory was wholly overlooked and coolly disregarded; no account whatever being made of it. This was signally true in the case of the tribes occupying the present Territories of Oregon and Washington. Our Government, in connection with public and private promoters of the enterprise, offered strong inducements to settlers to enter upon and occupy those lands, without even the slightest previous attempt to extinguish the Indian title, indeed without even a recognition of it. This was all the more to be deplored because the natives there had long been under the influence of the agents of the Hudson Bay Company, who trafficked freely with them, maintaining the most friendly intercourse. The Indians, therefore, were substantially British subjects. When suddenly they found Americans, of whom they were jealous and whom they despised, settling upon their best lands, they were naturally exasperated to acts of hostility.

As an illustration of the system under which treaties have been solemnly made with the pledged faith of the United States, and then by the connivance or assistance of the same supreme authority have been broken and substantially repudiated, may be instanced that with the Sioux, for the infraction of which the long drawn-out penalty is being still inflicted upon us in the threatenings of bloody and costly strife.

The Constitution pronounces all treaties to be the supreme law of the land. Our Supreme Court has pronounced them binding and inviolable, overruling anything in the constitution or laws of the single States. The famous ordinance of 1787, for the government of the territory northwest of the Ohio, covenanted that the utmost good faith should always be kept with the Indians, that their lands, property, rights, and liberties should be secured and respected, without encroachment or disturbance, and that from time to time just and humane laws should be

made for their protection and welfare. President Washington and his successors, with the authority and ratification of successive Congresses, have again and again renewed this covenant.

The Sioux, who with affiliated tribes had occupied large portions of this territory, had long been regarded as a brave and noble race of red men of a superior grade, and as ever friendly to the whites, as the officers of the Northwest Fur-Company who had intimate relations with them had testified. They ranged from the British border on the north to Kansas on the south, and from the sources of the Mississippi to the spurs of the Rocky Mountains, through a rich and splendid country, for game, fish, and fruits. The tribes consented to regard themselves as within the territorial bounds of the United States, and claimed protection under our supremacy. After a succession of minor treaties had been made with them, the ripening of circumstances under what we call the exigencies and rights of civilization demanded a very serious and decisive negotiation with them. The constant pushing forward of the frontiers, the prospecting companies of miners, the emigrant trails to California and Oregon were opening an incessant encroachment on their territory, and a bloody war or a peaceful disposal of all matters of strife presented an alternative to our Government. A treaty was made at Fort Laramie, in 1851, between the United States and these tribes, under which it was covenanted that a region of about one hundred thousand square miles,—larger than the area of New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey,—including the largest and best part of Colorado, and parts of Dakota, Nebraska, and Kansas, should be secured to them, while the Government was to be allowed to make military and other roads, with stations for agencies on the territory, and to have its citizens protected in their transit. The Indians were to yield all claims to any other lands, except the retaining a right to hunt and fish in roaming freely over them. They were

also to receive from the Government an annuity of fifty thousand dollars a year for fifty years. This last agreement, after the Indians had by their representatives confirmed the treaty, was altered without their knowledge or consent, when the Senate came to act upon it, the appropriation being by that body limited to ten years.

After the Rebellion there was a rush of unsettled and enterprising adventurers from our borders seeking the treasures of the mines of Montana and Colorado. No thought or regard whatever was had for the pledged rights of the Indians. Even before this general intrusion there had been many encroachments upon them, with the consequent disturbances and outrages. So that even in 1861 the Government had made a new treaty, greatly qualifying the conditions of that of ten years before. By this the bounds of the Indian reservation were reduced, and an annuity of sixty thousand dollars a year was promised them for fifteen years. But in vain was it sought to repress the encroachments of the white man, settler or farmer. Hostilities on both sides increased, and in 1864 occurred the horrid tragedy known as the Sand Creek Massacre. A mixed commission of army officers and civilians thought they had succeeded in their pacific work; but none the less a war ensued which cost our Government thirty millions of dollars; leaving the Indians unsubdued, and complaining (as well they might) of our perfidy and their wrongs. Still another treaty, made in 1865, stripped them of Colorado, and another region in Kansas was "set apart for the absolute use and undisturbed occupation of the Cheyennes and Arapahoes;" and for forty years a pension of forty dollars a year was to be paid to each of them. A part of this new reservation had already been assigned to the Cherokees. By an Act of Congress of 1834 all annuities promised to the Indians are made chargeable for any depredations committed by them on the frontier or travelling white men. Claims for damages on this score, fol-

lowed by an injunction on the Indian annuity funds, are enormous in amount ; and the adjustment of them, whether they are honest or fraudulent, is a matter of bitter quarrel and controversy. In some cases these claims, if allowed, would exhaust all the funds, and poverty and the sense of wrong would set the Indians on further raids.

Of the feelings with which some of the most intelligent of the chiefs were made parties to the cession of their lands, a graphic illustration is offered in the following extract.

Major-General George A. McCall, in his "Letters from the Frontiers" (1868), thus describes a scene at Fort Armstrong in General Gaines's negotiation with Keokuk and Black Hawk, in 1831 : —

"The artful negotiator Keokuk called on the General, in all the finery of official dress, conspicuous in which was a necklace of the formidable claws of the grizzly bear, — which, by the by, it is whispered he procured with *the silver bullet* [purchased], — and in grandiloquent speech reported the success of his mission ; and that Black Hawk would come in the next day and renew the treaty, relinquishing the territory latterly in dispute.

"At the appointed time Black Hawk appeared. There were in attendance about fifty chiefs and distinguished warriors ; but all on this occasion were unarmed. All being seated in due form, the treaty, which in the interval I had been ordered to draw up, I read sentence by sentence [interpreted]. I called up Black Hawk to affix, in his official character, his sign manual to the paper. He arose slowly, and with great dignity, while in the expression of his fine face there was a deep-seated grief and humiliation that no one could witness unmoved. The sound of his heel upon the floor, as he strode majestically forward, was measured and distinct. When he reached the table where I sat I handed him a pen, and pointed to the place where he was to affix the mark that would sunder the tie he held most dear on earth. He took the pen ; made a large, bold cross with a force which rendered *that* pen forever unfit for further use ; then, returning it politely, he turned short upon his heel, and resumed his seat in the manner he had left it. It was an

imposing ceremony, and scarcely a breath was drawn by any one present during its passage. Thus ended the scene, — one of the most impressive of the kind I ever looked upon. And with it terminated the duty which had led General Gaines to visit Fort Armstrong" (pp. 241, 242).

There has always been a variance and strife about the rights conceded to the Indians of hunting and roaming on unceded territory outside of their reservations. Though this right has been in terms stipulated, and Congress has even made provision of partial payment to Indians roaming, some military officers and agents have insisted that being found outside of the reservations is an indication of hostile intentions on the part of the roamers, and cuts them off from their claim in the distribution of the supplies. Nor are the perplexity and bitterness arising from this source relieved by the well-known fact, that, while the large body of a tribe may remain seemingly content on their reservations, parties of restless young warriors may mischievously break bounds, to raid and steal, furnished with the very guns, ammunition, blankets, and food just distributed from the agencies.

But the swiftly circulated reports of the treasures in the Black Hills — which lay within the limits solemnly pledged to the Indians, and which it seems they regarded with a superstitious reverence — stirred the passion and greed of adventurers. Of course the fabled wealth in them was destined to the uses of civilization, whatever claims the barbarian might set up. In utter contempt of all our Government covenants, the Indians saw a steady stream of adventurers and gold-hunters rushing through to Utah, Oregon, and California. The placers of the miners and the cultivated grounds needed for their supplies, with the grogeries, saloons, and gambling-halls of incipient cities and rows of dwellings, were occupied and crowded as by magic by those who regarded the Indians as but vermin.

Meanwhile the Government, whatever its plighted faith, also felt that its paramount—saying nothing of its primary—obligations compelled it to stand for the rights and interests of civilization against barbarism, of white men mining instead of red men hunting. Government sent out surveying, exploring, and then military parties to penetrate and examine regions which were then unknown to the whites, which had been surveyed only by longitudinal and latitudinal measurements, and which it had been agreed that the white man should hold as forbidden to him. Of course the Sioux war in Minnesota, and then a general Indian panic and uprising, were the results. By making and breaking successive treaties, the United States first created and fostered in the minds of the Indians the preposterous notion that they held a limitless fee of possession in these enormous reaches of territory; and then after purchasing parts of them, and pledging the remainder to the Indians forever as still theirs, mocked at the Indians for thinking us in earnest, as if we really meant to countenance them in their foolish resistance to the progress of the age. In 1874, that hero in our Civil War, the youthful and lamented General Custer, destined to fall a victim in the war which he helped to open with the Sioux, was sent on an expedition to the Black Hills, and he accomplished it successfully, the Indians of course protesting and complaining, though not at once fighting. Acts of outrage, however, were done by roaming parties, and war was imminent. Major-General Stanley wrote from Dakota that he was “ashamed longer to appear in the presence of the chiefs of the different tribes of the Sioux, who inquire why we do not do as we promised, and in their vigorous language aver that we have lied.” Sitting Bull explained his refusal to come under any treaty relations by this vernacular sentence: “Whenever you have found a white man who will tell the truth, you may return, and I shall be glad to see you.” In 1875, a commission sent to treat for the surrender of the Black

Hills was unsuccessful. Then, of course, followed the war, in which, perhaps more than in any other waged by us with the savages, we have been made acquainted with their reserved power, and with the depth of their conviction and resolve that they have some human rights. War is the recognized resource of white men under the infraction of a treaty. Why not then of red men? Had the mining region which tempted invaders been among the wilds on the other side of the British borders, and our citizens, bent on the development of all buried treasures in the interest of civilization, made their raids there, what would have followed? Formal expressed diplomatic "distinguished considerations," and then, if these were unsatisfactory, fighting. But we say the Black Hills are within our own domains, and the Indians,—half citizens, half wards,—are really bound to make common cause with us in opening our common country.

If we may draw a reasonable inference from the tedious and prolix formalities and the stiff ceremonial of a council with Indian tribes for settling a peace, the cession of territory, or the negotiations of a contract, we should judge that while the white party cannot but have looked upon it rather from its ludicrous side, and held even its pledged obligations as likely to be but of a slight and temporary validity, the Indians themselves, though notoriously inconstant and treacherous to their own promises, did notwithstanding wish and intend that the business should have a very imposing and solemn dignity. The impatience and the banter which we expend upon the routine methods, the official intricacies, and the long-drawn delays in the disposal of affairs between civilized people and in the processes of each department of a government, might find full provocatives in the rehearsal of the proceedings of an Indian council. Red tape and circumlocution have full sway there. Commissioners and military officers who have transacted such business with a company of chiefs representing sev-

eral tribes at one council have found their endurance taxed to the utmost, and the soldiers would at times have much preferred the excitement of a campaign.

The council must be deliberately agreed upon and prepared for with stately preliminaries. The squaws in the Indian villages must be set to work in making the wampum belts, with their symbolic colors, blendings, and hieroglyphics; and the whites must as busily, and with more cost, prepare and transport the presents. In many tribes a wampum belt is necessary in the statement or ratification of each rhetorical certification of the speech, and of each proposition or term in the covenant. There are solemn pauses and silences in which the parties might be supposed, by an onlooker, to be holding a Quaker meeting. There are the complimentary exchanges of handshaking with the greasy and grotesquely arrayed Stoics of the woods, with solemn and demure watchfulness against the wandering of eye or thought, to the let-down of stateliness or dignity. Then comes the squatting on the grass in concentric circles, or the stiff seating on the skin-covered bushes,—age and wisdom, and repute as a brave, giving title to sit in the innermost circle, while those who have yet to win their spurs as renowned warriors look over the heads of the inmost groups from outside. The passing round of the pipe is another wearying interval. When speech-making is reached, the work goes on with tedious slowness, no interruptions or interlocutions being sufferable. Never is the business finished at one sitting. The answering party must take a night for deliberating on the reply for the next, or some subsequent day.

Besides the original and radical error of our National Indian policy,—so long continued, and so impracticable as to compel us to violate our own covenants with them,—the policy of making treaties to last “forever” with them as independent, sovereign nations, we have made many other mistakes which have had very serious consequences.

These mistakes have been related and incident to our primary error. They have directly operated to the injury of the natives, and are now found to offer vexatious difficulties in the way of the wiser methods which we are seeking to adopt. Among these errors three have been especially mischievous.

First, after having with much cost and management assigned a reservation to some troublesome tribe and planted it on the territory, we have been induced, by the advances of civilization and the trespasses of the whites upon it, to move off the tribe to another region. In some cases this has been done four or five times. The Indians have thus been kept in a restless and unsettled condition, which has in fact aggravated their roaming tendencies, and precluded their forming any local associations.

A second error has been in assigning to these treaty tribes, as reservations, altogether too extensive regions of territory,—so large, in fact, as to encourage the expectation that they may continue to live by their old methods of the chase, without labor. We have learned that any hopeful policy towards the Indians must look to the breaking up of their tribal relations, and leading each individual and family to a proprietorship of lots or parcels of ground. We have greatly hindered this result in assigning to a tribe so vast an expanse of wild land as to confirm their old habits of holding it in common and trusting their livelihood to its natural products.

The third of these errors is, that, in conformity with the terms of nearly all the older treaties, we have paid the Indians, for the cession of their lands, in money annuities, to pass into the hands of their chiefs, or to be distributed *per capita*, through the agents. These sums of money have been squandered thriftlessly, and have made the Indians the easy spoil of grasping traders in whiskey and gewgaws, encouraging them in laziness and profligacy. Nor has the result been much better when the annuities have been paid

in food and clothing, turning the Indians into dependent paupers. The better and hopeful policy now requires that we restrict the Indians in space and assure to them permanent residence, to break up their roaming habits and to make them individual proprietors; and that we pay their annuities in farming and household implements, in buildings, schools, and land improvements.

CHAPTER X.

MILITARY AND PEACE POLICY WITH THE INDIANS.

ONE of the great primary truths which it has taken the world a long time to discover, and which, when discovered, is announced in that simple form of speech befitting the royalty of Truth, is this: That nothing in public or private affairs, in government or in the relations between man and man, has been settled till it has been settled aright. Till that happy and sure disposal of any issue has been reached, discord, passion, wasteful expedients, and failure attend all discussions of it, all dealing with it. Experiment and shifting policy will still keep it open, but only justice and right can ever dispose of it.

And that is the reason why we have before us to-day, under open and impassioned debate, in the councils of Congress, in our Cabinet bureaus, and in the military posts on our frontiers, a very old question, — a century old, but as fresh to us as if it were of this year's origin. It is called the Indian Question. No one can appreciate, without much inquiry and search, the effort, labor, wise and honest purpose on the one hand, nor know how much of aimless and wasteful experiment, wild campaigning, and baffled legislation on the other, have been spent on that question. It has not been, it is not, settled simply because we have not reached the right solution of it. Yet this oracular statement — that nothing is settled till it is settled aright — does not bring with it to those who utter it, nor to those who at once assent to it, the needful wisdom, ability, and means

even for deciding what is right, much less for securing it. The utmost force of the assertion avails only to fix the resolve that we will aim to do the right when we are certified what it is and can engage all our resources to that end. Any one who to-day wishes to form in his own mind a clear and tenable opinion on the great question, while availing himself of what would seem to be sufficient and adequate means of information and judgment, must be content if he can draw grains of truthful and helpful wisdom from the mass of crude, one-sided, and superficial opinions and utterances upon it. It will be well if, while one comes to realize the vast perplexities and embarrassments which complicate the subject, he can keep his hold of a single guiding thread either of expediency or justice. The long debating and experimenting on this question have not, however, been fruitless. Circumstances, too, in the changes of time and in the relations of things, have increased our means alike of wisdom and of power for disposing of the question. Let us take note, first, of some of the helps and facilities which we have reached for dealing wisely and rightly with it.

1. We have acquired a large amount of very needful and practical information about the numbers, the condition, the relations, and the nature of the Indian tribes. Till within a few years, though we had known Indians for two or three centuries, they had to us a character partly legendary, misty, and fabulous. We conceived of them as in numbers wholly undefined, though in great hordes, inhabiting or roaming over vast, unexplored spaces between us and the setting sun, and supposed that we might at any time draw a line in our territory which should divide between them and the farthest settlements which the whites for long periods to come would be likely to plant in the wilderness. And we had thought that we might easily make treaty arrangements with those nearest to us, — the farthestmost tribes being of no account, — by which the peace might be kept, the military power being always in reserve. Now all this

vagueness and mist about the Indians have been dispelled. We know their numbers almost as accurately as we do the population of one of our oldest towns. Classified statistics of the tribes, in count and in condition, are spread upon documentary records in Washington, and we find, to our satisfaction, though the former exaggerated conceit of the vast number of their hordes may not have shrunk so rapidly as did the estimate of Falstaff's men in buckram, yet that there are by no means so many wild Indians in our domain as we had imagined. They are now circumscribed too, all around, by the regions of civilization in its various stages,—rude, or in the way of advance. There is no longer an unexplored and unlimited realm of mysterious fringes and depth, to which they may wander as the white man pushes them farther to the horizon; for the whites occupy that horizon.

2. And this suggests another advance in relieving the Indian question of what was till very recently one of its most perplexing and embarrassing conditions. We have found that it is utterly impossible to keep the Indians from contact and intercourse with the whites: push them back as far as we please, they are still our neighbors. Once it was the opinion of our wisest statesmen that the prime condition for just and peaceful relations with the Indians was to divide our territory with them, and leave them to themselves. We cannot do that now. The Indians themselves have had so much to do with the whites, and in spite of all our fights with them have received such benefits from us, that they desire more. In fact they cannot now exist without the presence and the help of the whites. Their range over the former wild reaches of territory for hunting has been steadily reduced, and the game has become scarce, in many vast spaces extinct. So they absolutely need our best improved weapons, our goods and implements; and whole tribes of them are now kept from actual starvation only by the supplies which Government

furnishes. Then, too, within all the regions most solemnly covenanted to them as reservations on which the whites were forbidden to intrude, the moment the rumor gets abroad that there are mines upon them the explorers, the miners, and the farmers are found to have raised their shanties and then their so-called cities. These facts settle the point that all our future relations with the Indian tribes, instead of starting from non-intercourse with them, must proceed upon a rapidly advancing intimacy, — of dependence on their part, and of generous help on ours. This is a fact which we shall find by and by to have essentially modified the old Indian question.

3. A third facility for wisely and effectively dealing with that question is found in the fact that our Government has, though only so recently, given up the foolish fancy that the Indian tribes are independent and sovereign nations. We have adopted them as wards, — a very interesting and a very troublesome class of dependents, — with quite a precarious and unappraised inheritance claimed by them as invested in our keeping, and likely to cost us in the end a great deal more of our funds than of their own. But this change of their status from a rude independency to an extreme dependency has given us rights in the case which, though we may have usurped, we did not in terms claim, but really renounced, before. We have now the rights of guardianship: we may intermeddle with the internal affairs of the Indians, with their relations to each other; we may restrain them, bring them under a strict and firm control, dictate to them terms and conditions. It must now be with our Government a perfectly open and free question; our own decision of it being absolute, how shall our authority over the Indians be exercised?

This is at present the aspect and import of the Indian question. Our Government — giving over all faltering, hesitancy, and inconstancy of method — has, first of all, to recognize the fact that it has this great question to deal

with, positively, effectively, and decidedly, —arbitrarily if so its wisdom dictates, but with the best lights of expediency, policy, and humanity. We have had enough of a fretting and an aimless experimenting continued through a century. All the conditions of the case now prompt to decisive action; for we have passed the stages of experiment. A wise Government in these days cannot be satisfied with either alternative in treating an uncivilized race on its frontiers, numbering less than one in one hundred and fifty of its white population, — as a fighting enemy or a hungry corps of paupers. Government has the power and the means to deal absolutely with the subject, and it now feels that it is under the obligation to dispose of it. And the possession of power by those to whom it rightfully belongs will always prompt magnanimity in its exercise. We no longer dread the Indians with the dismay which our ancestors felt about them, as near or distant. Their reduced and humbled condition demands of us forbearance, mercy, and even lavish benevolence.

Let us next look at the actual situation, with a view especially to its chief embarrassments.

1. We have shut ourselves, our citizens, out of large portions of several of our States and Territories, and of vast regions of our wild domain, which we have covenanted to Indian tribes "forever;" to Indian tribes, with an agreement to exclude the whites or to punish trespassers. Many of these reservations are encompassed by free territory and by stages of civilization. But both our Government and our citizens wish to enter, to traverse, and to occupy these cordoned regions; and we fret under our self-exclusion when railroad projects, mines, or emigration tempt us.

2. While we have shut ourselves out from, we have not really shut the Indians within, these reservations. We have assented in some cases to allow conditional roamings outside of them, for the chase and for hunting; and we cannot in other cases restrain the Indians from this roaming be-

yond their bounds,—the most stirring cause of border strife, raids, pillaging, and butchering on our frontiers. Portions of even peaceful treaty tribes indulge this propensity on the plea of poverty and threatened starvation. For when we covenanted to each tribe its special reservation, so generous in its extent, it was with the expectation that the tribe would live on its resources, after its own way of life. Circumstances have made such subsistence impossible; so that the reservation has become an artificial annoyance and obstruction to the white man, and an insufficient provision and a galling restraint to the red man.

3. Our Government, as a trustee, holds large amounts of funds invested in its securities, on which it is held by old treaties to pay perpetual dividends to the Indians. It is also pledged to pay, for various terms of years, annuities of money and supplies to several tribes, with no funded capital or principal. The annual payment of these obligations, either in money or goods, requires a complicated system of agents, contractors, advertising, inspectors, and freight carriers, from which it has been impossible to exclude gigantic and petty fraud, corrupting the whole service, and causing wrongs to and complaints from the Indians. We thus pauperize the Indians, make it more difficult to engage them in self-support and industry; and we have also made bad bargains, as by giving away purchased land to railroad companies, and to settlers for homesteads, at less than cost, we are annually increasing our Indian debt and losing our money.

4. These Indian reservations, scattered over our domain, are for the most part exempted from general and local jurisdiction by law; and, if we take cognizance of offences in them, it must be by arbitrary and inconstant methods, confusion again coming in through the conflict between State or Territorial and the General Government. Thus, in effect, we have licensed lawless communities, with rights of immunity and the risks of a Pandemonium.

From the formation of the Government, as we have seen, our relations with the Indians were recognized as of sufficient importance to engage distinct legislation and attention, but not, however, for requiring administration by a separate department. This administration was committed to the charge of the Secretary of War. A small number of superintendents and agents, resident among the Indians or providing the supplies for them, reported to the Secretary, though they were not appointed by him. These officials were military men and civilians; the latter being a majority. The Act of Congress of 1834 so far modified this arrangement as to give to the Secretary of War the supervision and direction of these superintendents and agents, the majority of whom were still civilians. In 1849 this Indian Bureau, so called, was, by Act of Congress, taken from the charge of the War Department and incorporated as a Bureau for Indians into the new Department of the Interior then created. In July, 1867, Congress devised a body of Peace Commissioners, composed of eight members, — half of them military officers, half civilians; they were to make an annual report to the President. Three special objects defined the province of this Commission, — to remove the *causes* of war; to secure the frontier settlements, and the safe working of the Pacific railroads; and to suggest a plan for reclaiming and civilizing the Indians. Their measures were to be all peaceful, if possible; but under certain contingencies the President was authorized to supplement or reinforce their measures by calling out four mounted regiments to *conquer* peace.

The first difficulty which the Commission encountered at the start was, to secure interviews with chiefs and warriors of hostile tribes roaming over vast regions of wilderness, parts of which even the trappers had not penetrated, while small war parties from these tribes were depredating on the frontiers, killing white men, capturing women and children, raiding on railroad workmen, — often by concert, on the

same day, at points hundreds of miles distant, — interrupting mail-coaches, burning stations, destroying crops, fences, barns, and houses, driving off cattle, and murdering and scalping lonely travellers in the woods. All transit through the regions to be visited by the Peace Commissioners was perilous. Their dilemma was, that if they went without a military escort they would be slaughtered, while such an escort might thwart their peaceful errand. Fortunately they had authority to call for help on the commanders of posts, and on the superintendents and agents resident among the reservations under the Civil Commissioner. They had the security also — one much respected by Indians — of an armed steamer for carrying supplies. The Commission contrived to obtain some limited councils with the savages. They were smarting under the breach of our treaty covenants with them, and alleged that they were starving because of the scarcity of game and the withholding from them of the promised arms and ammunition. This first essay in the policy of attempting “to conquer by kindness” ended by a free distribution among the savages of the coveted arms and ammunition; with which those who regard with disgust and contempt this “Quaker” policy charge that the Indians at once equipped themselves afresh for their wild ravages on the frontiers.

The Peace Commissioners, at a meeting in Chicago in 1868, adopted a resolve advising Congress to restore the Indian Bureau to the War Department. This was directly in opposition to their judgment the year before. Thus has been opened the controversy, still so vigorously working, between philanthropy and war policy, — though by no means dividing all philanthropists or all military officers to either side upon it, — as to which of the two methods will be the more effective, or even the more humane.

With the purpose of possessing myself with all the means, in facts and arguments and tests of experiment for forming an instructed and candid opinion upon the main

points involved in this controversy, I have labored through the perusal of every volume, public document, report, and plea that I could bring within my reach upon either side of it. Had I stopped midway in that laborious process, I should probably have been more disposed than I am now to pronounce decided judgments and opinions concerning it; as I have noticed that many persons do, as the results of something less than a full survey of all the perplexities, the intricacies, and the inconsistent representations which grievously complicate the discussion. Nor is it only because the authorities to which one would be likely to defer are often strongly prejudiced and partisan in spirit; very often the essential facts in an important point or stage of an inquiry are as positively denied by one party as they are asserted by another. The leading principle of most service to an unbiassed and impartial inquirer is that which was set down in an early page of this volume, — that those who for different ends and purposes of their own have been brought into different relations with the Indians see them with very different eyes, and report and present them very differently.

In endeavoring to reach a perfectly candid and impartial view of the issue so warmly contested between the respective advocates of the policy of conducting the business of our Government, in its charge of the Indians, by the War Department or by a Peace Commission, we have to consider both the arguments and pleas advanced on either side, and the results of actual experiment. The War Department having had the charge of the Indian Bureau, the reasons which led to the transfer of its administration to the Department of the Interior may be stated as, in substance, the following: Our small national army has enough to do within its own special province, without being burdened with the charge of such responsible and complicated business as is found to be involved in our relations with the Indians. Neither the officers nor the men have special

qualifications for that business. Experience has proved that our army would need to be largely increased for any efficient management of Indian affairs; and this provision of a large standing army would be costly, and on many accounts highly objectionable. The war policy has been found vastly more costly and far less satisfactory than the peace policy, though the latter has been so far very burdensome and chargeable.

It was further urged that the tendency of the war policy is to perpetuate hostilities with the Indians, and the military management has always proved a failure. The killing of each single Indian has caused the sacrifice of twenty-five white men. The war with a few hundreds of Florida Indians, running through seven years, cost us the lives of one thousand five hundred of our soldiers and thirty millions of money. The method is inhuman and unchristian, as it aims to demoralize and destroy the whole Indian race, and is utterly inconsistent with all the objects and ends which a wise and just judgment should aim to pursue. The presence of military forces among the Indians always exasperates them, and sets them alike on the defensive and the offensive. The influence of a camp of soldiers, with stragglers and groups of natives hanging around it, is abominably corrupting, attended as it is with all forms of demoralization, drunkenness, and licentiousness, infecting the Indians with the worst vices and diseases of civilization. If we look to the military and to war measures in our future relations either with the semi-civilized, the subjugated, or the still wild tribes, we shall well-nigh bankrupt our treasury and commit ourselves to an endless series of fights. Such are the chief arguments which, when followed into details and specifications, presented most formidable objections to the exclusive management of the Indians by the war policy.

In thus setting down in plain and strong statements the objections which have found expression to a main reliance

upon a military policy in the management of the Indians, simple fairness demands the suggestion here of a qualifying remark. In some quarters unmeasured severity of criticism, even abuse and contempt, have been visited not only upon our Government war policy, but upon the officers, the men, and the conduct of our army in its military operations. This is alike cruelly unjust and ungrateful. The army is the agent and servant of our Government; it acts under orders. It has performed arduous and heroic service, under stern and fearfully exacting and most perilous conditions, enduring every form of hardship, privation, and extremity. It has numbered among its officers men with the breeding, training, and spirit of gentlemen, with humane and Christian hearts; often acting under the stern compulsion of duty, against their own inclinations and convictions. They have maintained discipline over men otherwise untractable, have led them courageously through ambushes and massacres, and have held them in check when restraint was necessary. The army has been the pioneer and security for the advance of civilization. Not a railroad could now traverse the old American Desert, not even a wagon-road, a mail-route, nor a safe foot-trail, without the convoy of that army. The occasion for dispensing with military methods in the management of the Indians is well defined in the future. It will come when the Indians cease to be fighters.

Supposing now that all the arguments and results of trial and experiments adduced against the war policy justified the initiation of the Peace Commission under the Department of the Interior, we listen to what is to be urged against this substituted policy and its workings. The present Indian Bureau, while charging that the war management was and always must be a failure, admits that its own has by no means been wholly successful. If we try, for the sake of impartiality, to stand free of championship of either party, we have to remind ourselves that the peace

policy has not been set in such complete administrative authority as to have the ultimate disposal, in ways consistent with its own principles, of all the cases and causes of trouble with the Indians. A gap was left, with an undefined range of authority and responsibility, between the Indian Bureau and the War Department. The Bureau was not sternly restricted to peaceful measures by being told that the Indians were henceforward under its sole charge, whether they proved troublesome or manageable, and that no recourse should for the future be had to military force. On the contrary, it was expressly provided that the military should under some conditions be available and put to service when the Indian Bureau, baffled in its efforts, should fall back upon it.

And so it is pleaded that the Indian Bureau has in effect been a mere clerkship, alike while it was under the Department of War and since it has been under that of the Interior; that it has been subject to a superior, to whom it was bound to report and to look for its limited and cramped powers; and that for a full and fair trial it ought to have been an independent department.

While the friends of the peace policy allow that it has proved a *partial* failure, its most decided opponents insist that it has proved a *complete* failure; that its agency has been mischievous and calamitous, vitiated by corruptions, frauds, mismanagement, wasteful outlays and reckless extravagance on the part of greedy and profligate subordinates, contractors, expressmen, and distributors; that it has aggravated all our controversies with the Indians, pauperized them, and made them mercenary and treacherous, while furnishing them with arms and supplies to be used against us; and finally, that the blundering and discomfitures of the peace policy have ended in making it necessary to call in the help of the army, and that too at a great disadvantage arising from the presumption that it was to be dispensed with, and the suspension of its discipline and activity, and its real humiliation.

This formidable list of allegations against the peace policy does not lack definiteness in its specifications or proofs. That policy is based upon the generous if not lavish distribution of supplies, clothing, cattle, rations, and money to vast hordes of worthless paupers, who, if they cannot hunt, will do nothing but laze about and steal, the whole expense being a burden on the industry and toil of our own hard-working people; and this too, while we are warned by the complaints of the poor and the unemployed in our most thriving communities not to assume such a huge responsibility. Again, the furnishing of these supplies tempts a vast number of cunning, greedy, and fraudulent contractors, hucksters, middle-men, and rascals of every grade and hue, to practise all sorts of frauds both on the Government and on the Indians. Honest and high-principled men in authority use all their wisdom, sagacity, and keenness to prevent these enormous and outrageous frauds, and occasionally a culprit is detected, though escaping without being deprived of his gains or punished except by loss of office. Still, there is such opportunity, such facility, such mighty temptation for practising and covering up these frauds and evading justice, that it is generally allowed that abuse is incident to and inherent in the system itself.

The pensioned and pauperized savages, it is further urged, become greedily dependent on these Government supplies. If they are withheld, or delayed, or the frauds in them make them worthless, the savages are furnished with a good plea justifying them in an outbreak, a pillaging expedition, a murderous raid,—the wily old chiefs on visiting terms at the agencies, alleging that they cannot restrain their young men from such outbursts and expeditions. On the plea of the scarcity of game and the inefficiency of their native weapons, the best modern arms and ammunition are furnished them by our Government. Over and over again has it been affirmed by our most honored army officers, that these arms have been almost immediately turned against

the whites in border raids or battles. On the whole, men who have had large converse with the Indians, and who allow themselves to speak freely as they feel, denounce in plain terms this peace policy, as simply a mewling, canting philanthropy, by which kind-hearted civilians are beguiled, which the Indians mock and laugh at, and which must be wholly discredited and at once abandoned for stern and resolute measures of force. Of course these largesses, doles, and supplies given to the Indians as annuitants or paupers would be distributed as pledged to them if the War Department had them fully in charge. But it is urged that the peace policy carries this, in itself objectionable waste of supplies, beyond all reasonable bounds, and is inaugurating a system which will too heavily burden the industry and thrift of the country. The economy of the peace policy should be devoted to making the Indians wholly self-dependent.

There are many intensely earnest and complicated controversies in active agitation among men, especially on political and social issues, in which the humblest and some of the wisest of us are helped to form our own opinion simply by trying to learn on which side are to be found, pre-vaillingly, those whom we call the wise and the good, the fair-minded, the single-hearted, the unselfish, the calm, discreet, and dispassionate. The test fails us in trying so to dispose of the war policy and the peace policy issue in dealing with the Indians. Those who claim our attention as experts on this great issue are not to be morally classified according as they stand for the one or the other side in the controversy. We find the extreme views on this intricate question advanced and maintained by those as to whose characters, intelligence, and humanity we can draw no line of division or preference. It may therefore be allowed to some of us, at least, to choose a medium or reconciling method, and to approve a combination of some elements of both policies. Our aim shall be benevolent, practically

wise, efficient, and hopeful of every end of peace and justice. But it shall be resolutely and forcibly insisted on and advanced, so as to allow of that element of a war policy (which we may admit is coercion), compulsion. If under some circumstances we may rightfully use the forces of war, we certainly may put to service the constraining forces of peace.

We have had in quite recent years a series of frightful and awful catastrophes in our Indian warfare which we call massacres, that word being appropriated to acts of savage cruelty perpetrated by the red men. Try to probe to the bottom the truth, as to cause, occasion, provocation, responsibility, in any one of those appalling feats of desperation. Take the relations of frontier settlers, of railroad working parties, of miners, of emigrants *in transitu*, of the occupants of army posts, of military officers, and of investigating committees at Washington. And remember that the Indian side of the story is seldom reported to us; and when it is, is apt to come in different and disputed versions. The variance between the accounts which we receive of these aggressions of the Indians reaches even to the extent of referring them in their occasion or impulse to the wanton provocation of the military officers on the one hand, and on the other to the folly or mismanagement of the peace policy. An impartial investigator of the facts in any such case might be disposed to decide that any excess of force which was employed by the armed party might have been put to good use as energy, compulsion, and coercion on the side of philanthropy.

The basis of the actual relation of our Government to the Indians we find to be that of full, even arbitrary, power to dictate a policy, to choose and impose the terms by which we will henceforward deal with them. It is well for us to start with this conscious possession of power, for with it goes as full responsibility in its exercise. And how shall we use it? We have a full — and if not an unquestioned,

still an irresistible — freedom to assume towards the Indians the place and prerogatives of absolute superiority and authority. We have, then, to set before us an aim or object, which, in view of all known facts, we can adopt as possible and practicable, and follow up steadily and consistently till we realize it. And what shall it be? As answered by living and plain-spoken men of our own generation, as by those of previous generations all the way back to the settlement of the country, — though with more emphasis to-day, — this question is met by an alternative. One answer is, The Indians must be exterminated, root and branch; the country must be rid of them. The other answer is, The Indians must be reclaimed, civilized, educated, brought to the full status of white men as self-supporting, industrious, independent citizens.

Of course, most persons start with a shock of horror at the bare suggestion of the alternative, that our Government, directly or by any covert purpose and action, should contemplate the extermination of the Indians. They would say that the very mention of it is abominable, as of a barbarous and inhuman outrage, diabolical even in its enormity. Humanity, the law of Nature, if not of nations, protests against it. In this last sentence, as worded, I have allowed the *if*, — as to whether the law of nations, so called, would positively bar the alternative of the extermination of the Indians. And I have recognized that dubiousness in view of the known fact that there are some among us who insist that, by the laws or principles which regulate national life, — the interests of government for a great homogeneous people, — the extermination of an alien race is an alternative that may be admitted into a perfectly comprehensive view. In fact, this way of disposing of the Indian question has found among us some outspoken advocates, and it has doubtless many on its side who entertain it with misgivings as more than probable. The outspoken sympathizers with this plan of extinguishing the Indians are found to express

their view as a stout and resolute conviction, after a long and thorough acquaintance with the whole subject, and a sharp scrutiny of the tendency and inevitable result of all existing influences. Very many military men most skilled in the nature and habits of the Indians, and best acquainted with the probabilities of the future for them, have boldly spoken the word, The fate of the Indian race is extermination, or at least extinction. We are all familiar with the brief sentence of one of our foremost generals, "The only good Indian is a dead Indian." We are at liberty, however, to put a gloss upon the sentence, as meaning that the Indian quality must be killed out of a savage before he can be called "good." Besides those who so startlingly but frankly avow this stern and dire conclusion, there are many more who hold it as a secret persuasion of what is inevitable. Though such persons may really prefer and plead for the gentle, forbearing, fostering efforts of a peace policy, they all the while have a misgiving, or inner assurance, that it will be vain; that the Indian, as he cannot be humanized and civilized, must yield to extinction of race. The reasons offered for this hopeless view of the fate of the Indian have been recognized in another connection. This is not the place to discuss it or to argue about it. Yet reference may here be made incidentally to one element which would come into a full discussion. One of the reasons offered for the hopeless inefficiency of the peace policy is the enormous expense, already felt as a burden to the nation, of supporting hundreds of thousands of Indians as paupers of the most abject and profitless sort, and who are not likely to be anything other than paupers, steadily deteriorating and becoming more clamorous, lazy, drunken, and dangerous. The nation, it is said, is becoming weary of this waste, with its complicated system of agents, superintendents, guardians, teachers, and fraudulent traders, and with an ultimate necessity of calling in the military when the philanthropist and missionary are baffled. Now, as to this matter of ex-

pense for a war policy or a peace policy, we may as well have in view the cost of the former. Competent persons certify us, and past experience warrants them, that military operations against the Indians cost ten times more than a peace policy. And the estimate has been fairly made, that the extermination of the Indians by warfare would tax this nation more heavily in money and in the lives of white men than did the war of the Secession. The common impression among those who have not informed themselves on the subject is, that in the two and a half centuries of the hostilities between the white man and the red man here, the number of the Indians killed has been in excess of the whites. This is wide of the truth. The lowest estimate I have ever found among experts is, that ten white men have fallen for each single Indian: some have even put twenty or twenty-five instead of ten.

The money cost of our Government wars with the Indians is doubtless set within bounds, when it is estimated at five hundred million dollars. In the first ten years after our Independence, a million a year had been expended in expeditions and commissions. The Seminole war cost twenty-five millions. The Cheyenne war, thirty millions. The bills for the Sioux war are not yet all paid, as it is still only in a state of truce. Indeed, the sum of thirty millions of dollars was probably exceeded in the Seminole war, which, though fought against only two or three thousand savages, was protracted through seven years, and engaged a force of fifty thousand of our soldiers. Some of the cost for opening military roads and maintaining forts and stations of course accrues to the benefit of civilized uses, and we are to regard the outlay as well spent in bringing territory under our knowledge and control. The expenses of the War Department since our nationality was established amount in round numbers to a thousand million dollars, exclusive of the Civil War. Of this sum about a hundred million was spent in the war of 1812 and the Mexican war.

What has become of the nine hundred millions? The civil disbursements for the Indians, in bounties, presents, pensions, rations, and trust funds, all told for a century, are estimated at one hundred and seventy-five million dollars. Of this sum, fifty millions were spent under the sixty years management by the War Department. Under the new management, for thirty years the outlay has been one hundred and twenty-five millions. The average expense which the Government incurred for the Indians in its first score of years was ninety-five thousand dollars; for each of the last score years the average has been four and a half millions. Four and one half millions is annually disbursed in stipulated pensions, and one and a half millions for running contracts not limited.

Estimating the war outlay on the Indians at five hundred millions, and the civil outlay at two hundred, we find that seven hundred million dollars is a moderate summing up of our charges in appropriating or conquering a portion only of the continent which his Holiness the Pope gave to his Catholic Majesty for — nothing.

But enough has been said as to the alternative in our policy of the extermination of the Indians. We are not to discuss it, nor to entertain the question. If our nation even only covertly and contingently had it in view, we should not dare in these days so much as to devise or conduct our measures with reference to its likelihood or its possibility. Humanity insists that the Indians have rights, and among them the right of life, with its succession and entail. The nation must face, it intends to face, it always has intended to face, this duty of humanity towards the Indians. It is to be a costly, a perplexing, often a most discouraging task. We may as well face that fact too. Before the nation has come to a settlement in behalf of its Indian wards, and has got release from its bonds as guardian, it will have settled all the old scores for the alleged stealing of the Indian's territory. The cost will be larger than would have been

any fair purchase-price from the first, — just as the cost of our nation's fight for freedom would twice over have bought all slaves at their market value, and would have set them up with houses and farms. Yet we have to contemplate for long years to come a drain upon our resources in addition to the appropriations for army and navy, for postal service and internal improvements, and all other specifications on the budget, an annual outlay, likely for many years to augment rather than to diminish, for teachers, implements, instrumentalities and agencies of every kind for turning some two hundred thousand barbarians into — whatever it may prove that we can make of them.

Incident to the possession of the full power of superiority and authority which our Government has and may exercise towards the Indians, we have a full right, by our own best wisdom, and then even by compulsion, to dictate terms and conditions to them; to use constraint and force; to say what we intend to do, and what they must and shall do. If we are the wiser, this is our right; if our intentions are kind and just, this is our obligation; if the cost of success or failure falls upon us, this is our assurance and venture. This rightful power of ours will relieve us from conforming to, or even consulting to any troublesome extent, the views and inclinations of the Indians whom we are to manage. A vast deal of folly and mischief has come of our attempts to accommodate ourselves to them, to humor their whims and caprices, to indulge them in their barbarous ways and their inveterate obstinacy. Henceforward they must conform to our best views of what is for their good. The Indian must be made to feel that he is in the grasp of a superior, whose aim is to bring out his own manhood, and to give him self-reliance. In our loose and lenient way of exercising authority over the Indians, even when they consent to submit to it, we seem to have forgotten what a large and essential part of control and government in the most civilized communities is of the very essence of compulsion, almost of

arbitrariness. Let a citizen of one of our oldest and most prosperous towns or villages reflect how his natural liberty is circumscribed; how his inclinations, habits, acts, and range of self-indulgence are under surveillance; how the police and the tax-gatherer scan him, and how the law often bleeds him. One half of all our citizens at one time, and the other half at another time, utter chronic complaints of oppression and tyranny. We need have no scruples, therefore, as to the use of positive and constraining authority over the Indians. Of the need of this we find assurance when we take into view the following statement. Large numbers of Indians now under our control, according to the season of the year and other circumstances, present themselves to us in these three very different characters: First, as under our discipline, training, and instruction, through farmers and teachers residing with them, to make them self-dependent; second, as swarms of vagabond paupers coming to the distributing agents for a year's dole of clothing, food, arms, ammunition, and implements; third, as having wastefully exhausted their supplies, and, when the season favors, rushing out with the arms which we have given them, in war or predatory parties. Here we have the same interesting and versatile fellow-citizens acting yearly in the rôles of pupils, paupers, enemies, or prisoners of war. We must insist upon their keeping one of those three characters the year through, and we must decide which it shall be. It is no longer binding upon us to feed them in idleness through three quarters of the year on their reservations, and then to allow them to rush out on pretence of hunting, but really to prowl and plunder. A large proportion of their lands is of the very finest dower of the continent, with loam a yard deep, with succulent grasses on which cattle may graze all the year, with heavy timber, with noble mill-streams, with native fruits and roots, and with a glorious climate. When one thinks of the generations of our old New England stock, who contrived to live and prosper over

our ridges of sand and gravel, and our rocky pastures where the hungry ribs of the earth seem actually to have broken through its skin, we are provoked at the thought of having our teeming regions of the West turned into a mighty poor-farm. The memory and traditions of the first settlements of rugged New England are still too fresh,—indeed the present hard-won subsistence of those who still plough and hoe its stingy farms are too real to them,—to reconcile them to the policy of a tax from the nation's revenue for maintaining the thriftless roamers of the West.

There is one very serious consideration bearing upon this momentous question of our immediate future relations with our Indian tribes, which so far as I have been able to note has not received its due, if indeed any, attention in our Congressional debates or in the discussions in our journals. I have already stated the fact that Great Britain has dominion over more territory on this continent than is controlled by our own Government. Great Britain was once our enemy. She certainly cannot have forgotten that; possibly she may have repented of it. The far-sighted and sagacious Dr. Franklin, in the treaty arrangements for closing up our war of Independence, distinctly recognized the inevitable fact, that territorial possessions on this continent by Great Britain would always be of the nature of a menace to us; at any rate would afford a harborage, a place of deposit, a base of operations, for any enemies of ours, whether her allies or not. Twice in the century of our history has that foresight of Dr. Franklin been certified,—in our war with Britain of 1812, and in our Civil War. And what has been the aspect of the case quite recently? Sitting Bull probably understands it better than some of us do. Our remaining Indian tribes not yet gathered into treaty reservations, or objecting to be sent south into the Indian territory, tend to cluster in our northwest border, just where we bound upon the vast expanses of the wilderness held by Great Britain. If we still pursue our war measures

with the Indians, many of them when hard pressed will find a refuge, a breathing spell, and—we may as well speak out what we know—aid and comfort on the other side of the geometrical boundary line. There they will recruit; and thence, at their pleasure, they will renew their raids. Our redress, through protests, diplomatic processes, and “distinguished considerations,” will first be sought through functionaries of the Dominion Government, and ultimately of the Crown. We may make a bugbear of this if we choose, or we may reduce the aspect of things to the dimensions of simple, sober reason. In either case, it certainly does warn or advise us to keep all the Indians for whom we are responsible under our own management and oversight, without outside stimulus or reinforcement. This is another recommendation of the peace policy, for taming and reducing the savages to fixed residence, to individual rights in the soil, independently of their tribal relations, and to thrifty habits of agriculture and industry.

Positively and sternly, if need be, and with the help of all its appliances of authority and force, must Government put and keep the savage tribes under conditions in which they must work for their own subsistence by manual labor and ingenuity. The soil and water of their own reservations, not the United States Treasury, must furnish them a livelihood. Added to all the old-time grievances which the natives have had against the whites for appropriating their lands, for crowding and slaughtering them, there has been a new, and at present a very piteous and abject, one,—that the Government does not generously and promptly feed and clothe and arm them so that they may subsist in idleness. To all its pledged covenants for annuities and rations with the treaty tribes, the Government of course must be true; saving only, under the stern pressure of circumstances, a Government right of revising the form and material under which promised help or remuneration shall be furnished. But this exaction of residence and

labor on their reservations must be the prime and overruling condition. And actual compulsion will be justifiable in the process, as much with reference to the real security and welfare of the Indians as for any ends of our own. Nor must we fear lest this course be inconsistent with an approved peace policy. The laxness of the peace policy — its slack and halting and indulgent weakness — is not only a plausible, but it is a reasonable and forcible, ground for insisting, as many do, upon some indispensable element of the war policy. The Indians compel their squaws to work, and the squaws obey. No women on the face of this earth — in factory, mine, kitchen, or field — are more laboriously tasked with burden and toil than are those squaws. The very sight of one of them — haggard, bent, and shrivelled before middle life — tells the whole tale. If the men would labor as they compel the squaws to labor, on their rich and easy soil, with timber and much game still at hand, they would not need the dole of Government rations, though they do need our implements and tools.

Now, just as the men compel the women to work, so let Government stiffly impose the same obligation on the men. On this whole broad continent, now belted round with the processes and fruits of civilization and coursed by the highways of transit and traffic, no barbarous hordes can expect to cover themselves in its inner depths in savagery, indolence, or thriftlessness, drawing a precarious subsistence from skimming the earth's surface products, while the wild beasts, as they annually waste under the chase, might give them a hint that they too must vanish as wild men.

It is preposterous to suppose that some two or three hundred thousands of these idle-roving bands should from year to year be fed and armed and clothed and petted in their wastefulness and improvidence at the charge of the laboring classes of the civilized. Absurd as a spectacle, and outrageous as an imposition on the toilers of our country, is the transporting of grains and meats and guns and

blankets, and even of the luxuries of our cities, over the wilderness highways, to be distributed at the agencies to these arrogant paupers, on the plea that their ancestors once roamed free there.

Wise and able men have sometimes found it a serious task to prove the divine right of society, of civilization, of government; but we need not assume, take for granted, and claim deference for the divine right of savagery. At some point in the line of generations this entail of barbarism must be arrested. There is no reason why the successive offspring of our wild hordes should accede to the immunities of their ancestors when the condition of this continent was as wild as their own. The civilizing and humanizing of grown-up savages is declared, yes and proved, to be utterly hopeless and impossible. Even their children brought up in schools and villages will generally take to the woods at the first opportunity; for the flavor and zest of the wilderness are in their blood and tissues and spirits. So the grandchildren, the third generation, alone furnish material for hopeful reclaiming. But the ground of the hope depends upon their grandparents working on their own lands and making the first stages of transition from beastliness.

And there is another, a most cogent, reason why Government should compel the Indians to seek subsistence by labor on their reservations. If not the only, still by far the most effective, security which the Indians can have of retaining these reservations against the encroachments of the whites, now complained of as the chief justification of fresh hostilities, is in putting into them the added value and certified right of improvement, of betterment; the clearing, the dwelling, the well, the fence, the growing crop,—the home. The white man respects these tokens of ownership and possession. If not sacred, they are warnings to him against intrusion and violation. The Mormon settlements, with all their odious institutions, have found

their chief security in their industry and thrift. All the pleadings that can be uttered in the name of an ancient right or on the score of humanity will never persuade the white man of average intelligence who improves his patch of land, under taxation which increases exactly as he improves it, that beyond a certain boundary-line men and women may live in idleness on vast spaces of rich soil, and call for all supplies to be sent to them free of charge.

Experience and the best practical wisdom which they can bring to bear on the subject have led the heads of our Indian Bureau to suggest for the future a radical change in the disposal by our Government of the matter of Indian reservations. The principle underlying the provision of reservations, from the first recourse to them, was this: the solemn covenanting with the Indians — one or more tribes of them — to secure to them forever portions of all the territory on this continent, in consideration of our having seized other parts of it. On the supposition that the hordes which the white men found in roaming, nomadic occupancy here were the lawful holders of a perpetual fee in the territory, there would be something farcical in an intruding people covenanting back to them a fragment from the spoils of the whole. It is more reasonable, therefore, to suppose that the whites, not believing that the savage roamers had a legal and inextinguishable claim to the whole or even any part of the territory, thought they were making a generous settlement of any doubt there might be in the case, by bounding a region here and there, and assuring it to the Indians. The pledges of these reservations use the phrase “for ever.” The tendency of modern thought and speculation is to regard nothing as eternal except eternity itself.

The precedent for Indian reservations was very early, and first, set by the Massachusetts Colony Court. As a general rule, we may say that the Indians who have had reservations assigned to them have been broken and defeated

tribes, humbled by the whites or by other tribes. Their obligation to, and semi-dependence upon, us often led to their answer to our call to furnish us scouts, trailers, and other allies in our hostilities with other tribes. In the original design and planning of these reservations — except in the case of such town-lots as Massachusetts assigned to the Indians under training, and the circumscribed territory which New York set apart for the Six Nations; in fact, in all the reservations for the Indians made by our Government — the intention was to leave the natives free to their own habits and mode of life; to subsist, if they pleased, without labor, by hunting and fishing; keeping aloof from the whites, or maintaining traffic with them in peltries. Of course, this plan required vast expanses of territory, which we thought we could afford to dispense with, as we had so much that we were not likely to need for centuries to come. Once it was proposed that there should be one enormous reservation, to gather in all the tribes. Fifty years ago Mr. Calhoun advised that there should be two, a Northern and a Southern. As it is, we have them now scattered all over the West, South, and North in patches,—if we may call such stretches of space (some of them unsurveyed and unexplored) “patches.” The Indian Territory on which the first reservation was made, in 1831, lies south of Kansas, north of Texas, and west of Arkansas. It has upon it reservations for a score or more of tribes or parts of tribes. Its area is over sixty-four thousand square miles,—over forty-one millions of acres. One railroad now penetrates it, and two others skirt it. The States around it are flourishing and populous; but this magnificent region — rich, well watered, and timbered — is practically secluded as a waste, and as profitless as if it were a desert. Each human being on it has an average space of one square mile; New York has ninety-four persons on each one of its square miles, and Massachusetts has more than one hundred and eighty persons; Belgium supports three hundred and fifty persons, and the

continent of Europe seventy persons to a square mile. An acre of the Indian Territory has a productive power of that of ten average acres of Massachusetts soil. Of the seventy thousand persons inhabiting it, scarcely half are of pure Indian blood. No white man can reside there unless he has for a wife an Indian squaw, and so secures the noble title of "a squaw man." There are four thousand whites and six thousand negroes, formerly slaves to the Indians. The mongrel breeds are steadily increasing and the pure race dying out. Practically there is no local law in the Territory, and the United States jurisdiction is little more than nominal. It is hardly strange that, under these circumstances, Congress should have appointed a Senatorial Commission with reference to organizing a new Territory from this abused waste (the name proposed being Oklahoma), special care being had for securing to the occupants, by a breaking up of tribal relations, homestead farms in perpetuity and money annuities.

There are also reservations in the States of New York (the oldest dating from 1794), North Carolina, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, Nevada, Wisconsin, California, and Oregon; and in the Territories of Arizona, Dakota, Idaho, Montana, New Mexico, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming. These reservations, including the Indian Territory, cover an area of about two hundred and forty-three thousand and ninety-one square miles, or nearly one hundred and fifty-six million acres.

It is estimated that one sixth of our Indian population is of mixed blood; and that of the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Seminoles, only one half are wholly of the pure race. By our last census we had one hundred and fifty whites, and twelve negroes or mulattoes, to each Indian.

We are experiencing, in our joint interests as a nation and in those of a common civilization, the embarrassments attending this system of reservations. The single States

and Territories in whose bounds they lie are subjected by them to all sorts of annoyances, complications, and practical evils. It is found to be utterly impossible to restrict the Indians to them. In some treaties a conditional privilege has been covenanted to the occupants of hunting beyond them; in others this liberty has been restrained. But neither the limited right nor the positive restriction avail to keep the most active and restive of the Indians from lawless and dangerous roaming, provoking hostilities.

In the mean time we have found that it is inexpedient and impracticable, if not actually impossible, to isolate and segregate from civilized privileges and uses such vast expanses of rich and desirable territory. Our own restless, enterprising, adventurous, and rapidly thickening population will not be kept out of them. The discovery of mineral wealth in them operates like a clarion blast to summon armed companies of miners and of purveyors to their wants. Then, too, the maintenance of Government posts and agencies makes necessary roads, mail-routes, and stations; and the railroad becomes of itself a primary law of Nature, carrying with it a right of eminent domain.

And just coincident with the pressure of these urgent reasons conflicting with the theory and the working of Indian reservations, philanthropical and economical considerations, having in view simply the best good if not the preservation from extinction of the natives themselves, come in to indicate the necessity of a radical change of policy. The steady failure of game and of the other conditions requisite for the continuance of the wild life of the Indians in their tribal relations is reducing them to a miserable, idle, and vegetative state, under which they rapidly deteriorate and become utterly demoralized as vagrants and paupers. If we wish to reclaim or save them, and relieve our own burdens in their support, we must feel fully justified in a recourse even to many breaches of covenant of our own pledged faith. The conditions under which we

made those covenants have essentially changed, — changed for both parties; changed, too, not by any scheming or planning of our own to furnish us with pretences for trifling with them, but by the incalculable and irresistible working of agencies and circumstances that have made it not only inconvenient but wholly impracticable for the covenants to remain in force. The Indians expected to live upon the reservations by hunting, without labor. We covenanted the lands to them for no other purpose, ignorant of their buried wealth, not foreseeing the absolute necessity that we should have to pass through them. The Indians cannot live as it was expected by themselves and by ourselves that they would live, and our people cannot be restrained from availing themselves of new conditions. The case thus becomes essentially one of those to be referred to chancery jurisdiction; the terms of a trust, in its direction, conditions, and uses, having become antiquated and obsolete, an alternative method must be indicated as near as possible to absolute justice in new terms.

The policy now proposed is to have a few very large reservations, divided into several small contiguous ones for different tribes, — even of those which have been hostile to each other, — with an ultimate view that the large reservation shall at some time become a State in the Union, of which the smaller ones shall be counties.

All the exigencies of the case point to the absolute necessity of bringing the Indians under humane and kind, and at the same time rigid and inflexible, control as subjects of civilized law. They are to be compelled to live and work after the manner of civilized people. They can no longer have such extensive wild reaches of territory; we must contract their bounds. They must no longer be nomadic, with hunting as their main dependence, and pilfering as holiday work, with horse-stealing and cattle-slaying for a trial of their prowess. Their tribal relations must be broken up, and we must recognize them as indi-

viduals ; and then, as their territorial domains are circumscribed, their land can be distributed to individual occupants. As the question presents itself, how large a land allotment shall be made to each for concentration of work and for support, we may be guided somewhat by the Government measurement of a homestead lot for a white family, which is one hundred and sixty acres.

Sooner or later, and the sooner the better, the Government, instead of distributing among the Indians the best breech-loaders and ammunition and metallic cartridges, must put in force the extreme measure of actually disarming them. Practically this will be no undue severity or hardship, as we ourselves are in effect disarmed, — the guns of our militia even not belonging to those who bear them. In Canada the Indians are to a large extent kept in control by an Indian police ; and it has been advocated by wise and experienced advisers among us that we introduce a system by which the young Indian braves — armed or unarmed — should be organized for that service among our tribes.

While the most hopeful believers in the capacity of the Indians for civilization make these conditions to be primary, they maintain that we have a basis to work upon in the progress already made by portions of the tribes of Cherokees, Choctaws, Seminoles, Creeks, and Chickasaws, who in the first third of this century were such hardy fighters against us. It is somewhat wildly affirmed that just before our war of rebellion the Cherokees were the richest people *per capita* in the world. However this may be, they have largely abandoned roaming and the chase, have learned to become herdsmen and agriculturists, to build houses and put up fences, to have their individual farms and their private property, and to know some of the advantages of schools, churches, trades, and tools. Hence comes the suggestion that for the future the gifts of our Government to the Indians should no longer be in money, fire-

arms, nor even food, but in farming stock, tools, and implements.

All this so far is recognized by us as learned from past experience, with its attempts and failures, and as suggested by the wisest advisers for the future. And the practical question is forced upon us, How shall we bring about this radical change in our Indian policy, and realize for the future security for ourselves and the harmlessness and welfare of the native tribes? The aim being economic, — one of comprehensive methods and results, engaging precisely the same agencies which insure thrift and prosperity to our civilized communities, — we must enlist in its furtherance all the legal, social, and educational appliances on which we ourselves depend. The end in view is pacificatory. The measures for securing it, even those which require force, compulsion, and coercion, must be in harmony with it. The Indians must be put under the control and protection of laws, and so in conformity with our own institutions they must be made citizens as soon as possible, making and administering their own laws. Till they are capable of this privilege and responsibility, they must come under our laws, being helped as much as possible to understand and approve them, — at any rate being held to obey them. So far as these laws of our communities — national, State, municipal, or social — require temporary modification or adaptation for any body of Indians, wise administration can meet the emergency. So long as we have savages to deal with we shall need the military arm, as we still need it against some classes and in some turbulencies of our civilized communities. Real paupers — from incompetency, disability, or misfortune — are not such unknown characters among ourselves as to make it necessary that we be taught or urged to our duty of common humanity towards what must necessarily be a very large class of such in many Indian tribes. But paupers among ourselves are cared for by the more thrifty of

those in each local community ; and as soon as possible the disabled, the aged, and the needy of an Indian community should look for their relief, not to the United States Government, but to their able-bodied fellows. The peace policy is put upon its vindication, not only against the war policy, but also against that fostering and entail of pauperism among the Indian tribes which is taking the manhood out of them, and burdening a hard-working people for whom the struggle for existence is already sharp enough.

It is a noteworthy fact, that, just coincident with the fierce working of our socialistic problems which has developed the communistic theory as the relief for all the evils of our civilized state, our wisest statesmen and philanthropists should find in this same communism — the very basis of Indian tribal life — the most formidable obstacle to the relief, the improvement, and the civilization of the savages. However wide and earnest and impassioned the differences as to a wise Indian policy entertained by those who discuss the subject, one point in which they all heartily accord is this, — the Indian will never be reclaimed till he ceases to be a communist. He must give up his tribal relations so far as they involve and cover a merging of all his individual proprietary rights to territory, for a joint and common privilege in a vast and unimproved domain. He will be a vagabond and a pauper so long as he is not an individual proprietor and possessor, with a piece of land held by him in fee, with tokens of his own interest and ownership. We are told that some of the tribes, under the influence of a few astute chiefs, protest against the assigning of portions of their reservations in severalty to families, guarded by the provision that for a term of years each such homestead shall be inalienable. The ground of the objection is that the tribal hold upon territory is more secure when it is held in common. This argument would be more plausible, and indeed really a strong one, were the reservations themselves secure in their tenure and permanency. But we have seen

at what risks they are now held, in consequence, not of the alleged perfidious conduct of our Government, but through the working of irresistible forces in the development of circumstances. Therefore it may as well be frankly confessed that our Government cannot, if it would, secure to any tribe now under treaty a perpetual communal hold upon the far-stretching acres of its reservation. A right in severalty, followed by possession and improvement, is inviolable. That is a right which comes of civilization in its triumph over barbarism. To enjoy and secure that right not only implies civilization, but helps also to civilize. This prepares us to turn to the last and most attractive of the themes comprehended in our subject.

CHAPTER XI.

THE INDIANS UNDER CIVILIZATION.

“EXTINCTION or civilization is the alternative for those of the Indian race living in the near future on our national domain.” It would be well-nigh as difficult to assign this oft-repeated sentence, as it would be one of our familiar proverbs, to an individual authority. All past experience, all practical wisdom for the present, all reasonable forecasting of what may be before us compel us to face the terms of that alternative. And even this limitation within two conditions comes to us prejudiced by the decision already reached by very many persons—it would be difficult to say whether a majority or a minority among us—who, satisfied that the Indians are incapable and intractable for the process of civilization, accept for them the doom of extinction as a race. This decision has been reached and avowed by many of the most eminent and humane of our statesmen during the whole century; it has been almost uniformly approved by our military men; it has been adopted by vast multitudes of those who have had the fullest and most intimate knowledge of Indian character and life. Whether those who hold this opinion or conviction follow it out in their own minds with the course of measures on the part of our Government and people which is to be engaged to verify it and to effect the result, must be left to inference. Those who reject and denounce this dismal decision as too abominable and hideous even for discussion, will of course insist that the civilization of the Indians is at all events

from this year onward to be the solution of the problem that has so long vexed us. As to any indisposition of the Indians to submit to the process, any intractability or positive resistance to it on their part, the answer is, If civilization is not voluntary on their part it must be compulsory; and the whole force of the Government, arbitrary and irresistible if need be, must be engaged for a peaceful and rightful method, which in its severities will always stop short of the inhumanities of war. These are the leading statements which introduce our present subject. Not unfrequently, in place of the milder word *extinction* the sterner word *extermination* is boldly used to define the alternative fate of the Indians. The difference between the words hardly needs to be morally defined here. One may speak of the extinction of the Indians as a result which might follow from natural agencies, irresistible and not requiring any external force to insure it. Extermination implies the use of violent measures to effect it.

The Indian as a subject for civilization furnishes us a topic of profound and varied interest. It does so because it gathers up so many efforts, earnest but futile, for effecting the civilization of savages; because it has called forth such extreme differences of opinion among wise and good men; and, more than all, because, with the dread alternative of extinction or extermination, it suspends the inevitable destiny of the aboriginal race. The whites assume the arbitration on this issue, and do not leave preference or even the right of choice with the Indian. Over and over again civilization has been proffered to and urged upon tribes of Indians. The proffer seems, till quite recently, to have been considered by them with such intelligence as they have, to have been appreciated and weighed by them, and then deliberately rejected; yes, even in dispassionate and kind terms, and with reasons and arguments offered for declining the favor.

It seems but rarely to have occurred to civilized white

people to consider whether the indisposition on the part of the savage to adopt our ways of life—instead of being wholly chargeable to ignorance, dulness, or indocility on his side—may not also indicate that our civilization is not in all respects a desirable or faultless thing. There may be in it qualifications and abatements of good which the Indian may detect, and which signify more to him than they do to us. At any rate, he considers himself rid of all class distinctions of the rich and poor, the humble and the privileged. The whole slavery of industry, toil, struggle, and rivalry for a living presents to him an uninviting aspect. More than this: if our modern communists, pleading for the removal of individual rights of property and the joint ownership of everything, are really the advanced and wise theorists which they claim to be, the Indians have long had the start of them in that matter. The Indians, too, might quote many pages of our own literature, if known to them,—essays, for instance, of Burke and Rousseau,—favoring the wilderness state as the natural and happy state for man. Nor is it at all to be wondered at, that not only idealists, but also some thoughtful, experienced, and practical persons, feeling the oppressive burdens of the social state under all the thickening and threatening problems which, once opened, are never disposed of, recur to former less advanced stages of human society as really preferable to our own. Some in this backward gaze rest simply with the pastoral, agricultural stage; others fondly seize on the charms and freedom of the wild hunter's life. The Indian, as we shall see, is more than content with the latter.

We have to note the very positive fact that civilization assumes as its prerogative the natural right to force itself upon people who do not ask for it nor want it, and who even refuse to receive it. We practise first upon animals,—wild cattle, parrots, and other creatures,—and tame and domesticate as many of them as possible. The horse,

the camel, the dog, the elephant, and the domestic fowls yield to our will. We try our skill also on flowers, fruits, vegetables, and berries. As nations become powerful and learn to course the seas, they spy out the people of countries, continents, and islands, who, having long been left to themselves, have fallen into ways of their own. Then they assume the right "to open" (as they say) those countries and people to the daylight, to bring them into the comity of nations, to compel them into intercourse and commerce. So India, China, and Japan have been "opened," and made to open their ports, to enter into consular arrangements, exchange commodities, etc. We quietly assume that if such places and people are civilized at all, their civilization is of a lower grade than ours. They do not invite us, nor welcome us. So much the worse for them. Do you wish to be civilized? Are you willing to be civilized?—are questions which civilized courtesy might prompt; but they are generally overlooked, and no alternative is allowed. And here would naturally come in a question which to some persons seems a very simple one: Why, on the broad and ample fields of this continent, whose larger expanses are still in a wild state, have not the red man and the white man consented to keep apart, leaving each other alone, each to his own preferred way of life? Why these three centuries of warfare, this pushing and resisting, these endless collisions, waking the echoes of mountain and valley with the enginery of battle, crimsoning every water-flow with blood, and strewing forest and plain with the bleaching bones of the unburied dead? The only answer to be given is, that civilization has the restlessness and working energy of leaven. Over and over again has the Indian, alike in peaceful council and in the barbarities of his warfare, asked the white man, "Why will you not leave us to ourselves? The Great Spirit once divided us by the ocean; having crossed that, nothing stops your pathway." Yet we press and crowd them; it is the pre-

rogative of civilization to do so. Indeed, we tell them that we prefer to have them as deadly enemies than as neighbors, unless they will become civilized. And what precisely do we mean by civilization as applied to them?

Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries have, as we have noticed, in all cases and in all their fields of labor among our Indians, differed radically and widely as to the character, quality, degree, and desirable ends of the sort of civilization which is to be aimed for, which is possible, of which the Indians might be capable, which they might be willing to comply with, and which ought to satisfy the whites. One of the most interesting and (so to speak) successful, and one of the most contented and happy, of the Indian missionaries of our own times, before mentioned, has been the excellent Jesuit Father De Smet, for more than a score of years roaming with and teaching the Flat Heads and other tribes between the Missouri and the Rocky Mountains, Oregon, and the Columbia River. Our Government has employed him as chaplain and peace-maker under General Harney. His reports and sketches present him to us as a man of infantile simplicity and guilelessness of heart, but a hero in zeal and spirit. He is so charmed with the docility and piety of his wild flock in their observance of his religious ceremonies that he gushes fondly over their full discipleship, and actually compares them to the primitive Christians. Yet there is among them no other very evident token of civilized ways. Doubtless he would say that they had all that was desirable *for them* in civilization; for what is civilization?

The main, the indispensable conditions of civilization are knowledge, art, and law. But these three great qualities and characteristics of an advanced social state are matters of degree, of more or less, of higher or lower. The Indian uses the knowledge that he has, and gets more as soon as he becomes aware of his ignorance. His art is adjusted to his needs, his uses, his materials, and resources. Usages,

for him, take the place of laws; and he is, in a very positive and practical sense, a law to himself. The very first and strongest impulse towards progressive civilization which might be expected to manifest itself among savages who had partaken of some preparatory facilities and advantages from it would be naturally a craving for, an impatience to enjoy, more. But when these primary helps are at once accepted, and any further advances are stolidly and resolutely rejected, we are prompted to seek an explanation of the well-known fact. For it is a matter of curious observation that some instinctive impulse or fixed principle in the nature of a savage will lead him to make a ready selection between such tokens or implements of civilization as at once win his approval and those which he rejects with indifference, disdain, or aversion.

The term "civilization" and the state which it describes are, both of them, wholly arbitrary. It involves a question not only of more or less in its conditions, but of varieties in its type. There are various forms of civilization,—the Oriental and the Western, the Asiatic and the European. The rudest boors may not be without its range; and the excesses of luxury, conventionality, and ceremony in courtly circles prompt the use of the word "artificial" for the most advanced range of society. To the refined and cultivated the word "civilization" includes the conditions and surroundings and appliances of a finished elegance. To humble peasants, with rude and frugal and uncouth ways, civilization is not only possible but actual, as it may centre in their own fine feelings and good customs, independently of any lack or roughness in their surroundings. How arbitrarily the terms required for defining a state of civilization are used, may be noticed by a traveller or sojourner as he passes from a city to a rural, and then a frontier life, then to a forest camp, and then to the wild woods. He will be apt to say, at an early stage of his course, that he has got beyond the limits of civilization, and that he has fallen

among men and women whose ways and habits are uncivilized. Amusing measurements and estimates have been drawn by some amateur travellers and adventurers, as if they had a scale of degrees towards the vanishing line of civilization; as, for instance, from one of our seaboard cities to the distant West. They measure and judge by the gradual disuse of, or the dispensing with, the appliances, conveniences, usages, manners, and decencies of civilized life. They mark on their scale the last hotel where boots are blacked, the last stage where white clothes are worn and washed, where people eat with knives and forks, where there comes into service one common wash-bowl and towel, comb and brush; and then the stage where one takes leave of these, exchanging crockery for a tin plate, and then for a chip, and the sole occupancy of a bed for bunking in groups or sleeping on skins in shanty, tent, or on the grass. Yet a group of civilized men and women might pass through all these vanishing appliances and decencies, and be forced to live henceforward in the lack of them, and still be civilized.

Our civilization is European, for that is our standard. It is of a peculiar elementary composition, and it bears the stamp and impress of centuries of development, in which the wilfulness, the idiosyncrasies, and the eccentricities of individuals have all been put into solution, tempered, restrained, and adjusted to a common average conventionalism.

When our European form of civilization, in its details and completeness, has been offered to the East Indians and the Turks, they do not adopt it. They prefer their own, which, so far as it differs from ours, is in our opinion so far lacking in civilization.

These suggestions may lead us to modify our expectations and demands as to the form and quality of the civilization which we may expect or exact of Indians. They must recognize, and then appreciate, the nature and recom-

mendations of the change in their habits which we require of them. Yet, while we admit that free-will, desire, and effort are essential on their part to their accepting civilized ways, we must not go so far as to consent to dispense on our part with the use of constraint and force. The natural propensity of an Indian is to make himself more and more an Indian. He eats raw and bloody meat and entrails to stimulate his ferocity. He tortures himself, that he may enforce his daring and his power of enduring inflicted torture. He boasts and raves at the council-fire of his brutal and fiendish exploits. There are remnants of the six savage tribes which for nearly two hundred years, in the very heart of the State of New York, have preserved all the wild and heathen traits of their race, in spite of a considerable modification of nature among a part of them.

In the course of remark which is now to be followed let it be understood and allowed for at the start, that there are humane and hopeful friends of the Indians, philanthropists, earnest advocates of the peace policy towards them, who strongly dissent from the views and the conclusions to be stated here, frankly even if offensively, as those of the vast majority among us. The dissent of the minority from these generally prevailing views and conclusions, and the grounds of the dissent shall not fail of recognition by-and-by. Doubtless there will be those who will object to having set before them what they will pronounce to be the cruel and hateful judgment of inhuman persons who foredoom the Indians to extinction. But this aversion will indicate ignorance and prejudice, which do not desire real information as to opinions actually held by others.

If I am competent to infer from the mass of what I have read, the consenting opinion and judgment of the very large majority of men of actual knowledge and practical experience of the mature Indians is that they cannot be civilized,—that the race must perish either by violence or decay. The final catastrophe, it is said, has been forecast,

prepared for, and is steadily advancing to its dismal close. Often have we had presented to us in the pathetic rhetoric of the orator, the well-wrought verse of the poet, and the sad-colored canvas of the painter, the vision of "the last Indian jumping into eternity towards the setting sun." The only qualification, and that grudgingly and feebly uttered, of the certainty and sweep of this fate is that there may be a remnant left, of a degraded and enervated kinship, representing not the Indian, but a poor specimen of humanity.

In a few years hence we are told that our aborigines can be studied only by their skulls in our museums. The basis of this conviction as to the fate of the Indian is that he cannot be civilized, and that he cannot exist in contact with civilization. This belief, it is insisted, has been fairly and decisively reached, as the result of full experiment and experience. More than this is urged. For we are reminded that this assurance that the Indian cannot be civilized is not a prejudgment, not a bias against him from the first, not a resource for excusing, justifying, or comforting ourselves under the compunctions for our wrong treatment of the Indians. On the contrary, the belief, it is said, has been forced on us against our wills, against actual prejudgments on the other side, and comes to us certified and sadly and disappointingly confirmed by the thwarting of all our best and most patient and costly labors and efforts in behalf of the race. There once were hopefulness, earnestness, enthusiasm, lofty expectations of what might be done and realized by reclaiming, civilizing, educating, and Christianizing the noble savage. The most heroic and holy zeal of saintly men and women, the ingenious schemes and devices of benevolent souls and societies, have gone into the work, with the combined efforts and treasures of Government. And all in vain.

So the conviction which dooms the Indian claims to be supported by full experimental, largely varied, and multi-

plied efforts for him, all thwarted; and it is also said to have forced itself upon candid and disappointed minds as a substitute for quite a different hope and belief about him. Searched down to its roots, this conviction plants itself on the assertion that there is in the heredity and the organization and birth-type of an Indian, in his tissue and fibre, in his elementary make-up, in his aptitudes, limitations, disabilities, proclivities, and drift of nature, a constitution which assigns him to savagism, and bars his transformation to a civilized state. In these respects he has qualities inherent, congenital, ineradicable, answering to those respectively of stock animals in the field and wild animals in the jungle; qualities like those which are specific and distinctive between fruit and forest trees, wild shrubs and berries, which lose their flavor under cultivation. The principles and the subtlest methods of physiological science are drawn upon to illustrate and account for this congenital quality of the Indian. There goes with the black hair, the high cheek bones, the tinted skin, the germinal cell and tissue of the race, an impregnated destiny in development which perpetuates itself in all generations.

“The Indian naturally detests civilization,” is the general and emphatic statement of those who have authority to utter positive opinions on the subject. The statement may be admitted as fully warranting the belief, that, while the barbaric and savage element is predominant in an Indian, he will hate and fret against civilization.

I will begin by admitting that the Indian yields to, and has reasons for, this hostility. And we may be sure of this, too, that the better acquainted a wild Indian became with our civilization, the more he would detest it. If the Indian could learn and see and know the secrets and shadows of a civilized state, in crowded cities and close communities, the less would he feel inclined to prefer it to his own tribal forest life.

We are apt quietly to take for granted not only what is

most true, — the immense preponderance in gain and good of every kind in a highly civilized state over barbaric life in the wild woods, — but also to infer an absolute, complete, and exclusive blessing in the former. But civilization is not all gain and blessing, certainly not to every one living under it. An intelligent and able reasoner might keep himself within the most rigid conditions of sober truth and full experience in arguing for this plain statement: that it is the direct tendency of our form of civilization to carry human beings towards one extreme as far beyond the simple elements of happiness and every form of good as savage life falls short of them. We may leave fancy idealists to attempt to prove, with Rousseau, that the savage state is the natural and preferable state for man; but we must allow the drawbacks of civilization, — especially such as to an Indian would be most odious, — to the estimates and habits of even a remarkably enlightened savage. Unable as such a savage would be to off-set the obvious evils and blights of civilization by a deep inner discernment and appreciation of its sum of blessings, he might even be moved to plead earnestly with us to induce us to revert to the state of Nature. Civilization, in every example of it as yet ever known in the world's history, has always involved, for a portion of every community, ignorance, subjection, poverty, and repulsive menial services. And though the highest class in advancement, intelligence, culture, refinement, and virtue are the salt and salvation of the whole community, it would not be easy to decide whether civilization could more safely part with its most privileged or its most humble class. Of course in his stage and by his standard of intelligence the savage would make his estimates by contrast, would compare what he sees of the aspects and habits of civilization with his own wonted views and ways. With him all that he needs for life, occupation, resource, subsistence, is wholly free, — all at large, unclaimed, not even to be labored for, save for such effort

and motion as in hunting, which is a form of pleasure. He goes to his free market in the wilderness for all supplies, as the thrifty farm-wife goes to hunt eggs in the hay-loft. But in civilization he finds food, clothing, fuel, dwelling, even air and water, all claimed as owned by somebody, and all under cost. The rows of shops amaze him. There is so much to be sold, so many sellers and so many buyers, and there is so much mysterious virtue in the current coin, and the way of getting it, and the embarrassment of being without it. The policemen, to say nothing of lawyers, are another bewilderment. The paraphernalia of wealth and the miseries of poverty are equally amazing to him. In his own home and surroundings, as we have said, the Indian needs free acres, a generous expanse of say four square miles for his way of life. The densest region in London has 175,000 human beings in one square mile, and on the same area in the Fourth Ward of New York it is reported that 290,000 are crowded together. And what would the Indian say to an exchange of residences? What, too, about the hospitals, the court houses, the penitentiaries, the jails of our communities? There may be heart-aches and woes in savage life. But what are they to the crushing miseries, the despairing burdens, the intolerable loads of wretchedness which are directly generated by the sterner conditions of life in crowded communities.

During the period of French colonization in Canada the return ships often took to France many Indians. Some of them, after sight and knowledge of civilized scenes, ways, and pleasures, were brought back to Canada. They may be regarded as competent judges and critics as we could have for comparing by experience and natural preferences the two states, wild and civilized. In every case their decision was for their own mode of life. La Hontan follows interviews of this sort with travelled and returned savages into details, and he makes them keen and able pleaders for the savage state, sharp critics of the slavery and drudg-

ery of civilization, of the greed of money, of class distinctions, of social rivalry, of avarice, family quarrels, rebellious and dissipated children, false estimates of true manhood. La Hontan, it is true, was a volatile romancer; but if he personated both parties in his dialogues, he used very pertinent and forcible pleas consistent with either party in the conferences. We shall read before we close this chapter some veritable judgments pronounced by savages, giving us the grounds of their preference of their own way of life.

The discouraging view of the whole problem presented in the failure thus far of all attempts to bring the Indian race under civilization has been stated in its full force, with all the facts and evidence by which it is supported. Are we, therefore, to accept it, to acquiesce in it, and so to look only to the decay, the wasting away, the extinction of the original occupants of this continent as an inevitable decree of fate?

It would be fatal to the interests and prospects of humanity, it would discredit the quality and work of our own civilization, if we should commit ourselves to that forlorn conclusion. However discouraging, or, as some may say, hopeless, quixotic, and even absurd, the attempt may be, we are bound to plan and act and labor as if we were sure of success in the purpose that in years to come the Indian race shall be represented here in blood and vigor by an element in our most advanced civilization. We are not to recognize failure. We are to refer all our discomfitures to our own blunders, and to institute a new trial with all the hopefulness which belongs to a first one. If all the forces of our own civilization and Christianity, backed by the pleadings and helps of a common humanity, cannot compass the reclaiming and uplifting from barbarism of an issue from the Indian stock, we may well own ourselves humbled. We may ask whether we are likely to perpetuate our own civilization, if we have not the power

to impart and extend it. Cannot civilization civilize? If it be a severely hard task to impart civilization to a wild race, let us remember what a constant struggle and effort, with all ingenious and complicated appliances, are needed in order that we may keep our civilization. A civilized community, apprehending its fearful risks and perils, does not grudge the task and toil, the watchfulness and the anxiety needful to perpetuate it. Is it much harder to increase and extend it than it is to preserve what we have? Nor must we be disheartened or borne down by the tone of ridicule which may be used in the way of presenting our own Government with all grave tasks of administration for our own people, in its home and foreign relations, as assuming the training and educating in all forms of industry of a horde of savages. There will be more loss of honor and dignity to our country — vastly more of demoralization and peril — to be risked in looking on, even indifferently and without actually aiding in the process, as an aboriginal race comes to extinction before our eyes.

The opportunities, inducements, and facilities which have been offered to the Indian for accepting civilization, and which have always so pointedly failed to win him to it, deserve notice here, for they have much significance. When a group of wild chieftains and braves from the forests or the Western plains has been guided through our civilized country to hold a talk with the President at Washington and to be made spectacles of in our cities, they may well have been dazed, confounded, appalled, by the full significance of civilization, and utterly bereft of any sense of capacity or desire for what is so hopelessly out of their reach, so contrasted with their own rude ways. The panting steamer, the thundering locomotive by which they make stages of their route, the ingenious, complicated, and cumbersome devices of the white man, his refined habits of dress and eating, the noisy pavements, the crowded shops and ware-houses, the thick throng of the streets, the varied in-

dustries, the sometimes repulsive tasks, the rush and turmoil and fever of life, may so overwhelm and distract the savage as to persuade him that civilization is not for him either to accomplish or to share, and, like all of his race who have come on such errands and seen such sights, he longs to get back to the woods again. If the Indians were not radically unlike the white man in the matter of curiosity and speculation, the report by these braves on their return to their tribes of what they had seen in their strange journeyings would cause a rush of most of the men and women too into our cities, such as would appall us. Yet the returned visitors excite no such curiosity, nor do the white man's ways raise discontent or jealousy in the description.

But it is not in this overwhelming, distracting way that civilization from the first and always has offered its inducements, attractions, and facilities to the Indians. It has presented itself to them in its simpler, more facile, and elementary forms and methods. The first European colonization here in patches of the wilderness, and in each successive stage of its advance through our inner belts and borders, was made by men who, save that they had with them a few tools and implements, were in all outward respects very much on a level with the Indians themselves as to conditions, circumstances, and means of life. The Indians first saw civilization in its inchoate, elemental stages. The early white settlers were glad even to help out their wardrobes with the skins which the Indian wore; to learn from him how to plant and dress corn, how to hunt and trap, how to penetrate the wilderness and to make themselves comfortable. The Indian had, and has had, continually before him the examples of poor, rude white men and women, amid the simplest, the earliest, and the roughest processes of civilization; not ladies and gentlemen, in ceiled houses, costly apparel, with servants and equipages, with furnished kitchens and luxurious tables, but plain

yeomanry, getting used to wilderness life before they could secure a single means for a better one. The first cabins of the whites were no better than those of the Indian; their food, their drink, fire, exposure to all risks were the same, save, as has been said, that the white man had a few metal tools and implements, not forgetting, however, that he had also something in his skull, and in his Saxon spirit, which the Indian had not.

The Indian witnessed, wondered over, or was disgusted by every successive act by which the white man, as we say, improved his condition. He saw him cut down trees and build a lodge: the Indian had seen the beavers do that, and build a dam over a water-course beside. The Indian saw the white man cut down more trees, make a clearing for planting and fencing, using boards and timber for his second house instead of bark. Then came the saw-mill and the grist-mill. Then a brood of chickens appeared around the shanty; then the cow, which had a strange resemblance to the familiar buffalo, save that milk and butter came from her, which the Indians might have got from the buffalo, but had not thought of. Then the Indian saw the white man using salt for preserving food, which he had never done. And day by day, and year by year, as the savage visited the white man's cabin or framed house, his fenced fields and flower-gardens, he saw something new and cunning and useful, not costly, nor ostentatious, nor intricate, nor perplexing, but simple, contrived, adapted to make more out of everything than the savage had done. So tentative, elemental, and easy of imitation have been the signs and processes by which civilization has offered itself to our Indians on the frontiers for nearly three hundred years.

And what has been the effect on the savages of these seemingly prompting, soliciting, tempting, we might even say provoking, examples,—silent, winning, and simple lessons,—given him by the white man? The effect has been

almost entirely the direct opposite of what we should have looked for. Beads, needles, trinkets, very soon became objects of desire by the squaws. The white man's gun and knife and metal kettle, his fire-water and his horse and his woollen blanket, had the same attraction for the wild warrior. But as to everything done or gained by the white man which required industry, toil, labor, he would have none of it,—the thing was not worth its cost. He looked on with a contempt which smothered his curiosity. The white man was a squaw. Perhaps the noblest thing that can be said of an Indian is that he never could be made into a slave. But the most discouraging thing about him is his enslaving himself to himself.

Admitting the generally asserted and acknowledged fact that the Indian has so often, if not in all cases, so dismally disappointed the expectations of what he would or might be as the result of efforts made in his behalf under some processes and stages of civilization, the fact may help us to form more correct views of his actual place on the scale of humanity and of his natural endowments. Much of our disappointment over the failure of efforts for him may be accounted to the fancy into which we had been led by previous false estimates of his latent nature,—to imagine that under the limitations and disablings of his wilderness growth there was a nobleness of being, a wealth of innate and repressed capacity; that he was at the core and potentially a high type of man. We knew that he had the virtues of self-reliance, pride of nature, high self-estimate, courage, fortitude, and a command of the resources of the forest and the wilderness. These qualities we regarded as similar to those presented by the unsightly and rude ores in our mines, in our varied minerals, and in the woods of our forests,—admitting through the smelting process, the grinding, the polishing, the tempering, and the cunning work of hand and brain, of being turned to grand and varied products of use and beauty. So we thought that

the man of the wilderness would, within his range, develop his wealth and capacity of being under training, example, and civilization. He would give us a new style of man,—one born for something better than mere toil, whose conceit or pride would turn to real dignity, and whose acute and cunning instincts would avail for high and keen insight, intelligence, art, and science.

So it has not proved. The savage is really a nobler, a more impressive, a more interesting, and (so to speak) a more capable being in his native than in his civilized state. He does not gain by civilization: he loses by it. The very nobleness which shows in him in the woods, his reserve, his taciturnity, his suppression of feeling,—all disappear under social subjection to white men. His mental gaze, which seemed to be withdrawn or concentrated, now seems wholly vacant and disappears. His special faculties and aptitudes fail because he has no use for them. He despises what we estimate most highly. Our appliances and comforts are a fret and torment to him. He generally becomes abject and mean, like the beast of the woods or the jungle in a menagerie.

There is a remnant, a trace, of savagery — sometimes even a very large and positive ingredient of it — actively present in individual persons under the highest civilization. In this respect, after all that the elevating and refining influences which, through generations struggling upward from barbarism, have done to remove us from primitive rudeness, we none the less may find a parallel in some of our surviving instincts and propensities to manifestations observable in tamed and domesticated animals. Squirrels, birds, and many other pets, born and hatched in their cages, are seen to do things which would be perfectly proper and of use to them in their native, free state which are wholly out of place, aimless, and ridiculous in their artificial condition. The pet dog by our firesides will be seen to turn himself quickly round and round before lying down

on the soft rug. This act seems to come from a reminiscence of an ancestral condition under which, having something less comfortable than a rug to lie upon, he had to make sure of a tolerably smooth couch by circling around it. Many and significant are the acts and promptings of human beings — ladies and gentlemen — which Darwin would tell us indicate reversionary tendencies in us.

Very much more might be suggested on this point; and if we should follow up the hint just dropped into details, it would open for us matter of curious interest. One fact bearing closely upon it may in the mention of it draw response from many of us. What healthful boy, born in city or country, has ever among us grown to manhood, and then lived in the toil and hurry and restraint of civilization, without feeling at some time the reversionary impulse or instinct towards barbarism in the form of a wild, free life, — of “camping out” (as it is called) in a tent in the woods or the meadow, or on the beach, or at least of making a fire in the woods? Year by year this impulse manifests itself among our young and healthful people, and even poor, wasted invalids are drawn by it to bivouacs in the Adirondack region. One or more generations of our ancestors in the Old World were born and nursed, and lived and were buried in the wilderness. Our first ancestors on this soil were compelled to conform themselves to a wilderness life, and some of its conditions passed down to their lineage. So we have reversionary instincts for it. Hardy and enterprising men there are who annually visit us from Europe (gentlemen, nobles), who, well aware what they must leave behind them, come here and seek the farthest wilds of the red men, in rocky fastnesses or in valleys amid dreary plains, and conform themselves to all the rough and repulsive and filthy conditions of life among the Indians, — in clothing, bed, and board, in the tramp, the hunt, the chase, the dreary winter desolation with the thermometer deep below zero. More frequently among us this rever-

sionary instinct stirs a couple or a group of young men, for a summer change, to go for an interval into some primitive spot and try to live awhile as the Indians lived, repudiating the effeminacies of civilization. True, there is often an intrusion of that ubiquitous quality which we bluntly call "humbug" in these restorations of savagery. If we looked sharply into the equipments of some of these camping-out and tenting trampers, we should detect certain suspicious appliances which the Indians never carried with them, in fact never had, — the comfortable India-rubber blanket, for dew and rain, and rest on the damp earth; the salt and other condiments; the pork firkin, the canned meats, and certain cases which need to be "handled with care." Yet these campers — perhaps carrying with them the works of their patron saint Thoreau — persuade themselves that they have got nearer to the lap and nursing bosom of Mother Nature; that they like game flavors, the smoky smell of food cooked in ashes, to see the sun rise after they are up; and when they have deigned to conform to civilized ways again, and have had a bath, put on their "store-clothes," and lunched at some luxurious restaurant, they will tell you that "the Indians do not have such a bad time of it after all." So far goes the reversionary instinct of civilized man back to barbarism. An occasional draught of milk at the farmhouses on their way has preserved these campers-out from a thorough and hopeless relapse to savagery. If from exhaustion under the fretting tasks, and sometimes from vexation and disgust under the shams and frivolities of conventional life, there is a strange zest which might even be prolonged beyond a temporary trial in this reversion to the rude simplicities of existence, we cannot wonder that the mature savage prefers the condition into which he was born.

Much to the point it is in connection with the Indian's aversion from civilization to note this fact of which the evidence is varied and abounding, and has been accumulating

for three centuries: a vastly larger number of white men and women have been barbarized by contact and life with the Indians than there ever have been of Indians won to civilized ways. The tendency of single white persons when living for any considerable time with the Indians to conform to and adopt their habits, is not only natural, but often unavoidable and irresistible. Besides the charms and license of release from all conventionalities, the throwing off of all artificial and galling restraints, the very necessities of the case compel this conformity. Toilet arrangements, garb, dress, food, and the ways of cooking and eating it are matters in which one has at once to part with all squeamishness. So also whether sleep be found in the open air, or round the camp-fire, or in a crowded and filthy lodge, with humanity, dogs, smoke, and vermin, the frontiersman, the trapper or hunter, already used to rough and coarse ways, becomes very soon a full conformist. And those who have been wonted to finer and cleaner usages, even to luxuries, yield to the influences of scene, condition, and company. Our own army officer, Captain Bonneville, who found in Irving a sympathetic editor for his journal across the continent, yielded himself to this outburst:—

“He who like myself has roved almost from boyhood among the children of the forest, and over the unfurrowed plains and rugged heights of the Western States, will not be startled to learn, that, notwithstanding all the fascinations of the world on this civilized side of the mountains, I would fain make my bow to the splendors and gayeties of the metropolis, and plunge again amidst the hardships of the wilderness.”

The captain and others try to persuade us that there are even delicacies in Indian cookery, though of course the wilderness appetite brought to them is a stimulating sauce. We read of some of these Rocky Mountain delicacies to which it may be well to call the attention of our city epi-

cures and caterers. They are happily for the most part root-food, such as the kamask, about the size of an onion, said to be delicious ; the courish, or biscuit-root, the size of a walnut, and which is reduced to flour ; the jaekap, the aisish, the quako, etc.

Instances innumerable there are on record from the pens of cultivated men, who, in their intercourse with the Indians in their wild, free life, became so fascinated with it and perhaps demoralized by its license, that they have substantially avowed with Baron La Hontan, "The manners of the savages are perfectly agreeable to my palate."

The Earl of Dunraven, having resided with the Absaruka, or Crows, presents the following summary of his views of the Indians in general :—

"However degrading their religion may be, I doubt if a change ever is morally beneficial to a savage race. Roman Catholicism suits the red men best, with its spiritualism in some respects so like their own ; its festivals and fasts at stated times, resembling their green-corn dances and vigils ; with its prayers and intercessions for the dead, its ceremonial, its good and evil spirits, its symbolism, its oblations, its little saints and medals. The red Indian does not see such a great difference between the priest and the medicine-man. It is a difference of degree, not of kind ; and, if backed by a little pork and flour, he is apt to look upon the cross and medal as greater talismans than claws of beasts and bits of rag and skin, and to think that the missionary makes stronger medicine than his priest. The dry, cold philosophy of the Methodist finds little favor with an imaginative race worshipping the Great Spirit in the elements and in all the forms and forces of Nature ; thanking the Principle of Good for success in hunting and in war ; propitiating the Evil Principle that brings the deep snows, ice, fever, starvation, shadows of the night, thunder-storms, and ghosts. To the Indian's mind there is nothing intrinsically good or desirable in the doctrines of the various Christian sects ; nor is there anything whatever in our mode of living or in our boasted civilization to prepossess him in favor of the religion of the white race. These red-skinned savages have no respect whatever for the pale faces,—men whose thoughts, feelings, occupations, and pastimes are en-

tirely at variance with their own. Aliens they are to us in almost all things. Their thoughts run in a different channel ; they are guided so much more by instinct than by reasoning. They have a code of morals and of honor differing most materially from ours. They attach importance to matters so trifling in our eyes, are gratified or offended by such insignificant details, are guided through life by rules so much at variance with our established methods, that it is impossible for us to foresee what, under particular circumstances, their conduct will be. They are influenced by feelings and passions which we do not in the least understand, and cannot therefore appreciate. They show reverence to superstitions and religious ceremonies which we, knowing nothing whatever about them, declare at once to be utterly foolish and absurd ; and they attach much importance to observances which seem to us almost as utterly meaningless and ridiculous as many of the doctrines preached by our missionaries must appear to them.

“White men who have dwelt all their lives with the Indians have to confess that they know very little about their inner lives, and understand nothing of the hidden springs of action and of the secret motives that impel them to conduct themselves in the strange and inexplicable manner they sometimes do. . . .

“We regard them as cowards, lacking bravery ; they regard the bull-dog courage of the whites as fool-hardiness. A life is very valuable to them ; hence it is that they admire the man who can creep, and watch, and lie out for days and nights in bitter cold and snow, without food or warmth, and who, by infinite patience, cool courage, and a nice calculation of chances, secures a scalp or a lot of horses without risk to himself ; but who, if he found circumstances unfavorable and the odds against him, would return without striking a blow. That is the man they look up to.

“In our great cities they see just enough to degrade the inhabitants in their eyes. They can learn nothing of the blessings and advantages attendant on civilization. They see the worst only. . . . He is free, and he knows it ; we are slaves, bound by chains of our own forging, — and he sees that it is so. Could he but fathom the depths of a great city, and gauge the pettiness, the paltry selfishness of the inhabitants, and see the deceit, the humbug, the lying, the outward swagger and the inward cringing, the toadyism and the simulated independence ; could he but view the lives that might have been honorably passed, spent instead in struggling for and

clutching after gold, and see the steps by which many a respected man has climbed to fortune, wet with the tears of ruined men and women ; could he appreciate the meanness of those who consider no sacrifice of self-respect too great provided it helps them to the end and object of their lives, and pushes them a little higher, as they are pleased to call it, in society ; could he but glance at the millions of existences spent in almost chronic wretchedness, lives that it makes one shudder to think of, years spent in close alleys and back slums, up dismal, rotting courts, — without sun, ray, air, grass, flower, of beautiful Nature, — with surroundings sordid, dismal, debasing ; if he could note how we have blackened and disfigured the face of Nature, and how we have polluted our streams and fountains so that we drink sewage instead of water ; could he but see that our rivers are turned to drains and flow reeking with filth, and how our manufactures have so impregnated the air we breathe that grass will not grow exposed to the unhealthy atmosphere, — could he but take all this in and be told that such is the outcome of our civilization, he would strike his open palm upon his naked chest and thank God that he was a savage, uneducated and untutored, but with air to breathe and water to drink ; ignorant, but independent ; a wild but a free man”¹

Another sympathizer with the Indian mode of life expresses himself thus : —

“ I saw so much harmless fun and amusement among these Indians [a fishing party], and they evidently find so much enjoyment in hunting and fishing, that I could only wish they might never see much of the white man, and never learn the baneful habits and customs he is sure to introduce.”²

A scientific English gentleman who had passed a year of wild life near the Rocky Mountains thus describes his disinclination to return to civilized restraints. Reaching St. Louis, he says : —

“ I that night, for the first time for nearly ten months, slept upon a bed, much to the astonishment of my limbs and body,

¹ The Great Divide : Travels in the Upper Yellowstone in the Summer of 1874, pp. 104-111. London, 1876.

² Whympers’s “ Alaska : Indians on Hukon River,” p. 232.

which, long accustomed to no softer mattress than mother earth, tossed about all night, unable to appreciate the unusual luxury. I found chairs a positive nuisance, and in my own room caught myself in the act, more than once, of squatting cross-legged on the floor. The greatest treat to me was bread; I thought it the best part of the profuse dinners of the Planter's House, and consumed prodigious quantities of the staff of life, to the astonishment of the waiters. Forks, too, I thought were most useless superfluities, and more than once I found myself on the point of grabbing a tempting leg of mutton mountain fashion, and butchering off a hunter's mouthful. But what words can describe the agony of squeezing my feet into boots, after nearly a year of moccasins, or discarding my turban for a great boardy hat, which seemed to crush my temples! The miseries of getting into a horrible coat—of braces, waistcoat, gloves, and all such implements of torture—" etc. ¹

To the same effect—as showing the reversionary tendencies and proclivities of many whites for barbarism, and as encouraging the Indian in casting the balance against civilization—is to be noted a fact which has had a very painful significance in many saddened affections. As soon after the settlement of this country as the savages learned in their constant border raids on the whites that they could get a ransom price in money or goods for captives, they, in many cases, spared from torture and death young persons, and women first, and then men, whom they carried back with them to their haunts. From time to time arrangements were made with them for the exchange of prisoners and the redemption of captives. Then in very many cases it was found to the dismay of parents and friends that even young girls, as well as males, who had lived with the Indians for quite a short time,—a year or two,—were so fascinated with their new ways as to be utterly averse to return to their homes and kindred in civilized scenes. There was something in the wild life and its companion-

¹ Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains (p. 303). By George F. Ruxton, Esq., Member of the Royal Geographical Society, the Ethnological Society, etc.

ships, the deep forests, the alternate excitement and tranquillity of the lodges, which wrought a spell over young persons. In the settlements, sparsely spread or formed into villages at that period, household life had much drudgery, very little abandon or amusement, a rigid domestic and religious discipline, under which the buoyancy of youth often fretted, longing for change or relief. Farm labor and home tasks, from early day till night, restraint upon youthful gayety, and cheerless views of the years to come showed strong contrasts to those of restless and adventurous spirits with the Indian's free range. Our records and literature, beginning with the first negotiations with the savages for the return of prisoners for a ransom down to quite recent years, are filled with illustrative instances of this fact. Some of the cases are very touching ones. Colden tells us how difficult it often was to persuade white prisoners in the hands of the French and Indians to accept a proffered restoration to their friends. Some of them, on hearing they were to be carried back to the settlements, would run off and hide in the woods till the peril was over. Here is a scene described by Colden, when some prisoners were brought in:—

“No argument, no entreaties, no tears of their friends and relatives could persuade many of them to leave their new Indian friends and acquaintances. Several of them that were, by the caressings of their relatives, persuaded to come home, in a little time grew tired of our manner of living, and ran away again to the Indians and ended their days with them. On the other hand, Indian children have been carefully educated among the English, clothed and taught, yet not one, when come to age and at liberty, but what returned to their race and mode of life again” (p. 203).

Take as an instance a story of profound interest here nearly two hundred years ago. The town of Deerfield, Mass., was set upon and burned by the French and Indians in the depth of winter, February, 1704. Of the inhabitants, forty-seven were killed and about one hundred taken prisoners,

to pursue the long tramp of three hundred miles to Canada. Among them was the minister, Mr. Williams, and his family. His exhausted wife fell a victim to the hatchet on the second day of the dreary journey. He himself, and fifty-six other captives, were redeemed in 1706 and brought to Boston. Many remained by preference in Canada with the Indians. Among these was his daughter, Eunice Williams. No persuasions or entreaties of her father could induce her to return. She was converted by a priest, married a savage, and passed a long and contented life as the mistress of a wigwam. After the peace, she, with her red husband, visited her friends and father in Deerfield, in full Indian dress, was kindly received, but would not stay.

Another wildly romantic narrative is that of Mary Jemison, known among the Indians as the "White Woman." Her father, mother, two brothers, a sister, and other relatives were all murdered by the Indians in 1755, on their frontier farm in Pennsylvania, and she alone, at the age of thirteen, was allowed to live as a captive. Within two years she had an opportunity to join the whites. But her Indian mother and sister, by adoption, treated her kindly, and she preferred to stay with them. Through the remainder of her life, protracted to ninety-one years,—living on the Genesee river, and naturalized that she might hold land-property, and thrown into frequent contact with the whites,—she preferred to live like and to be an Indian, surviving two savage husbands (kind to her, but fiends in ferocity) and five children, leaving three more at her death.

Thus not only the natives of the forest, but equally so—and under circumstances which have presented a very striking lesson to observers—white persons of various ages and of both sexes not only reconcile themselves of necessity to barbarous life, but by preference yearn with strong proclivities to enjoy it, feeling it a cross to natural inclinations to accept or to return to civilization. We may not marvel

at this manifestation in mature Indians. But it seems to run in the blood of their little children. Two inferences seem naturally to follow from the fact: first, that any hopeful work in the civilization of the Indians must satisfy itself with effecting its results with the third generation from the present full-grown stock; and, second, that we must be content with accepting fragments, degrees, and stages of full civilization, as all that we are likely ever to realize in those of Indian blood.

A good illustrative case of Indian diplomacy in meeting that of civilization is found in the full reports given to us of a Council held on several successive days in July, 1742, at Philadelphia, for the cession of territory, between the representative chiefs of the Six Nations and the officers of Penn's Proprietary Government, — George Thomas, being lieutenant-governor.

Six years previous, the chiefs in council had agreed to release their claim to a certain extent of territory on both sides of the Susquehanna River, within the province, for a stipulated amount of Indian goods. The contract was then completed as regards the lands on the eastern side of the river, and half of the goods were paid over, as the chiefs declined at that time to receive the other portion for the lands on the western side. The goods were in the store-house of the proprietor awaiting them on another visit. This was made on the date above mentioned, when the rest of the contract was to be ratified. The proceedings were deliberate and protracted. Pains were taken to write down the almost unpronounceable names — as lavish in vowels as Russian and Polish names are in consonants — of some hundred of the Indian representatives. The list of the goods was read, including forty-five guns, powder, lead, blankets, hats, coats, hatchets, knives, various small articles, and twenty-five gallons of rum. The leading Indian speaker, Canassatego, chief of the Onondagoes, said of the goods proffered: —

“It is true, we have the full Quantity according to Agreement; but if the Proprietor had been here himself we think, in regard of our Numbers and Poverty, he would have made an Addition to them. If the Goods were only to be divided amongst the Indians present, a single Person would have but a small Portion; but if you consider what Numbers are left behind, equally entitled with us to a share, there will be extremely little. We therefore desire, if you have the Keys of the Proprietor’s Chest, you will open it and take out a little more for us.

“We know our Lands are now become more valuable. The White People think we do not know their value; but we are sensible that the Land is everlasting, and the few Goods we receive for it are soon worn out and gone. For the future we will sell no Lands but when Brother Onas [Penn] is in the Country, and we will know beforehand the Quantity of the Goods we are to receive. Besides, we are not well used with respect to the Lands still unsold by us. Your People daily settle on these Lands and spoil our Hunting. We must insist on your removing them. . . . It is customary with us to make a Present of Skins whenever we renew our Treaties. We are ashamed to offer our Brethren so few, but your Horses and Cows have eat the Grass our Deer used to feed on,” etc.

The Governor said in reply : —

“In answer to what you say about the Proprietaries, they are all absent, and have taken the keys of their chest with them; so that we cannot, on their behalf, enlarge the quantity of goods. Were they here, they might perhaps be more generous, but we cannot be liberal for them.”

He promises, however, that the Government will consider the matter with a view to a further present. But he reminds them that the moiety of territory now ceded is, by their own estimate, less valuable than the other portion, though the proprietor overlooked this in awarding the goods. He adds : —

“It is very true that lands are of late become more valuable; but what raises their value? Is it not entirely owing to the industry and labor used by the white people in their cultivation and improvement? Had they not come amongst you, these lands would

have been of no use to you any further than to maintain you. And is there not, now you have sold so much, enough left for all the purposes of living? What you say of the goods — that they are soon worn out — is applicable to everything; but you know very well that they cost a great deal of money, and the value of land is no more than it is worth in money.”

When the Governor said that magistrates had been sent to remove the trespassers on their lands, the chief interrupted him with the stinging censure, which has not lost its point or truth to this very year as applied to similar officials sent by our Government year by year for like purposes: “These persons who were sent did not do their duty. So far from removing the people, they made surveys for themselves, and they are in league with the trespassers. We desire more effectual methods may be used and honest persons employed.”

Quite a valuable present in goods — more than half in quantity to those of the stipulated payment — was given to the Indians. It was very evident that their orators managed their side of the case ably, and that they had their fair half of the argument. The Indians readily admitted that cultivation added to the value of lands for such uses as the white men had for them. But they were by no means disposed to allow that the only value of lands was that given to them by cultivation. Such cultivation spoiled lands for the Indians’ uses. They preferred the growths which Nature raised upon them, — the wild fruits, the deer and game, and the uncleared forest, and the undammed stream. The contrast was fully in their view; they preferred Nature — their old mother, nurse, and companion — to Art.

Gachradadow, a chief of the Six Nations, in a Council at Lancaster, Pa., June, 1744, thus addressed the Governor of Virginia: —

“Brother Assaragoa! The World at the first was made on the other side of the Great Water different from what it is on this side,

as may be known from the different colors of our Skin and of our Flesh ; and that which you call Justice may not be so amongst us : you have your Laws and Customs, and so have we. The Great King might send you over to conquer the Indians, but it looks to us that God did not approve of it ; if he had, he would not have placed the Sea where it is, as the Limits between us and you. . . . You know very well when the White People came first here they were poor ; but now they have got our Lands, and are by them become rich, and we are now poor ; what little we have had for the Land goes soon away, but the Land lasts forever.”¹

The Governor having told the Indians that the English had recently beat the French in a war on sea and land, the chief said : “ You tell us you beat the French ; if so, you must have taken a great deal of Rum from them, and can the better spare us some of that Liqueur, to make us rejoice with you in the victory.” The Governor and Commissioners ordered a dram of rum to be given to each in a small glass, calling it a *French glass*.²

The great object of this Council, after settling cessions of territory in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, was to pledge the Six Nations to alliance with the English, or at least to neutrality, in apprehended further hostilities from the French. Canassatego, on the next day, desired a dram out of an *English glass*. Governor Thomas answered : “ We are glad to hear you have such a dislike for what is *French*. They cheat you in your glasses as well as in everything else.” Reminding the Indians that they had almost drunk out a good quantity of spirit brought so far from their “ Rum Stores,” he said that there was still enough left for *English glasses* ; and so, with bumpers, closed the Council.

A deputation of the Osages at Washington, being pressed to adopt civilized ways, a chief said : —

“ I see and admire your manner of living, your good, warm houses, your large fields of corn, your gardens, your cattle, your

¹ These extracts are from Colden's “ History of the Six Nations,” p. 125.

² *Ibid.* p. 142.

wagons, and a thousand machines that I know not the use of. I see that you are able to clothe yourselves even from weeds and grass : in short, you can do almost what you choose. You whites have the power of subduing almost every animal to your use. But you are surrounded by slaves : everything about you is in chains, and you are slaves yourselves. I fear if I should exchange my pursuits for yours I too should become a slave. Talk to my sons : perhaps they may be persuaded to adopt your fashions, or at least recommend them to their sons ; but for myself I was born free, was reared free, and wish to die free.”¹

The chief of the Pawnees, in a council at Washington in 1822, said : —

“ My Great Father [the President] ! The Great Spirit made us all ; he made my skin red and yours white ; he placed us on this earth, and intended we should live differently from each other. He made the whites to cultivate the earth and feed on domestic animals ; but he made us to rove through the uncultivated woods and plains, to feed on wild animals, and to dress with their skins. He also intended that we should go to war, to take scalps, to plunder horses from and triumph over our enemies, to cultivate peace at home, and promote the happiness of each other.”

He frankly added that he did not wish “ good people,” i. e. missionaries, sent among them to change their habits and make them live and work like white people. They preferred much their own wild freedom and customs, and having lived so long without what the white man called “ work,” preferred to continue so, till at least the game became extinct, and life became so precarious that they might be compelled to admit the “ good people ” among them. In the mean time they would hunt the buffalo, the beaver, deer, and other wild animals, and gladly barter for them with the whites ; but they did not wish to “ follow the white man’s road.” These strong pleadings for a life conformed to the free air and scenes and habits of Nature by no means fail of responsive yearnings not only from those

¹ Morse’s Report, Appendix.

who are crushed by poverty, toil, and struggle in civilized life: they touch what is left of the springs of simplicity and sincerity in many, pampered and jaded, in the highest ranges of artificial society. So it is not strange that to the one question, "Can an Indian be civilized?" some persons add another, "Why should he be civilized?"

When the astute and heroic Indian patriot Tecumseh was plying all his energies and eloquence to engage the Northern and Southern tribes in a vast confederacy, and in alliance with the British, in our last war with them, for the suppression and extinction of the power of our Government in the Mississippi Valley, he brought to bear upon his wild and maddened followers, as well as upon some tribes who were halting in purpose, a direct attack upon civilization. He knew well the forces and attractions, as well as the enfeebling and demoralizing influences, of the white man's mode of life. In his own mind he had balanced well the life of civilization and of barbarism, and his savage instincts decided him to retain for his people the state of Nature. With a power of appeal — pointed with sarcasm, scorn, and invective — which proved him able to stir the wildest passions of his hearers, he bid them despise the plough and loom and all the implements of thrift and toil, and cling to their primitive customs. He warned them against the destruction of their magnificent forests and the pollution of their crystal rivers. Reminding them of the darker-colored race from Africa, in slavery to the whites on their violated domains, he foretold that fate as their own if they came under subjection to the white man. He exhorted them to rid themselves of every symbol and token of their previous intercourse and traffic with the peddling and tricky adventurers from the States, to abandon their new clothing and even their guns, to dress themselves in the skins of the beasts which the Great Spirit had provided for their food and covering, and to resume the war-club, the scalping-knife, and the bow. The late chief Ouray, whose name

was so familiar in our most recent complications with the Indians, was a man of fine endowments; and though he adopted the comforts and many of the luxuries of the whites, he retained by preference much of his savagery. His eminent medical practitioners found him afflicted with "Bright's disease," with his end not distant. He preferred, however, to meet that end under the hands of his Indian "medicine-men," and to have his horses killed for burial with him.

We have also to recall the fact, which has presented itself to us in another connection, that the noblest specimens of the Indian race — who, as endowed with mental vigor, even with genius, chieftains, orators, patriots, and diplomats, pleading with and for their people, have argued their cause with the whites for more than two centuries — have been the most resolute in opposition to civilization. If we look to them as the exponents of their own preference for nature, freedom, and the woods, we can hardly fail to infer that they speak from a profound instinct, a proud consciousness of a sort of manhood in them contemptuous of the drudgery, emulation, conventionalisms, and subserviencies of artificial life. They have had reason to know that hollowness and falsehood underlie the white man's life and qualify his dignity and his happiness. Intercourse such as there has been between the two races has alienated the Indian from the white man, as it has also increased the early dislike of the whites for the Indians.

For to all the occasions of antipathy and hostility between the Indians and the whites — coming from the embitterment engendered by the wrongs of the stronger against the weaker, and the memory of savage strifes with their horrors and atrocities — is to be added another, already recognized in these pages. The contempt and disgust with which the English colonists very soon began to regard the natives have strengthened rather than yielded, and have manifested themselves in their intensest indulgence as the

Indians have been humiliated and crushed. A savage reduced to the will, and to dependence on the support or charity, of a white man is indeed a forlorn and repulsive spectacle. There is about him none of the sad repression of spirit of the caged lion, but rather the mean aspect and submission of the whipped cur. A savage loses all that made and manifested his manhood when he parts with his own way of life, with his fellows and surroundings, and becomes a dependent upon civilization ; for in his mature years he will never be a helper or a sharer in civilization. Remnants of the Indian tribes lingered long in our old colonies and towns. There were thirteen hundred of them left in Connecticut at the opening of our Revolution. There are a thousand of them now in Maine. Here and there in our country towns, as has been stated, are patches of land still pledged to them, and there are trust funds secured for their benefit. They generally present types of reversion, not merely to savagery, but to stages behind or below it. It has been said that the utmost result reached in the attempts to civilize an Indian, has been the turning of a wild animal into a tame brute. The Indian regards civilization as a form of duress and imprisonment, in indoors or local confinement, in decencies, in clothing, dwellings, intercourse, and toil. There are vastly more white men who agree with him in this than of his own race who disagree with him. If the Tartar is underneath the skin of a Russian, so in many of us is the craving for the wild license of Nature.

After King Philip's War, such of the remnants of the tribes as were too spiritless to seek affiliation with the River and New York Indians were kept under jealous watch, especially by the frontier settlements. Their condition was poor and mean, and their character answered to it, as shown in their craven and sullen demeanor. They never could commend themselves as friends or as desirable acquaintances of our farmers and thrifty householders. "Vermin"

was still the repulsive term under which they were classed. Many of them kept in family groups in the skirts of the woods, and as they appeared occasionally in the settlements were employed as help in the fields or in lumbering. They were forbidden to enter the white man's dwelling without formal permission. Occasionally in letters and family diaries, written up to a hundred or more years ago, we read of a native man, woman, or youth being employed as a house-servant. The pitiable waifs, the objects of a feeble relenting and a strong anxiety, all under guardianship, living on the remnants of the family table, sleeping in out-buildings, mixed with negro blood, were miserable relics of the native race. There was something pathetic as well as remorseless in the frank word of the whites to these wretched loiterers: "It is not well for either of us that you should stay. Go off."

Many significant tokens manifest themselves among the printed and still manuscript papers of the old times among us of the shrinking antipathy even of Christian-minded people against coming into very close contact, in hospitality or intercourse, with the better sort of Indians. As I am writing, I recall a few sentences in the journal of Chief-Justice Sewall, a merciful friend both of Indians and negroes. He writes under date of Jan. 30, 1708, that John Neesnummin, an Indian convert and approved preacher, called on him with letters from Rev. Roland Cotton, on his way to Natick to preach, and needing hospitality for the night. "I shew him," writes Sewall, "to Dr. Mather." But no invitation came from that quarter. Then, "I bespoke a lodging for him at Matthias Smith's [probably an innkeeper]; but after, they sent me word they could not do it. So I was fain to lodge him in my study."

Horace Greeley, sensitive as he was to every right and claim of humanity, in a letter during his travels in the far West, wrote thus in the "New York Tribune," June, 1859:—

“The Indians are children. Their arts, wars, treaties, alliances, habitations, crafts, properties, commerce, comforts, all belong to the very lowest and rudest ages of human existence. Some few of the chiefs have a narrow and short-sighted shrewdness, and very rarely in their history a really great man, like Pontiac or Tecumseh, has arisen among them ; but this does not shake the general truth that they are utterly incompetent to cope in any way with the European or Caucasian race. Any band of school-boys from ten to fifteen years of age are quite as capable of ruling their appetites, devising and upholding a public policy, constituting and conducting a State or community, as an average Indian tribe.

“I have learned to appreciate better than hitherto, and to make more allowance for the dislike, aversion, and contempt wherewith Indians are usually regarded by their white neighbors, and have been since the days of the Puritans. It needs but little familiarity with the actual, palpable aborigines to convince any one that the poetic Indian, the Indian of Cooper and Longfellow, is only visible to the poet's eye. To the prosaic observer, the average Indian of the woods and prairies is a being who does little credit to human nature, — a slave of appetite and sloth, never emancipated from the tyranny of one animal passion save by the more ravenous demands of another. As I passed over those magnificent bottoms of the Kansas, which form the Reservations of the Delawares, Pottawattomies, etc., constituting the very best corn-lands on earth, and saw their owners sitting round the doors of their lodges in the height of the planting season, and in as good, bright, planting weather as sun and soil ever made, I could not help saying, ‘These people must die out — there is no help for them. God has given this earth to those who will subdue and cultivate it, and it is vain to struggle against His righteous decree.’”

Mr. Greeley would have reconciled himself to the extinction of the Indian race by the working of natural and irresistible forces, incident to their own condition and qualities, stimulated in their processes of decline and decay, without any further agency of the white man to effect its extermination other than his proximity as destructive to the Indians.

What then is to be said as to the conditions and pros-

pects of the alternative lot of the Indians, of rescue, help, and survival in their race, by civilization?

Experience and facts have in all cases proved that when a body of Indians have been brought under the influence of civilized life and habits, the first results are for some years discouraging. There is always observable among them an increased mortality and disease. The change from a wild life in the open air to domestic restrictions, the change in food and its cooking from wild meats, roots, berries, and fish to pork and heavy bread, the heat of stoves, etc., tend to develop in them cutaneous diseases, scrofula, consumption, and corrupt blood. The most forlorn and repulsive aspect in which an Indian is ever presented to us is when he is in the state that may be called semi-civilization,—with a show and pretence, often a mockery of the white man's ways, in shiftlessness, wastefulness, and squalor, both in aspect and reality. The Indian roaming in free vigor,—with fresh air and soil and simple food, with the odor about him of the forest-pine and the berry, lifting the brook-water to his lips,—is in some sort a pleasing, never repulsive, object. But in the filthy hovel planted in the mud, with refuse in and around it, with greasy utensils, rags, and all disgusting accompaniments, the sight is revolting. There are sights one can see, truthful pages one may read, of scenes of what we call a degree of civilization, as among the Cherokees,—the most advanced of all, with their laws, their legislature, their papers, churches, schools, etc. As for domestic ways, a New England housewife would go distracted in any one of those homes. The mixture of breeds—white, red, and black—in more shadings than German worsted admits of, and the mingling of squalor with intimations and materials of thrift, are in no sense attractive. The native preacher or teacher—it may be educated in one of our minor colleges, and carrying home with him books—will, either of necessity or yielding, fall back from more than one stage of his advance.

All these, however, are marks of transition from a savage to a civilized state. If there is a persistency, a reinforcing of effort, with wise helpfulness and guidance from the white man, the experiment slowly advances. The increase of mortality is arrested after some ten or a dozen years.

One of the instigating and most helpful agencies in the transition from savagery to civilization is found in the ownership, oversight, and breeding of domestic animals. They create an interest and responsibility which are humanizing; they demand and foster forethought and discretion; they prompt to the making of fences, barns, and sheds; they require stay-at-home habits, and the provision for winter food. Indeed, one might construct a scale of degrees to mark progress towards civilization through these tokens of a transition from barbarism. The Indian pony,—accommodating himself in his reversion from the Spanish stock to the habits of his new owners, shaggy, ungroomed, unshod, and tangled in tail and mane and hide with brambles and briars,—has greatly advanced the Indian. He is property. He sets a standard for values. As the wild buffalo disappears from the plains, the less wild domestic cattle, with their herders, come in by thousands. The semi-civilized tribes win that epithet not so much because of their own personal habits as because of the roosters that crow around their barn-yards, the cattle, sheep, and hogs which indicate farms, sheds, and pens. The Pueblo Indians claim to have perpetuated their stage of civilization by the same tokens. The Navahoes go a stage beyond, with their vast herds for breeding, and their goats and donkeys. The Apaches would have a lower place on this scale; because, though they have horses and mules, instead of increasing them from their stock, they cook all their own animals in the winter, and steal a new supply in the spring. The chief Ouray was regarded as the richest Indian in the country, having, beside his annual pension of a thousand dollars from the Government, large

numbers of domestic animals, his well-furnished house, and his well-filled larder and wine-cellar.

Some of the conditions which have been found most favorable, if not also indispensable, to the slow work of civilizing a body of Indians, are the following:—

1. They must be planted by themselves, at least twenty miles remote from any white community.

2. They must have a large, scattering place,—not a village,—with broad, separate lots, fertile, close to wood and water. Thus they must be kept away from the pernicious influences and the humiliating presence of the whites, and be prevented from huddling together, as in their old camp life.

3. All intermarriage and like intercourse between the whites and the Indians must be forbidden. The Indians never rise, and the whites are always debased by it.

4. Each Indian settlement should be a centre for a single tribe, not on a frontier, between two nations.

5. The place to be wholly free of wild animals, with a slight allowance for game, but always near good fishing.

6. Farmers with implements, to reside—two, not more—in each settlement; and missionaries, to defer their efforts till they are asked for and welcomed, as teachers of morality and the virtues, without sectarian doctrines.

7. Government to exercise a firm, though kind and friendly, oversight over all their interests.

It might be supposed that the vast numbers of half-breeds among the Indians would have some of the white man's capacity for taking care of themselves. They will, if we leave them to their own way of doing it. But in some cases they are far more troublesome than real Indians. The traits and characteristics of the red man prevail in them over those of the whites. This is true even when one parent is English or Scotch, but more especially so when one parent is French. The half-breeds intensify Indian qualities. In the woods and lodges they do not show any

sense of being a degraded caste, but they feel it when in the settlements. This mixture of the races, with the blending of some of the least noble and some of the most perverse traits of each, is found to introduce among the Indian tribes of the more remote places, and who have shared the least in amicable relations with the whites, influences unfavorable to civilization. But, on the whole, it is probably safe to judge that this mixture of the races presents conditions which, as favorable or unfavorable to our future pacificatory relations with such tribes, balance each other. Very slow and very gradual, with many haltings, arrests, and drawbacks, must be the stages of release from the ways of barbarism, and the advance of the Indians to the acquired habits of self-dependence on their own abounding resources. It is a mediatorial work between the white man and the red man. Patience, friendliness, help in all its ingenuities of method and service, with a firm and overawing power in reserve, must not only be the agencies to promote, but also the authority and the force to insist upon, the extinction of savagery and the steady progress of civilization. For reasonable periods there will be no objection to bringing the Indians into such a condition as will render it indispensable for them to need the white man's resources and help. But a view should always be had to a critical time when the Indians, realizing how essential these appliances are to them, shall be made to understand that if these resources are within their own reach by the simple use of forethought and industry, they must henceforth draw them from the earth and not from the national treasury. It will require no effort and no justification from us to steel our hearts against the importunities of those who are wilfully thriftless and lazy.

My principal aim in this volume has been to trace out and illustrate a statement made in an early page of it, that the relations between European invaders and colonists with the aboriginal inhabitants of this continent have, from the

first to the present time, run in a series of two parallel lines, — the one of professed, intended, earnest, and costly efforts for the benefit of the natives; the other, of outrages, aggressions, wrongs, and miseries inflicted upon them. I have frankly admitted the melancholy and humiliating fact that violent, oppressive, and inhuman measures and deeds have to a very large extent thwarted and nullified these kindlier purposes, so that they have been triumphed over. But, so far as absolute truth will allow, I have sought to relieve the reproach upon us of the wantonness of intent and purpose in wrong-doing, by referring some of the wrong to the infelicity and malignity of circumstances.

It is grateful, therefore, in closing, to recognize as the last device of ingenuity in the intention of justice and friendliness to the Indian tribes, another experiment recently put on trial, with the prompting of private benevolence and the efficient aid of the Government. The schools established at Hampton and Carlisle for the education in the rudiments of knowledge and of the industrial arts of Indian youth of both sexes have already, in the practical excellence of their plan and methods, and in the gratifying success of their work, engaged the hearty sympathy of a widely extended constituency. The leading aim in those institutions is to arrest the processes by which the pupils, withdrawn from all the habits and surroundings of their own people and subjected to those of the whites, might be in danger of becoming unfitted or indisposed to go back to their homes, and to give them only such a term of residence, and only such helps in education and training, as will best qualify them to stir and assist others of their race in an advance to civilization. This method had, previous to the institution of these two schools, won the approval of the wisest and most successful class of teachers resident among the Indians. Scarce any success attended their labors while the Indian children were merely day-pupils in their schools and returned to their own lodges at

night. Boarding schools alone, in which the pupils were taught decorum, propriety, and above all cleanliness, were found essential. And religion also effects its best work through indirect teaching in character and influence, rather than through doctrines and professional offices.

The Indians seem now to have become aliens in the land of their nativity. There is one ray of possible hopefulness for them, and with such cheer as it may afford we may close the review of their sad history. What reason or assurance there may be for the hope now to be intimated will depend for each one on his estimate of the quality, the capacity, the destiny of the Indian race. At any rate those who, as philanthropists, grieve most over the wrongs, plead most earnestly for the rights of the Indians, and insist that there is a brighter future before them, ought to emphasize this hope. It is that the race may soon present to us one or more specimens of truly great and wise men, patriots, civilians, of lofty minds, pure aims, with the faculty of quickening, guiding, and inspiring their fellows, lifting them and leading them onward. It will be well, too, if such a man or such men may be of pure Indian blood, of unmixed native stock, with the virility and the nobleness of a wilderness birth, and that he accept without shame, ay, glory in, the tinge of his race. That the wilderness, with the help and without the bane of civilization, should produce one, two, three great leaders of men, peers of many members of our Congress, and of more than one of our Presidents, would be an easy accomplishment. May it not produce such men equal to our foremost and best? Why not? We have had a few of the Indian race whom, by our standards, we call able, gifted, great. They have indeed been few. We may count them for the centuries on one hand, — five. But all of these foremost Indian chieftains — Philip, Pontiac, Tecumseh, Osceola, Black Hawk — have represented savagery, have stood and fought for savagery. They have all been familiar with what civilization

is and does ; but they have loathed it, despised it, rejected it, and given their whole power and sway to forbid and crush it. Now may not this native greatness, this leadership of men, manifest itself in a few gifted with genius, nobly endowed, patriots in spirit, yet born or self-trained to a conviction that civilization is for man a state preferable to that of savagery ? The elevation, if not the security from extinction, of the race of red men depends upon its furnishing masters and guides from its stock. A race that cannot itself contribute its redeemers will never be redeemed.

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