

THE ABORIGINES AND THE COLONISTS.*

BY EDWARD EGGLESTON.

I.

FIRST ACQUAINTANCE.

"TALL, handsome timbered people," is the phrase by which one of the earliest travelers in New England describes the Indians, and he adds that "the *Indesses* that are young are some of them very comely — many pretty brownnettos and spider-fingered lasses may be seen among them." He frankly adds that the savages are "very figurative or thievish," and "importunate beggars" withal. Mutual curiosity, followed by barter, by attempts at religious conversion, and by a hostility from which there seemed to be no escape, are the ever-recurring phases of the contact of the white and red races in all parts of North America. With fresh and wondering eyes the explorers sent by Raleigh saw the stately Indians who came to trade on the decks of their vessels, and the later comers in James River looked with a similar curiosity at the chief who marched to welcome them at the head of a procession, while he played upon a scrannel pipe of reed. It is hard for us to imagine the wonder with which these untraveled Englishmen regarded savages who wore their hair cut short like a cock's comb in the middle of the head, one side of which was shaved and covered by a copper plate; who decked their painted bodies with birds' feathers; and wore, besides other "conundrums," such ear-ring pendants as bears' or hawks' claws, living snakes, or "dead rats by the tail"; sometimes, also, the dried hand of a human enemy dangled under a face painted to produce a horrible effect.

The Indians, on their part, held superstitious notions of the new-comers, whom they regarded as in some sort *manitos*, or demons, on account of their apparently magical skill. When the black slaves were brought, however, the savages at Manhattan revised their theory; these blacks were "the true breed of devils," they exclaimed. The mysterious articles of the white man's manufacture were all supernatural in Indian eyes. Thomas Harriott, the great mathematician, a member of Raleigh's colony, zealously read the Bible in the hamlets of the North Carolina tribes, who

thereupon paid homage to the book. Harriott's scientific instruments, the loadstones, burning-glasses, fireworks, guns, fish-hooks, and, yet more, a spring clock that "went of itself," were also considered supernatural. On the hill by New Amsterdam, the Indians watched the ghostly wings of the windmill, moved by a power invisible, and to them it was "the world's wonder; they durst not come near his long arms and teeth biting to pieces."

But all the childish curiosity and all the erroneous notions were not on the side of the savages. The early travelers and settlers believed with singular unanimity that Indians were born white; even the French Jesuit writers who dwelt among them would have it that the color of their skins was due to their nudity and to bear's-grease, while Josselyn states explicitly that the Indian babes in New England were dyed with hemlock bark, tanned like leather, as one might say; and so late as 1681, William Penn pronounces them black as gypsies, "but by design."

The institutions of the Indians are seen through English eyes by all the colonists. Petty chiefs of a few hundred or, at most, two or three thousand bowmen, are "kings," and we read of a message sent from Pennsylvania to the "Emperor of Canada" — some Iroquois head man, no doubt. The chief's squaw was always a "queen" or an "empress," and the little naked Pocahontas was a royal "princess." We grow tired of thinking how great a mob of kings and emperors there were in this savage wilderness, and are relieved when a more modest writer speaks of "one Black William, an Indian duke." In like manner, the "medicine-men," or professional conjurers and jugglers, were regarded by the earlier voyagers as the priests of a regular worship of the sun or of the devil.

A favorite topic for the display of learned folly in Europe and America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was the origin of the Indians. At a very early period they were the cursed children of Canaan, the son of Ham; then it was shrewdly guessed that they came from Joktan, and their affiliation might quite as reasonably have been fixed upon almost any of the other names in the biblical genealogies. However, the eminent

Dutch scholar, Grotius—"the Oracle of Delft"—discovered that the Americans could not be, as various writers had maintained, Scythians, Moors, Tartars, or what not, but must be of Hebrew descent. This hypothesis, founded on the similarity of customs among primitive peoples, served to quicken the hopes of the apostle Eliot, and to stimulate the liberality of sentimental people in England, who were pleased to find Americans in their Bibles, if only by far-fetched inference. And did not the Indians, like the ancient Jews, anoint their heads, dance after a victory, compute time by nights and moons, speak in parables, and make "grievous mournings and yellings" for their dead? But there were rival theories in vogue, some of them mixed up with an incomprehensible jargon about Gog and Magog. Dr. Mede, a famous English theologian, propounded one which was regarded by some in New England "as the oracle of God." It was that some centuries after Christ, the devil, becoming alarmed lest his worship should be quite expelled from the world, induced some of the heathen of the north of Europe to undertake a passage to a promised land in America, thus making himself "the ape of God," who had led his chosen people in this way. The conclusion was that, although it might be found impossible to convert the devil-worshippers, yet it would be a work "pleasing to Almighty God and our Blessed Saviour to affront the devil with the sound of the Gospel where he had hoped to escape the din thereof."

This theory of Dr. Mede was suitable to the state of feeling in New England in the time of Philip's war, and accorded with the belief, prevailing so persistently, that the American Indians worshipped devils, and held audible and visible communication with Satan through their diviners or medicine-men. Champlain declares that the priests of the Algonkins talk visibly with the devil; and Whittaker, the "Apostle of Virginia," says that the Indians are "naked slaves of the devil," and that their priests are no better than English witches. Strachey, secretary of the Virginia colony, thinks that their "connivres" are able to detect theft by the devil's help; and Lawson had heard that, while the conjurations of Carolina Indians were in progress, there was a significant "smell of brimstone in the cabins." The pilgrims at Plymouth recognized the power of Indian jugglers to fetch rain; the Jesuits of Canada equally believed in their magical skill; and a Dutch clergyman at Fort Orange avers that they had so much witchcraft, divination, sorcery, and wicked tricks, that they could not be held in by any bands or locks. Josselyn says that

the medicine-men of New England were invulnerable—"shot free and stick free"; while one of the earliest fur-traders of Maine declares that the Indians were all witches. Roger Williams lovingly calls the savages "wild brethren and sisters," but, after having once seen a medicine-dance, he "durst never be an eye-witness, spectator, or looker-on," lest he should have been "partaker of Sathan's inventions and worship"; and he grants that the powwows "doe most certainly by the help of the Divell work great cures." An intelligent writer on New York in 1670 relates with implicit belief that the medicine-men were wont to materialize a spirit at the green-corn feast, which now and then went so far as to carry off some of the spectators while the conjuror was taking the collection customary on all such occasions. But this demon was, after the manner of his kind, shy of irreverent skeptics and investigators; he would never appear until all the white men had been put out. A hundred years after Roger Williams, David Brainerd, missionary to the Delawares, witnessing the same ceremony did not flee like Williams, but attempted exorcism. "At a distance, with my Bible in my hand," he says, "I was resolved, if possible, to spoil the spirit of powwowing, and prevent their receiving an answer from the infernal world." One reason given for the cruel attack made by the Dutch director, Kieft, upon the savages of New Netherland, in 1642, was that the natives were making him the subject of diabolical incantations; and in the first code of laws promulgated for the government of New York after its capture by the English, it is enacted that no Indian shall "at any time be suffered to powaw or performe outward worship of the Devil in any Towne within this government." Similar statutes in other colonies were aimed at giving the devil discomfort.

Almost all the tribes with which the English came in contact in the first epoch of colonization were of the Algonkin stock, and spoke cognate languages. This race of Indians occupied the coast from the St. Lawrence to the Carolinas, and of the interior it held almost all the territory north of the Ohio between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi, and stretched away to the Saskatchewan Valley in British America. John Smith, in the waters of the Chesapeake, and the Dutch at Fort Orange, where Albany now stands, reached early the powerful Iroquois race, who, in the Five Nations of New York,—the Hurons of Canada, the Eries, and the Neuter Nation of the intermediate country about the lakes, and the Susquehannahs and Tuscaroras of the Piedmont region of Maryland, and North Carolina,—formed an island,

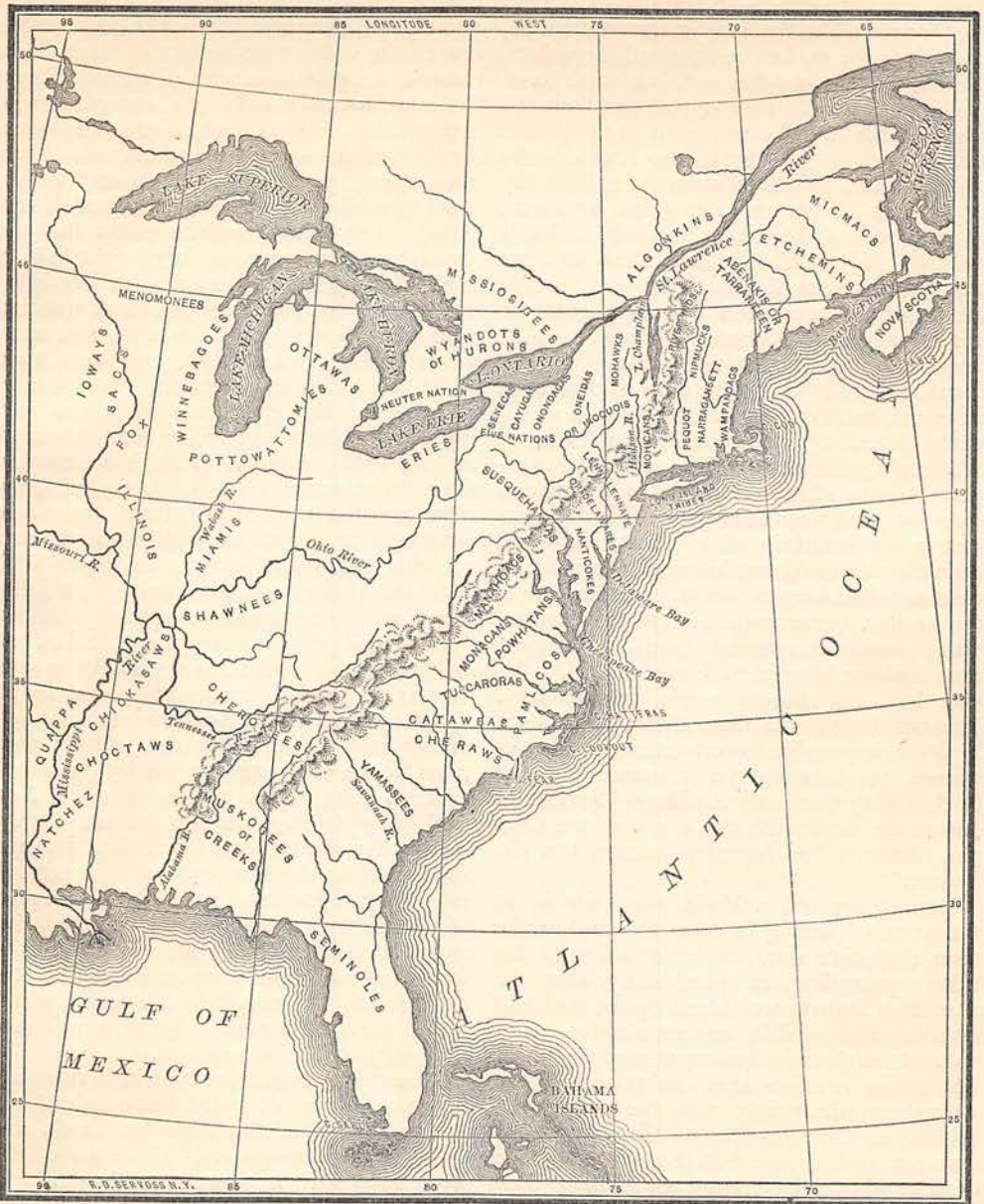


CHART SHOWING THE APPROXIMATE LOCATION OF THE MORE PROMINENT INDIAN TRIBES WHEN FIRST KNOWN TO EUROPEANS.

or islands, wholly surrounded by Algonkings. The southern colonies were in contact with tribes of the Muscogee family,—the Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws. It is only by language and customs that this classification can be made; the lines of alliance and hostility among the Indians did not conform to those of race and speech, and the universal adoption of captives, especially of children taken in war, stood in the way of any very marked diversity of physical appearance or mental characteristics.

II.

LESSONS LEARNED FROM THE BARBARIANS.

THE Indian manner of living, learned from the climate and the hard necessities of the wilderness, afforded many suggestions to the colonists. In Virginia, as in New England, the planting of the Indians' corn saved the first settlers from starvation, and the white men imitated the Indian method of planting and cooking it. Having no iron, the savages cleared their fields awkwardly by girdling the

trees and letting them stand, if the forest was not dense, or by burning down the tree, and then severing the trunk into logs by means of little fires. The stone axes used in some tribes were accounted precious and were handed down as heir-looms. They were provided with helvcs by splitting a cleft in a young tree and inserting the ax; here it remained until the wood had grown about it, when a section of the sapling was taken out with the ax inclosed. The Southern Indian twisted a hickory withe about the ax-head for a handle. Even after they had got iron tools from the whites, it suited the indolent temper of the race better to burn down the trees than to chop them. They had hoes made of wood, of a turtle-shell affixed to a stick, or of a sharp stone, or a deer's shoulder-blade similarly arranged. The corn was planted as our farmers plant it, in hills three or four feet apart, with four or five grains in a hill. Beans grew about the stalk then as now, and pumpkins or squashes filled the intervening space.

The very names of our dishes are witnesses that the European-Americans learned many ways of cooking from the Indians. *Pone*, *hominy*, *samp*, *succotash*, and *supawn* are words borrowed from the aboriginal tongues; and the preparations of Indian corn which bear these names were served in wigwams, no doubt, for ages before white men had ever seen the gay streamers and waving tassels of the maize-field. On a hot stone, or the bottom of an earthen vessel set before the fire, the aboriginal baked what the pioneer afterward baked on his hoe and called a *hoe-cake*; the toothsome southern "*ash-cake*" was also first made by the squaws, who shrouded it in husks before committing it to the fire. The Indians knew how to hull corn by applying lye. They celebrated the coming of the delicious green "*roasting-ears*" by a solemn feast. They nourished infants and invalids with maize-gruel, and they were before us also with the merry pop-corn—"the corn that blossomed," as the Hurons called it.

But "our wild brethren and sisters" used Indian corn in ways unknown to us; it was their chief food, and they "put it through all its sauces." Jerusalem artichokes, dried currants, powdered mulberries,—indeed, almost all other sorts of fruit and flesh,—were mixed with it. They cooked little doughnuts of meal by dropping them into maple syrup. One of their most useful preparations was probably that which, in Virginia, was called *rockahominy*, and in New England, *nokick*—simply parched corn pulverized, and carried in a pouch in journeying; it was mixed, before eating, with snow in winter and with spring water in summer. They used maize for many

other things: of the meal they made poultices; with a bowl of mush, given by the bride to her new lord, some tribes celebrated marriages; by means of the grains of maize, to represent a penny or stiver, the savage cast up his accounts with the trader; grains of corn were sent as tickets to those who were bidden to a feast; and, by putting them into gourds and turtle-shells, rattles were made. The husks they braided for mats and wrought into baskets, into light balls for some of their games, into salt-bottles, and even shoes, long before the white man took the hint and made of them chair-bottoms, floor-mats, and collars for horses. Maize was worshipped as a divinity. Children were kept in the field to watch the precious grain as it grew; but some of the tribes protected the thievish crow, because of the legend that a crow had brought them the first seed of the plant which supported their life on so many sides.

From the aborigines the settlers learned the use of other articles of food, such as the persimmon of the South, and the so-called ground-nut of the North. Penn found the savages eating baked beans, as white people do yet in Boston. The festoons of drying pumpkin in the frontiersman's cabin are imitated from the Indians.

None knew better than the red men with what last resorts to sustain life in time of famine. The roving Adirondacks, who planted little, if at all, were called "*tree-eaters*" by their enemies, because they were often obliged to subsist on the "*rock-tripe*" lichen, and the inner bark and buds of trees. The starving condition to which many of the European pioneers were reduced obliged them to learn to eat the food with which the savages supplied their wants. The first Virginia settlers were glad to feed on the green snake, and a hundred years later the meat of the rattlesnake was regarded as "*dainty food*" by some of the planters. The Indians were not epicures. Even their varied preparations of maize must have been insipid from the lack of salt in most of the tribes. But a savage appetite is not fastidious. Putrid meat, whole frogs, the intestines of the deer just as taken from the animal, and fish-oil or bear's oil, even when rancid, were not refused. Fruit was not suffered to ripen, lest others should find it; the tree was felled, and the fruit, sour and acrid as it was, consumed at once.

The Indian's wigwam was too easily made and too well suited to the pressing needs of the settlers, not to be occasionally used. All the tribes in the country east of the Alleghenies built bark-houses, though of varying degrees of excellence and stability. In a place

of temporary dwelling, or among the more shiftless tribes, it was but a rude little shelter, with a hole at the side by which the owner entered and the smoke came out. The Iroquois race, on the other hand, as well as some Algonkin tribes, constructed an elaborate compound wigwam of bark, capable of holding a clan of many families, of affording some rude conveniences, and of fending the bitter northern cold. The Indians of Virginia and the Carolina coast built houses of red cedar bark, sometimes fifty or a hundred feet long; while the Muscogees, and perhaps others, had winter-houses of logs. But the house of bark was almost universal, and was so well suited to the roving life and easy habits of the savage that even the apostle Eliot could persuade but few of his converts to accept the white man's house. The majority thought it an advantage that they could easily remove the wigwam, and thus be rid of the vermin.

In Virginia, the primitive cabins of Jamestown borrowed the bark roof and other features from the wigwam. The best of these cabins were decorated with brightly colored Indian mats, which the exiled gentry of Lord De la Warre's time playfully compared to "arras hangings and tapestry." In Massachusetts many of the poorer settlers dwelt at first in tents and booths, and for a long time after in wigwams. In Maryland, the first comers shared an Indian village with the original owners. In East Jersey, the settler erected in a single day a wigwam that served him until he could build a palisade house. The Quakers in West Jersey were glad to winter in Indian wigwams at first. In the warmer climate of Frederica, in Georgia, bowers of palmetto-leaves took the place of the preliminary bark shelter. Perhaps the only surviving relic of the Indian mode of building among the white people in the Eastern States is the bark "camp"—a sort of wigwam—still used as a place of temporary abode by sportsmen in the northern forests.

With the bark-cabin, with maize, and with tobacco, came the only social customs derived from the Indians by the colonists. When a wigwam was to be built, land to be opened for corn, or other difficult work to be done, the Indian called out all of his neighbors; the husking of the maize, too, was always attended by a merry crowd. Such customs were well suited to the physical and social wants of a community in the wilderness; the "house-raising," the "wood-chopping" and the "apple-peeling" came to be as universal among the colonists as among the Indians. In New England, the word "bee" was invented as a generic name for parties of this

sort. The practice of smoking together by the wayside and elsewhere, in sign of friendship, which the Puritan law-makers thought too pleasant to be harmless, was an Indian custom; among the tribes of the great interior valley it had come to be in some cases a state solemnity, so that the calumet or peace-pipe was the safe-conduct of an ambassador.

The make-shifts of the wilderness were early acquired from the savages: modes of hunting, of trapping, and of traveling, the "blazing" of trees to mark new forest-paths, the twisting of ropes from the inner bark of the slippery elm, and other devices for meeting the exigencies of forest living. For years the Plymouth pilgrims pounded their corn in wooden mortars, after the primitive manner of their neighbors; and the same practice prevailed in other pioneer settlements. The Virginians were still using the fish-weir at the period of the Revolution. When the Southern or Western farmer, dressing his swine, drops hot stones into a barrel of water until it boils, he makes use of a device common to those tribes of Indians that had only wooden vessels. The making of sugar from the maple was practiced by the Indians, who boiled the sap in earthen pots. The pine-knot candle, so generally used in the cabins of the colonists, had lighted the smoky wigwams, no doubt, for ages before Europeans arrived. The canoe made by excavating a log is still in use: the Indian wrought it painfully by burning the wood and scraping it out with shells or stones. If one may believe the reports, there were some canoes, probably of bark, among the Long Island tribes, that would carry eighty men apiece; those carrying half that number were not uncommon. The birch-bark canoe—the Indian's masterpiece—still holds its own among the Northern trappers, guides, and *voyageurs*, as does also the ingenious network snow-shoe. So, too, the dressing of skins with the brains of the animal, and the making of basket-splints by pounding ash-wood until the "growths" separate, are lessons which the frontiersman learned from the savage.

It is evident that the contributions of the red race to pioneer life in this country were many and important. In estimating the influence of the Indians on colonial character, we must take into account the corruption of manners on the frontier, proceeding from the trickery which always accompanies trade with ignorant and childish savages, and from the irregular relations of white men with Indian women. The idleness and the paucity of moral restrictions in savage life rendered it attractive to reckless men. The New England lawgivers punished dwellers in the tents of the heathen for their pagan way of living;

one such straggler is described as "a sad wretch; he never heard a sermon but once these fourteen years." The many degenerate white men who lingered among the Southern tribes are spoken of by the naturalist Brickell as "a lost and unfortunate sort of people." These Southern lotus-eaters attributed their long loitering to the waters of Herbert's Spring at the head of the Savannah: whoever drank of this fountain was doomed to spend seven years in the wilderness beyond. The superstition became a fixed one; men fainting with thirst passed by the fatal fountain without drinking, fearing to "pluck the fruit of the forbidden ground."

III.

DECAY OF THE OLD LIFE OF THE INDIAN.

ON the other hand, every part of the Indian's life was disturbed by the approximation of civilization. Savages who had not yet advanced beyond the stage of stone hatchets and chronic inter-tribal warfare, were not suffered to develop into that of iron implements and commercial activity through tedious cycles by the slow processes of race culture and natural selection, but were overwhelmed by the premature arrival of a complex civilization out of another world. The flint hatchet and the spear tipped with deer's horn did not grow by degrees into the thousand implements of the world of artificers; they were abolished suddenly while yet the people whose intelligence was gauged by them were incapable of accepting the new life which had engulfed their old. The economic equilibrium of savagery was overturned. The hoe was a helpful addition to the Indian's power, but fire-arms and the white man's commodities broke down the old relation of supply and demand in his life; the necessity for exertion became less strenuous, wild animals were more easily killed with the new weapons, and unwonted supplies could be bought from the trader with furs and deer-skins. Under the augmented demand the fur-bearing animals soon grew scarce; with the increased facilities for capture, game disappeared. By this time new habits had been formed, and new wants aggravated the misery of savage life; the son of the fierce, indolent, and independent warrior found himself a parasite—a hewer of wood for the white man. It is not surprising that, in despair and blind resentment, the Indian tribe sometimes dashed itself to pieces in futile resistance to the incoming civilization.

Not that Indian life was, at its best, a desirable or endurable mode of existence for any but one who had the tastes of a savage. It was

squalid, inconvenient, and miserable, with the addition of life-long insecurity growing out of perpetual inter-tribal warfare. Even in the cabins of the Creek tribes, and in the fixed bark-houses of the Iroquois-Huron race, there was no furniture but the rudest implements, and a platform covered with skins or mats for a bed, and used by all the family. There were no provisions for privacy or decency. The higher Algonkians, like the Powhatans and some others, were not better provided for; while the roving tribes of mere hunters had never more of household goods than could be conveniently packed upon the back of a squaw, and carried by a strap across her forehead. If we could assemble the implements and utensils possessed by all the different tribes,—the knives of horn, the baskets of husks and splints, the pails of bark; the mats for doors, house-lining, and beds; the bone awls for sewing and drilling wampum; the canoes of various sorts; the wooden, earthenware, and even soap-stone vessels; the spears, bows, arrows, war-clubs, and stone axes, with the rude threddles of the Muscogees,—we should have a considerable variety. But the number of kinds possessed by any one tribe was small, and the articles owned by any one family were exceedingly few.

The lightly built Indian village was usually removed when the fire-wood became scarce or the corn-ground showed signs of exhaustion; whole tribes would be jostled out of their places by an aggressive enemy, who made their villages too insecure even for the endurance of a savage. By a few reverses, a tribe might be partly exterminated and wholly broken up. Its remaining members were then forced to incorporate with other nations for protection. Thus boundaries, always uncertain, were ever receding, or advancing, or wholly vanishing.

The arrowheads of flint or horn, turkey-spur or eagle-claw, the vessels of earthenware or steatite, the fish-hooks of bone and the richly decorated costumes of buckskin, silk-grass, turkey and other plumage, and of fur,—sometimes skillfully painted on the smooth side, so that "they looked like lace," or decorated with dyed porcupine-quills and the bright-colored skins of ducks' heads,—showed that the Indians possessed ingenuity, and, on occasion, patient application. But the range of their ingenuity was narrow, and their diligence needed the goad of necessity, or the spur of their inordinate passions for revenge and display. There was never among them a spontaneous movement to acquire the arts of the white man. It was enough for them to get, by trade or pilfering, or in war, the articles which the Europeans made. Of all the new

plants brought in by the colonists, the Iroquois adopted only the apple and pear trees, and the Delaware peaches. The Indians often preferred to buy their tobacco of the white man, and they even sometimes depended on trading furs for a supply of maize, thus tending to lose their small agricultural advancement.

Almost every convenience procured from the Europeans brought disturbance to the old mode of living. The dog having been, with the exception of tame birds, the Indian's only brute companion, it was long before his life could be adjusted to the slight addition of a second domestic animal. The Hurons, on receiving horses from the French, were filled with childish delight, and the men volunteered to assist the women in getting fire-wood—the driving of horses was a new diversion for idlers. But the gift was a fatal one at first: the horses ate the unfenced maize, and the village was thrown into consternation. When iron and brass kettles, with poor iron hatchets manufactured on purpose for the Indian trade, could be had in exchange for beaver-skins, there was no longer need for the laborious making of earthen pots or stone hatchets; the rudimentary arts of pottery and stone-cutting were quickly forgotten, and the Indian took a step backward in becoming by so much less an artificer and by so much more a mere hunter. Even the shell-beads which the sea-coast Indians manufactured with so much toil and painstaking, for ornament and money, were better made by the Dutch at Hackensack and Albany. The elaborate fur garments were ripped up and sold, and their kind made no more; the duffel cloth, without so much as a hem or seam, was thrown about the shoulder, and the Indian was more than before a savage. His guns, his traps, his knives, his hatchets, his outer garment, and his wampum money, were all purchased in exchange for skins, and thus he lost his skill, exterminated his game, and sacrificed his independence.

What made the lean and hungry fox think his lot better than that of the pampered house-dog was the collar-mark on the dog's neck. That which was dearest to the Indian in his rugged life was its entire freedom. From infancy he was subject to almost no authority, either of parent or chieftain. Where there was little property and entire liberty of secession from the band, the control of a chief was of necessity small. The men and women of the tribe were rather managed than governed by their head men. The execution of penalties was left almost always to private revenge; quarrels were settled without the intervention of authority, unless a dispute threatened the

integrity of the band, in which case it was taken in hand and managed by the craft of the chief and the council. If a member of the tribe was troublesome, and his death regarded as desirable for public reasons, suggestions were adroitly thrown out that he was a worker of evil charms, and all the ills that happened in the village came thenceforth to be attributed to his malice and magic; he was at length put to death in obedience to a popular clamor, while the chief men who had purposed his destruction did not appear in the matter. In rare cases of sedition or witchcraft, the council appointed executioners to stab the offender.

It is related that once, among the Hurons of Canada, a public execution was deemed needful under the following circumstances: A man had "cast away" his wife, but she went in the annual hunting-party, accompanied by her brothers. Perceiving by accident that her husband, who was of the party, was watching her, she warned her brothers, and, with the youngest of them, concealed herself at night in a tree near their lodge, where she was witness to a struggle in which the rest of her brothers were slain by her husband and his friends. The woman, after many narrow escapes, contrived to reach the village first, where she related the occurrence to her own family, and then to the council, giving for assurance of the truth of her story the statement that one of the assailants had been badly bitten in the hand. It was not thought best to leave so flagrant a crime to be avenged by a family several of whose warriors had been killed at a blow. A feast was therefore prepared in the council-house in honor of the returning party, who, besides having good luck, were laden with the spoils of the slain. The hunters related their adventures to the guests, as the manner is at such times, and told, with apparent grief, of the irruption of enemies who had cut off those that were missing. The man with a bandaged hand said that a beaver had bitten him. Then, from their concealment behind a mat, were suddenly brought forth the woman and the youth to confront the assassins with the story of their crime. When this circumstantial accusation was finished, young men who had been placed next to the criminals, stabbed them to death, the murderers submitting to their fate without complaint or resistance, after the manner of an Indian doomed by his own tribe.

Under the system of private retaliation for private offenses, and of tribal vengeance for public or foreign ones, the hideous passion of inveterate revenge took the place of patriotism and religion in the brain of the Indian.

It was the pride of an injured man to dissemble, but never to forget—wreaking vengeance long years after the offense. Out of this insatiable lust for revenge came the ever-recurring and almost unintermitting warfare between tribes. Battle was, indeed, a necessary pastime for idle young braves, and peace was irksome, so that war was often sought merely for the sake of excitement, and for the opportunity it gave of acquiring distinction. It was this passion for revenge, uplifted to a patriotic and pious duty, that brought about the cruelty to prisoners which makes the history of Indian wars one long horror of human perdition. In every village through which the captive passed, tortures of one kind or another were inflicted by men, women, and children, who thus consoled themselves for the loss of friends. Sometimes it was the gauntlet, sometimes a widow would solace her spirit by cutting off a joint of a finger, or biting out a nail. If the prisoner did not chance to be adopted as a slave into some cabin, in place of a dead member, he was at last “cast into the fire,” under which phrase there lurked the indescribable tortures which were inflicted for dreary hours upon the defiant victim. In some tribes these torture-scenes were conducted by the women. The eating of the flesh of victims burned at the stake seems to have grown out of a desire to wreak a final and ferocious vengeance on his body, though there were warriors who boasted a great relish for human flesh. In war-time, the northern tribesmen were accustomed to “subsist on the enemy” in a literal way. Denonville, Governor of Canada, having vanquished the Senecas in 1687, was horrified at seeing twenty-five of the latter, who had been killed in battle, quartered, boiled, and devoured by his Ottawa allies; and six years later, the New York commander, Major Peter Schuyler, was not pleased to find a Frenchman’s hand in the soup served to him in the camp of his Iroquois soldiers.

In war, as at home, the Indian refused discipline, following the leader whom he trusted, and returning home whenever he became discontented with the conduct of the expedition. But, despite his lawlessness and idleness, his freedom was checked on many sides by the unseen bands of traditional custom and tyrannical public sentiment. What he must do in certain contingencies was firmly prescribed for him by the immemorial usage of his race, and it was rare that any Indian was strong enough to break through this chain. Trammelled even in small matters by fixed customs and an intricate etiquette, as well as by superstitions innumerable, he never submitted to any despotism besides. Attempts

of white men to enslave Indians were generally fatal to the savages, who were as unwonted to such restraints as other creatures of the wilderness.

Excitement of some kind was indispensable to relieve the tedium of the idleness in which a great part of savage life was spent. The intervals between hunting and war-parties were filled up by an inconceivable number of ungraceful dances of various kinds, all regulated by a rather complicated etiquette, many mixed with superstition, and some ending in debauch. There were feasts of many sorts, at which those not invited might crowd the door-ways as spectators, or strip off the bark sides of the cabins to see the ceremonies; and there were athletic games, and games of hazard, with dice of bones or cherry-stones, in which the excited players would often lose all their possessions, not sparing to wager their wives; the reckless gamester sometimes even staked his own liberty, and became a slave to the winner until his friends could redeem him. Sometimes the lucky arrival of prisoners in transit, who could be beaten as they ran the gauntlet, furnished diversion, and on grand occasions the savage could repair to the council-house as to a theater, to see the long-drawn torture of a captive—a sight as well suited to his taste as bull-fighting to a Spaniard’s, or bear-baiting and cock-fighting to that of our English ancestors.

IV.

OBSTACLES TO CIVILIZATION AMONG THE INDIANS.

ATTEMPTS were made in every colony to civilize the Indians, but to these their immemorial and inflexible customs offered in many cases an insuperable barrier. Not only the natural indolence and ferocity of the individual, but the whole economic system of the American tribes tended to promote a barbarous unthrift. All the rewards which civilized life gives to industry and frugality were lacking. The family who had prudently grown a larger supply of corn than its neighbor was compelled by custom to share with those less provident. The inflexible law of savage hospitality assured to the idler a subsistence in the wigwams of his neighbors, and impaired the sense of property. In some of the tribes, at least, the estate of a man deceased was divided by his relatives without regard to his widow and children, who by prescription belonged to another cabin and another “totem,” and were not accounted of his kindred in such sense as to inherit his goods.

The wife's property, likewise, did not belong in any case to the husband.

Deep-seated hereditary savagery, which regales itself with torture and cannibalism, cannot be removed in one generation; and before time could be given for permanent results of missionary efforts, the savages were effaced or swallowed up by civilization. The Indian mind was involved in a complicated mass of superstition which rendered the adoption of a new religion difficult. Fetichism, mixed with abject dread of invisible demons that must be appeased, an incredible reverence for dreams, and a perpetual fear of witchcraft, were the things that stood for religion among them. Some tribes had images that were used for charms, and the veneration of these rose occasionally into something like idolatry. The Indians threw tobacco to the spirit supposed to inhabit water-falls and whirlpools, and among the Iroquois the torturing and eating of their enemies partook of the nature of human sacrifice to the demon Aireskoui. There were in some tribes conjurations addressed to inferior animals and other objects of reverence. Fire,—which cooked food when pleased and consumed the cabin when angry,—the sun, the four winds, and all things that were “subtle, crafty, and beyond human power,” were supernatural. The powwows or seers, who seem to have wrought themselves into trances, and to have added to these much of juggling imposture, maintained a great ascendancy over the common people. It was they who, with dancing, contortion, shaking rattles, and howling, exorcised the spirit that caused sickness, often with mysterious passes drawing visibly with their teeth from various parts of the patient's body bits of hair and bone which had been inserted by witchcraft, to the no small damage of the sick man's health. Under their direction the tribes held prolonged huggermuggerings, in dry seasons, to bring rain upon the fainting fields of maize.

Superstition settled many questions of war and of tribal policy. A band of Indians emigrated in a body from the Minnisink region, to avoid a malign genius of the place. A party of Senecas chased a young Catawba warrior for five miles. He succeeded in killing seven of them before they captured him. The next day, when he was led out to the torture, he escaped by a sudden dash, leaped into the river amid a shower of bullets, and swam under water like an otter, only rising to take breath. On the opposite bank he made insulting gestures at his enemies, and fled away. Of those who pursued him, he slew a party of five while they slept, mangled and scalped them, and then returning in the

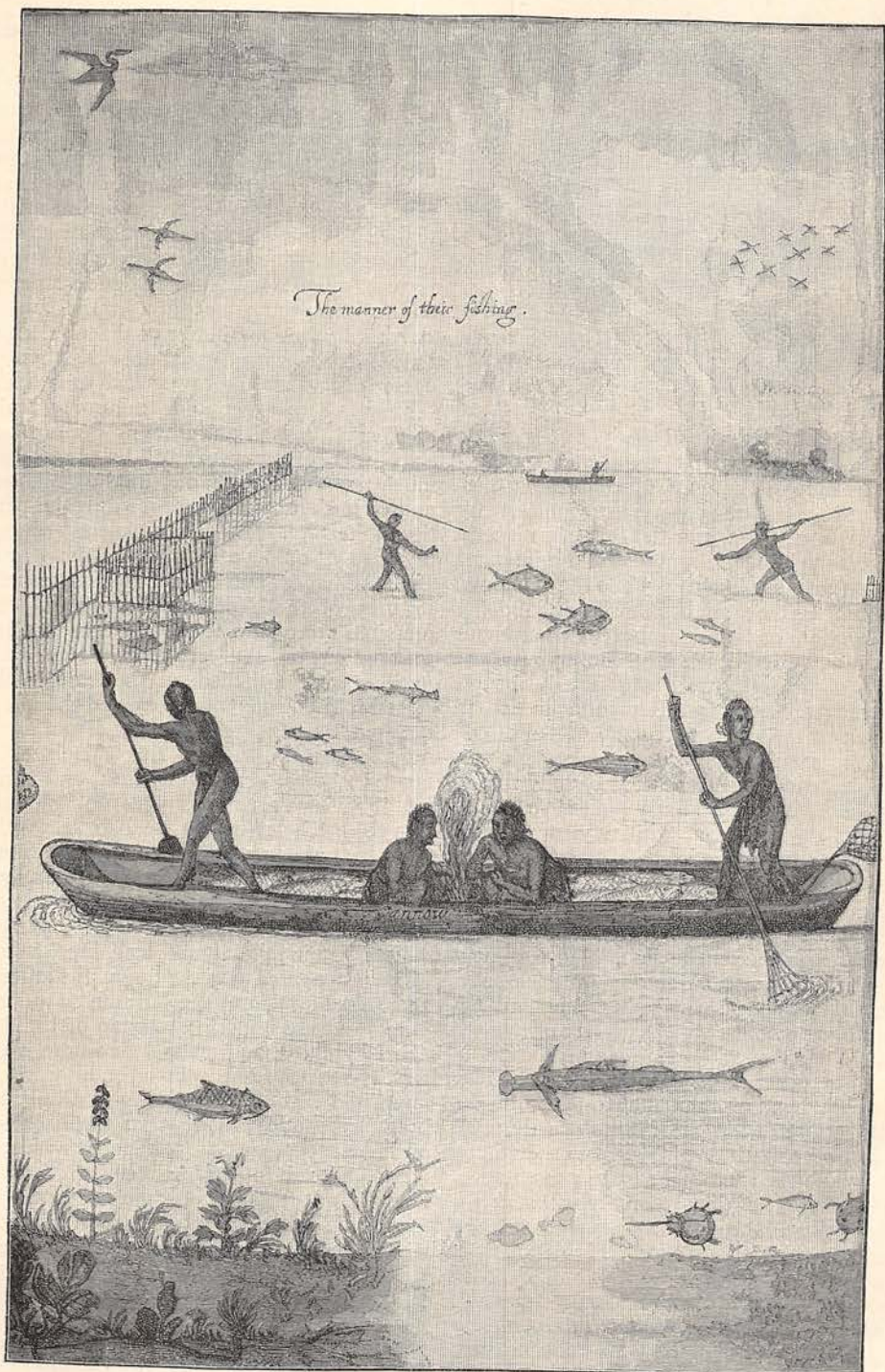
night, dug up and scalped the seven whom he had slain at first. A solemn council of his foes decided that he must be a wizard, and that pursuit would therefore be useless.

Many were the stories of the transformation of wizards told by the Indian fires; in such tales consisted much of their folk-lore. There was one of a village whose chief men died of a plague, “once upon a time.” The conjuring medicine-men knew well that the bird of death which flapped its wings and uttered its cries every night over the cabins of those doomed to destruction could be none other than a transformed wizard, but all their arts availed nothing. At last a deputation from the doomed village visited the lodge of The-Man-With-Very-Long-Hair—a hermit of the wilderness—to implore assistance. He made them some charmed arrows. With one of these they wounded the fatal bird. The next day a young man living in a poor wigwam with his mother was reported to be very ill. Some of the elders visited him, and found, as they expected, the magical arrow sticking in his flesh; under pretense of withdrawing it, they gave it such a thrust as to kill him.

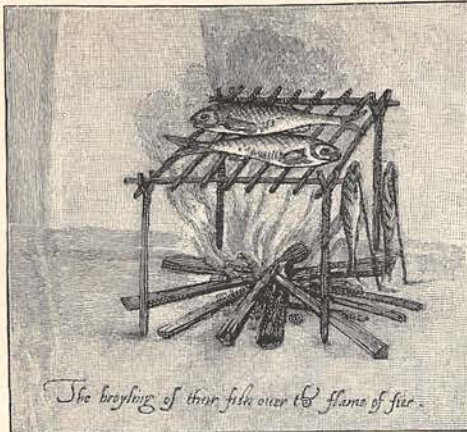
Whatever a man dreamed of must be given him at all hazards to save him from fatal calamity. In one instance a wife was surrendered to a dreamer; in another a slave was killed and cooked for one; in yet another, where the sleeper had dreamed of capture and torture, he persuaded his friends to mimic capture and subject him to a considerable torture, to prevent his falling into the hands of his enemies. Designing men often used dreams to procure what they coveted, and there are amusing stories of retorts in kind on such dreamers.

A trade in charms was carried on in some, if not in all, the tribes. Old men no longer able to hunt either set up for doctors, or manufactured and sold a “beson”—that is, a medicine which, taken internally with exact and appropriate ceremonies, would give luck to the hunter. All of their medicines were administered with precise ceremonies necessary to their efficacy, and the greater part of Indian medical practice was the sheerest imposture and howling nonsense. They knew the value of certain simples of the country, they were skillful in dressing wounds; and the “sweating-house,” in which they were accustomed to parboil themselves, after the manner of a Russian vapor-bath, was serviceable for cleanliness, if not for cures.

A serious obstacle to the civilizing influence of the missionary among the Indians was the wide difference between the moral standards and social conventions of the white race



FROM THE ORIGINAL DRAWING MADE BY JOHN WHITE. (BY PERMISSION OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.)



The broiling of their fish over the flame of fire.

FROM THE ORIGINAL DRAWING MADE BY JOHN WHITE, IN 1585. (BY PERMISSION OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.)

and the red. Falsehood and craft were as much esteemed among the American savages as among those of Lacedæmon; perfidy and cruel treachery were matters for public boast in a war-dance. Chastity, as such, was held in no repute. The wife must be faithful to her husband while she remained with him, and he might punish her infidelity on detection, or he might beat her paramour cruelly,—even to death, if he chose; but if the woman's unchastity were with the husband's consent, there was no odium attached to it. In most of the tribes polygamy was allowed; in all the man might "throw away" his wife when he chose, and she was equally free to leave him. Marriages for a limited time, and alliances on probation with a view to marriage, were often contracted. In the unmarried women unchastity was common and unreprieved in all the tribes. In many tribes the chiefship was prudently made hereditary through the female line. The sentiment of purity did not exist among American savages, the property sense was feeble, and human life was held very cheap—the payment of a few belts of wampum being sufficient, in many cases of homicide, to take the hatchet out of the head of the slain, to bury him decently, and to wipe the tears from the eyes of his kindred,—in the words of the ceremony with which the shell-money was presented.

The Indian notions of morality were the outgrowth of Indian life. To the state of the savage his code of social conventions was appropriate; the white man's moral standard would have been inapplicable and impossible to him, so long as he remained a wandering hunter and fisherman, and a guerilla soldier. Hence, it was seen by such philanthropists as Eliot that tillage and fixed dwellings must precede the advent of a new religion and a new code of law.

V.

MISSIONARY AND OTHER PHILANTHROPIC EXPERIMENTS.

THE French Jesuits who entered by way of Canada were the first to propagate Christianity among the Indians within the limits of the thirteen original States. The French of every class, indeed, succeeded better in insinuating themselves into the favor of the savages than the English. The Frenchman was the quicker-witted, more alert, flexible, good-humored, and adventurous; by these traits and his suavity, he was far better qualified to ingratiate himself with his antipodes, than the cooler, stiffer, and more regularly moral Englishman. The eager and undaunted zeal of the Jesuit, that shrank from no peril or hardship, was pressed forward by a discipline much more austere than a military régime—a discipline enforced by the rewards and penalties of eternity. Miracles are always wrought by this sort of devoted enthusiasm; it made Brébœuf patient and defiant amidst the hellish tortures of the Iroquois; it sent the irrepressible Marquette from one untamed tribe to another, in the great unknown valley, until he sank and died on the remote shores of Lake Michigan; and it carried the already maimed Father Jogues, in obedience to the hard orders of his superiors, back to the cruel Iroquois, certain of death, and shrinking in every nerve from the probable infliction of such torture as he had seen others suffer. There is a whole world of pathos in Jogues' brave, half-despairing words, "*Ibo et non redibo*—I shall go, and not come back."

The Jesuit worship and teaching was more easily propagated than the dogmatic, inflexible and naked system of the Puritan, or the more formal but not imposing worship of the English Church. The Amalingans whom Father Rale baptized almost in a body were first impressed with the superiority of Christianity by their deputies having seen the procession of the consecrated host conducted with much pomp and with something like magnificence in a village of the Abnakis. Rale knew well how to take advantage of a barbarian's susceptibility to display. Skillful in the art of turning wood, and knowing something of painting, he labored with his own hands to render his church in the wilderness of Maine imposing. This externalism gave Catholicism a great advantage on all sides. The medicine-men were natural rivals and enemies of the "black-robés," who preached against their powwowing, but, on the plan of keeping

on the safe side, even they were willing that their children should get whatever benefit there might be in the mysterious, and, to them, magical rite of baptism. "In this consists the best fruits which our mission at first receives," writes one of the Fathers, "and which is the most certain; for, among the great number of infants whom we baptize, not a year passes but many die before they are able to use their reason." One of the Jesuits told the captive minister of Deerfield that he always charged the Indians, when they went against the English settlements, to baptize the children before killing them. This doctrine of the benefit of the exact observance of sacraments and other ceremonials was entirely comprehensible to the Indian's mind, and was in the line of his habitual thinking. It was not needful to exact an advanced civilization; the Catholic Church was able to bend itself to the state of the wild man, and to arouse in him the profoundest enthusiasms of which his nature was capable. Voluntary fasts of the severest sort were common among the Indians, on arrival at manhood, in mourning for the dead, and to procure good luck in hunting; the austerities recommended by the Church were therefore readily received, and the stern savage nature felt their fascination. At the Canadian Mission of St. Xavier, Indian neophytes used flagellations unto blood, and belts lined with points of iron. The amiable Mohawk fanatic, Catherine Tehgahkouita, who is called the Iroquois saint, and at whose tomb French as well as Indian devotees were healed of divers sicknesses, carried her austerities to such an extreme as to purchase sanctity with her life.

When the Mohawks captured some of the converts whose religion had brought them into alliance with Canada, the new Catholics had an opportunity to display that fortitude which is in the very fiber of the Indian, by suffering the torments skillfully inflicted by their own tribesmen. These martyrdoms inflamed the zeal of the neophytes, and increased the luster of the new faith in the eyes of the savages.

The Jesuit fathers had frequent cause to complain of the stumbling-block which the lax moral code of the Indians put in their way. The devout Father Jogues recoiled with horror from what he could not help seeing while a captive in the tents of the Mohawks, fearing that his own soul might suffer contamination. The teaching of the Church that a man should have but one wife, and that marriage was

not to be dissolved, was a saying hard to be received by savages. Permanent marriage is indispensable to a high civilization, but its necessity is not felt among a barbarous people, where property is not accumulated, where the wife carries the chief burden of the family in any case, and where the domestic affections have not yet passed from brute feeling into human sentiment. Virtues common enough in a regular and industrious society are not easily preserved in the idle, wandering, and promiscuous life of the wigwam.

The patient heroism of the French Jesuits must always excite admiration, but their labors for the Indian race have produced no larger or more enduring result than those of others who have spent themselves in the attempt to elevate the American savages. From the first, the English adventurers to America, having no conception of the difficulty of changing the leopard's spots, proposed to make their colonies a means of propagating the faith among the Indians. Captain John Smith was censured because he had not already wrought the conversion of the heathen, in the first two years of storm and stress, while all his endeavors were directed to cajoling or frightening the savages into giving him corn enough to keep his cadaverous company alive. The conversion of the "Princess" Pocahontas was believed to be the coming-in of the first-fruits of the tribes; but the young Indians sent to England only learned the vices of Englishmen. One of the first clergymen in Virginia, Jonas Stockam, losing patience, proposed that the throats of their "priests and ancients" should



FROM THE DRAWING MADE IN RALEGH'S COLONY, IN 1585, BY JOHN WHITE. (BY PERMISSION OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.)

be cut, as a necessary preliminary to the conversion of the aborigines; and even the geographer Hakluyt said that "if gentle dealing will not serve," there were "hammerers and rough masons enough,—I mean our old soldiers trained up in the Netherlands,—to square and prepare them to our preachers' hands." Force being a favorite means of grace for Papists and Puritans at that time,

minating the Indians took the place of the desire for their conversion. Toward the close of the seventeenth century, and in the early years of the eighteenth, the experiment of giving a liberal training to Indian youth was tried for many years in the College of William and Mary, in which a professorship for their benefit was founded by a legacy of the famous Robert Boyle, and Governor Spots-



A DANCE OF THE CAROLINA INDIANS. (FROM JOHN WHITE'S ORIGINAL, IN THE GRENVILLE COLLECTION OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.)

it was naturally thought a wholesome thing for heathen savages. One of the earliest projectors of the Virginia colony spoke more softly, and urged that the Spanish example should not be imitated, but that the savages should be converted "by faire and loving means suiting to our English natures, like that soft and gentle voice wherein the Lord appeared to Elias." Collections were made in the churches in England to found a college at Henrico for the purpose of "educating infidel children in the true knowledge of God." Ten thousand acres of land were set apart for this school, and an amiable and enthusiastic gentleman — Mr. Thorpe — took charge of its affairs. But upon the beginning of Indian horrors in 1622, Thorpe himself was killed, the colony was driven to the verge of ruin, and the passion for exter-

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wood established at his own expense an Indian school among the Saponies, where, about 1720, as many as seventy-seven children were under the teaching of the excellent Charles Griffin. But the Indian students at William and Mary died from uncongenial surroundings, or relapsed into savagery, and Spotswood's school had no other result than that of making the Saponies a little more cleanly than other Indians. Missionary efforts were also made by the English Jesuits, who came over with Governor Calvert, at the planting of Maryland, in 1634. Here, first, perhaps, in an English colony, translations were made into an Indian dialect for purposes of conversion. Nothing could be more romantic than the wilderness voyages on the waters of the Potomac and its tributaries, such as were frequently made in a little



ROBERT BOYLE. (AFTER A PRINT FROM A PAINTING IN POSSESSION OF LORD DOVER.)

boat by one or another of these fathers, accompanied by an interpreter and a servant. A chest containing bread and butter, a little green-dried maize, some beans, and a little flour, was the store of supplies in case night should overtake them far from the hospitality of wigwam or cabin. In another chest were a bottle of wine for the Eucharist, and six bottles of holy water for baptisms. There was a casket containing sacred utensils, and a small table for an altar. Another casket was filled with little bells, combs, fish-hooks, needles, thread, and other such things "to conciliate the affection" of the Indians. One can imagine the impression made upon the savage mind by the unpacking of these bottles of consecrated wine and holy water, and the setting out of the little table and the mysterious sacred utensils. When at length Father White cured some dangerous wounds by the application of the cross to them, there

could be no longer a doubt of the superior efficacy of the new religion. Similar cures through religious agencies were starting-points with some of the New England missions. But in the course of years Indian wars, and the consequent removal and destruction of the Maryland tribes, obliterated every vestige of the work of these Jesuit missionaries.

Two curious devices for taming the Indians by degrees were tried in Maryland and Virginia. In 1651, Lord Baltimore proposed to settle six bands on a tract of land with copyhold estate, and the machinery of a feudal manor. In 1655, Virginia tried the plan of giving them a cow for every eight wolves' heads, but the Indians neglected to milk the cows in summer and allowed them to starve in winter. Nearly a hundred years later the Abbé Picquet tried to establish pastoral habits in the Indians at Ogdensburg.

Soon after Father White had translated a



FROM THE ORIGINAL DRAWING MADE BY JOHN WHITE IN 1585.

catechism into the speech of the Piscataways on the Potomac, John Campanius, a Lutheran minister, in New Sweden, rendered the Lutheran catechism into the cognate dialect of the Lenni Lennape, the Indians of the Delaware. It was not only translated, but adapted to the savage understanding: "Give us this day a plentiful supply of corn and venison," was one of the petitions in the Lord's Prayer, as rendered by Campanius; to this the heart of a savage would be sure to respond. The French Jesuits took similar liberties when they represented, in the Iroquois, that the soil of heaven yields corn, beans, and pumpkins, without the trouble of tillage. The return of Campanius to Europe, and the overthrow of New Sweden by the Dutch, put an end to this mission. But half a century after Campanius we find the catechism printed for

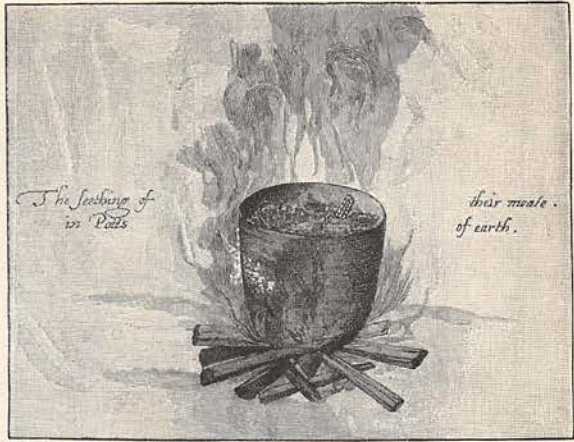
the first time, and put in use for the instruction of the Indians.

About the time that Campanius began to learn the language of the Delawares, a similar impulse moved Megapolensis, a Dutch clergyman at Albany, to attack the "heavy language" of the Mohawks. At a later period other Dutch ministers made similar endeavors. Nowhere are the vanities and vices of the savage set down more vivaciously than in a racy letter of "Dominie" Megapolensis. The children, he tells us, went "mother-naked" until they were ten, twelve, or fourteen years of age, and the adults were almost naked in summer. They wore shoes of buckskin or corn-husks, and had a streak of short hair in the middle of the head, "like hog's bristles." When one of them had bought half an ell of duffel cloth, he hung it loosely about him, "without sewing, just as torn off, and, as they go away, they look very much at themselves, and think they are very fine." The energy of the French Catholic and of the New England Puritan missionaries was foreign to the temper of the Dutch Calvinists; but the churches of Albany succeeded, from time to time, in bringing a number of the Indians to Christianity. The Dutch dominies found it a discouraging work, however, as

well among the Indians on the sea-coast as among the Mohawks about Albany. In 1657 Megapolensis, then at New Amsterdam, and his colleague, wrote to Holland that the Indian whom they had had under instruction to teach his people, and who had learned to read and write good Dutch and had made a public profession of faith, had of late taken to drinking brandy, had pawned his Bible, and had "become a real beast." This was the end of similar beginnings in many places.

It was, however, in the colonies of Massachusetts and Plymouth, and on the island of Martha's Vineyard, that the most persistent and successful attempts were made in colonial times to assimilate the Indian's modes of living and thinking to that of the white man. There was a force and tenacity in

Puritanism that rivaled in effectiveness the enthusiasm and discipline of the Jesuits, and when once the energies of the New England divines were directed to the Christianizing and civilizing of pagans, some result was sure to follow. Though the work was attempted by Roger Williams in Rhode Island and was begun successfully by the Mayhews, father and son, on Martha's Vineyard, it found its chief agent in John Eliot, the famous "apostle to the Indians," whose courage, sagacity, and self-denial are the highest glory of early New England Puritanism. The lapse of time, which dims the fame of the eloquence of Cotton and Hooker, and the advance of thought, which makes the debates of the great synod of Cambridge puerile nonsense and the learning of Norton and the Mathers of little account, only increase the luster of the Roxbury preacher. His patient devotion made the wilderness of barbarism to blossom with Indian villages governed by law and striving after regular morality, while his example infused a more humane spirit into the rigorous Puritanism of his time. He remembered that such work must be slow, and chose for his motto: *Ab extremo ad extremum nisi per media*. He had the supreme condescension of strong goodness to the infirmities begotten of savagery and vice. He entertained no false notions of savage character, but felt the hideousness of human barbarism; he even calls the Indians "the dregs of mankind." He stooped to win their affections by means suited to their childishness: at the close of his first public interview he gave apples to the children and tobacco to the men. When they wept, he shed tears; his heart was like a mother's to them. The first prayer he was able to utter in their tongue touched their stolid natures profoundly. They would sometimes lie awake all night from the excitement caused by his sympathetic discourses. It is impossible, even now, to read

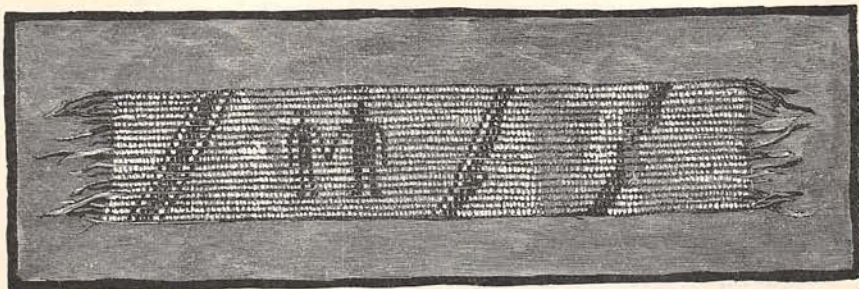


FROM THE ORIGINAL DRAWING MADE BY JOHN WHITE IN 1585.

without emotion his narrative of the awakening of conscience in some of the Indians, of the confession of faults, and the tearful reconciliation of domestic quarrels.

Their minds, not inured to the hardy speculations of theology, received Eliot's system with difficulty. They asked him what would become of the soul of a man if he were cased in iron a foot thick, and cast into the fire. They wished to know why God did not kill the devil, and have done with him. But he chiefly won them by his appeals to a commonplace sense of right and wrong, and to their domestic feelings. He persuaded the tyrannical husband to make public and contrite confession of wife-beating, and he reconciled the unruly son and unkind father by bringing them to mutual confessions and forgiveness in the presence of their neighbors. By seeking the Indians at their great fishing resorts, by accepting the rude conditions of their life, by hardihood under exposure, and by coolness in peril, he won their esteem.

Eliot had need of his motto, for his converts began their new life at a very low point, as the early laws which they instituted for their own reformation bear witness. They



WAMPUM BELT, PRESENTED BY INDIANS TO WILLIAM PENN. (BY PERMISSION OF THE LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA.)



JOHN ELIOT (BY PERMISSION, FROM A PORTRAIT IN POSSESSION OF THE FAMILY OF THE LATE WILLIAM WHITING, ESQ.)

imposed penalties on idleness, lewdness, long hair in men and short hair in women, sponging on one's neighbors, scantiness of apparel in women. Later there were rules against powwowing, lying, stealing, polygamy, quarreling, pride, Sabbath-breaking, greasing one's self, and certain other offenses that are better left unnamed. These are the blue laws of the aborigines. By degrees many of the Indians were reduced to some order, though they never became industrious, and were liable to many lapses into savagery. General Gookin, the agent of the Massachusetts General Court, was Eliot's principal assistant in the civil part of his work. There was much opposition from the medicine-men, and a more dangerous antagonism was stirred up by the jealousy of the chiefs. Mockery was added to intimidation. Two lads from the Christian village were jeeringly nicknamed respectively Jehovah

and Jesus. One of the chiefs on Martha's Vineyard, for "walking with the English," was wounded by an assassin sent from the mainland. One cannot but regret the waste of time and effort in Eliot's translation of the whole Bible into a dialect spoken by a few thousand people, and destined to pass swiftly out of use. He also spent breath in giving lectures to Indian teachers on "logic and theology," after the manner of the times, and in 1672 printed a thousand "logic primers" in their language. Money was freely given in England by Robert Boyle and others; much of it was expended in New England in trying to educate Indians in Harvard College, for the ministry. Aside from the inherent folly of giving classical or scholastic instruction to an Indian preacher, the Indian youth were not fitted by nature to receive a liberal education, and the change in their hereditary

habits aggravated their natural tendency to pulmonary disease, so that this part of the experiment was an entire failure—the only Indian graduate died at twenty years of age, and, failing students, the “Indian College” building was turned into a printing-office. But the most trying part of Eliot’s experience must have come from the instability of many of his converts. Some of the most prominent relapsed into barbarism and vice, and some engaged in Philip’s massacres. Among these was the Indian printer who had helped Eliot in issuing the Bible. Yet those of his converts who took part with Philip in the massacres scrupled much as to whether they might eat horse-flesh in case of necessity.

We must not, however, estimate at too low a rate the results of the labors of the apostle and those associated with him. Just before the outbreak of Philip’s massacres, when the missionary work was at its best, there were about four thousand in the villages of the “praying Indians,” on Martha’s Vineyard, Cape Cod, and about Boston, chiefly among sedentary fishing tribes, and those living intermingled with the settlers. Missionary labor was never very successful in a dominant tribe.

In the hurricane of popular resentment which broke forth after the outbreak of the massacre under Philip, Eliot and Gookin had need of all their courage and address to preserve the faithful praying Indians from the wrath of the white man. The apostle’s former popularity in these times turned into something like odium, but his courage and devotion increased with the distress of his people, who were shut up on one of the islands in Boston harbor for safety until they were at last permitted to fight against Philip. After the tempest subsided, it came to pass, by the labor of those who succeeded Eliot, that all of the New England Indians who survived the wars, the diseases, and the vices introduced by Europeans, were brought, to a greater or less extent, under the influence of Christianity and law. But a regular life has always proved not only irksome, but unwholesome, to the Indian. Caucasians have been acclimated to civilization only by the slow advance of centuries. A rapid reduction to a civilized state is a passage from extreme to extreme, without the intervening mean. The moral and economic improvement wrought in the condition of the Indians in New England and on Long Island has produced a gradual and almost total extinction of the red race; the white man’s virtues are nearly as fatal to the Indian as his vices.

It is not my purpose to trace here the history of Indian missions, except in so far as it illuminates some traits of colonial life, and

the character and fate of the aboriginal race. The politico-religious mission of the English Church among the Iroquois belongs to the history of the conflict between the English and French colonies. The later and partly successful missions of the Congregationalists and Scotch Presbyterians were the overflow of the great Whitefieldian revival, and their history belongs to the account of that movement. The discouragement attending all these efforts is well expressed in the confession of the veteran missionary, John Brainerd, at the close of the colonial epoch: “There is too much truth in the common saying, ‘Indians will be Indians.’”

But it would be a mistake not to mention here the quaintly picturesque mission of the Moravian brotherhood, which began in 1739, at Shokomeko, on the borders of New York and Connecticut, and spread to many tribes, so that the voices of the German brethren were heard in the valley of the Ohio long before the Revolution. Never was there a more single-hearted religious enthusiasm than that of the Moravian missionaries, dwelling often in wigwams remote from human fellowship, and in frequent perils, winning the savages by incredible affection, and recalling them from their disheartening lapses into barbarism by a long-suffering patience that knew no exhaustion. The communal organization of the Moravians gave them an isolation from worldly interest, and a discipline as effective as that of the Jesuits, while the gentle simplicity of their manners and the intensity of their religious faith fitted them for a work of reformation among savages. They did not escape the fatality attending all Indian missions. Though they held a peaceful position aloof from the conflicts between France and England, Royalists and Continentals, which agitated even the wilderness, yet they were often ground between the millstones. The ignorant settlers about their first mission accounted them French Jesuits in disguise, and the meek brethren endured the most shameful persecutions from the authorities in New York, who were unwilling that a drunken Indian should be brought to decency without the Governor’s license. They suffered much from hostile Indians, and more from barbarous frontiersmen; nearly a hundred of their converts—men, women, and children—were massacred by white men at Gnadenhutzen in 1782.

There is one indirect and unexpected result of religious propagandism among the natives. The old religion in some of the pagan tribes has suffered a change. The Great Spirit, chief of all the gods and demons,—hardly, if at all, known to their thought before,—has come

into prominence. Their festivals and superstitious observances are now marked by something more entitled to be called worship than were their old incantations. The religious ideas disseminated among them in the later colonial time affected the teachings of the Indian prophets, who arose after the Revolution in great numbers. Such was the great Ganeodiyo, the Iroquois reformer, brother of the famous chief, Complanter. After a life of dissipation, Ganeodiyo fell into a trance and saw visions sent by the Great Spirit. He devoted the last sixteen years of his life to reforming the ancient religion and setting to rights the morals of his fellow-tribesmen. All of the unchristianized Iroquois received his message, and after his time the decrease of their numbers through intemperance ceased. One curious effect of his religious teaching has been a sort of apotheosis of Washington; for though no white man can ever enter the kingdom of heaven, yet George Washington, the magnanimous friend of the Six Nations, abides in luxury, solitude and silence, in a house fast by the very door of Paradise, where every good Indian, on his way to bliss, is permitted to look in and see him. Similar though less dominant prophets arose among the Delawares, one of whom supported Pontiac's hostilities; and of the same kind was the Shawnee prophet, Tensk-watawa, the brother of Tecumseh, who strongly influenced the Indians of Ohio and Indiana, in the beginning of this century, and such perhaps were the prophets among the Creeks. These reformers adopted the old superstitions, customs, and festivals, but seem to have given them a somewhat deeper significance. To the amorphous superstitions of the savages they added certain notions that were, no doubt, received from the missionaries, such as that of a supreme deity, and that of reward and penalty in a future life. All, or nearly all of them, made abstinence from strong drink a prominent article in their moral code, and denounced witches and sorcery; and all of them set their faces against the influence of the white man, of which they were themselves the unconscious offspring.

Speculation on the possibilities of development in the Indian race must always be rather void of result. In Mexico and Peru two of its branches had attained a considerable civilization, a ponderous architecture, a grotesque and colossal sculpture, and a hieroglyphic system of writing. Within the bounds of the thirteen colonies, the Creeks or Muscogees had come to plant extensively, to build log-houses with a roof of thatch, to do some rude wood-carving, to sculpture elab-

orate tobacco-pipes of stone, and to weave with a rude threddle. The Hurons, before the earliest period of European settlement, carried on an intermediary commerce with other tribes; the Tuscaroras made maple bowls and ladles for sale to other Indians. The powerful Muscogee Confederacy at the South, and that of the Iroquois Five Nations at the North, were triumphs of savage statecraft, and had apparently set out on that tedious and bloody path to civilization trodden for ages by the European races. The superiority of the Iroquois to the Algonkin tribes has been exaggerated; but the former certainly had more convenient houses, a larger dependence on agriculture, superior craft and enterprise in attack, a better foresight and skill in fortification, and were able to transmit from one generation to another a stronger national cohesion than that of the tribes about them. They had emerged from the state in which petty clans are mutually repellant, like the molecules of gases; a very slow process of condensation was probably going on, and the far-reaching conquests and fierce extermination of foes by the Five Nations tend to show that the awful law of selection by survival of the strongest, the most compactly organized, and the most ingenious and energetic, was at work in the tribal warfare of America. On the other hand, the remains of ancient art found in the mounds of the Mississippi Valley, and the massive earth-works of the same region, indicate that the Indians in that valley in antiquity were as far advanced in the arts as the more recent tribes, and that they were as compactly and extensively organized, and were possibly more agricultural than any of the modern tribes north of Mexico. Development in art and organization would seem to be always a result of the necessities growing out of an increasing density of population, but the population of the tribes in the colonies was apparently stationary. Incessant war, frequent want, occasional pestilence, and the destruction of unborn offspring caused the increase, if there was any, to be very small. Whether in some far distant future a civilization might have been evolved comparable to that achieved on the Eastern continent, cannot now be conjectured; the arrival of Europeans put an end to the experiment. There is abundant compensation for the temporary evils that followed the contact of the two races, in that eons of massacre and torture horrible to contemplate have been spared by the introduction of a civilization already somewhat advanced and necessarily dominant over and exclusive of the primitive barbarism.