

EVANGELISM AND ENSLAVEMENT

Protestant and Catholic Missions to the Indians on the Expanding Western Frontier

Introduction

Martin Luther stood before the assembled multitude. He had been called before Emperor Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire and his collected clerical body to defend himself of the charges of heresy. He faced certain excommunication and possibly even the fate of death as had been dealt to an earlier heretic, Jan Hus of Bohemia. Even in the face of adversity, Luther refused to recant his charges against the Catholic orthodoxy. Luther refused to deny his faith, "I cannot...I will not recant anything...Here I stand. I cannot do otherwise. God help me. Amen." As he left the hall, the Spaniards hissed and called for him to feel the flames.¹

In another part of the world, a different type of trial by fire was taking place. The ruler of the vast Aztec empire, Motecuhzoma II, believing the Spanish conquistador Hernando Cortes to be the rebirth of the Mayan king Quetzalcoatl, acquiesced to his destiny. Motecuhzoma had been sacrificing as many as two thousand people a day to his gods to forestall the imminent decimation that his calendar had predicted, but now he lay defeated and despondent beneath his temple. In a last gesture, he asked to be made a Christian before the huge cross that now dominated his temple. However, the Spanish priest that had accompanied Cortes on his exploits was too busy amassing gold to catechize the former ruler of an empire. Motecuhzoma was stabbed to death by his jailers in the darkest part of his cell without ever having been granted eternal salvation.²

Cortes celebrated his victory over Motecuhzoma II and the Aztecs by establishing the Spanish colony of Nueva Espana in the year 1521. Just before the assault upon the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlan, he declared his intentions:

Their principle motive and intention must be to dislodge and root out idolatry from all the natives of those regions and to bring them, or at least to desire to bring them to salvation, and that they must be brought to a knowledge of God and his holy Catholic faith... My principle interest and motive is to make this war and others that may be waged in order to bring and reduce the said natives to the said knowledge of our faith and belief, and later to subjugate them and bring them under the yoke of imperial and royal sovereignty of your holy majesty, to whom the overlordship of all these regions belongs...What greater or better reward could one desire here on earth than to uproot these evils and plant the faith among such cruel men, by proclaiming the Holy Gospel? *Let us go, then, and serve God, honor our nation, magnify our King, and enrich ourselves, for the conquest of Mexico is all these things.*³

Empires are made by gold, but built by men. The earliest explorers of the Americas came in search of wealth. They brought with them the sanction of their rulers and the blessings of their God. When these riches were not immediately accessible, they turned to the most imminent and available commodity...human flesh. They did so in service of their God. In the confusion of conquest, the line between evangelism and enslavement became frighteningly thin. This is a history of missions that is seldom told.

¹Roland Bainton. *Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther*. (New York: Mentor Books, 1955), p. 144 .

²Tzvetan Todorov. *The Conquest of America*. (New York: Harper Perennial, 1992), p. 56

³Quoted in E.E. Sylvest, Jr. *Motifs of Franciscan Mission Theory in Sixteenth Century New Spain Province of the Holy Gospel*. (Washington, D.C. : Academy of American Franciscan History, 1975) p. 23

Background to Enslavement

The institution of slavery is as old as humanity.

The modern slave trade began a half century before Columbus crossed the Atlantic. In 1441 the Portuguese mariner Antam Goncalvez made the first European landing on the west coast of Africa near Cape Bojador, just south of the Sahara. Originally in search of skins and oils, Goncalvez discovered a commodity that he believed would greatly please his sovereign. He seized ten Africans and transported them to Lisbon as a gift to Prince Henry the Navigator. The treasure so pleased Henry that he immediately bequeathed the gift to Pope Eugene IV. In turn, the Pope conferred upon Henry the title to all lands to be discovered to the east of Cape Blanco, a point on the West Coast some 300 miles above Senegal. Thus began a new era in human history.⁴

The slave trade began officially in 1472 when a Portuguese captain, Ruy de Sequiero, received from the king of Benin royal permission to trade for gold, ivory, and slaves. The whites did not themselves venture into the interior of the African continent to procure slaves; they left this to their African trading partners. The trade was confined to the coastal strongholds where slaves captured from the interior of Africa by other Africans would be bartered for European guns, metal implements, beads, rum, and textiles. The mercantile aspects of the slave trade were an innovation for the Africans. Slavery had existed in traditional societies for centuries. Conquering nations would capture enemies to be used as household servants, soldiers, artisans, and occasionally as sacrificial offerings to tribal deities. The captured opponents were usually treated as much dignity as could be afforded to an outsider. They were never seen as a commodity to be exploited for private gain, nor used as chattel for mass agricultural projects.

A similar kind of slavery developed in Europe because of Moslems capturing Christians and vice-versa during religious wars of the Middle Ages. One became a slave by being an "outsider" or an "infidel," by being a prisoner of war, by selling oneself to alleviate debts, or by committing heinous crimes. Though human rights for these "slaves" were severely limited, they were nevertheless regarded as members of society enjoying certain fundamental rights and self-dignity. The status of slave was not irrevocable and not automatically transferred to one's children.⁵

⁴Benjamin Quarles. *The Negro in the Making of America*. (New York: Collier Books, 1987) p. 19

⁵Gary Nash. *Red, White and Black: The Peoples of Early America*. (Englewood Cliffs: N.J., 1982) pp. 143-144

The discovery of the commercial potential of Africa provided an opportunity to test the new religious anthropology that accommodated the vast economic demands of a papacy that had just tasted the wealth obtained through the Crusades. The Crusades established that war conducted in the interests of the Holy Church was always just and therefore the fruits of conquest were legitimate and the enterprise holy. The Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453 and the threat to Mediterranean Christendom forced Spain and Portugal into a siege mentality. Within two years after the fall of Constantinople, Pope Nicholas V empowered Portugal's king to enslave all persons and seize the lands and properties of "all Saracens and pagans whatsoever, and all other enemies of Christ wheresoever placed."⁶ The Portuguese used the bull's inclusive language to sanction their conquests and slaving raids wherever economic interests made its use prudent. The Crusade against the heathen became global in scope.⁷

The religious anthropology of colonialism assumed an innate and absolute superiority of the European powers over all other people because of divine endowment. The enemies of the colonial powers were also the enemies of the colonialist's god and therefore outside the protection of moral law applicable to that god's devotees. Francis Jennings describes the ideology:

No slaughter was impermissible, no lie dishonorable, no breach of trust shameful, if it advantaged the champions of true religion. In the gradual transitions from religious conceptions to racial conceptions, the gulf between persons calling themselves Christian and the other persons, whom they called heathens, translated smoothly into the chasm between whites and coloreds. The law of moral obligation sanctioned behavior on only one side of that chasm... the Christian Caucasians of Europe are not only holy and white but also *civilized*, while the pigmented heathens of distant lands are not only idolatrous and dark but *savage*. Thus the absolutes of predator and prey have been preserved, and the grandeur of invasion and massacre has kept its sanguinary radiance.⁸

In the fifteenth century, a new kind of slavery was born. It was a slavery sanctioned by a religious ideology in which the very humanity of the religious "other" was called into question by a system in which political, economic, racial, and religious interests became hopelessly intertwined. The "religious" motives of colonial expansion became mired in greed, power, racism, and political intrigue. The Bull of Pope Nicholas V exemplifies this confusion of motives. Nicholas sought to:

bestow suitable favors and special graces on those Catholic kings and princes, who...not only restrain the savage excesses of the Saracens and of other infidels... but also for the defense and increase of the faith vanquish them and their kingdoms and habitations, though situated in the remotest parts unknown to us...⁹

For this great work of propagation of the faith, Nicholas granted to King Alfonso of Portugal:

⁶The Bull Romanus Pontifex, Jan 8, 1455, Francis Gardiner Davenport, ed. *European Treaties Bearing on the History of the United States and Its Dependencies*, Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication 254, I (Washington, D.C., 1917) p. 23.

⁷Francis Jennings, *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest*. (Chapel Hill: U.N.C. Press, 1975) p. 4

⁸Jennings, p. 6

⁹Bull Romanus Pontifex, p. 21

free and ample faculty...to invade, search out, capture, vanquish, and subdue all Saracens and pagans whatsoever, and other enemies of Christ wheresoever placed, and the kingdoms, dukedoms, principalities, dominions, possessions, and all movable and immovable goods whatsoever held and possessed by them and to reduce their persons to perpetual slavery, and to apply and appropriate to himself and his successors the kingdoms, dukedoms, counties, principalities, dominions, possessions, and goods, and to convert them to his and their use and profit.¹⁰

Thus in order to increase the faith, the Christians of the Old World must meet the peoples of different worlds, "vanquish them" and "reduce their persons to perpetual slavery." This was the papal decree. This was the "Great Commission."

It is into this context that we place the discovery of the new world. The Renaissance explorers were sure of the existence of an eternal and immutable principle that guaranteed the intelligibility of their relations to each other and to their world and thus made possible their life in society. It was a principle to be expressed in the progress and elevation of civilized men who, striving to imitate their God, would bring order to chaos. The new world was such a chaos, a new found chaos. Her natural wealth was there for the taking because it was there for the ordering. So, too, were her natural inhabitants.¹¹

The Spanish

When Christopher Columbus arrived on the shores of the New World, he did so propelled by an apocalyptic vision in which he saw himself as the fulfillment of biblical prophecy. Throughout his life, Columbus's activities were as much directed by a sense of religious mysticism as by curiosity about unknown regions of the world.¹² Though our mythology tells us otherwise, even his very mission to the new world was financed by the wealth obtained by the Spanish triumph over the "Saracens" in Grenada.¹³ It is entirely appropriate to speak of Columbus's voyage as a "mission," for the conquest and colonization of the new world was theoretically justified and motivated by the task of Christian Mission.¹⁴ The extension of the Spanish sovereignty was *ipso facto* the extension Christianity. The Inquisition and the crusades had well established the fact that to be Spanish was to be a Christian.

Just as with the Portuguese, the Spaniards were driven by mixed motives, "Civil and sacred interests were intertwined in a system so thorough and so complex as scarcely to be separated, so permanent and pervasive that organic union escapes any but a careful observer."¹⁵ Legally, the initial claims to the new lands was based upon the supposition that the Pope had authority to grant the benefits of those lands to the Spanish crown in support of missionary activity undertaken by it. Beyond these legal considerations, however, there was a religious concern for the spiritual and physical welfare of the Native Americans.¹⁶ The Bull of Grenada, granted in 1486 by Innocent VII to Ferdinand and Isabella spelled out the terms of the mission:

¹⁰Bull Romanus Pontifex, p. 23

¹¹Roy Harvey Pearce, *Savagism and Civilization: A Study of the Indian and the American Mind*. (Berkeley: Univ of California Press, 1988, p. 3

¹²Ronald Sanders. *Lost Tribes and Promised Lands: The Origins of American Racism*. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1978) p. 70

¹³Daniel Fogel. *Junipero Serra, the Vatican, and Enslavement Theology*. (San Francisco: ISM Press, 1988) p. 14

¹⁴Sylvest p. 9

¹⁵W. Eugene Shiels. *King and Church: The rise and fall of the Patronato Real* (Jesuit Studies; Chicago: Loyola Univ. Press, 1961)p. 9

¹⁶Sylvest, p. 4

Our chief concern and commission from heaven is the propagation of the orthodox faith, the increase of the Christian religion, the salvation of the barbarian nations, and the repression of infidels and their conversion to the faith. Hence it is that Catholic kings and princes, athletes of Christ and tireless warriors battling in that cause, never fail to find in us their deserved assistance and favor. For the more precarious that freely embraced combat for the sake of immortal God, the greater their insistence on diligent and expert pressing of the contest and the better they realize that, beyond the salvation of their souls, the Apostolic See grants them the most abundant recompense. This we gladly confer, and as a reward of their crusade make them rulers, guardians, and keepers of the lands they conquer and of the people their resident.¹⁷

The inclusive language of the *reconquista* was not lost upon Columbus. The search for wealth was an idea that formed a critical element in his missionary effort. The gold would not enrich him, but would go to the Catholic monarchy and the Papal Estates. On the day following the discovery of the New World, Columbus noted in his diary, "I was attentive and worked hard to know if there was any gold."¹⁸ Several days later he inscribed "I do not wish to delay but to discover and go to many islands to find gold."¹⁹ When his crew faced dismay, he comforted them, "This day, they completely lost sight of land, and many sighed and wept for fear that they would not see it again for a long time. The Admiral comforted them with great promises of lands and riches, to sustain their hope and dispel their fears of a long voyage."²⁰ It was dreams of gold and untold wealth that filled the nights of the sailors.

Columbus seemed driven by a different motive: "Our Lord knows well that I do not bear these sufferings to enrich myself, for, certainly I know that everything in this age is vain except what is done for the honor and service of God."²¹ His voyages were dedicated "to the glory of the Holy Trinity and to that of the Holy Christian religion."²² His goal he made evident, "I hope in Our Lord to be able to propagate His holy name and His gospel throughout the Universe."²³ Columbus regarded himself as chosen, as charged with a divine mission, and one who sees divine intervention in his every course, in the movement of the waves as in the wreck of his ship. He makes this entry in his logbook, "By many signal miracles God has shown Himself on the voyage."²⁴ Enrichment and evangelism fused into a pervasive ideology:

What has been accomplished is great and wonderful, and not at all proportionate to my deserts, but to the sacred Christian faith; and to the piety and religion of our Sovereigns. For what the mind of man could not compass, the spirit of God has granted to mortals. For God is wont to listen to his servants who love his precepts, even in impossibilities, as has happened to me in the present instance, who have accomplished what human strength has hitherto never attained. For, if anyone has written or told anything about these islands, all have done so either obscurely or by guesswork, so that it has almost seemed to be fabulous.

¹⁷Shiels, p. 66

¹⁸Quoted in Todorov, p. 8

¹⁹ibid.

²⁰Todorov, pp. 8-9

²¹Todorov, p. 11

²²ibid.

²³ibid.

²⁴ibid.

Therefore let King and Queen and Princes, and their most fortunate realms, and all other Christian provinces, let us all return thanks to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who has bestowed so great a victory and reward upon us; let there be processions and solemn sacrifices prepared; let the churches be decked with festal boughs, let Christ rejoice upon earth as he rejoices in heaven, as he foresees that so many souls of so many people heretofore lost are to be saved; and let us be glad not only for the exaltation of our faith, but also for the increase of temporal prosperity, in which not only Spain, but all Christendom is about to share.²⁵

People are to be saved, the faith is to be exalted, and there is to be an "increase in temporal prosperity." Columbus did not waver from his goals. In the back of his mind there was a more grand vision of a universal crusade and holy mission. Las Casas, in his portrait of Columbus, described the vision:

"When gold or other precious objects were brought to him, he entered his chapel and said, 'Let us thank Our Lord who made us worthy of discovering so much wealth.' He was a most jealous keeper of the honor of God; eager to convert the peoples and to see the seed and faith of Jesus Christ spread everywhere, and especially devoted to the hope that God would make him worthy of helping to win back the Holy Sepulchre; and in this devotion and the confidence which he had that God would help him in the discovery of this World which He promised, he begged Queen Isabella to make a vow that she would spend all the wealth gained by the Crown as a result of the discovery in winning back the land and the House of Jerusalem, which the Queen did"²⁶

Columbus did indeed discover gold and a wealth of other resources in the Caribbean. In his first report back to the king, he catalogued the results of his expedition:

Finally, to sum up in a few words the chief results and advantages of our departure and speedy return, I make this promise to our most invincible sovereigns, that, if I am supported by some little assistance from them, I will give them as much gold as they have need of, and, in addition spices, cotton, and mastic, which is found only in chios, and as much aloes-wood, *and as many heathen slaves as their majesty may choose to demand;*²⁷ (italics mine)

In his first report to the King and Queen of Spain, Columbus proposed to bring them "as many heathen slaves as their majesty may choose to demand." Thus began the Atlantic Slave Trade, one of the most barbaric chapters in human history. Though Columbus may be credited with the "discovery" of the new world, it was his "discovery" of the commercial potential for the transatlantic shipment of slaves that may have had just as significant an impact on global history. Just as gold, spices, and other commodities were shipped to Spain, the cargo of human flesh became part and parcel of the "temporal prosperity, in which not only Spain, but all Christendom is about to share." It is for these "heathen slaves" that we are to "return thanks to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who has bestowed so great a victory and reward upon us; let there be processions and solemn sacrifices prepared; let the churches be decked with festal boughs, let Christ rejoice upon earth as he rejoices in heaven, as he foresees that so many souls of so many people heretofore lost are to be saved."

Thus, into this already confusing scenario of mission and conquest was thrown yet another powerful dynamic, the status of the Native American as an object in the missionary enterprise. The human soul became the property of Christ, the human body became the property of the church. Human beings became elements of "temporal prosperity." No line of distinction was made between those two. The missionary enterprise operated

²⁵Christopher Columbus. *Letter to Gabriel Sanchez*. in *Old South Leaflets, Vol II* #34 (Boston: Directors of the Old South Work, n.d.) p. 7

²⁶B. de Las Casas. *History of the Indies Vol I*. (New York: Harper and Row, 1971) p. 2

²⁷Columbus, p 6

under the terms of free enterprise. Those who refused to be converted were enslaved. Those who were converted became Christian slaves. For the Catholic rulers and the Papacy, it was a win/win situation.

Columbus saw the Indians as suitable prospects for evangelization. He described them:

"These people have no religion, nor are they idolaters, but very gentle and ignorant of evil, and do not even know how to kill one another. They are very ready to say the prayers that we teach them and to make the sign of the Cross. Hence Your Highnesses must be persuaded to make Christians of them...I believe that ,if we begin, in a very short time Your Highnesses will succeed in converting to the Holy Faith a multitude of peoples while gaining great domains of wealth as well for all the people of Spain."²⁸

This was to be a Christian project carried out for the honor of God. Columbus saw his missionary project as, "for the end and the beginning of this enterprise was the propagation and the glory of the Christian religion."²⁹ Its purpose was to bring savage heathens to Christian civilization. In his first trip, Columbus seized several captives and takes them back to Spain so that "upon their return they might be the interpreters of the Christians and might adopt our customs and our faith."³⁰ In a different letter, he described their reduction to civility. They would "be made to build cities, to be taught to wear our clothes, and to adopt our customs."³¹

Columbus also saw the Indians as suitable prospects for enslavement. He stated in his first letters, "they would make good and industrious servants" and "they are fit to be ruled."³² Their docility would make them easy to capture and control, "With fifty men Your Highnesses would hold them all in subjection and do with them all that you could wish."³³ Because Columbus was not able to find the quantities of gold that he desired, he envisioned another system of commercial exchange. Ships would be used to transport cattle from Europe to the Americas; the cattle would be traded for Indian slaves to be transported back to Europe. He describes his project: "From here one might send, in the name of the Holy Trinity, as many slaves as could be sold, as well as a quantity of Brazil (timber). If the information that I have is correct, it appears that we could sell four thousand slaves, who might be worth twenty millions and more."³⁴ In Columbus's mind, the propagation of the faith and the submission to slavery were indissolubly linked. Throughout the history of the missionary enterprise in America, this link would seldom be shattered.

On Columbus's second voyage to the Americas, he brought along with him seventeen ships and more than twelve hundred men. He was accompanied by several Franciscan priests to engage in the missionary effort to the indigenous people of the Caribbean. The priests carried with them the tools of the sacrament and the vestments of their holy office. They came with a holy commission from Pope Alexander VI granting that contingent upon the missionary enterprise, all above a certain line of demarcation with Portugal would be Spains to claim:

²⁸Todorov, p. 44

²⁹Todorov, p. 43

³⁰ibid.

³¹ibid.

³²ibid.

³³Todorov, p. 45

³⁴Todorov, p. 47

Among other duties pleasing to the Divine Majesty and dear to our heart is that the Catholic faith and Christian religion be particularly exalted in our day and everywhere be spread and enlarged, so that souls be saved and barbaric peoples be humbled and brought to the faith.³⁵

As soon as they arrived, the crew of Columbus ship set about establishing a mission/fort as the center of their operations in the New World. They called this mission/fort Hispaniola.

The missionaries immediately set out to evangelize the Arawak people. They built a church for the inhabitants of Hispaniola and the surrounding community. The missionaries brought natives to the church to submit and consent to venerate the holy images. When a few natives were much less than reverent to the holy images, Bartholome Columbus had them punished accordingly. "As lieutenant of the Viceroy and governor of these islands, he brought these wretched men to justice and their crimes being duly attested to, he caused them to be burned alive in public."³⁶ From that point on, one can assume, the natives were much more reverent to the holy images and willing to convert to these Christian faith.

Using Hispaniola as his mission base, Columbus set out to explore the islands in his immediate vicinity in search of slaves and gold. They went from island to island taking natives as captive. On one island, they found that the sailors who had been left behind killed by the Indians after they had roamed the island looking for gold, taking women and children as slaves for sex and labor.³⁷

When the gold he found did not prove adequate to meet his needs (or his claims), Columbus sent expedition after expedition deeper into the New World. They found no gold fields, but they found ample human cargo to fill their holds. In 1495, they went on a great slave raid and rounded up nearly 1500 men, women and children and put them in a vast holding pen surrounded by soldiers and Spanish Mastiffs.³⁸ Michele de Cuneo, a member of the expedition, describes the project:

"When our caravels . . . were to leave for Spain, we gathered in our settlement one thousand six hundred male and female persons of these Indians, and of these we embarked in our caravels on February 17, 1495 five hundred fifty souls among the healthiest males and females. For those who remained, we let it be known in the vicinity that anyone who wanted to take some of them could do so, to the amount desired; which was done. And when each man was thus provided with slaves, there still remained about four hundred, to whom permission was granted to go where they wished. Among them were many women with children still at suck. Since they were afraid that we might return to capture them once again, and in order to escape us the better, they left their children anywhere on the ground and began to flee like desperate creatures; and some fled so far that they found themselves at seven or eight days' distance from our community at Isabella, beyond the mountains and across enormous rivers; consequently they will henceforth be captured only with great difficulty."

³⁵Shiels, p. 78

³⁶Todorov, p. 44

³⁷Howard Zinn. *A People's History of the United States*. (New York: Harper Perennial, 1990) p. 4

³⁸ibid.

Columbus and his sailors set sail for home. Columbus knew that many would die in the middle passage, but he was not deterred. "It is true that many of them die now; but this will not always be so. The Negroes and the Canarians had begun in the same fashion."³⁹ However, when some two hundred of his prize cargo died, Columbus was less philosophical. Cuneo describes the dilemma, "But when we reached the waters off Spain, around two hundred of these Indians died, I believe because of the unaccustomed to the air, which is colder than theirs. We cast them into the sea. . .We disembarked all the slaves, half of whom were sick."⁴⁰ The survivors of this Atlantic passage were put up for sale by the Archdeacon of the town.⁴¹

In order to provide funds for the missionary effort in the New World, Alexander VI granted to the Spanish Crown the right to limited ecclesiastical taxation, and eventually in 1501, the tithes of the Indies. In the province of Cicao of Haiti, Columbus ordered all persons fourteen years or older to collect a certain amount of gold as tithe every three months. When they brought it, they were given copper tokens (crosses?) to wear around their neck. Indians found without a copper token had their hands cut off. Indians could scarcely find enough gold to meet their tithe, so they fled into the jungle. They were hunted down with dogs and were killed.⁴² This was the lesson to those who did not meet their tithe.

Though Columbus's interest in women was purely for their potential as Christians, he was not adverse to their potential value to others. "I have sent men to a house on the west bank of the river. They have brought me back seven head of women, girls and adults, and three infants."⁴³ Besides the destruction of the gynocentric political and religious structure of traditional American societies and the brutality implemented in the establishment of Spanish sexual mores upon traditional societies, violence against women was a pervasive element of the *reconquista*.⁴⁴ Rape, abuse, and sexual torture were all elements brought from the Inquisition into the new frontier. Columbus gave women to his followers as readily as he distributed trinkets to the native chiefs. Michele de Cuneo describes his encounter with one of Columbus's "gifts":

"While I was in the boat, I captured a very beautiful Carib woman whom the aforesaid Lord Admiral gave to me, and with whom, having brought her into my cabin, and she being naked as is their custom, I conceived the desire to take my pleasure. I wanted to put my desire to execution, but she was unwilling for me to do so, and treated me with her nails in such wise that I would have preferred never to have begun. But seeing this, I took a rope-end and thrashed her well, following which she produced such screaming and wailing as would cause you not to believe your ears. Finally we reached an agreement such that, I can tell you, she seemed to have been raised in a veritable school of harlots."⁴⁵

Thus in the space of one chance encounter, a native woman went from beauty to the beast. This also was to be the legacy of the mission movement in America.

Columbus's legacy to the islands that he discovered was tragedy and decimation. The prospects of conversion and slavery were devastating to the people of the islands. Among the Arawaks, mass suicides began, with cassava poison. Infants were killed to preserve them from a life of slavery. Within two years of Columbus

³⁹Todorov, p. 49

⁴⁰ibid

⁴¹Zinn, p. 4

⁴²ibid

⁴³Todorov, p. 48

⁴⁴Paula Gunn Allen. *The Sacred Hoop*. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986) p 190

⁴⁵Todorov, p. 49

arrival on the isle of Hispaniola, half the population was gone. By the year 1550, there were less than five hundred. By 1650, there were none of the original Arawaks or their descendants left on the island.⁴⁶

Back on the continent, Columbus had opened the way for a generation of Spanish explorers. Amerigo Vespucci set sail for the New World. In 1498, he ventured to the coast of the Carolinas where he captured 222 slaves and returned to Spain "where we were well received and sold our slaves."⁴⁷ Alonso de Ojedo set sail for the West Indies strictly to engage in slave raids. He was killed by the poison arrow of a South American Indian.⁴⁸ The Portuguese explorer Gaspar Corte Real kidnapped 57 Beothuk Indians from northeast Canada and took them to Lisbon where the Venetian ambassador commented that "...they are extremely fitted to endure labor, and they will probably turn out the best slaves which have been discovered up to this time."⁴⁹ King Manoel called this land where the slaves came from *Terra del Laboratore*, "the land of the workers," or, more freely translated "the slave coast" and from this name it gets its modern name Labrador.⁵⁰ In 1506, two different sorties by Vincente Pinzon and Juan Diaz de Solis made slave raids into the very heart of the Mayan empire in the Yucatan peninsula.⁵¹ In 1512, Ponce De Leon set sail from Spain with an authorization that any Indians that he might discover should be distributed among the members of the expedition, that the discoverers should be well provided for in the first allotment of slaves, and that they should "derive whatever advantage might be secured thereby."⁵²

The influx of slave traders began to cause chaos for the Spanish who through the *patronato real* had been granted exclusive rights to spread the gospel in the New World. Too many people were pursuing too many things for too many reasons to be effectively controlled by the central government. In 1500, the importation of Native Americans into Spain was halted by the Crown. In the West Indies, however, Native Americans continued to be enslaved in great numbers. By the first decade of the sixteenth century, slave raiders had exhausted their supply in the Caribbean. They moved into the southern United States which served as fertile ground for the slave trade for over half a century.⁵³

Meanwhile, back in Europe two important new canonical decrees played an important role in sixteenth century Spanish colonial policy. The *requerimiento* was drawn up by court theologian and advisor Juan Lopez de Palacios Rubios and was used extensively in evangelization efforts in the New World.⁵⁴ The *requerimiento* was a charter that informed indigenous people of the rights that they would be granted under Spanish sovereignty upon their conversion to Christianity. It also informed them of what would happen should they choose not to acquiesce:

⁴⁶Ginn, p. 5

⁴⁷Amerigo Vespucci. Letter to Pier Soderini *Old South Leaflets, Vol II* #34 (Boston: Directors of the Old South Work, n.d.) p. 16

⁴⁸Carl Waldman. *Atlas of the North American Indians*. [Maps and illustrations by Molly Braun] (New York: Facts on File Publication, 1985), p. 80

⁴⁹Barbara Olexer. *The Enslavement of the American Indian*. (Monroe N.Y.: Library Research Associates, 1982) p. 16

⁵⁰Jack Weatherford, *Native Roots; How the Indians Enriched America*, (New York: Crown Publishers, 1992) p. 138

⁵¹Waldman, p. 80

⁵²A.M. Lauber. *Indian Slavery in Colonial Times Within the Present Limits of the United States*. (Columbia University: Doctoral Dissertation, 1913) p. 48

⁵³Jack D. Forbes. *The Indian in America's Past*. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 1964) p. 88

⁵⁴Sylvest, p. 17

One of these pontiffs, who succeeded that St. Peter as lord of the world in the dignity and seat which I have before mentioned, made donation of these isles and Terra-firma to the aforesaid king and queen and to their successors, our lords, with all that there are in these territories, as is contained in certain writings which passed upon the subject as aforesaid, which you can see if you wish.

So their highnesses are kings and lords of these islands and land of Terra-firma by virtue of this donation; and some islands, and indeed almost all those to whom this has been notified, have received and served their highnesses, as lords and kings, in the way that subjects ought to do, with good will, without any resistance, immediately, without delay, when they were informed of the aforesaid acts. And also they received and obeyed the priests whom their highnesses sent to preach to them and to teach them, our Holy faith; and all these, of their own free will, without any reward and or condition, have become Christians and are so, and their highnesses have joyfully and benignantly received them, and also have commanded them to be treated as their subjects and vassals; and you too are held and obliged to do the same.

Wherefore, as best we can, we ask and require you that you consider what we have said to you, and that you take the time that shall be necessary to understand and deliberate upon it, and that you acknowledge the Church as the ruler and superior of the whole world (por Seniors y Superiors del universo mundo), and the high priest called Pope, and in his name the king and queen Dona Juana our lords, in his place, as superiors, and lords, and kings of these islands and this Terra-firma by virtue of the said donation, and that you consent and give place that these religious fathers should declare and preach to you the aforesaid.

If you do so you will do well, and that which you are obliged to do to their highnesses, and we in their name shall receive you in all love and charity, and shall leave you your wives, and your children, and your lands free without servitude, that you may do with them and with yourselves freely that which you like and think best, and they shall not compel you to turn Christians, unless you yourselves, when informed of the truth, should wish to be converted to our holy Catholic faith, as almost all the inhabitants of the rest of the islands have done; and, besides this, their highnesses award you many privileges and exemptions and will grant you many benefits.

But if you do not do this, and maliciously make delay in it, I certify to you that, with the help of God, we shall powerfully enter into your country, and shall make war against you in all ways and manners that we can, and shall subject you to the yoke and obedience of the Church and of their highnesses; we shall take you, and your wives, and your children, and shall make slaves of them, and as such shall sell and dispose of them as their highnesses may command; and we shall take away your goods, and shall do you all the mischief and damage that we can, as to vassals who do not obey, and refuse to receive their lord, and resist and contradict him; and we protest that the deaths and losses which shall accrue from this are your fault, and not that of their highnesses, or ours, nor of these cavaliers who come with us. And that we have said this to you, and made this Requisition, we request the notary here present to give us this testimony in writing, and we ask the rest who are present that they should be witnesses of this Requisition.⁵⁵

The *requerimiento* was usually read to the Indians, often in Spanish, as a pretext to their conquest. However, its application was usually perfunctory; it was read from the boughs of ships just before commencement of artillery fire or as the slaves were being led away in chains to compounds. The difference between Indians who accepted the *requerimiento* and those who didn't was largely a matter of degrees; one was either a Christian slave or a heathen slave. The *requerimiento* was essentially an apologetic device which provided some sense of a just war to that which was essentially genocide.

As there was much less gold to be found in the New World than expected, the Indians were taken as slave labor on massive plantations called *encomiendas*. The *encomienda* system dated back to the earliest days of the *Reconquista* when Spanish landowners and colonists were granted parcels of newly conquered lands, as well as the services of the people who inhabited them, as a reward for loyal service to the crown. The *encomendero* was theoretically bound by Christian law to instruct his charges, who had principally been Moors and pagans, in the

⁵⁵*El Requerimiento* in Wilcomb Washburn, ed. *The Indian and the White Man* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1964) pp. 307-308

principles of Christianity and the laws of civilized society. What had essentially been a less than benevolent enterprise in the Old World became a brutal and deadly system of exploitation in the New World. Beyond the reaches of royal authority, natives were worked to death in the fields and the mines of the *encomenderos*. A later commentator, the priest Peter Martyr, was to describe the *encomienda* system in his 1516 work *De Orba Novo*:

Yet amidst all these marvels and fertility, there is one point which causes me small satisfaction; these simple, naked natives were little accustomed to labor, and the immense fatigues they now suffer, laboring in the mines, is killing them in great numbers and reducing the others to such a state of despair that many kill themselves, or refuse to procreate their kind. It is alleged that pregnant women take drugs to produce abortion, knowing that the children that they bear will become slaves to the Christians. Although a royal decree has declared all islanders to be free, they are forced to work more than is fit for free men. The number of these unfortunate people diminish in extraordinary fashion.⁵⁶

In 1510, a group of Dominican priests arriving on the shore of Hispaniola were shocked at the Spanish abuses of the indigenous inhabitants under the auspices of the *encomienda* system. In 1511, the Dominican friar Antonio de Montesinos preached a sermon denouncing the *encomienda* system as slavery and calling upon his parishioners to mend their evil ways. Montesinos returned to Spain to plead his case with the crown and engaged in a public disputation in Burgos with a Franciscan cleric who held the opposite opinion. Montesinos argued that if Indians were to be slaves, then all pretenses of the *encomienda* system should be dropped. If the Indians were not to be slaves, then the *encomienda* as practiced in the New World should be reformed. The crown accepted Montesinos position and issued a decree entitled the Law of Burgos which attempted to curb the excesses of the *encomienda* system and provide a set of guidelines under which the system would be acceptable.⁵⁷

Though the intent was to lessen the harshness of the system, the Laws of Burgos gave official sanction to the *encomienda* system. It required male Indians to work nine months out of each year in return for entry into Spanish society. The policy pleased the clerical element of Spanish Christian society, who believed it would accomplish the desired Indian conversion and native cultural obliteration; it also pleased the lay, or *encomendero* element - the conquistadors and officials who would obtain labor for their various New World undertakings, such as mining, ranching, farming, or public works. In exchange, the *encomendero* would pay the Crown a head tax on each Indian as well as finance the indoctrination. The Indians who, achieved the so-called civilized status were known as *Indios capaces*. Since the laws which limited brutality and the provisions for Hispanicization and training in the *encomienda* were widely ignored, the program amounted to legalized enslavement.⁵⁸

One of the men on Columbus second voyage was a young merchant by the name of Pedro Las Casas who was rewarded for his efforts with an Indian slave. He gave the slave to his son, Bartholome De Las Casas, to whom the slave taught his native language. In 1502, Bartholome sailed to the New World with Nicolas Ovando, governor designate of Espanola. Ovando was sent to assure the proper operation of *repartimiento*, a system of for the allocation of slaves to the *encomenderos*.⁵⁹ The *repartimiento* system was developed by the Church and Crown in response to criticism of the ruthless acquisition of slaves to work in the *encomienda*. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, it had become institutionalized as an annual levy on tribal populations for labor and produce.

⁵⁶Peter Martyr quoted in Sanders, Ronald, *Lost Tribes and Promised Lands: The Origins of American Racism*. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co.: 1978) p. 131

⁵⁷Sanders, p. 130

⁵⁸Waldman, p 170

⁵⁹B. De Las Casas. *The Devastation of the Indies: A Brief Account* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1992) p.

In Santo Domingo, Las Casas took part in military repression of the native uprisings. For his participation in quelling native unrest, he was given an *encomienda*. He worked his slaves hard and became very prosperous. However, in 1506 he gave up his *encomienda* to voyage to Rome where he was ordained a deacon before returning to the Americas.⁶⁰ Las Casas worked as translator for the Dominican humanist Pedro de Cordoba. In 1512, he entered the priesthood and became the first ordained in America.⁶¹

Soon afterwards, Las Casas was sent to Cuba as a chaplain to a military unit and officer of the *requerimiento*. He urged the natives to submit to the Spanish will and recognize the will of the almighty. When the natives refused to submit to the *requerimiento*, the soldiers fulfilled their divine responsibility. In 1513 at Caonao, he appealed to the Spanish soldiers to restrain themselves; but they ignored him and he had to watch a massacre of the Indians.

And the Spaniards, on the morning or the day they arrived at the town, stopped to breakfast in a riverbed that was dry but for a few shallow pools. This riverbed was full of whetstones, and all longed to sharpen their swords upon them."

A Spaniard, in whom the devil is thought to have clothed himself, suddenly drew his sword. Then the whole hundred drew theirs and began to rip open their bellies, to cut and kill those lambs-men, women, children, and old folk, all of whom were seated, off guard and frightened, watching the mares and the Spaniards. And within two credos, not a man of all of them there remains alive. The Spaniards enter the large house nearby, for this was happening at its door, and in the same way, with cuts and stabs, begin to kill as many as they found there, so that a stream of blood was running, as if a great number of cows had perished....Endless testimonies . . . prove the mild and pacific temperament of the natives. . . . But our work was to exasperate, ravage, kill, mangle and destroy; small wonder, then, if they tried to kill one of us now and then. . . .The admiral, it is true, was blind as those who came after him, and he was so anxious to please the King that he committed irreparable crimes against the Indians...

[The Spaniards] thought nothing of knifing Indians by tens and twenties and of cutting slices off them to test the sharpness of their blades. ...Two of these so-called Christians met two Indian boys one day, each carrying a parrot; they took the parrots and for fun beheaded the boys."⁶²

Once again, Las Casas was rewarded for his valiant effort in spreading the word of the gospel and bringing untold multitudes in the Christian community. He was given yet another *encomienda*, this time a mining operation. Later in his *History of the Indies*, he described the mining operation:

. . . mountains are stripped from top to bottom and bottom to top a thousand times; they dig, split rocks, move stones, and carry dirt on their back to wash it in the rivers, while those who wash gold stay in the water all the time with their backs bent so constantly it breaks them; and when water invades the mines, the most arduous task of all is to dry the mines by scooping up pansful of water and throwing it up outside. . . .⁶³

In the mines, Las Casas came into contact with unspeakable. Slaves who died in the mines were left in the holes producing such stench and pestilence that villages in the district were deserted. Possibly as many Indians died in the mines of the Americas as died in the holocaust of Nazi Germany. He also came into contact with the legacy of Columbus's "gifts" of women to his supporters:

⁶⁰ibid.

⁶¹Fogel, p. 18

⁶²B. de Las Casas. *History of the Indies Vol II*. (New York: Harper and Row, 1971) p. 29

⁶³B. de Las Casas. *History of the Indies Vol II*. (New York: Harper and Row, 1971) p. 107

Each of them [the foremen] had made it a practice to sleep with the Indian women who were in his work-force, if they pleased him, whether they were married women or maidens. While the foreman remained in the hut or the cabin of the Indian woman, he sent the husband to dig gold out of the mines and in the evening, when the wretch returned, not only was he beaten or whipped because he had not brought up enough gold, but, further, most often, he was bound hand and foot and flung under the bed like a dog, before the foreman lay down, directly over him, with his wife.

Though the events that he witnessed in the mines shocked him, they did not shock him into giving up his *encomienda*. He continued to concentrate on increasing his wealth and preached only occasionally.⁶⁴

On Easter Sunday 1514, a miraculous event occurred. The events of the past couple of years began to take their toll on Las Casas. As there was only one other priest in the region, Las Casas decided to leave his estate to conduct mass and preach.⁶⁵ Las Casas shocked the parishioners by preaching a sermon that severely condemned Spanish treatment of indigenous people.⁶⁶ Later, he described his "conversion":

... He began, I say, to consider the misery and servitude that those [Indians] suffered. He drew on what he had heard and seen on the island of Espanola, where the priests of Santo Domingo were preaching that one could not, in good conscience, own Indians, and that they did not want to take confession from or absolve those [Spaniards] owned Indians... He became convinced of the same truth, that the treatment of the Indians of the [west] Indies was unjust and tyrannical. Finally, he determined to preach this truth; as he himself owned Indians, he presently had the reproach of his sermons at hand. So he resolved, in order freely to condemn the *encomiendas* as unjust and tyrannical, to give up his Indians and place them in the hands of governor Diego Velazquez.⁶⁷

Las Casas freed his native slaves and began to intercede vigorously with the local authorities on the native's behalf. He realized that the real solution to the problem of indian enslavement lay not with challenging individual *encomenderos*, but with challenging the entire system of *encomienda* and its relationship to Christian morality. From pulpit to public forum, he ceaselessly denounced Spanish officials who presided over the genocide and enslavement of an entire generation of people for their own personal enrichment. From Las Casas *A Brief Account*:

After the killings and atrocities of the wars, they place the survivors in horrible servitude, under the *encomienda* system as I have said above, allocating them to the Spanish devils, some of whom take three hundred, others two hundred or less. Then the commander summons a hundred Indians to come together before him, and they come like sheep, and he commands his soldiers to decapitate thirty or forty of the Indians, and he tells the others: "I will do the same to you if you do not serve me well or if you try to escape." Could anything be uglier, more horrible, more inhuman than this?

Now, in God's name, you who read this, consider what kind of actions are these which surpass every conceivable cruelty and injustice, and whether it is accurate to call such Christians devils and whether it would be any worse to allocate the Indians to devils from hell rather than to

⁶⁴Fogel, p. 18

⁶⁵ibid

⁶⁶B. de Las Casas, *The Devastation of the Indies: A Brief Account*, p. 4

⁶⁷B. de Las Casas quoted in Fogel, p. 18

allocate them to the kind of Christians who are in the Indies.⁶⁸

In 1515, Las Casas returned to Spain to plead on behalf of the indigenous peoples of the Americas. He was accompanied on his voyage by two other Dominican priests, including Antonio de Montesinos, who had been the first to preach the abolitionist message. His fervent rhetoric inflamed the religious and royal establishment and he quickly earned many enemies among those who profitted from the slave trade. Through sheer force of will alone, he gained audiences with the highest officials of church and state. In 1516, Cardinal Jimenez, the Spanish humanist, sent a commission to the west Indies to investigate abuses against the Indians and correct them. Las Casas was appointed special advisor to the commission, with the title "protector of the Indians."⁶⁹

Las Casas soon realized that the commission had little or no interest in attempting to remediate the abuse and enslavement of the Indians. His struggle with the commission and the *encomenderos* only brought greater threats against his life. In 1517, he returned to Spain with a grand plan to liberate the Indians without overthrowing the colonial system. In his discussions with the *encomenderos*, some had suggested that they would be willing to give up their Indian slaves if they would be allowed to trade them for African slaves. Las Casas proposed to the court, along with the abolition of Indian slavery, the right of each Spanish colonist to import twelve African slaves. The monarchy liked Las Casas plan and moved full speed to implement Las Casas proposal to extend the African slave trade to the Americas. Though Las Casas later greatly regretted this grave error, the wheels of an ominous machine had been set in motion.⁷⁰ One hundred million lives would lie in its wake.

On Good Friday, April 22, 1519, Hernando Cortes landed on the coast of Veracruz.⁷¹ Cortes had been chosen by God to be the "instrument and the means of the principle conversion which was made in the Indies."⁷² He was the new "Moses" whose task it was to lead the oppressed Indians out of their bondage. Cortes was given his commission by Velazquez as he left Cuba:

Bear in mind from the beginning that the first aim of your expedition is to serve God and spread the Christian faith... You must neglect no opportunity to spread the knowledge of the true faith and the Church of God among those people who dwell in darkness.⁷³

Cortes viewed his mission in religious terms; the Franciscan missionaries which became the center of Spanish mission activity were sent in response to Cortes' personal request of the Emperor. Cortes saw himself as imbued with a divine mission:

⁶⁸B. De Las Casas. *The Devastation of the Indies: A Brief Account*. p. 127

⁶⁹Fogel, p. 19

⁷⁰Fogel, p. 20

⁷¹Miguel Leon Portillo, ed. *The Broken Spears: The Aztec Account of the Conquest of Mexico*. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992) p. xxv

⁷²Sylvest, p. 20

⁷³Sylvest, p. 22

It was now the time of the Ave Maria, and at the sound of a bell which we had in the camp we all fell on our knees before a cross placed on a sand hill and said our prayers of the Ave Maria before the cross. When Tendile and Pitalpitoque saw us thus kneeling as they were very intelligent, they asked what was the reason that we humbled ourselves before a tree cut in that way. As Cortes heard this remark he said to the Padre de la Merced who was present: "It is a good opportunity, father, as we have good material at hand to explain our holy faith." And then he delivered a discourse to the Caciques so fitting to the occasion that no good theologian could have bettered it.⁷⁴

Lopez de Gomara also reports the evangelistic activities of Cortes. Lopez explains that Cortes would preach "a sermon through his interpreter at every opportunity," and that he promised "that he would send someone to teach and indoctrinate them"⁷⁵. When Cortes came into contact with native religion, he would urge them to turn aside from their religion and accept Christianity. He would invade traditional religious sites, overthrow their altar, destroy their religious artifacts and replace them with a crucifix and the image of the virgin. The purpose of the conquest of Mexico was to spread the Christian message. On Cortes' banner was inscribed "*Amici sequamur crucem, et si nos fidem habemus, ver in hoc signo vincemus*" (Friends, let us follow the Cross and with faith in this symbol, we shall conquer.)⁷⁶ Cortes was also seen as a mechanism by through which God worked to help restore esteem lost in a peculiar continental uprising:

God especially chose Captain Don Hernan Cortes as his instrument, in order by this means to open the door and to make a way for the preachers of his gospel in the New World, where the Catholic Church might be recompensed with the conversion of many souls for the great loss and danger which the perverse Luther has caused in the same time and season in the ancient Christendom.⁷⁷

Although there were other grounds for conquest and colonization, the religious impetus was central; other interests were justified by, and ultimately related to, the missionary enterprise.⁷⁸

The Indians of Mesoamerica believed the Spaniards to be gods. Omens foretold the arrival of the Spanish and the utter decimation of the dominant empire of the region, the Aztecs. Motecuhzoma had turned to an infinite number of oracles, but each offered no release from the impending doom:

The magicians answered: "What can we say? The future has already been determined and decreed in heaven, and Motecuhzoma will behold and suffer a great mystery which must come to pass in this land. If our king wishes to know more about it, he will know soon enough, for it comes swiftly. This is what we predict, since he demands that we speak, and since it must surely take place, he can only wait for it."⁷⁹

Motechuzoma sent forth messengers bearing gifts with which he thought would appease the gods and persuade them that all that he possessed was theirs to take. The messengers returned having seen the Spaniards, their armor, their horses, and their dogs. "They had seen the gods, their eyes had looked upon their faces. They had even

⁷⁴:ibid

⁷⁵Francisco Lopez de Gomara. *Cortes: The Life of the Conqueror by His Secretary*, trans. and ed. Lesley Byrd Simpson (Berkeley: Univ. of Calif. Press, 1966) , 56, p. 120

⁷⁶Gomara, p. 23

⁷⁷Sylvest, p. 91

⁷⁸Sylvest, p. 23

⁷⁹Leon-Portillo, p. 15

conversed with the Gods." Motechuzoma sent forth magicians who offered human sacrifices before the Spaniards so as to honor them:

Motechuzoma ordered the sacrifice because he took the Spaniards to be gods; he believed in them and worshipped them as deities. That is why they were called "Gods who have come from heaven." As for the Negroes, they were called "soiled gods."⁸⁰

The Spaniards under Cortes began their march to Tenochtitlan, the capital of the Aztec empire. They destroyed all people that they came into contact with, except for the Tlaxcaltecas who acquiesced to the *requermiento*:

They guided them to their city; they brought them there and invited them to enter. They paid them great honors, attended to their every want, joined with them as allies and even gave them their daughters.⁸¹

The Spaniards and their slave mercenaries marched upon Cholula. The people at Cholula welcomed the strangers into their holy temple:

The people came out to welcome all the lords of the country and the earth; first of all came the priests with the head priest of the Christians in procession and received them with great respect and reverence, and took them to lodge in the center of the town, where they would reside in the houses of the most important nobles.

Soon after this the Spaniards agreed to carry out a massacre, or as they called it a punitive attack, in order to sow terror and apprehension, and to make a display of their power in every corner of that land. This was always the determination of the Spaniards in all the lands they conquered: to commit a great massacre that would terrorize the tame flock and make it tremble.

With this aim, therefore, they sent a summons to all the caciques and nobles of the city and in the localities subject to it, and also the head chieftain, and as they arrived to speak with the Spanish captain they were taken prisoner, unexpectedly that none could flee and warn the others. The Spaniards had asked for five or six thousand Indians to carry their cargo. When all the chiefs had come and the burden-bearers were herded into the patios of the houses. What a grievous thing it was, to see those Indians as they prepared to carry the loads of the Spaniards: it was a grievous thing because they came stark naked, stark naked except for their private parts which were covered. And they had a netting bag slung over their shoulders holding their meager nourishment. They were all made to squat on their haunches like tame sheep.

When they were all placed close together they were bound and tied. At the closed doorways armed guards took turns to see that no one escaped. Then, at a command all the Spaniards drew their swords or pikes and while their chiefs looked on, helpless, all those tame sheep were butchered, cut to pieces...It is said that when the Spaniards were putting the five or six thousand Indians in the patios to the sword one captain sang out: "Nero of Tarpeia watched Rome burn and the cries of the young and the old did not move him."⁸²

The Spanish marched on toward Tenochtitlan. In Tezcoco, they were greeted by Ixtlilxochitl who welcomed them into his midst.

Cortes was very grateful for the attentions paid by Ixtlilxochitl and his brothers; he wished to repay their kindness by teaching them the law of God, with the help of his interpreter

⁸⁰Leon-Portillo, p. 34

⁸¹Leon-Portillo, p. 38

⁸²B. De Las Casas, *The Devastation of the Indies: A Brief Account*, pp. 59-60

Aguilar. The brothers and a number of the other lords gathered to hear him, and he told them that that the emperor of the Christians had sent him here, so far away, in order that he might instruct them in the law of Christ. He explained the mystery of the creation and the fall, the mystery of the Trinity and the Incarnation and the mystery of the Passion and the Resurrection. Then he drew out a crucifix and held it up. The Christians all knelt, and Ixtlilxochitl and the other lords knelt with them.

Cortes also explained the mystery of Baptism. He concluded the lesson by telling them how the Emperor Charles grieved that they were not in God's grace, and how the emperor had sent him among them only to save their souls. He begged them to become willing vassals of the emperor, because that was the will of the pope, in whose name he spoke.

When Cortes asked for their reply, Ixtlilxochitl burst into tears and answered that he and his brothers understood the mysteries very well. Giving thanks to God that his soul had been illumined, he said that he wished to become a Christian and to serve the emperor. He begged for the crucifix, so that he and his brothers might worship it, and the Spaniards wept with joy to see their devotion.

The princes then asked to be baptized. Cortes and the priest accompanying him said that first they must learn more of the Christian religion, but that persons would be sent to instruct them. Ixtlilxochitl expressed his gratitude, but begged to receive the sacrament at once because he now hated all idolatry and revered the mysteries of the true faith.

Although a few of the Spaniards objected, Cortes decided Ixtlilxochitl should be baptized immediately... The other Christians became godfathers to the other princes, and the baptisms were performed with the greatest solemnity. If it had been possible, more than twenty thousand persons would have been baptised that very day, and a great number of them did receive the sacrament.⁸³

In the juxtaposition of these passages, we can see the dual edged sword of Cortes' "mission."

Cortes arrived in Tenochtitlan, the great city of Mexico, on November 8, 1519. The Indians who greeted him believed that the white must be the messianic figure Quetzalcoatl and his cadre of deities returning from across the waters now known as the Gulf of Mexico. Cortes entered the city, not only as guests, but also as gods coming home. The Spaniards took complete control of the city, in spite of the fact that they were vastly outnumbered. Motecuhzoma gave the Spanish the wealth of his treasure house. In an act unfathomable to the Indians, they began to melt down the Indian's artistic creations and religious artifacts into ingots.⁸⁴ They seized Motecuhzoma and threw him into prison.

Believing that the Spanish were gods and hoping to appease them with worship, Motecuhzoma gave the people permission to hold the fiesta of Huizzilopochtli. The celebrants prepared for their fiesta, putting on festive colors, and urging their best dancers and musicians to come forward. People expressed reservations to Motecuhzoma. He replied in earnest, "Are we at war with them? I tell you, we can trust them."⁸⁵ The people called out, "Come, comrades, show us how brave you are! Dance with all your hearts!"⁸⁶

At this moment in the fiesta, when the dance was loveliest and when song was linked to song, the Spaniards were seized with an urge to kill the celebrants. They ran forward, armed as if for battle. They closed the entrances and passageways, all the gates of the patio: the Eagle Gate in the lesser palace, the Gate of the Canestalk and the gate of the Serpent of Mirrors. They posted guards so that no one could escape, and they rushed into the Sacred Patio to slaughter the celebrants. They came on foot, carrying their swords and their wooden or metal shields.

⁸³Leon-Portillo, pp. 59-60

⁸⁴Leon-Portillo, pp. 66-67

⁸⁵Leon Portillo, p. 80

⁸⁶Leon-Portillo, p. 74

They ran in among the dancers, forcing their way to the place where the drums were played. They attacked the man who was drumming and cut off his arms. Then they cut off his head, and it rolled across the floor.

They attacked all the celebrants, stabbing them, spearing them, striking them with their swords. They attacked some of them from behind, and these fell instantly to the ground with their entrails hanging out. Others they beheaded: they cut off their heads, or split their heads to pieces.

They struck others in the shoulders, and their arms were torn from their bodies. They wounded some in the thigh and some in the calf. They slashed others in the abdomen, and their entrails all spilled to the ground. Some attempted to run away, but their intestines dragged as they ran; they seemed to tangle their feet in their own entrails. No matter how they tried to save themselves; they could find no escape.

Some attempted to force their way out, but the Spaniards murdered them at the gates. Others climbed the walls, but they could not save themselves. Those who ran into the communal houses were safe there for a while; so were those who lay down among the victims and pretended to be dead. But if they stood up again, the Spaniards saw them and killed them.

The blood of the warriors flowed like water and gathered into pools. The pools widened, and the stench of blood and entrails filled the air. The Spaniards ran into the communal houses to kill those who were hiding. They ran everywhere and searched everywhere; they invaded every room, hunting and killing.⁸⁷

Following the massacre at the sacred patio, the Aztecs rebelled and threw the Spanish from their city. Within a year the city was to fall to the Spanish and their allies. In the battle for the city, nearly a half million lives were lost, almost all Indians.

Motolinia, a member of the first group of Franciscans to land in Mexico in 1524, begins his *Historia de los Indias de la Nueva Espana* with an enumeration of the ten plagues sent by God to punish the Indians for their infidelity. His "plagues" are among the most accurate representations of the effect of Spanish evangelism upon the native people of the Mesoamerica.

The first plague was smallpox; the second plague was those who died in the conquest, especially around Mexico City; the third plague was the famine caused by the Spanish destruction of native crops; the fourth plague was that of the *calpixques*-the overseers or field bosses who worked the indigenous people to death; the fifth plague was the taxes and tributes that the Indians paid-when they had no more gold, they sold their children-when there were no children they sold themselves; the sixth plague was the gold mines; the seventh plague was the building of the great city of Mexico-the slaves were forced to tear down their temples to build the great churches of the Spanish-all at their own expense; the eighth plague was the slaves the Spanish made in order to work them in the mines-they had to be broken before they could be worked; the ninth plague was service in the mines; the tenth plague was the Spanish disputes among themselves- disputes which the Indians tried to take advantage of resulting in further death and destruction.⁸⁸ If Cortes saw himself as a missionary dedicated to spread the word of God through his efforts in the *reconquista*, then the ten plagues are the fruits of his labor. In the years immediately following the conquest of Mexico, the line separating Christian Indian and heathen Indian was eclipsed in a frenzy of exploitation and destruction that eclipses our modern notion of holocaust. By 1600, the precontact population of Mexico of 25 million had been reduced to a little more than one million.⁸⁹

Las Casas viewed the enslavement and destruction of the indigenous population of Mexico City in almost demonic proportions. He relates the carnage:

The Spaniards have killed more Indians here in twelve years by the sword, by fire, and enslavement than anywhere else in the Indies. They have killed young and old, men, women, and children, some four million souls during what they call the Conquests, which were the violent invasions of cruel tyrants that should be condemned not only by the law of God but by all the

⁸⁷Leon Portillo, pp. 75-76

⁸⁸T. Motolinia. *History of the Indians of New Spain*. (Westport, CT.: Greenwood Press, 1973) pp. 36-48

⁸⁹Todorov, p 160

laws of man (since they were much worse than the deeds committed by the Turks trying to destroy the Christian Church). And this does not take into account those Indians who have died from ill treatment or were killed under tyrannical servitude. In particulars, no tongue would suffice, nor word nor human efforts, to narrate the frightful deeds committed simultaneously by the Spaniards in regions far distant from each other, those notorious hellions, enemies of mankind.⁹⁰

and the confused and diabolical nature of the "mission:"

At this point we should take note of the reason the Spaniards gave for conquering these lands and why they tried to destroy all those innocents and to devastate those regions where the aspect of joy and happiness of a numerous population should have caused them to become veritable Christians. Their aim, they said, was to subject the people to the King of Spain, who had commanded them to kill and to enslave. And the Indians who did not obey stupid messages and would not put themselves in the hands of the iniquitous and ruthless Christians would be considered rebels unwilling to serve His Majesty. And their argument was set down in letters addressed to our lord the King. And the blindness of those who ruled the Indies prevented them from understanding that in the King's laws is expressed the following: that no one is or can be called a rebel if, to begin with, he is not a subject of the King. The Christians (who know something of God and of reason and of human laws) should realize how astounding all this is to simple people, living peacefully on their lands and who have their own chiefs, to be told by the Spaniards of a new Spanish ruler never seen or heard of before, and that if they do not subject themselves to that King they will be cut to pieces. It makes their hearts stand still, for they have seen from experience that this will be done. And the most horrifying thing is that the Indians who do obey are placed in servitude where with incredible hard labor and torments even harder to endure and longer lasting than the torments of those who are put to the sword they are finally, with their wives and children and their entire generation exterminated. And now that, with these fears and under these threats, these peoples and others in the New World have come to obey and to recognize the authority of the foreign King, these rotten and inconstant Viceroyes, blinded and confused by ambition and diabolical reed, do not see that they have not acquired one jot of right as veritable representatives of the King, that both natural and human and divine right are something quite different, that they have acquired nothing when the Indians are terrorized into giving submission and tribute to the foreign King but have earned the punishment of the devil and of the eternal fires of hell.⁹¹

⁹⁰Las Casas. *The Devastation of the Indies: A Brief Account*, pp. 58-59

⁹¹Las Casas, *The Devastation of the Indies: A Brief Account*, pp. 64-65

Las Casas was determined to fight against the enslavement and destruction of the peoples of the New World. In 1520 he returned to Spain to advocate reform in the *encomienda* system; he developed a new plan to limit abuse which he himself would administer in the New World. The encomenderos so frustrated Las Casas that less than three years after implementing his plan, he abandoned it and took refuge in a dominican convent. In 1530, he secretly returned to Spain to advocate complete freedom for the enslaved Indians.⁹² An order of Emperor Charles V in 1530 ordered the abolition of Indian slavery:

No one must dare must dare to enslave any Indian neither in war nor in peace time, nor must he keep any Indian enslaved on the pretext of having acquired him through a just war, or repurchase, or purchase, or barter, or any other means or pretext whatsoever, even if these Indians be considered slaves by the natives of these islands or of the mainlands themselves.⁹³

In 1536, Las Casas petitioned Pope Paul III repeatedly to intervene on behalf of native americans and urged him to issue a statement that Indians were rational beings with human souls.⁹⁴ In 1537, the Pope issued his bull *Sublimis Deus* which proclaimed that Indians:

as true men not only capable of receiving the Christian faith but, as we have been informed, eagerly hurry to it...we command that the aforesaid Indians and all other nations which come to the knowledge of Christians in the future must not be deprived of their freedom and the ownership of their property.⁹⁵

In spite of Las Casas' work, the slave trade continued unabated. The use of the *requermiento* and the seizure of native americans as objects of curiosity and pleasure, but most of all profit was far beyond the reach of the continental moralists. Francisco Orozco worked the Indians of Oaxaca in the gold mines.⁹⁶ Esteban Gomez sailed the shores of North America between Nova Scotia and Florida seeking the northwest passage, but seizing Indians to be taken back to Spain at every occasion.⁹⁷ An expedition of Panfilo de Narvaez landed near the entrance of Tampa Bay on the west coast of Florida and seized a dozen slaves. Nuno de Guzman used Panuco, on the coast of Mexico, as a center for the exportation of slaves he gathered on forays up and down the west coast. During 1537-1539, the Spaniards of Culiacan raided northward toward Sonora for slaves- Nunez Cabeza de Vaca found the Indians of the Southwest living "in great fear and alarm" of the slavers.⁹⁸

Luis Vasquez de Ayllon was granted a *cedula* to establish a permanent colony on the shore of the Atlantic coast of North America. His mandate from Charles V was that:

the inhabitants and natives thereof who are without the light of the knowledge of faith may be brought to understand the truths of our holy Catholic faith, and that they may come to know the knowledge thereof and become Christians and be saved.⁹⁹

⁹²Fogel, p. 21

⁹³Todorov, p. 161

⁹⁴Fogel, p. 21

⁹⁵Todorov, p. 162

⁹⁶Waldman, p. 80

⁹⁷Lauber, p. 51

⁹⁸Forbes, p. 88

⁹⁹Sydney Ahlstrom. *A Religious History of the American People*. (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press,1972) p. 40

He established a colony entitled San Miguel and promptly used the *repartimiento* to distribute captured Indians among the colonists. He sailed the Atlantic coasts and took hundreds of slaves to work them in this early Spanish colony.¹⁰⁰ The colony failed after the Indians resisted their enslavement and destroyed the mission. However, a chapel had been built and mass celebrated.¹⁰¹

In 1539, Hernando De Soto landed on the coast of Florida for the purpose of conquest. In spite of the decrees against slave-trading, De Soto brought with him six hundred men, two hundred horses, blood hounds, chains, and iron collars for the catching and holding of Indian slaves. Throughout his four year sojourn through the American Southeast, De Soto relied extensively on captured Indian slave labor as porters, guides, and body servants.¹⁰² The women were used as cooks and mistresses; they were freely given as gifts to his men and to impress *caciques* that he encountered. De Soto demanded tributes from the people he encountered and when they would not or could not pay, he made them pay with their lives. He captured men and women by force; he sold the women in blocks of one hundred to three hundred.¹⁰³

After survivors of De Soto's had reached Mexico, Viceroy Mendoza dispatched the Franciscan Fray Marcos de Niza and the Moor Estevan, in 1539, to the Southwest to inform the native tribes that an effectual stop had been put to the enslavement of the Indians. Everywhere they went they encountered great fear among the Indians of the slavers who ventured forth from the posts in Mexico. When the friar returned, Mendoza sent forth another messenger to assure the natives that the enslavement was to cease by order of the Emperor. That messenger was Francisco Vasquez de Coronado.¹⁰⁴

In 1540, Coronado set forth on his mission to western New Mexico. He was accompanied by as many as nine Franciscan friars whose purpose it was to spread the gospel among the native peoples he was to encounter. Coronado did not keep with the intention of Mendoza regarding the Indians. Coronado was interested in evangelism only as far as it meant that the people he encountered bow down before his King and his God and offer obeisance to the Spaniards as agents of the divine will. Everywhere he went, he left a trail of blood, death, and devastation for those who refused to accept their destiny and become God's children and Spain's vassals.¹⁰⁵

As Coronado travelled, he seized people indigenous to the land through which he was passing and used them as guides as the occasion required. In order to appease Coronado, native women were given to him as slaves by the chiefs of the nations he encountered. In one incident following the rape of a native woman, the Indians rebelled. Coronado ordered his soldiers "not to take them alive, but to make an example of them so that the other natives would fear the Spaniards."¹⁰⁶ When the ancient city of Tiguex was captured and plundered in 1541, Coronado imprisoned and made slaves of all of the inhabitants, one hundred and fifty men, women and children.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁰Waldman, p. 80

¹⁰¹Ahlstrom, p. 40

¹⁰²J. Leitch Wright, Jr. *The Only Land They Knew: The Tragic Story of the American Indians in the Old South*. (New York: Free Press, 1981) p. 131

¹⁰³Lauber, p. 53

¹⁰⁴ibid.

¹⁰⁵John U. Terrell. *The Arrow and the Cross: A History of the American Indian and the Missionaries*. (Santa Barbara: Capra Press, 1979) p. 10

¹⁰⁶Forbes, p. 36

¹⁰⁷Lauber, p. 54

Back in Spain in 1542, Las Casas was once again lobbying for the human rights of the indigenous peoples of the Americas. This time, he had a most potent weapon. He had collected his notes regarding the Spanish treatment of the Indians into a brief history of the conquest. He read his vivid accounts of the Spanish barbarity to the assembled court of Charles V. This first version of *The Devastation of the Indies: A Brief Account* horrified the royal court. In response to this stunning account, Charles V issued his *Leyes Nuevas* (New Laws) which forbade Indian slavery and sought to end the *encomienda* system within a generation by outlawing the transference of *encomiendas* through family inheritance.¹⁰⁸ To help enforce the new laws, Las Casas was named Bishop of Chiapas.

The response from the *encomenderos* was swift and decisive. They vented their rage against the dominicans in general and Las Casas in particular. The *conquistadores* of Peru launched a military revolt against the crown. Las Casas responded to the furor by decreeing that no absolution could be granted to those who still held Indians in *encomiendas*. Las Casas set up a council of bishops to deal with those priests who refused to follow his edict. The *encomenderos* sent envoys to the king, demanding that the new laws be struck down. The king did not hold his ground and the new laws were retrenched. By the end of 1545, the king ruled that an *encomienda* could be passed on to an heir. Las Casas had lost a major struggle. He returned to Spain in 1547, this time for good.¹⁰⁹

In Spain, Las Casas faced an even more formidable challenge to his campaign for human rights for the indians. Juan Gines de Sepulveda, one of Spain's leading humanists and philosophers, sought to publish a treatise on the just cause of war against the indians based upon their inferior human nature. Sepulveda, even though he had an impressive intellect and powerful friends on the court, was denied the right to publish his treatise. He chose to challenge his denial through a direct appeal before a jury of wise men, jurists, and theologians; Las Casas elected to defend the contrary point of view in this oratorical duel. The Council of the Indies recommended that all New World conquests be halted until a decision was reached regarding the status of the Native American. The debate took place in the northern Spanish city of Valladolid in 1550.¹¹⁰

Sepulveda, one of the foremost specialists in Aristotelian thought of his time, argued that some people are by nature slaves and some are by nature masters. He based his theory upon Aristotle who in his *Politics* declared: "Those, therefore, who are as much inferior to others as are the body to the soul and beasts to men, are by nature slaves...He is by nature slave...who shares in reason to the extent of apprehending it without possessing it."¹¹¹ Sepulveda believed that hierarchy, not equality, is the natural state of human society. Inspired by Aristotle's *Politics*, he declares that all hierarchies are based on the same principle: "the domination of perfection over imperfection, of force over weakness, of eminent virtue over vice."¹¹² Sepulveda gives examples of this natural superiority: the body is subject to the soul, matter to form, children to parents, women to men, and slaves to masters. He uses this tautology to justify the enslavement of the Indians: "In wisdom, skill, virtue, and humanity, these people are as inferior to the Spaniards as children are to adults and women to men; there is as great a difference between them as there is between savagery and forbearance, between violence and moderation, almost-I am inclined to say-as between monkeys and men."¹¹³

¹⁰⁸Las Casas. *The Devastation of the Indies: A Brief Account*, p. 7

¹⁰⁹Fogel, p. 22

¹¹⁰Todorov, p. 152; Las Casas. *The Devastation of the Indies: A Brief Account*, p. 7

¹¹¹Aristotle quoted in Todorov, p. 152

¹¹²ibid.

¹¹³Todorov, p. 153

Sepulveda, who had never been to the Americas, built his three hour defense of the conquest, and the necessity of such, on four basic points. First, the Indians had committed grave sins by the idolatry and their sins against nature.¹¹⁴ Second, the Indians' "natural rudeness and inferiority" cohered with the Aristotlean notion of natural inferiority. Third, military conquest was the most effective method of converting the Indians to Christianity. Finally, conquering the Indians made it possible to establish order in their society and protect the weak from domination.¹¹⁵ Sepulveda further stated in his *Democratus Alter* the following argument: "As St. Augustine says in epistle 75, the loss of a single soul dead without baptism exceeds in gravity the death of countless victims, even if they were innocent."¹¹⁶ Sepulveda believes that there is a supreme and universal good in Christian salvation; acquisition of this value transcends that which the individual, itself, regards as the supreme good, i.e., life itself. The salvation of one justifies the enslavement, even the destruction, of thousands.¹¹⁷

Las Casas responded to Sepulveda's argument by reading for five hours from his treatise *Apologetica Historia*. He began by distinctly repudiating Aristotle by placing him in contradiction to the teachings of Jesus: "Aristotle, farewell! From Christ, the eternal truth, we have the commandment 'You must love your neighbor as yourself'...Although he was a profound philosopher, Aristotle was not worthy to be captured in the chase so that he could come to God through knowledge of true faith."¹¹⁸ Las Casas advocated the basic human rights of all people:

The natural rules and laws and rights of men are common to all nations, Christians and gentile, and whatever their sect, law, state, color, and condition, without and difference."¹¹⁹ He appreciates the Indians as civilized humans with a uniquely religious nature: "Rather, long before they had heard the word Spaniard, they had properly organized states, wisely ordered by excellent laws, religion, and custom."¹²⁰

Las Casas also values the Indians' potential to become Christians:

At no other time and in no other people has there been such a capacity, such predisposition, and such facility for conversion...Just as there is no natural difference in the creation of man, so there is no difference in the call to salvation of all men, barbarous or wise, since God's grace can correct the minds of barbarians, so that they can have a reasonable understanding...Our Christian religion is suited to all nations of the world, and it is open to all in the same fashion; and taking from none its freedom and sovereignty, it puts none in a state of servitude, on the excuse of a distinction between free men and serfs by nature.¹²¹

¹¹⁴By "sins against nature" we must conclude the Native Americans tolerance regarding sexual practices. The Americans were much more accepting of homosexuality, transvestitism, premarital and extramarital sexuality. The Spaniards found native attitudes towards sexuality abhorrent. They were known to feed homosexuals to their dogs.

¹¹⁵Las Casas. *The Devastation of the Indies: A Brief Account*, p. 9

¹¹⁶Sepulveda quoted in Todorov, p. 155

¹¹⁷Todorov, p 155

¹¹⁸Las Casas, quoted in Todorov, p. 161

¹¹⁹Las Casas, quoted in Todorov, p. 162

¹²⁰Fogel, p. 23

¹²¹Las Casas, quoted in Todorov, p. 162

In fact, their very docility and peacefulness are attributes that would lead them easily to conversion for they are "very obedient and of great virtue, and by nature peaceful."¹²² The Indians are "supremely fitted and prepared to abandon the worship of idols and to accept the word of God and the preaching of the truth."¹²³ He finds that "nowhere in the world are there countries more docile and less resistant, or more apt and better disposed than these to receive the yoke of our Lord."¹²⁴

Thus, for Las Casas "the yoke of our Lord" is deemed to be light. He does not support the militant Christianity of the conquistadors: "It would be a great disorder and mortal sin to toss a child into a well in order to baptize it and save its soul, if thereby it died."¹²⁵ Las Casas sees the destruction of the Indians not as an act of God, but as the work of the adversary. It must be done with finesse, not with force. The death of thousands is not justified by the salvation of one, the death of a single one outweighs their salvation.¹²⁶ Las Casas does not wish to abandon the colonial enterprise or even the enslavement of the Indians, he just would that it be done with more kindness. It is the work of priests, not of soldiers. It is to be done for the glory of the church, not for the enrichment of the *encomenderos*. Las Casas is possessed by a medieval ideal, one in which the spiritual power governs the temporal. This new world must be "wrested from the power of these unnatural fathers and given to a husband who will treat her with the reasonableness she deserves."¹²⁷ The conquest must be one of subtlety:

In order that the Indians may hear the faith with greater awe and reverence, the preachers should convey the Cross in their hands and should be wearing at least albs or stoles; the Christians are also to be told to listen to the preaching with great respect and veneration, so that by their example the non-believers will be induced to accept instruction. If it seems advisable, the preachers may attract the attention of non-believers by using music and singing, thereby encouraging them to join in. . . . The preachers should ask for their children under the pretext of teaching them and keep them as hostages; they should also persuade them to build churches where they can teach so that they may be safer. By these and other means are the Indians to be pacified and indoctrinated, but in no way are they to be harmed, for all we seek is their welfare and their conversion.¹²⁸

The Spanish court refused to grant Sepulveda authorization to publish his treatise, yet neither was there a rush to judgement on the issue of slavery. By 1563-1572, Spaniards from Mexico were raiding for slaves as far north as the La Junta-Big Bend region of Texas. In 1581 Gaspar de Luxan led an expedition to La Junta to take captives, and this slave raid extended well into Texas. The inhabitants of the region said that the invaders had taken their kinsmen, wives, and children captive and led them away chains. The Espejo-Beltran expedition to New Mexico in 1582 acquired female slaves and into the 1590's bands of ex-soldiers were active there. Slave hunting may have extended deep into Texas as the turn of the century.¹²⁹

Spanish authorities in 1565, eager to capitalize on the lucrative slave market in the the Indies and Florida, sent Pedro Menendez de Aviles to establish a fortress in Florida and challenge French settlements along the

¹²²ibid.

¹²³ibid.

¹²⁴ibid.

¹²⁵Las Casas, quoted in Todorov, p. 154

¹²⁶ibid.

¹²⁷Todorov, p. 171

¹²⁸Las Casas quoted in Todorov, pp. 173-174

¹²⁹Forbes, pp. 88-89

Atlantic coast. Menendez destroyed a nearby French settlement at Fort Caroline and established St Augustine that would become the first permanent European settlement in North America. Menendez was particularly incensed by the open practice of homosexuality which was an accepted part of Native American culture. Europe, by the time of Columbus, was rife with homophobia and suppression of sexual diversity was especially intense in Spain. Menendez, searching for support to justify and expand the slave trade in Florida, accused the native people of being "infamous people, Sodomites." He told the King of Spain, "it would greatly serve God our Lord and your majesty if these same were dead, or given as slaves." The indigenous people considered homosexuality, "the natural order of things." He continued:

It is needful that this be remedied by permitting that war be made upon them with all rigor, a war of fire and blood, and those taken alive shall be sold as slaves, removing them from the country and taking them to the neighboring islands, Cuba, Santa Domingo, Puerto Rico.¹³⁰

Seldom was there needed an excuse for enslavement, but Menendez ideology shall live in infamy.

In 1598 Don Juan de Onate, heir to a Mexican mining fortune built on slave labor and husband of a granddaughter to Cortes, set out from Chihuahua up the Rio Grande into New Mexico on an expedition of colonization and missionization. He took with him 130 soldier-colonists and their families, a huge contingency of African and Native-American slaves, 7,000 head of livestock, and 83 wagons.¹³¹ He also brought along with him ten Franciscan priests, eight friars, and two lay brothers to help in the conversion of the indigenous peoples. At the city of Santo Domingo north of Albuquerque, in the heart of Pueblo country, de Onate appropriated a native village and established a Franciscan mission/Spanish outpost. He immediately set forth to build a church. On September 8, 1598, he celebrated Mass.¹³² Following Mass, Onate gathered the leaders of the local Pueblo communities and explained to them the dual purposes of his mission. According to a notary's report, he explained that he had been sent:

by the most powerful king and ruler in the world, who desired especially to serve God our Lord and to bring about the salvation of their souls, but wished also to have them as his subjects and to protect and bring justice to them, as he was doing for other natives in the East and West Indies. To this end he had sent the Spaniards from such distant lands to theirs, at enormous expense and great effort. Since, therefore, the governor had come with this purpose, as they could see, it was greatly to their advantage that, of their own free will and in their own names and in those of their pueblos and republics, and their captains, they render obedience and submission to the king, and become his subjects and his vassals . . . By so doing they would live in peace, justice, and orderliness, protected from their enemies, and benefited in their arts and trades and in their crops and cattle. One could easily see and understand that they were very pleased with the coming of his lordship. After deliberation they spontaneously agreed to become vassals of the most Christian king, our lord, and as such they immediately rendered their obedience and submission. The governor explained to them that they should realize that by rendering obedience and vassalage to the king our lord they would be subject to his will, orders, and laws, and that, if they did not observe them, they would be severely punished as transgressors of the commands of their king and master, and that, therefore, they should reflect on what they wished to do and what to answer. They replied that they understood and that they wanted to submit to his majesty and become his vassals. They insisted that they spoke the truth, without deceit or reservation.¹³³

¹³⁰Peter Wood. "A War of Fire and Blood" in *Southern Exposure* (Vol. XX, No. 1) p. 25

¹³¹Debo, p. 36

¹³²Henry W. Bowden. *American Indians and Christian Missions*. (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1981) p. 42

¹³³Terrell, pp. 40-41

Surrounded by Spanish swords, lances, and loaded guns, the Native Americans surely understood the consequences of refusing obedience to the Spanish king and his lord. As a first act of "obedience and submission," Onate ordered the assembled multitude to their knees as he delivered a sermon. He explained to them:

the main reason which had moved the King to send him to this land was the salvation of their souls, because they should know that their bodies had also souls which did not die even though their bodies did, but if they were baptised and became good Christians, they would go to heaven to enjoy an eternal life of great bliss in the presence of God. If they did not become Christians, they would go to hell to suffer cruel and everlasting torment. He told them that this religion would be explained to them more at length by the most reverend father commissary and the friars, who were present and who came in the name of his Holiness, the only universal pastor and head of the church, the Holy Father at Rome...therefore it was important that they should acknowledge God and his vicar on earth...and kiss the hand of the father commissary. ¹³⁴

The Indians obeyed Onate's commands and stated that they had most certainly understood Onate's speech and its implications for them. A few days later, Onate rode into the Tewa town of Ohke and delivered the same speech. The Tewa pledged to follow his Lord and his commands. He immediately declared Ohke the capital of his empire and ordered the Tewa to vacate their houses. The Spaniards moved into the pueblo and made it their homes. ¹³⁵

Onate divided the Pueblo territory into seven mission districts and assigned to each of them a friar directly responsible for the "parish" and its spiritual administration. The friars seized and burned traditional religious sites and destroyed ritual artifacts and paraphernalia. They burned the sacred masks, dance costumes, altar effigies, and prayer sticks. They tried to seal the sacred kivas and prevent the traditional secret societies from meeting in them. They outlawed sacred dance, both public and private. They attempted to disenfranchise systematically and disempower the shamans and religious leaders that had formed the core of indigenous society/. Those who resisted the friars' attempts at Christianization were ordered to be publicly punished. ¹³⁶

Those who accepted Christianity were made to accept a kind of rigid asceticism and prescriptive behavior which was characteristic of the Franciscan tradition. They were given Christian names and ordered to speak and carry out worship in Spanish even though there was no language instruction or catechism. Divorce and tolerance of sexual ambiguity were forbidden. The friars required daily attendance at mass and punished those who did not meet their obligations. For the Native American, a tolerance for religious syncretism was an integral part of the traditional worldview. The Spanish forbade an integrated approach to religious belief; they viewed religion as an exclusive loyalty. Behind the father stood the soldier; though the father mediated the brutality of the soldier, the soldier enforced the religious demands of the father. From the earliest days of the conquest, this dual aspect of the Spanish missionary effort still rang true.

¹³⁴Terrell, pp. 41-42

¹³⁵ibid.

¹³⁶Bowden, p. 52

If the friars advocated a subtle enslavement, Onate and his bastion were less than diplomatic in their colonial effort. As soon as he had established his missionary bureaucracy, Onate set out in the true purpose of *his* mission, the search for the vast riches as had been gathered by his predecessors. When these riches were not readily available, Onate also turned to the human commodity. *Encomiendas* were freely given to his supporters and the right to use the labor of indigenous people living on the grants as slaves (*repartimiento*) was authorized to encourage support for Onate's government.¹³⁷ Onate engaged in slave raids against the neighboring Apache and Navajo tribes. He began demanding large tributes in the form of food, fowl, blankets, and clothing from his "vassals."

One day his demands became too much. At the Acoma pueblo, Onate demanded a "donation" from his subjects as he was passing through in search of precious metals. Six weeks Onate's nephew came through and also demanded a "donation" from the Acoma pueblo. The Indians informed this second group that to give them this donation would endanger their lives in the upcoming winter. The Spaniards began seizing the supplies, and the Indians resisted and killed the entire troop of fifteen.¹³⁸

Onate responded by declaring that the people of Acoma must be punished, not just for his brother's death but to teach them and all Indians the foolishness of defying the Christian representatives of the Spanish king. Onate asked the Father Commissary to predicate the grounds of a just war against the Indians and what could be done with the spoils of such a war. The fathers were more than pleased to respond to his request. The grounds were established that Onate could punish the transgressors of the law as well as engage in any act that would preserve peace, which is the object of war. Furthermore, retaliation against the Indians was an act of self-defense and any act of self-defense was blameless. The vanquished, stated the fathers, were at the mercy of the conqueror. They and all their goods were at the mercy of the victor.¹³⁹

Onate sent his nephew's father and seventy men to Acoma to "wage war without quarter." A soldier described the attack:

In the attack of the preceding Thursday more than three hundred men were killed, and from Saturday to Sunday, more than 200 more. We began to set fire to the pueblo and destroy it, forcing them to retire to the strongest parts. The estufas [kivas] of the pueblo had been fortified until the first one was as strong as the penol [mesa] itself...In good order [with two artillery pieces], we forced the Indians to fight and they attacked with great fury. Twice we drew back, with them upon us, but they always fared badly. The result was that more than 800 persons died, and the prisoners taken numbered 500 women and children, and 80 men. The latter were tried and punished. With this the land was pacified, thanks to God our Lord.¹⁴⁰

Serving as judge and jury, Juan de Onate issued the following punishment:

The males who are over twenty five years of age I sentence to have one foot cut off and to twenty years of personal servitude. The males between the ages of twelve and twenty-five, I sentence likewise to twenty years of personal servitude.¹⁴¹

¹³⁷Wilcomb Washburn, *The Indian in America* (San Francisco: Harper Colophon Books, 1975) p. 117

¹³⁸Debo, p. 37

¹³⁹Terrell, pp. 46-47

¹⁴⁰Forbes, p. 37

¹⁴¹ibid.

The hands of two Hopi Indians who just happened to be in the village at the time were amputated and they were sent back their people as living reminders of the cost of resistance to the Spanish mission.¹⁴² All of the girls under twelve were given to the Spanish friars to be distributed "in this kingdom or elsewhere." The boys under twelve were given to the leader of the massacre [perhaps to replace his lost son].¹⁴³ Old men and old women were given as slaves to the Plains Apaches, traditional enemies of the Acoma Keres. There is no mention as to the plight of the adult women; we can only assume that they also became slaves. Acoma was burned.¹⁴⁴

Onate's outrages did not sit well with all of the Franciscan friars. One, the Brother Juan de Escalona, wrote to the viceroy to protest against Onate's "great outrages against the Indians" that were committed "without rhyme or reason." Onate's actions have not only been ones that have proven him to be an ineffectual governor, but ones that have limited the spread of the gospel. The evangelization of the new world is to be effected in a Christian manner, not in the manner which Onate and his soldiers implemented. For Brother de Escalona, it is the means to the end, and not solely the end, in and of itself, which is justified. In his letter he writes:

I do not hesitate to say that his majesty could have discovered this land with fifty well-armed Christian men, giving them the necessary things for things for this purpose, and that what these fifty men might discover could be placed under the royal crown and the conquest effected in a Christian manner without outraging or killing these poor Indians, who think that we are all evil and that the king who sent us here is ineffective and a tyrant. By so doing we would satisfy the wishes of our mother church, which, not without long consideration and forethought and illuminated by the Holy Spirit, entrusted these conquests and the conversions of souls to the kings of Castile, our lords, acknowledging in them the means, Christianity, and holiness for an undertaking as heroic as is that of winning souls for God.

Because of these matters (and others I am not telling), we cannot preach the gospel now, for it is despised by these people on account of our great offenses and the harm we have done them. At the same time it is not desirable to abandon this land, either for the service of God or the conscience of his majesty since many souls have already been baptized, besides, this place where we are established is a stepping stone and site from which to explore this whole land.¹⁴⁵

In 1609, Onate was replaced as governor. He was tried and convicted for his excesses.

Onate was the last of the conquistadors. With this type of brutality behind them, the Spanish missions of the seventeenth century made the transition from conquest to pacification and indoctrination. By 1630, there were more than 60,000 "converts" in the Pueblo missions of New Mexico and Arizona. Also by this time, using Indian labor, the padres had built over fifty mission churches throughout the territory including Taos where the Church was named San Geronimo.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴²Terrell, p. 47

¹⁴³Debo, p. 37

¹⁴⁴Terrell, p. 47

¹⁴⁵Edwin Gaustad, ed. *A Documentary History of Religion in America: To the Civil War*. (Grand Rapids: Erdman's Publishing Co., 1982) p.p. 70-72

¹⁴⁶Alvin Josephy, Jr., *Now That The Buffalo's Gone: A Study of Today's American Indians* (Norman, Ok: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984) p. 105

The distinction between the *reducciones* (*congregaciones* or missions) of the padres and the *encomiendas* of the landowners and civil authorities was largely semantic. Theoretically, the profits from the *encomienda* went into the pockets of the private owner; the profits from the mission went to the glory of God. Practically, this distinction between conquest and conversion had changed little over the previous century. The priests dressed their greed in ecclesiastical garments; the *encomenderos* dressed their avarice in colonial ideology. The priests were saving souls for the benefit of the church and the king, but there were temporal benefits to be gained in this earthly service as well as spiritual ones.¹⁴⁷ Power, position, and privilege are not lodged solely within the domain of the worldly. If this were true, there would have been no Reformation. The winners in the internecine struggle of the colonial enterprise was both the church and the mercantile state.

The losers were definitely the indigenous peoples of the Americas. The *reducciones* of the Spaniards were royal institutions designed to control native populations and transform them into Catholic subjects of the Crown. The salvation of souls was important to the most devout of missionaries, but the government was more interested in producing docile laborers and taxpayers on which to build an empire whether spiritual or temporal. The Spanish Catholic Church did not exist as an institution independent of the Crown and it was the Crown who established the missions.¹⁴⁸ Virtually every area of Indian life was dominated by either the church or the state, and quite often by both. The only aspects of life that were regulated were sexual intercourse, childbearing, and bodily functions. All other activities were subject to regulations that were rigidly enforced. Behind the padre lay the state apparatus of repression, and punishment for transgressions were quite severe. The Indians of the Southwest had no civil rights, no economic compensation for their labor, no religious freedom, and most important no political prerogatives.¹⁴⁹ They were, for all intents and purposes, slaves.

With baptism into the Catholic church, the Native American and their progeny became perpetual vassals of the holy fathers; they became the property of the church. If they fled the mission and tried to return to their former life, the Spanish military officials were bound by law to track them down and bring them back to the church. Those who fled and were returned were publicly punished with the whip or even worse. Beneath the outward trappings of voluntary conversion and fatherly love, the Spanish mission system was a coercive system.¹⁵⁰

The Spanish mission was in effect a church sponsored reservation. The soldiers would gather Indians from the surrounding areas and move them into the missions. Occasionally, as Las Casas had urged, the Indians were lured into the churches by music, the sound of the church bells, and by trinkets and small gifts the padres would give them. Once situated in the mission, the principle focus of the Indian's life was to support the church and the friars by working long hours in the fields, gardens, vineyards, and workshops and paying tribute in supplies and labor. The fruits of their labors were euphemistically called contributions to God. Their only rewards were just enough food to keep them alive (which they themselves produced) and a few garments and blankets that they were allowed to keep out of the large quantities they were forced to manufacture. For their profuse efforts and great loss of quality of life, the Spanish fathers promised a greater reward when this life of toil was over.¹⁵¹

With the rise of a powerful secular government, the Indians faced yet another challenge to their traditional way of life. Not only were they responsible to the mission, they were also assigned to an *encomienda*. Thus, they were not only working for the padres at the mission, they were also working the Spaniards' fields, tending their cattle and crops, and producing items to be sold in the emerging capitalist free market system. In addition, the colonial government created a new group of Indian civil authorities who were appointed by the governor to serve as a system of control for the indigenous population. These government appointed "tribal" leaders were often at

¹⁴⁷Terrell, p. 53

¹⁴⁸Forbes, p. 75

¹⁴⁹Terrell, p. 52

¹⁵⁰Fogel, p. 114

¹⁵¹Terrell, p. 52, Josephy, pp. 105-106

odds with "traditional" social, political, and religious leaders.¹⁵² These "tribal" leaders served as a kind of "field boss" or "house nigger" for the dominant culture. They serve this purpose even to this day.

Traditional slavery was also a very important part of the Spanish colonial empire in the Southwest. Rich deposits of silver discovered in Mexico in the waning years of the sixteenth created a great demand for slave labor, and the northern market proved to be the most fruitful because it was yet to be depleted. The semi-nomadic tribes of the Apaches and the Navajo were people who offered little hope for Christianization and pacification, but they could be "reduced" to slave labor.¹⁵³ Spanish law had forbidden slavery, but Indians captured in warfare could be held as slaves. As the Apaches and Navajos often raided the cities and missions, they became the enemies of both church and state. They were fair game for slavers. If commerce was slow, the governors could send out a raiding party, and any act of self-defense on the part of the non-Christian Indians could be deemed an act of war. If the stock of slaves was low, recalcitrant Pueblos could be branded enemies of the church/state and shipped off to foreign markets. The men would be sold to Mexican mine owners. The women would be sold as household servants, and if attractive enough might be purchased by operators of brothels. Priests always baptized captives before they were executed or sent south to the flesh markets.¹⁵⁴

In 1687 Francisco Kino, an Italian Jesuit in service of the Spanish empire, entered the valley of Pimeria Alta in Northwestern Arizona. He had come as a missionary to bring the message of Jesus to a people who had never known Christianity. He carried with him a document that related to the very nature of his expedition into the New World. Kino had been horrified by the enslavement and atrocities committed against the Indians of New Spain. In Guadalajara, he had submitted a petition to the Royal Audencia requesting that slave traffic be abolished in the areas that he would serve. In order that the "Holy Gospel may be propagated in remote lands," Kino requested that no one "shall take or cause any Indian to be taken...until five years had passed after their conversion."¹⁵⁵ King Carlos II of Spain simultaneously issued a cedula stating that no Indian should be required to serve in the mines or estates during the first twenty years after their conversion. Kino carried this royal cedula with him into his new mission. He firmly believed that, with God's help, he could liberate the Indians both spiritually and physically.

Kino selected a site for his mission in the valley of Rio San Miguel. He named the mission Nuestra Senora de los Dolores. He recruited people from the nearby Pimas to build his chapel, administrative buildings, and mission houses. Hundreds of people came from the nearby communities to live and work in the mission. He brought an interpreter and a teacher from the closest Spanish mission. Kino used his mission as a base for exploration and became renowned not only as an explorer and cartographer, but as a wilderness missionary. He baptized thousands of Indians. Kino established at least thirty missions in Pimeria Alta, built religious shrines throughout his domain, established ranches, planted orchards and vineyards, and built an extensive irrigation system to water his farms.

However, at no time did Kino use slave labor. His missions and projects were not *encomiendas*. No Indians were held in bondage, forced into labor, thrown into dungeons, lashed, beaten, or starved into submission before God and the Spanish empire. He placed no restrictions on the freedom of the Indians, honored their human rights and human dignity, and did not seek to destroy their culture. He sought to win converts to Christianity through love, patient teaching, and recognition of personal responsibility for community welfare. He showed in his own behavior the traits that would win them to Christianity, not by force and degradation. Even against the Apaches who raided his missions, he tried to use gentle persuasion. When this failed, he rallied his Pima and Sobaipuri supporters and armed them for their own self defense. As abhorrent as war was to him, he felt compelled to use it in self-defense.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵²Josephy, p. 106

¹⁵³L. R. Bailey. *Indian Slave Trade in the Southwest*. (Los Angeles:Westernlore Press, 1966) p. xiv

¹⁵⁴Terrell, p. 55

¹⁵⁵Terrell, p. 98

¹⁵⁶Terrell, pp. 104-106

Into the eighteenth century, the parish records of New Mexico describe the process of *reducione*. The soldiers would venture forth from the *presidios* to engage in military action against the Apaches and the Navajos. As a development on the strategy employed by Cortes, the Spaniards would pit Indians against Indians employing cheap whiskey and inferior weapons. The hunter-gatherers would be rounded up, brought into submission and taken back to civilization. There they would be settled in the missions, brought to the faith, and placed in Christian homes for a proper indoctrination into the faith. An often short life lie before them, baptism, a life of service to the Lord, and eventual assimilation into civilized society. The glories of heaven come soon enough.¹⁶¹ It is all registered in the records of the rites of birth and death.

On June 24, 1767, the viceroy of New Spain read a Spanish royal decree from King Carlos III ordering the seizure and deportation of all Jesuit priests. Within days the Jesuits were removed from 16 missions and 32 stations. The Jesuits had long struggled against slavery and built mission complexes throughout Latin America as refuges for Indians fleeing the slave trade. As the Jesuits marched the countryside for their ports of departure, "the people of Mexico, rich and poor alike, thronged the paths, watching with tears and lamentations as the Jesuits made their way to embark on the overladen ships."¹⁶² The vacuum created by the Jesuits from New Spain was filled by Franciscan and Dominican missionaries. The Jesuits had built up thirteen missions in Southern California. These missions now stood open for the new replacements.

The same year, Franciscan Father Junipero Serra was appointed to head the missionary effort in Northern California. Prior to this assignment, Serra had served as a missionary to the Pames Indians of Sierra Gorda in northern Mexico. He was noted for his religious enthusiasm and self abnegation; he would often flagellate himself with a chain or beat himself about the chest with a large stone. He was known to wear a coat interwoven with broken pieces of wire under his friar's outer garment. His fierce devotion had led him to be designated chief of the tribunal and commissary of the Inquisition for the Sierra Gorda region.¹⁶³ Serra's crowning achievement in Sierra Gorda was the construction of a magnificent church in Jalpan, built by Spanish craftsmen with native labor.¹⁶⁴

The first of Serra's missions to the California Indians was founded as San Diego de Alcalá near an arm of San Diego Bay in the late summer of 1769. Serra erected a cross, celebrated mass, and set up the official records of Mission San Diego in anticipation of his first baptisms. Eventually, Serra's missions would become twenty-one outposts spaced a day's journey from one another along *El Camino Real* - "The Royal Road" - from San Diego to San Francisco.¹⁶⁵ However, the mission in San Diego was destroyed by neighboring Indians within a year claiming only one convert to the cause of christianity. The missionary party of Serra and his soldiers moved north to Monterey where the established to found mission Carmel, the capital of the California mission system.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶¹Bailey, pp. 30-33

¹⁶²Fogel, p. 49

¹⁶³Eric Foner and John A. Garraty, ed. *The Reader's Companion to American History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1991) p. 983

¹⁶⁴Fogel, p. 47

¹⁶⁵Peter Williams. *America's Religions: Traditions and Cultures*. (New York: MacMillan Publishing House, 1990) p. 152

¹⁶⁶Fogel, p. 52

In a break with Spanish tradition as established in missions to the east and to the south, the new California missions attempted to follow a more benevolent policy toward Native Americans. Instead of military conquest, the Indians were recruited by offering them gifts of food, clothing, metal handicrafts and trinkets to entice them to come into the missions. The Indians had never seen mules, horses, and longhorn cattle before and these curious anomalies must have stirred the native's attention about these peculiar people who had set up life in their very midst. The friars quickly sought out the most powerful and influential members of the indigenous community and encouraged them to take up life at the mission. The mission bells and the exotic sights and sounds of the catholic ritual attracted the natives to the new way of life centered in an agricultural community. Soon the natives joined the friars and the soldiers in the construction of the mission and the churches, if not from religious devotion but from sheer curiosity about such a novel endeavor.¹⁶⁷

These marvelous undertakings particularly enthralled the young people of the indigenous community. The friars wasted no time in taking the children under their wing, baptising them, and introducing them to a life of service to Christ and the Catholic church. When the parents learned that the baptised children became the wards of the missionary fathers, they themselves moved into the mission community. They, too, became wards of the church. The friars taught their "children" catholic songs in Spanish and Latin. Heavy religious indoctrination followed and Indian catechisms were developed.¹⁶⁸ Under Franciscan tutelage the natives began to raise cattle, sheep, olives, grapes and other produce. They adopted a basic European lifestyle and a kind of common language, a blend of Spanish and traditional dialects, developed. The resulting enterprise has been described by Erving Goffman as a "total institution" in which every aspect of the resident Indians was shaped by the program of mission life developed by the friars.¹⁶⁹ We are reminded of Las Casa's injunction:

In order that the Indians may hear the faith with greater awe and reverence, the preachers should convey the Cross in their hands and should be wearing at least albs or stoles; the Christians are also to be told to listen to the preaching with great respect and veneration, so that by their example the non-believers will be induced to accept instruction. If it seems advisable, the preachers may attract the attention of non-believers by using music and singing, thereby encouraging them to join in. . . . The preachers should ask for their children under the pretext of teaching them and keep them as hostages; they should also persuade them to build churches where they can teach so that they may be safer. By these and other means are the Indians to be pacified and indoctrinated, but in no way are they to be harmed, for all we seek is their welfare and their conversion.¹⁷⁰

Serra and his friars viewed the mission lands and property as belonging to the baptized Indians, but they saw themselves as the trustees for this property and wealth until the time that the Indians could be raised to the level of mature catholics. Thus, the mission system became a modified version of the old *encomienda* system of colonial "trusteeship" over Indian lands, labor, and religious education. Crops, meat, hides, wool, and clothing were produced in the workshops of the mission to be sold for the support of the missions. A portion of the proceeds of the product of the native's labor was returned to the natives in the form of food and clothing. The Indian's surplus products were used to feed and clothe the soldiers, or was shipped overseas to be sold on the open market.¹⁷¹

What had begun as a self-supporting system had been transformed into a profitable commercial enterprise. The profits were fed back into the mission system and allowed the religious plantation to grow and expand at a remarkable rate. At one point, the governors charged that the missionaries were insisting on exorbitant

¹⁶⁷ibid.

¹⁶⁸ibid.

¹⁶⁹Williams, p. 153

¹⁷⁰Las Casas quoted in Todorov, pp. 173-174

¹⁷¹Fogel, pp. 53-54

prices for food supplies that they were obligated by law to sell to the presidios. This promoted great conflict between the missionaries and the military. In the long run of this conflict, the great losers were once again the Native Americans.¹⁷²

Not only were the Indians used to produce agricultural and commercial items, their labor was used to expand and enlarge the mission system. Baptized Indians built the churches, friar's dwellings, female dormitories, kitchens, storehouses, corrals, tanning vats, canals, mills, and soldier's quarters. Native labor built the mission system, but the friars designed the system. The design of the structure of the mission complex was for security, social control, and cohesion. The friars dwelled in the front row of rooms with immediate access to all areas of the mission. Young girls, single women, and widows were kept in a secluded dormitory in the innermost quadrants of the mission. Single men were kept in a separate dormitory, often outside the main block of buildings. Married mission Indians with small children lived in a village near the quadrangle. Soldiers assigned to the mission were housed in a central location within sight of the Indians village, the church, and the friars dwelling. The main body of soldiers were kept at the *presidio* a short distance from the mission.¹⁷³

The soldiers were used to protect the mission, but they also took advantage of their power to abuse the Indians. They often used their firepower to extort items and services from Native Americans. They engaged in brutal sexual attacks on young Indians women. When Indians responded to the rape of a chief's wife, they were met with firepower and killed. Soldiers used their lassos to rope women like cattle and rape them at will. Some soldiers were caught sexually molesting young boys within the confines of the mission. In 1784, Serra was moved to return to Mexico City to appeal to Viceroy Antonio Maria de Bucareli to grant him some power to restrain the excesses of the Spanish military.¹⁷⁴

Yet, Serra's argument was a peculiar one. He argued that the commanders and soldiers should be made to understand that the control, management, and punishment of baptised Indians, as well as those under instruction of baptism, was the exclusive domain of the friars except in the case of capital punishment. Therefore, no punishment or ill-treatment should be inflicted upon any of the neophytes, either by commander or his charge's, without the consent of the missionary in charge.¹⁷⁵ Punishment was a critical part of Serra's mission to the Indians. Neophytes judged delinquent in their worship, labor, or personal behavior were publically whipped on the bare back with a cane, rope, or lariat. Neophytes who tried to escape the mission were punished especially hard. Women were whipped in a secret place as to not incite the rest of the tribe to rebellion.¹⁷⁶ For one such as Serra for whom public humiliation was part of his plan for salvation, public floggings perhaps seemed a religious experience.

With Serra's death in 1784, the mission system was no longer restrained by his voice of compassion. What had largely been a system of less than benevolent paternalism was transformed into a system of brutality and ruthless exploitation. As harsh as his treatment of the Indians was, he expected no more of them than he did of himself. When he asked them to work, he worked with them. When he asked that they be beaten for their transgressions, he exemplified a self-mortification of the flesh that was exemplary in intent though flawed in its hermeneutical appropriation. With Serra gone, the world of the California mission became a much different place.

In 1878, an old Kamia Indian named Janitin described his being made a Christian under the auspices of the San Miguel Mission in the early nineteenth century:

I and two of my relatives went down from the Sierra of Neji to beach of el Rosarito, to catch clams for eating and to carry to the sierra as we were accustomed to do all the years; we did

¹⁷²Terrell, p. 152

¹⁷³Fogel, p. 54

¹⁷⁴Fogel, p. 56

¹⁷⁵Terrell, p. 153

¹⁷⁶Fogel, p. 130

no harm to anyone on the road and on the beach we thought of nothing more than catching and drying clams in order to carry them to our village.

While we were doing this, we saw two men on horseback coming rapidly towards us; my relatives were immediately afraid and they fled with all speed, hiding themselves in a very dense willow grove which then existed in the canyon of the Rancho del Rosarito.

As soon as I saw myself alone, I also became afraid of those men and ran to the forest in order to join my companions, but already it was too late, because in a moment they overtook me and lassoed and dragged me for a long distance, wounding me much with the branches over which they dragged me, pulling me lassoed as I was with their horses running; after they roped me with my arms behind and carried me off to the Mission of San Miguel, making me travel almost at a run in order to keep up with their horses, and when I stopped a little to catch my wind, they lashed me with the lariats that they carried, making me understand by signs that I should hurry; after much traveling in this manner, they diminished the pace and lashed me in order that I would always travel at the pace of the horses.

When we arrived at the mission, they locked me in a room for a week; the father [a Dominican priest] made me go to his habitation and he talked to me by means of an interpreter, telling me that he would make me a Christian, and he told me many things that I did not understand, and Cunur, the interpreter, told me that I should do as the father told me, because now I was not going to be set free, and it would go very bad for me if I did not consent in it. They gave me atole de mayz [corn gruel] to eat which I did not like because I was not accustomed to that food: but there was nothing else to eat.

One day they threw water on my head and gave me salt to eat, and with this the interpreter told me that now I was Christian and that I was called Jesus: I knew nothing of this, and I tolerated it all because in the end I was a poor Indian and did not have recourse but to conform myself and tolerate the things they did with me.

The following day after my baptism, they took me to work with the other Indians, and they put me to cleaning a milpa [cornfield] of maize; since I did not know how to manage the hoe that they gave me, after hoeing a little, I cut my foot and could not continue working with it, but I was put to work pulling out the weeds by hand, and in this manner I did not finish the task that they gave me. In the afternoon they lashed me for not finishing the job, and the following day the same thing happened as in the previous day. Every day they lashed me unjustly because I did not finish what I did not know how to do, and thus I existed for many days until I found a way to escape; but I was tracked and they caught me like a fox; there they seized me by lasso on the first occasion, and they carried me off to the mission torturing me on the road. After we arrived the father passed along the corridor of the house, and he ordered that they fasten me to the stake and castigate me; they lashed me until I lost consciousness, and I did not regain consciousness for many hours afterwards. For several days, I could not raise myself from the floor where they had laid me, and I still have on my shoulders the marks of the lashes which they gave me then.¹⁷⁷

Thus the methodology of conversion changed once again. Serra had adopted the methodology proposed by Las Casas: to lure the Indians into their midst by appealing to their curiosity and the strange enchantment of an "other" way of life. With Serra gone, the evangelists as the soldiers returned to the missionary methods of Cortez and Columbus. They built structures called missions strong enough to hold the Indians as prisoners. They moved throughout the surrounding regions taking Native Americans captive by force and herding them into pens as if they were livestock.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁷Peter Nabokov, ed. *Native American Testimony: A Chronicle of Indian-White Relations from Prophecy to the Present, 1492-1992*. (New York: Viking Press, 1992) pp. 59-60

¹⁷⁸Terrell, p. 154

At the break of every morning, the mission bells tolled calling forth all Indians over the age of nine to the morning service. Mass was celebrated by one of the padres. In another part of the church, neophytes recited the prayers of the Doctrina with each joining in to the best of their ability. Next, the Albedo was sung. The same melody was used in all missions. Finally, the Indians were given a lesson in Spanish religious words before being dismissed for breakfast.¹⁷⁹ Those who missed the morning service or who were lax in their religious devotion were reprimanded quite severely. The friars whipped the Indians for violations of the seemingly arbitrary rules of monastic life. They were also imprisoned in stocks, shackles, and chains.¹⁸⁰

After morning worship came breakfast. With breakfast, of course, the native people were required to sing grace and ask God to bless their food. Breakfast, as well as supper, consisted of a porridge of corn, barley, and wheat called *atole*. At lunch, the Indians ate *pozole*, which was *atole* supplemented by some meat or vegetable flavoring. Unattached men and women were not allowed to eat together; they were required to return to their quarters. While the mission Indians ate *atole* for three meals a day, the friars ate baked bread and meat.¹⁸¹

Following breakfast, the men went to the field to herd livestock or to plow, sow and harvest the grain fields. Often, the men were involved in extensive irrigation work that the hard, dry, plains could be converted to the fertile land that it is today. In the non-agricultural seasons, the men would work making adobe bricks from straw and clay, sawing logs into beams and rafters, and constructing new mission buildings. The women were involved in spinning, weaving, and sewing to create the blue uniforms that all mission Indians wore and to create commercial items to be sold on the open market. Blankets were woven of native wool, and hides were sewn into moccasins and jackets. The women worked ceaselessly pounding and scrubbing piles of laundry at the laundry pit within the perimeter of the mission. Grain was pounded into flour to make the *atole* and the bread for the friars and the women often had responsibility for the mission commissary. Even the children were set to work scaring birds away from the orchards and vineyards with plant brushes. The work day started immediately after breakfast and lasted until sundown with intermittent breaks for meals, a *siesta*, and worship.¹⁸² Though this regiment of work seems not too harsh by modern standards, the indigenous people of the Americas were not used to working under such rigid conditions.¹⁸³

After sundown, the native people were allowed to return to their residencies and engage in whatever recreational activities time and energy would allow. They were restricted from participating in pagan dancing and heathen ceremonies, but were allowed to tell stories and to laugh. With darkness came mandatory quiet. Gates were locked and guards took their stations.¹⁸⁴

¹⁷⁹Terrell, p. 155

¹⁸⁰Weatherford, p. 133

¹⁸¹ibid.

¹⁸²Terrell, p. 157, Fogel, p. 116

¹⁸³Fogel, p. 128

¹⁸⁴Terrell, p. 158

At night single women above the age of eight, widows, and women whose husbands were on leave from the mission were locked in a large room called a *monjeria* (nunnery).¹⁸⁵ This arrangement kept the Native American men away from the women, but it did not keep the Spanish soldiers away. According to accounts from two Franciscan friars who visited the Santa Barbara mission in 1800, the soldiers used the mission's women as prostitutes, "There are many examples of these women, who for a watermelon or for a tortilla de maiz, will prostitute themselves."¹⁸⁶ Such treatment of women throughout the California mission system led to high rates of venereal disease as well as a whole generation of mixed Spanish-American offspring.¹⁸⁷ It also led to high rates of abortion and infanticide. One Indian woman at San Gabriel was convicted of infanticide was punished by having her head shaved, being whipped daily for two weeks, having her feet bound in irons for three months, and "having to appear every Sunday in church, on the steps leading up to the altar, with a hideous painted wooden child in her arms."¹⁸⁸

The *monjeria* was designed to promote "Christian decency and modesty", yet it served to concentrate the medical, cultural, and psychological stresses of mission life among the women of the community. Vital statistics obtained from missionary records show that throughout the missionary period death rates exceeded birth rates usually by a wide margin. The largest portion of those who died were women. The enclosure of large numbers of women into the tightly packed and poorly ventilated *monjeria* tended to promote a variety of infectious diseases, including the dreaded measles. Men were allowed to build sweat lodges to cleanse themselves, but the women were not allowed to take part in this practice. Life in the *monjeria* disrupted the women's control of their reproductive power, and the social status that had once flowed from it. Women, who had traditionally played an important role in tribal social, political, religious, and cultural life were removed from their very sources of power to become the captives of the *monjeria*.¹⁸⁹

There were only two avenues of escape from the slavery of the Spanish mission system: death and flight. Death came quick enough for many of the mission Indians. By 1800, deaths exceeded births by two to one, and eventually deaths exceeded both births and new conversions. The numbers of dead were so great at the Santa Barbara mission that the fathers built huge troughs next to the mission for a mass grave. When the grave filled, the friars had the Indians dig out the layers of bones and deposit them in the charnel house to make room for the new bodies. In 1769, the population of Native Americans from San Francisco to San Diego was more than 70,000. In 1835, when the missions were secularized, only 15,000 indigenous people remained.¹⁹⁰ Nearly half those who died were children. By 1900, the entire California Indian population was less than 16,000. In 1911, there was much celebration following the discovery of an anthropological curiosity by the name of Ishi, the "last Yahi."¹⁹¹

For the Native American who tried to escape mission slavery by fleeing into the surrounding interior of California, life was imminently perilous. The only avenues out of the mission led to dry hills and canyons or into the desert, where the shortage of food and water and the oppressive heat made survival quite a formidable effort. Many Indians fled to these areas, and many died.¹⁹² The fathers were often quite resistant to the idea of letting the source of their lifestyle slip away. The quite often organized posses to chase down runaways. Vassali Tarkanoff, a Russian captive in California, described the fate of runaways:

¹⁸⁵Forbes, p. 76

¹⁸⁶Forbes, p. 79

¹⁸⁷Weatherford, p. 133

¹⁸⁸Fogel, p. 135

¹⁸⁹Fogel, p. 135

¹⁹⁰Forbes, p. 76

¹⁹¹Fogel, p. 162

¹⁹²Weatherford, p. 133

The indios were away several days when a great number of soldiers came to the mission, and they and some of the priests went out and stayed away many days, and when they came back, they brought back most of the natives. They were all bound with rawhide ropes, and some were bleeding from wounds, and some children were tied to their mothers. The next day we saw some terrible things. Some of the runaway men were tied to sticks and beaten with straps. One chief was taken out to the open field and a young calf which had just died was skinned and the chief was sewed into the skin while it was still warm. He was kept tied to the stake all day, but he died soon and they kept his corpse tied up.¹⁹³

Without the avenues of death or escape, the mission Indians succumbed to the profound psychological and spiritual lethargy that has been used to characterize the slave in American mythology. When rebelliousness led to punishment or execution, the main response became the chronic depression that set in among the mission Indians. Visitors to the missions reported that the Indians were sullen, listless, and dull. This gave the impression to many that the Indians were dull-witted or stupid. They were seen as lazy, shiftless, and tending to avoid the very work that they were given by God to do. A French visitor to the Spanish missions, Jean de la Perouse, came to believe that the Indians were stupid *by nature*. He describes the mission Indians:

¹⁹³Forbes, p. 75

These men have very few ideas, still less stability, and if they be not continually treated like children, they escape from those who have been at the trouble of instructing them...reasoning has no effect upon them, so that their senses must be forcibly appealed to...¹⁹⁴

Native Americans, who had been described by those who first encountered them as being rather impressed by their appearance and behavior, had been reduced by the California mission system to the state of the prototypical slave. Though the missionaries may have come with high intentions, we must judge a tree by its fruit. The proceeds from Indian labor was supposed to be community property, but the vast majority of it was spent to embellish the churches and the plantation that supported them. In their writings, the friars vehemently argued that no Indian was forced to stay in the mission against his will, but anecdotal records contradict this claim. Royal decrees prohibited slavery, but the crown was far away and the mission system covered its enslavement with the rhetoric of evangelism. Though the rewards were seen as spiritual, the benefits were quite material.

Jean de la peroxide, the French visitor to the Spanish missions, did more than just offer conclusions on the anthropological status of the California Indians. He also evaluated the missionary's efforts in bringing salvation to the savages. He found the policies and methods of the Spaniards wanting in several accounts:

- a) The mission government was a veritable theocracy for the Indians who were led to believe that the friars power and status came from direct communication with God.
- b) The presence and participation of soldiers limited rather than assisted the spread of the faith.
- c) The community system, based on extreme prejudice and impractical ambitions, created and supported a disadvantageous servility.
- d) Missionary efforts were totally focused on the hereafter, ignoring the life situation of the Indians.
- e) All in all, the Franciscan mission system of California bore a frightening resemblance to the slave plantations of Santo Domingo.¹⁹⁵

Though not legally slaves, the lack of difference between the Indians of California and the slaves of Santo Domingo was all too apparent to a contemporary such as de la Perouse. A slave is a slave whether they are externally introduced or internally produced. The mission system of California was built upon the institution of slavery as introduced in the conquest of Mesoamerica. It was an elaboration upon the *encomienda* system couched in the rhetoric of religious assimilation.

Indian slavery under the auspices of the California mission system was one of the critical elements in the development of the western portion of what was to become the United States of America. No less pernicious than the African slave trade, it was as important to the colonization of the western United States as the African slave trade was to the development of the eastern colonies. The labor of Indians cleared the lands and built the settlements that were later to be used under the auspices of the secular enterprise. California is a state built upon the institution of slavery no less than Mississippi.

¹⁹⁴Forbes, p. 76

¹⁹⁵Terrell, pp. 161-162

There is no further evidence needed than that provided by the history of California following the secularization of the missions in the early 1830's. The 1850 California law "for the government and protection of Indians" and its succeeding amendment in 1860 provided that any Indian child obtained "without coercion" could be "apprenticed" until that child was thirty years old. Kidnapping of Indian children became a commercial enterprise, with slavetraders often murdering the child's parents, after raping the mother. Children were held under the threat of death. Young Indian women "apprentices" often became concubines of their masters.¹⁹⁶

In Los Angeles in 1850, Indians arrested for vagrancy or drunkenness would be sold at auction to the highest bidder. The Indians were sold in the plaza each Monday morning. Indians were quite liberally provided with alcohol that they might be arrested and purchased at the auction. The practice continued until at least 1869. This was, of course, at a time when the California constitution had banned slavery and involuntary servitude.¹⁹⁷ In the summer of 1865, the *California Police Gazette* demanded an investigation of the treatment of Indians in the state:

Slavery exists in California in precisely that it did until lately in the Southern states... Here in almost every county Indians are held as chattels... Many of them have fallen into cruel hands and the barbarities inflicted upon them by inhuman masters would put to blush the most unfeeling wretch that ever lorded it over a gang on a Southern plantation.¹⁹⁸

Perhaps it is merely coincidence that the *California Police Gazette* used the term "lorded" in its description of the barbarities of Indian slavery in California. However, the practices of Indian slavery in the secular state of California seem to be driven by the same ideology that guided the early Spanish missionaries. If the Indians could not be brought under God's yoke, then they would be broken by God's power. When the *San Francisco Alta California* newspaper declared in 1851 that Indians "must fade away before the Saxon race as the cloud in the west before the light and heat of a greater power"¹⁹⁹, we must hear in it the reflections of the rhetoric expressed by the Spanish conquistadors three hundred fifty years earlier. The stream of false consciousness flows through history.

¹⁹⁶Fogel, pp. 160-161

¹⁹⁷Forbes, p. 93

¹⁹⁸Fogel, p. 161

¹⁹⁹Fogel, p. 163

The French

On the walls of the parish church in Dieppe, France lie a peculiar set of images that reach back to the beginning of the sixteenth century. Depicted in these bas-reliefs are "wild woodmen" from the new world brought to Dieppe and exhibited "to the wonder and applause of France" by Captain Thomas Aubert. The earliest recorded "savages" were captured and brought to France to be exhibited by Captain Paulmier de Gonneville in 1503. The "savages" and their bizarre appearance antics aroused much interest and speculation as to their nature. One of the people who was particularly interested in their "nature" was Gonneville's great grandson, the abbe Jean Paulmier de Gonneville. Shortly after their arrival, he sent a long memorandum to Pope Alexander VII arguing for a French mission to the "Terre Nueve."²⁰⁰

Fully thirty years after Columbus had "discovered" the Caribbean islands of the New World, another explorer by the name of Giovanni de Verrazano came into contact with the peoples of the New World. Verrazano, a Florentine in the employ of Francis I of France, sailed the Atlantic coast of North America from the Carolinas to Newfoundland. Verrazano, formerly a pirate who had gained the king's attention with his daring raids on Spanish and English commercial ships, had set out for the new world in an effort to find a western route to China.²⁰¹

When Verrazano arrived off the coast of North Carolina, he noticed that the indigenous people of the area had come to scout out his party. After coming ashore and meeting them, he found them "not very strong in body, but acute in mind" and took great notice of their friendliness and compassion toward one of his injured sailors.²⁰² He also noticed "that they have no religious beliefs whatsoever, but live in this respect entirely free. All of which proceeds from ignorance, as they are very easy to be persuaded, and imitated us with earnestness and fervour in all which they saw us do as Christians in our acts of worship."²⁰³

Near Kitty Hawk, N.C., Verrazano discovered an old Indian woman, a young woman about the age of eighteen, and a young boy hiding themselves from the French exploration party. When the Europeans came upon the group, the native people began "to shriek and make signs to the men who had fled to the woods." Verrazano offered the group some of their provisions, but the young woman refused their offer and tossed the food "in great anger." Verrazano describes in his letter to King Francis what happened next:

We took the little boy from the old woman to carry with us to France, and would have taken the girl also, who was very beautiful and very tall, but it was impossible because of the loud shrieks she uttered as we attempted to lead her away, having to pass some woods, and being far from the ship, we determined to leave her and take the boy only.²⁰⁴

At a later point in the trip, Verrazano encountered some Native Americans who were less enamored by the Europeans. After engaging in commerce with the Europeans, the Abenakis of Maine showed, "all signs of discourtesy and disdain, as was possible for any brute creature to invent, such as exhibiting their bear behinds and laughing immoderately."²⁰⁵ By their lack of respect for the European colonizers, it is evident that the Abenakis

²⁰⁰Cornelius Jaenen. *Friend and Foe: Aspects of French-Amerindian Cultural Contact in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1976) p. 13

²⁰¹Notes from "Verrazano's Voyage," *Old South Leaflet #17*, (Boston: Directors of the Old South Meeting House, n.d.) p. 15

²⁰²Giovanni de Verrazano, *Old South Leaflet #17*, (Boston: Directors of the Old South Meeting House, n.d.) p.

²⁰³Verrazano, p. 12

²⁰⁴Verrazano, p. 5

²⁰⁵Verrazano, quoted in Olexer, p. 17

had come in to contact with European explorers before, possibly with slave traders sailing the coastline for booty.²⁰⁶

The French came into the Americas with quite a different historical background from the Spanish. France had been one of the major participants in the crusades, but never having been occupied by the Moors as had the Spanish left them with a less than compelling hatred of the infidel. Even though the French had engaged in an internal crusade against the heretic Albigensians in Southern France, there had never been a systematic state sponsored religious purge as in the Spanish inquisition.

²⁰⁶Olexer, p. 18

From the coronation of Charlemagne as most Christian king of France and successor to Constantine, the French emperor had continued to assert the princely authority over the church. During the Great Schism France suspended allegiance from the Avignonese Pope Benedict XIII in a quarrel over major appointments. In July 1438, Charles VII issued the "Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges" which effectively transferred the appointment of benefices from the pope to the French ruler.²⁰⁷ By 1516, the Concordat of Bologna had increased the crown's control over clerical appointments, clerical taxation, and clerical courts, while giving the pope in turn desired taxes. By the dawn of the Reformation, the church of France was, in many respects, a state church.²⁰⁸

In 1534, after Pope Clement VII assured King Francis I that he might explore lands not discovered by other crowns, Jacques Cartier sailed to the new world to "discover certain islands and countries where it is said there must be a great quantity of gold and other riches."²⁰⁹ On July 30, 1534 at the point of Gaspe Bay near Quebec the first recorded presentation of Christian teachings within the present boundaries of Canada took place.²¹⁰ Jacques Cartier and his men erected a thirty foot cross to attract the neighboring Iroquois, fell to their knees with hands clasped toward the sky, and made gestures toward the Indians to show that "we had our redemption." The Iroquois, fascinated by Cartier's exhibition, approached the Frenchmen offering the furs off their backs as trading items. The Frenchmen traded items with them, making sure that only secular items were traded; they would not trade for their religious rings, crosses or Agnus Dei medals.²¹¹

At a later point, in Stadacona, Iroquois and Algonquin fisherman received the strangers from a distant land as though they were brothers. They joyfully rubbed the Frenchman's arms in torsos in greetings leading the French to believe that "they are a people who would be easy to convert." Although there were no priests to work with the Indians, the idea of proselytizing the Native Americans was one that surely must have occurred to Cartier. Everywhere they went they put up crosses to serve as beacons and markers for future expeditions into the Iroquoian and Algonquian homelands.²¹²

Though the French came to the New World from a different historical background, they were not averse to using similar methods as their other European forebearers. In Gaspe Harbor where he erected his huge Christian beacon, Cartier encountered the Wyandot chief Donnacona with two hundred of his people. A member of Cartier's party described what happened next:

²⁰⁷Euan Cameron, *The European Reformation*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992) p. 54

²⁰⁸Williston Walker, Richard Norris, David Lotz, and Robert T. Handy. *A History of the Christian Church, Fourth Edition*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1985) p. 400

²⁰⁹James Axtell, *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985) p. 24

²¹⁰John Webster Grant. *Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter since 1534*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984) p. 3

²¹¹Axtell, p. 24

²¹²ibid.

We caused a fair high cross to be made of the height of thirty foot... And after we returned to our ships, their captain, clad in an old bear's skin, with three of his sons, and a brother of his with him came unto us in one of their boats, but they came not so near us as they were wont to do: there he made a long oration unto us, showing us the cross we had set up, and making a cross with two fingers; then did he show us all the country about us, as if he would say that all was his, and that we should not set up any crosses without his leave. His talk being ended, we showed him an axe, faining that we would give it to him for his skin to which he listened, for by little and little he came near our ships. One of our fellows that was in our boat, took hold on theirs and suddenly leapt into it with two or three more, who enforced them to enter into our ships; whereat they were greatly astonished. But our captain did straightways assure them, that they should have no harm, nor any injury offered them at all, and entertained them very friendly, making them eat and drink. Then did he show them with signs that the cross was but only set up to be as a light and leader which ways we should enter into the port, and that we would surely come again and bring good store of iron wares and other things, but that we would take two of his children with us, afterward bring them to the said port again; and so we clothed two of them in shirts and coloured coats, with red caps, and put about every one's neck a copper chain, whereat they were greatly contented: then gave they their old cloaths to their fellows that went back again, and we gave to each one of those three that went back a hatchet and some knives, which made them very glad.²¹³

The young Wyandot were taken to France to learn French and so that the French could learn further information about the indigenous inhabitants of New France. It was learned that there were no words for the religious concepts that the French asked them about, so it was assumed that there was no religion among the Wyandot. Francis I, the royal sponsor of Cartier's mission, believed that in New France lie fertile ground for evangelization.²¹⁴ The Indians stories of a fabulous kingdom named Saguenay where wealth existed beyond one's imagination provided a different kind of inspiration for Cartier and his men.²¹⁵

Cartier returned a year later with a crew of 110 which included Chief Donnacona's sons, Domagaya and Taignoagny, who had been catechized into the Christian religion while in France. As soon as the Cartier's ships had been grounded for the winter, religious instruction began for the Indians at Stadacona. Cartier and his men moved to establish relations with a neighboring tribe, but the Standaconans warned that their God would not look favorable upon Cartier's contacts with a rival tribe. The French laughed at this proposition and referred to the native American's deity Cudoagny as a fool. Cartier assured the catechized Taignoagny that his priests had spoken to Jesus and that there would be no ill consequences for setting up other trading compacts.²¹⁶ As a gesture of goodwill before Cartier left, Donnacona offered three of his relative's children, two boys and a teenage girl. The young girl ran away at a later point after having been abused by one of Cartier's men. She was later recaptured.²¹⁷

Cartier and his men moved on to the rival village Hochelaga where they were received warmly by the people of the village. Cartier and his men began distributing trinkets and tools to the native people including religious items such as paternoster beads and *agnus dei* medallions. Cartier presented one of the tribal leaders with a crucifix, "which he made kiss and then hung it around his neck."²¹⁸ The people of the village began to bring their sick and invalids to Cartier and he prayed over them for healing, making the sign of the cross and reading to

²¹³Olexer, pp. 19-20

²¹⁴Axtell, p. 25

²¹⁵Olexer, p. 20

²¹⁶Axtell, p. 25

²¹⁷Olexer, p. 21

²¹⁸Axtell, p. 25

them of Christ's passion from the new testament. The people of Hochelaga eagerly imitated the French in hopes that the French God would be able to do that which their indigenous god could not. Once again as he left the village of Hochelaga, Cartier took with him a little girl who had been offered to him. He refused two toddler boys because he claimed that they were too young.²¹⁹

Upon returning to Stadacona, Cartier lambasted the residents for their false beliefs which they used to attempt to dissuade him from spreading the word of God to the neighboring village. He called their god "a wicked spirit who deceived them" and began to preach his own version of the gospel. He warned of the perils of hell for those who had not been baptised into the Christian faith. Some of the Indians immediately renounced their traditional deities and asked to be baptised on the spot. Catching Cartier and his men off guard, they responded, "Since we did not know their real intention and state of mind, and had no one to explain to them our faith, an excuse was made to them."²²⁰ The people of Stadacona were told that on a return trip, priests and other religious people well instructed in the acts would return and perform the service properly.

Before he left to sail back to France, Cartier had one last effort in his mission. He erected a thirty-five foot cross in the midst of his fort and proceeded to commemorate the festival of the Holy Cross on May 15, 1536. When Donnacona, his assistants, and the two previously catechized Indians came to participate in the service, Cartier and his men seized them and held them as hostage. When Cartier sailed at last for St Malo, he took with him ten Native Americans which he had seized or had gained as gifts for his religious exercises. The records of St. Malo show that in 1538 "the baptism of three savages brought there by Cartier."²²¹ Others were baptized in 1539 in France including Donnacona, who had asked to be baptized after "a long time" in France.²²² Domogaya and Taignoagny fell into the Paris underworld and "came to no good."²²³ By the time Cartier returned to the New World in 1540, all but the ten-year-old girl from Hochelaga had died.²²⁴

However, the Indians had served their purpose in alerting the French to the wonders and riches of the kingdom of Saguenay. Cartier informed Francis I that the natives of New France "could easily be moulded in the way one would wish" and the king granted Cartier and another of his followers royal commissions which emphasized the importance of religious conversion. Cartier's commission spoke of bringing from the new world "savage men living without the knowledge of God and without usage of reason" to be instructed in the "love and fear of God and of his holy law and Christian doctrine."²²⁵ Once brought to Christianity, these subjects could return to the new world as guides and "to do what is agreeable to God our creator and Redeemer, and to increase of His holy and hallowed name, and of our mother, the holy Catholic Church."²²⁶

Cartier's fellow colonizer was the noble man Jean Francois de La Rocque, sieur de Roberval whose commission was the "sanctification of His holy name and the advancement of our Christian faith."²²⁷ However, Roberval's mission was of a quite different nature, more like those of the Spanish in the southwest than what was to become the tradition in New France. Roberval drew his collection of colonists from French prisons and his mission was to build a fort which enclosed a town with buildings, temples, and churches. The prostitutes,

²¹⁹Olexer, p. 21

²²⁰Axtell, p. 26

²²¹Lauber, p. 72

²²²Axtell, p. 27

²²³Olexer, p. 22

²²⁴ibid.

²²⁵Axtell, p. 28

²²⁶ibid.

²²⁷ibid.

murderers, and thieves who populated the mission/fort would seek to "attract" Native Americans from the neighboring nations into the Christian lifestyle. If the indigenous people were not amenable to the evangelical effort, the inhabitants of the mission were obliged to use "force of arms" to 'make them live by reason and civility and in the fear and love of God."²²⁸ It is interesting to mention that Roberval was a Protestant.

The residents of New France were not receptive to the arrival of hundreds of settlers from France. Even though he built a fort atop a well fortified area, he left for France within a six months after his arrival in 1541 claiming "hee could not with his small company withstand the Savages, which went about dayly to annoy him."²²⁹ Roberval's "mission" fared little better. Between short rations and outbreaks of scurvy, his group was so disheartened that they returned to France in 1542. There is little evidence that either group engaged in any serious evangelical effort with the Native Americans of New France. It is also evident that despite rhetoric to the contrary, evangelism was not a high priority among either of these early French expeditions. There were no priests to be found in the records of the ship's logs on either mission.²³⁰

The first Protestant enterprise in New World was attempted in Florida when Rene de Laudonniere and a group of French Huguenots established a French beachhead at Fort Caroline in Florida in 1562. Catherine de Medici, Queen of France, urged Laudonniere and Captain Jean Ribault to capture some natives to bring back to France. Ribault was able to secure two Native Americans from a local chief, but the captives were less than willing to make the long voyage to France. They snuck out of their rooms at night, slipped a dingy over the side of the ship, and made their escape to their homeland.²³¹ Ribault and Laudonniere's expedition of over a thousand Frenchmen were crushed by Pedro Menendez, the Spanish colonist from St. Augustine in 1565. The Iberian powers established that they would not tolerate trespassers on their papal donation, especially Protestant ones.²³²

Before the arrival of the next group of French colonists at the beginning of the seventeenth century, France was swept into the throngs of the Protestant Reformation. Though reticent at first to promote a singularity of religious belief, King Francis I soon began to attempt to viciously suppress the Protestantism in France that was taking its form in the Huguenot movement. In spite of repression, the Huguenots continued to grow and threaten the supremacy of state sponsored Catholicism. Between 1562 and 1594 France was turned against itself by the Wars of Religion. The assassination of Henri III in 1589 left Henri de Navarre, a Huguenot on the throne of France. Henri de Navarre renounced his "heresies" and was received into the Roman Catholic Church. He became Henri IV, founder of the Bourbon dynasty. In 1598, peace was brought to France by the Edict of Nantes which promoted Protestant liberties.²³³

It is also important at this point to discuss the impact of Spanish colonization, Spanish attitudes towards Native Americans, and the dispute between Las Casas and Sepulveda upon French civilization. Just as in Spain, the French opinions regarding the nature of the "savages" led them to become either indiophiles or indiophobes. French translations of works by Ovieda and Gomara led some French citizens to view the indigenous inhabitants as being subhumans without God, king, or law. The French edition of Las Casas' *Destruction of the Indies* that came out in 1579 had a profound impact upon French civilization and served both to assert the humanity of Native Americans and to support the Black Legend regarding the Spanish influence in the New World. Montagne and Rabelais looked favorably upon the Native American and helped to promote the idea of the "noble savage" which has proven both beneficial and problematic in Native American history. Another popular myth that influenced French behavior towards the Indians was the belief that the Indians were the Lost Tribe of Israel that emerged from Spanish and Dutch writings. Though paternalistic and ethnocentric, this idea mediated the

²²⁸ibid.

²²⁹Axtell, p. 29

²³⁰Axtell, p. 28

²³¹Olexer, p. 26

²³²Wright, p. 42

²³³Ahlstrom, p. 55

wholesale disregard for the Indian's humanity. On the other hand, Pierre D'avity regarded the Indians as savages just one rank above the brutish beasts, but lower than the barbarians of the Orient.²³⁴

The next colonial exercise in New France was a settlement founded by Pierre du Gua, sieur de Monts on the island of Saint Croix in Pasquamoddy Bay. De Monts was given a ten-year monopoly on Indian trade to support the expense of settling sixty colonists a year. Henri IV gave him orders to establish domination over the "Godless barbarians" by "open war" if necessary in order to "summon and instruct" the surrounding peoples to "provoke and rouse them to the knowledge of God and to the light of the Christian faith and religion."²³⁵ Though he was granted the opportunity to use thugs and thieves in his missionary enterprise, de Monts chose to take his colonists from among the skilled and educated French citizens including Jean de Biencourt, sieur de Poutrincourt and Samuel Champlain.

After several long winters and serious altercations with the local Indian nations, de Monts sent Samuel Champlain deeper into the interior in hope of the "greater advantages in the interior, where the peoples are civilized, and where it is easier to plant the Christian faith and establish such order as is necessary for the preservation of a country."²³⁶ He ventured forth into the interior and decided upon building a fortified habitation where the river narrows at Quebec, and established a French stronghold which became an axis of the fur trade and a center of French religion and culture in the new world. The founding of Quebec established the first strong French presence in the New World.

As he was traveling throughout these regions, Champlain came upon many Native Americans from several different Algonquian and Iroquoian tribes. Champlain desired to send some of these indigenous people, most particularly the young women, to France that they might be "instructed in the law of God and good manners." The opportunity came when some of the Montagnais leaders he encountered wished to present the French traveler with some gifts in exchange for the remarkable items which he had presented them. Three girls were given to him whom he named Faith, Hope, and Charity and he instructed them in religion, manners, and "domestic work" (*italics mine*). Other Indians were given to Champlain to be sent to France including one Iroquois woman who was going to be eaten by an enemy tribe. There were numerous occasions where Champlain obtained Native Americans for humanitarian and religious purposes.²³⁷

Champlain's policy of obtaining Native Americans to be instructed in the Christian religion and trained in manners and domestic work was part of a larger vision that he possessed for the republic. Champlain envisioned a society that was French in culture and Christian in religion which would consist of Christianized Native Americans under the auspices of French colonists. He saw Quebec as the center of a vast exploratory project in which the vast resources of the Canadian frontier and people could be harvested for the betterment of the kingdom and of himself. Critical to this project, Champlain believed, were to be the missionaries.²³⁸

Champlain first sought to bring the enlightened and experienced Jesuit missionaries to his foundling city in the New World. The Jesuit order, a strong symbol of the Catholic Reformation, was founded by Ignatius Loyola and his followers in Saint Mary's Church at Montmartre in 1534. The Jesuits were known for the calibre of their recruits, their personal commitment and obedience to the Catholic Church, and their willingness to undergo grave hardship in their evangelical efforts. Unable to secure the adequate political and financial support for the Jesuits, Champlain sought to bring the Recollets. The Recollets were an "observant" body emerging out of the Franciscans in the sixteenth century known for their houses of "spiritual renewal" and their commitment to social service.²³⁹

²³⁴Jaenen, pp. 14-20

²³⁵Axtell, p. 34

²³⁶Axtell, p. 35

²³⁷Lauber, p. 80

²³⁸Grant, p. 6

²³⁹Grant, pp. 6-7

The Recollets had very definitive ideas about how to bring about the conversion of the native people of New France. The Recollets believed that the Indians had to be remade into French persons before they could be turned into Christians. In other words, the Recollets sought to assimilate the native people in order to Christianize them...to civilize them by French laws and mores.²⁴⁰ "They must be fixed and induced to clear and cultivate the land, to work at different trades, like the French," stated Father Joseph Le Caron, missionary to the Huron. The Recollets sought to bring the Indians within to the immediate vicinity of Quebec that they might be more easily controlled and introduced the virtues of the agricultural life. Finally, the Recollets sought to settle the intertribal warfare which a consistent problem among the Iroquois, Algonquian, and Huron people.

Though the Recollets sought to bring the Indians in their midst under the gentle yoke of their God and through gentle persuasion bring them to a sedentary life, they were strongly resisted by the commercial interests in New France. The emerging fishing and fur industries needed strong, mobile, independent trading partners to handle the difficult yet extremely rewarding new capitalistic enterprises of New France. The Recollets program of turning the semi-nomadic hunter-gatherers on the Northwest Territory into docile God fearing farmers and small merchants was less than compatible with their pecuniary interests. Further, the idea of solving the intertribal conflicts was also incompatible to a mercantile system that profited off of intertribal competition and conflict. From the day the Recollets set foot on the soil of New France, they were opposed by the commercial enterprise.

Undaunted, the Recollets immediately set about their mission, but they found it difficult to deal with the Native People who seemed to resent and resist their rank ethnocentrism. Journalist Eusebe Renaudot reflected the Recollet attitude when he reported on Recollet missions to the Indians:

Exertions have been made to civilize this barbarism, to render it susceptible to laws, stop as far as possible their brutal outbursts, [and] disabuse them of their vain superstitions...little progress is made, these nations being yet so savage, so attached to their ancient maxims, their profane usages, gluttony, slander, pride, intoxication, cruelty, indocility...If these nations do not correspond to the grace of redemption offered them, we have this resource of faith, that they are rendered inexcusable, and God is justified in his condemnation of them.²⁴¹

Though the missionary work depended largely upon God's grace, the Recollet missionaries could, according to Father Le Caron, "reduce" the natives to civilization by rendering them "men of order, more docile and tractable."²⁴² Father Hennepin put the process in terms that distinctly reflected the Spanish attitude toward evangelism, "Until Christians are the absolute masters of the Indians, missionaries will have scant success..."²⁴³

The Recollets, concerned that "more than 300,000 souls eager for agricultural pursuits and easily brought to the knowledge of God"²⁴⁴ were in their very midst, set upon an idea which was to have profound ramifications for the history of the colonial enterprise. They sought to establish a large fort/mission at Tourmente complete with a seminary for fifty Indian children for six years, after which the agricultural enterprise could be expanded to accommodate even more residents. In order to adequately accomplish their mission, they would need help from among the most skilled educators and missionaries that France had to offer. In 1625, the first five Jesuits arrived in Quebec.

The Jesuits at first adopted the anthropology and methodology of the Recollets. They sought to reduce the neighboring Indians to civility and settle them in farming villages to the north of Quebec, where they could be under the watchful eye of the fathers. It was also important that they be within range of military officials to urge

²⁴⁰J.R. Miller. *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989) pp. 33-34

²⁴¹Renaudot quoted in Axtell, pp. 50-51

²⁴²Axtell, p. 53

²⁴³ibid.

²⁴⁴Axtell, p. 37

compliance with the Christian lifestyle and to assure that there could be ample retribution if the natives deviated from the chosen path. These *reserves* were to become a pattern in Indian-White relations and would become an archetypal instrument of social control even unto the modern era.

From the *reserves*, the French missionaries hoped to fill religious hospitals and the sexually segregated seminaries for the education of the children of the neighboring tribes. As Father Le Jeune put it, "Let these Barbarians always remain nomads, then their sick will die in the woods, and their children will never enter the seminary. Render them sedentary and you will fill these institutions."²⁴⁵ Though the crown was unwilling to allocate financial resources for the institutions the fathers sought, the missionaries nevertheless brought the Indian children into their monastery to be trained. The missionaries efforts with the children proved difficult because of the close proximity of their native habitat and because the youngsters could see little need for the kind of religious instruction the fathers were offering.

The missionaries began to send the children from neighboring tribes off to France where they could be educated in a civilized situation far away from the lures of their native home. This program met with little success because many of the children died in France and those who did return were so assimilated that their native people refused to accept them as their own. One such Montagnais, Pierre Antoine Pastedechouen, lost the ability to speak his native language and his skills as a person of the woods and was unable to support himself. Rejected by his tribe, he took to drink and went through many marriages because he could not support his wives. Finally, rejected even by the French, he starved to death in the wilderness, alone.²⁴⁶

The process of obtaining children to be instructed was a system of barter in which the parameters of trade were established by a variety of factors. Children of nations such as the Huron could be obtained to be educated in the monasteries of Quebec because the parents would "give them if they see that we do not send them to France."²⁴⁷ The children of local parents proved to have a whole different set of contingencies, "They think they are doing you some great favor in giving you their children to instruct, feed, and dress. Besides, they will ask a great many things in return, and will be very impotunate in threatening to withdraw their children, if you do not meet their demands."²⁴⁸ To the Indians, the children were exchanged with the French as tokens of good faith to solidify trading partnerships and political alliances; they were also seen as hostages to secure the safety of Jesuit missionaries sent forth into distant nations. This peculiar institution of giving up ones children to be pacified, assimilated, Christianized, and trained for the service of whites was to become another phenomena of Indian-White relations for many years to come.

Finally in 1636, a true *seminaire* or boarding school was established north of Quebec by the Jesuits, who had by this time supplanted the Recollets as directors of the missionary project in New France. Although the seminary was dedicated to the Montagnais, Algonquians, and Hurons, it was largely populated with Hurons because they more closely fit the European ideal of a pastoral people. The day began at 4:00 a.m. and was concerned with the inculcation of the monastic lifestyle with rigorous instruction, prayers, catechism, and self-examination. The Nattive Americans did not respond well to this rigid lifestyle of self-discipline. Students became homesick and depressed by the loss of their way of life. They became sick and some died. Many fled from the seminary and returned home to their parents.

²⁴⁵ Axtell, p. 55

²⁴⁶ Axtell, p. 57

²⁴⁷ *ibid.*

²⁴⁸ *ibid.*

The Jesuits began to have great difficulty obtaining children to be instructed. The politically powerful women of the Hurons began to resent the men using the children as items of trade and moved against using their children. The shamans urged the parents to refuse giving their children to the Jesuits because the Jesuits were bewitching the children and robbing them of their sacred nature. One Tadoussac leader showed his resentment for the one-sided nature of the "trade" in children, "One does not see anything else but little Indians in the houses of the French...You are continually asking us for our children, and you do not give yours."²⁴⁹

The Jesuits were able to obtain children for the foundling mission in much the same way that most of the French obtained native children, either through trade or they bought them. The Iroquois would often capture children from enemy tribes and sell them to the Jesuits. Though the Jesuits were generally opposed to the open trade in human flesh, the prospect of acquiring children to be Christianized mediated their opposition. They often bought children from the *coureurs de bois*²⁵⁰ in hopes of converting them to Christianity under the auspices of the *seminaire*. The Jesuits also bought adult slaves to be converted. As the slaves were converted, they were trained in French culture by serving the housekeeping chores of the Jesuit missionaries.²⁵¹

The Jesuit attitude toward slavery was rooted in the long term nature of their goal of evangelizing the Native Americans of the New World. The Jesuit missionaries were told as they set out upon the missionary enterprise in this rough and uncompromising environment, "Remember, it is Christ and the cross you are seeking, and if you aim at anything else, you will get nothing but affliction for body and mind."²⁵² The Jesuit held that if the object was good, then the action was right. It was to the glory of God to convert any heathen, bound or free; therefore, slave holding by the Jesuits was legitimate. There was a dual purpose to this ideology. It served the goals of the evangelical effort by bringing the individual slave to Christianity. Slaveholding also facilitated the goals of bringing the message to a larger population by assisting the Jesuits with the mundane tasks thereby freeing them up for their more important evangelical effort. To the Jesuit in early seventeenth century New France, slaveholding accommodated the spread of the word of God.

At the missions and in the *reserves*, the Indians rendered the Jesuits the profits of their labor in the form of food and other supplies. They provided household and husbandry services for the missions. They assisted the Frenchmen in the construction of their villages, forts, and churches. The Jesuits sought to gather the Indians into these villages to guide them and teach them in the manner of the Jesuit missionary enterprise in Paraguay. The neophyte Christian was considered by most of the Frenchmen they encountered as "too much a child, too much a slave, too little a man." However, the Jesuits did not underestimate the importance of the neophyte in the overall strategy of extending the scope of their mission.²⁵³

It is important at this point to stress that though the French missionary enterprise resembled that of the Spanish mission system, there were vast differences in the scope, intensity and duration of their respective apparatus of enslavement. The difference between the agricultural economy of the Southwest and fishing/fur economy of the Northeast limited the kind of wholesale plantation effort that the Spaniards engaged in. The lack of population centers as in Mexico and the Southwest did not allow the vast collection and destruction of the native population. There were also marked differences between the view of the Native American possessed by the French and the Spanish; the French were much more open to the humanity of their counterparts.²⁵⁴

²⁴⁹Axtell, p. 57

²⁵⁰*coureurs de bois* or "wood rangers" were wandering Canadian trappers and voyageurs who carried on a fur trade that fell beyond the parameters of the legal trade. As they were basically outlaws, they traded what there was a market for. In 1681, the *coureurs de bois* were given a general amnesty and granted licenses to trade in furs.

²⁵¹Olexer, p. 78

²⁵²Lauber, p. 66

²⁵³Lauber, pp. 66-67

²⁵⁴Of course, economics were also a factor in this vision. The French were much more dependent on the Indians for their commercial enterprise than the Spanish.

Finally, there were some very pragmatic adjustments that had to be made with respect to worldview of the Native Americans. Quite often, it was not advisable to refuse to accept the gift of a child or other human being from a Native American, whatever his rank, for fear of offending his dignity and damaging relations. Sometimes to accept the gift of a captured person was to save that person from unbearable torture or even death. Finally, it would not do to refuse to offer salvation to any person under any circumstance if they requested it. Even though it may sound unthinkable, to accept a slave under certain circumstances was an act of compassion.²⁵⁵

Try as they might, the Jesuit fathers could not maintain the seminary within the ideological fetters that had been established for them by the Recollets. In 1640, following the failure of the *seminaire*, the Jesuits made a radical departure from the precedents established for them by the Recollets. The first step was to recognize that only in cooperation with the commercial fishing and fur industries would the gospel be able to flourish among the Native Americans of Northeastern North America. The idea of herding the indigenous people into collectives and forcing them to live as European citizens was compromised to allow for a much more diverse style of living. The second departure was a change in the view of the Jesuits with respect to the intellectual and social capabilities of the Indian. The Recollets considered the native people brutes, but the Jesuits came to see them as "not so barbarous that they cannot be made children of God...Education and instruction alone are lacking."²⁵⁶ Finally, the Jesuits came to suspect the notion of "Frenchifying" the native people because the French citizens that they came into contact with were too poor examples of Christian civility to serve as models for the Native Americans. As Gabriel Sagard noted, "the evil life of some of the French is a noxious example, and in all these districts the natives, although savages, reproach us with it, saying that [the missionaries] teach them things the reverse of what are practiced by the French."²⁵⁷

The French began a new system of missions which they called the "flying missions." The first of such was located at Sillery and was distinguishable by its policy of accepting not just young Native Americans but older Native Americans as well. Sillery was "a new kind of seminary" which sought to serve "persons older and more capable of instruction."²⁵⁸ Sillery sought to cultivate a sedentary agricultural lifestyle; the residents were allowed to continue with the hunting and fishing traditions which were such a substantial part of indigenous culture. Though Sillery was never the success the fathers sought, it did serve as a prototype for the flying missions which were to come at a later point.

Although Sillery was a new kind of seminary, it sought to maintain a rigid code of morality and a work ethic more consistent with the Spanish missions in California than had previously been exercised by the Jesuits. The fathers regarded the Indians at Sillery as children, unable to manage their own affairs, and therefore, like children needed control and management. The lands that were conceded for the reservations were held in trust for the natives by the missionaries. Governor Jean De Lauzon even forbade the resettled Indians from leaving the reserve without the permission of their masters, the Jesuit fathers.²⁵⁹ By 1656, it had become standardly accepted that the Indigenous inhabitants of New France had no rights to any land except that held in trust by the Jesuits.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁵Lauber, p. 67

²⁵⁶Axtell, p. 60

²⁵⁷ibid

²⁵⁸Axtell, p. 61

²⁵⁹Cornelius Jaenen. *The Role of the Church in New France*. (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1976) p. 27

²⁶⁰Jaenen, p. 35

The Jesuits urged the Indians to elect an indigenous police force which included magistrates, officers, and a prayer captain. These new officials were to enforce a strict set of rules with respect to performance of Christian and community responsibilities. This rigid set of moral principles were primarily directed at female independence and sought to undermine the traditional role that females played in the indigenous political structure. The rigid rules were enforced by a set of procedures entirely alien to the Montagnais and Algonquin culture; transgressors were punished by being placed in prison, in chains, and even the threat of capital punishment. By 1663, nearly all of the inhabitants of Sillery had been reduced to civility. Only a very few remained within the confines of Sillery. The largest portion of the inhabitants of Sillery had been granted by the Jesuits guardians to seventy French families within the immediate vicinity of Sillery.²⁶¹

The experiment at Sillery proved to be a mixed success. It was able to Christianize a small group of native people and make them useful servants of the dominant culture, but once again it was unable to replicate its success beyond its original set of inhabitants. Few Indians were willing to give up their home and their culture to move into French resettlement camps. This led the Jesuits to recognize that one need not necessarily forcefully assimilate the Indians into French culture to bring them to civilization and ultimately Christianization. They began to place their missions and missionaries among the Indians throughout the far expanses of the new frontier. These flying missions provided the Jesuits with an opportunity to evangelize the natives within a setting that was more conducive to the indigenous lifestyle. It also allowed missionary outposts from which the evangelical mission could be carried out by solitary missionaries placed with nomadic tribes. The Jesuits learned to adapt their message and program to the indigenous culture instead of forcing indigenous people into the French mode of civilization. The remarkable innovation forever changed the Jesuit missionary enterprise in the New World.

However, the Jesuit effort at indigenization of their evangelical message did not meet with success with the government officials who presided over the colonial enterprise. The Recollects were reintroduced in New France in 1670 to assist the Sulpicians in overthrowing the distasteful Jesuit missionary effort which had seemed to compromise with paganism. The new order sought to civilize the Algonquian and Hurons by attracting large numbers of them to French settlements and urging them to abandon their "idle and lazy form of life" for farming and to become part of French families that "in the course of time, having but one law and one master, they might likewise constitute one race and one people."²⁶² Once again, schools were established to bring native children to French culture but once again the native children did everything they could to escape from the stultifying *petites seminaires*.

In 1673, shocked that the Hurons did not speak French, the new Governor Frontenac became determined that one of the major goals of his administration was to bring the indigenous inhabitants to "adopt our manners and customs." In a deal with the Iroquois, Frontenac acquired eight children whom he regarded as hostages for the good behavior of the Indians and to insure their compliance with his process of Frenchification. Of the eight, four girls were sent to the Ursuline nunnery, two little boys were sent into the care of a friend of the Governor's family, and two older boys were "adopted" by Frontenac. Frontenac even proposed learning some Huron in order to enable him to become "a good missionary."²⁶³ Precisely because Frontenac was so ineffective in his efforts he was removed from office as Governor by King Louis XIV.

In spite of Frontenac's efforts in assimilating the Indians of New France, the Jesuits continued to expand their the process of exploration and indigenization. They sent forth missionaries into the vast reaches of New France to live and work with the native people and to attempt to impress them with the civility of the Christian lifestyle and to win them over through moral example and exhortation. Missionaries such as Le Jeune and Brebeuf had a significant impact upon the Indians not just because of their zeal and their courage, but by their ability to use the technological advances of French society to make the Indians believe that their God imbued them with magical powers. The disastrous impact of European diseases upon the indigenous population led the native people

²⁶¹Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* . (Cleveland, 1896-1901) Vol. 24, p.

²⁶²Axtell, p. 68

²⁶³Axtell, p. 69

to believe that these new strangers and their God possessed the power of life and death. The Jesuits, with their asceticism and profound devotion worked tirelessly under nearly impossible conditions to bring the indigenous population into the Christian fold.

The first target of the Jesuit's indigenization effort was the traditional religious elder of the native community. The shaman's power and status was destroyed by undermining the traditional belief structure which supported their practices and by attempting to assert that the Jesuit's own religious paradigms and practices were more efficacious than the traditional religious elders. The Jesuits then began to use their own rigorous training and rhetorical eloquence to convert the indigenous people to Christianity and to catechise them into Christian doctrine and practice. They took traditional religious beliefs and used them as *praeparatio evangelica* by asserting their similarity to Christian beliefs and practices and the universality and superiority of the Christian message. Finally, once the Jesuits had won over a significant number of converts, they began to assert the need for a Christian lifestyle of piety, diligence, chastity, and labor.

As the Jesuit evangelical effort was sweeping through the frontier of New France, another more sinister movement was also sweeping through the new frontier. Indian slavery was accommodating itself to this new area by undergoing subtle changes to exist within this entirely different context. French conflicts with the Iroquois as well as the English led the new colony to develop the policy that prisoners of war were to be seen as slaves and could be worked and bartered as such. An example of this attitude was Louis XIV's order in 1684 to Governor De la Barre, Frontenac's replacement, that captured Indians should be sent back to France to be used as galley slaves. The King's orders stated that the Iroquois captives should be sent because "these savages are strong and robust."

²⁶⁴ Denonville, De la Barre's successor was ordered to do the same, "It is certain that those Indians, who are vigorous and accustomed to hardship, can serve usefully on board his majesty's galleys."²⁶⁵ Denonville, deciding that warfare against the Iroquois might be a bit hazardous, invited the peaceful neighboring Indians to a feast to be held in their honor. When they arrived, he surrounded them and took them captive. A participant in the exercise, Gedeon de Catalogne, later described the "feast:"

The designated feast day having arrived, all the guests were arrested, and as there was no lodging to serve as prison, they were attached, a total of 95 men, to trunks, the foot of each one being made fast; a stake served as a back support, where there was a rope which attached them by the collar; their arms were well secured by a line; their women and girls were at liberty to cook for them. In this situation they sang at the top of their voices their death-songs.²⁶⁶

Members of three local tribes were sent back to France to work in the galleys of the king. Many of these, ill fitted to the drudgery and unaccustomed to the rations, died in the galleys.²⁶⁷

The royal sanction of Indian slavery gave the imprimatur to the slave trade in New France. As there was some doubt concerning the legal status of Indian slaves, Jacques Raudot, the intendant at Quebec, declared in 1709 that "all the Pawnis [generic name for Indian slaves based on the wholesale slavery of the Pawnee nation] and Negroes, who have been bought and who shall be bought hereafter, shall belong in full proprietorship to those who have purchased them as their slaves."²⁶⁸ Because the slave trade and the actions of the *coureurs de bois* in inciting intertribal conflict to promote the slave trade began to have an ill effect upon the fur and fishing industry, the Company of the Indies issued a command stating that slaving was contrary to the wishes of the king and opposed to the interests of the company. The Company encouraged its merchants to arrest and confiscate the property of all "voyageurs" who engaged in the slave trade within their jurisdiction without permission. In 1728,

²⁶⁴Lauber, p. 85

²⁶⁵ibid.

²⁶⁶Jaenen, p. 137

²⁶⁷Olexer, p. 82

²⁶⁸Lauber, p. 63

the King of France required a tax of five livres on each slave, the proceeds of which were to be used in building churches and hospitals. In 1745, the royal council in Paris sanctioned slavery by declaring that all slaves who were an enemy of the colony of France, and their effects, should belong to his most Christian majesty. Even after Canada fell into British hands, the Parliament of Great Britain looked favorably upon slavery:

The Negroes and Pawnees, of both sexes, shall remain in their quality of slaves, in the possession of the French and the Canadians to whom they belong; they shall be at liberty to keep them in their service in the colony, or sell them; and they shall continue to bring them up in the Roman religion.²⁶⁹

As the Jesuits were intimately connected through their missionary work among most of the Indian nations in Canada, they came to see the disastrous effects that the slave trade was having among the indigenous people of New France. As early as 1693, the Jesuits petitioned the governor to forbid the slave trade among Indians on the grounds that such enslavement took the Indians out of reach of conversion. They also argued that the laws of France did not allow the enslavement of Christians. This latter argument proved to be a major impediment to the Jesuits because the larger population sought to limit their missionary work because it tended to have a serious effect upon both the slave trade and their own slaves. The governor granted the Jesuits petition but refused to enforce it. The *coureurs de bois* continued their activities and the majority of the population continued to hold slaves.²⁷⁰ Many of the slaves were Christian neophytes who had been given to French families by the Jesuits in their earlier missionary effort.

Among the Jesuits engaged in the flying missions and missionary exploration, there is little evidence to support the extensive use of slaves. With the exception of native guides, the missionary explorer would have little use for Indian slaves. The missionary's chosen way was one of asceticism and self-abnegation, so there was little need for a considerable number of personal attendants.²⁷¹ The central tenet of the Jesuit tradition in New France was expressed in Brebeuf's instructions to new missionaries:

Jesus Christ is our true greatness; it is He alone and His cross that should be sought in running after these people, for, if you strive for anything else, you will find naught but bodily and spiritual affliction. But having found Jesus Christ in His cross, you have found the roses in the thorns, sweetness in bitterness, all in nothing.²⁷²

This opinion was also reflected by Marie de L'Incarnation who saw in her journey to France a pilgrimage of suffering and perhaps martyrdom:

²⁶⁹Lauber, pp. 64-65

²⁷⁰Olexer, p. 86

²⁷¹Lauber, p. 66

²⁷²Edna Kenton, *Black Gowns and Redskins: Adventures and Travels of the Early Jesuit Missionaries in North America (1610-1791)* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1956) p. 121

Crosses and sufferings are more agreeable to me than all the delights of the world; let them send me to the depths of the most cruel Barbarism, there will be my delights, and I shall cherish the little savage girls more than if they were Princesses. I go gladly to follow my dear Jesus and suffer all he will require for his love.²⁷³

The Jesuit missionary possessed no lands or mines to be worked by slaves and sought to assume to no wealth. To acquire a slave as a mechanism of wealth or to facilitate an enhanced standard of living was an idea that fell beyond the pale of Jesuit religious and social practices. What services that were needed by the fathers were performed by servants brought from France or by *donnes* - those who voluntarily accompanied the fathers on their missions.²⁷⁴ As the fathers usually lived among the Indians who exercised a communal lifestyle, they were generally accommodated in their daily needs by their hosts.

The Jesuit opposition to Indian slavery must be seen in the context of a larger attitude on the part of the French toward the indigenous inhabitants of New France. The attitude towards the native people, whether bond or free, was much different from that of the Spanish in the Southwestern United States or the English who were settling in the Northeast. The French did not look upon the Indians with the disdain and contempt for an inferior race as did most of the other Europeans who came into contact with the Indians through exploration.²⁷⁵ Because of the overwhelming numbers of the French explorers that were male and the small numbers of French women in New France, intermarriage among French and Indian was quite common.²⁷⁶ This close social relation had a tendency to "Indianize" the early French settler and bring him closer to the social level and to the life and habits of the Native American. The lack of social distinction between the two peoples led to kinder treatment of the Indian slave, and the shifting of social planes of master and slave closer to that of equality. The slavery that developed among the French was milder in nature and tended more towards patriarchal ownership than the brutal system of exploitation that developed among other European settlers.²⁷⁷

It is safe to say that the same sort of developments were fostered among Jesuits and Indians as they engaged in such a close and dependent relationship. The Jesuits' early exposure to the attitudes of the Recollects, and the failure of their experiments in trying to force the natives into the French mold, must have brought them to the realization that enslavement was not an effective mechanism of evangelization. The more that they lived among the indigenous peoples of the New World, the more they came to recognize that these were a people of civilization possessing an "air of humanity."²⁷⁸ The Jesuits came to realize that the traditional way of life, though not equal with the French, was at least an indicator of a common humanity. In 1647, the Jesuit Father Ragueneau articulated the Jesuit humanism and an acceptance of indigenous culture unparalleled in the colonial experience:

One must be very careful before condemning a thousand things among their customs, which greatly offend minds brought up in another world. It is easy to call irreligion what is merely stupidity, and to take for diabolical working something that is nothing more than human; and then, one thinks he is obliged to forbid as impious certain things that are done in all innocence, or, at most are silly but not criminal customs.²⁷⁹

²⁷³Jaenen, p. 27

²⁷⁴Lauber, p. 66

²⁷⁵Lauber, p. 87

²⁷⁶Nash, p. 107

²⁷⁷Lauber, p. 87

²⁷⁸Kenton, p. 350

²⁷⁹Nash, p. 107

By 1750, a century of experience in close contact with the native people of New France had brought the Jesuits to an opposition to slavery that recognized its incompatibility both with French goals in the New World and with the promulgation of Christian doctrine.

In 1669, A Jesuit missionary named Jacques Marquette arrived as a missionary in Wisconsin and from that base began explorations of the upper Mississippi River.²⁸⁰ Marquette established the mission Point St. Ignace in 1671 which was to grow into the largest and most successful mission in the Northwest.²⁸¹ In 1673, he teamed up with explorer Louis Joliet, a former Jesuit student for the priesthood, and set about to explore the expanses of the Mississippi river. Sailing over twenty-five hundred miles by birchback canoe, Marquette and Joliet expanded the French frontier well into the heartland of what is now the United States. At Mission Sault St. Marie, Daumont de Saint Lausson, in a ceremony before messengers from some fourteen Indian tribes, claimed all land from the mouth of the St. Lawrence river in the North to the mouth of the Mississippi river in the South.²⁸² In 1674, Marquette founded his final mission of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary at Kaskaskia, Illinois.²⁸³

Though Marquette and Joliet's expedition was one of exploration, its primary purpose was according to Marquette, "for the exposing my life for the salvation of all these peoples."²⁸⁴ When warned by Indians that he encountered that great dangers lay ahead for them as they explored the Mississippi, Marquette responded by stating,

I thanked them for the good advice that they gave me, but told them that I could not follow it, because the salvation of souls was a stake, for which I would be delighted to give my life...After making them pray to God, and giving them some Instruction, I seperated from them.²⁸⁵

In every place that Marquette and Joliet encountered native people, they set about to bring their conversion to Christianity. At the Bay des Pauntz, the Jesuits set about the mass conversion and baptism of the Indians that they encountered, "...our fathers labor successfully for the conversion of these peoples, over two thousand of whom they have baptized while they have been there."²⁸⁶

As they proceeded down the Mississippi River, they came into contact with other Nations whom the wished to bring into the Christian fold. When the expedition arrived among the Illinois, the following encounter occurred:

Seeing all assembled and silent, I spoke to them by four presents that I gave them. By the first, I told them that we were journeying peacefully to visit the nations dwelling on the River as far as the Sea. By the second, I announoed to them that God, who had Created them, had pity on Them, inasmuch as, after they had so long been ignorant of him, he wished to make himself Known to all the peoples; that I was Sent by him for that purpose; and that it was for Them to acknowledge and obey him. By the third, I said that the great Captain of the French informed them that he it was who restored peace everywhere; and that he had subdued The Iroquois.

²⁸⁰Edwin S. Gaustad. *A Religious History of America*. (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1990) p. 22

²⁸¹Kenton, p. xlvi

²⁸²Samuel E. Morrison, *The Oxford History of the American People*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965) p. 105

²⁸³Ahlstrom, p. 64

²⁸⁴Kenton, p. 336

²⁸⁵Kenton, p. 338

²⁸⁶ibid.

Finally, by the fourth, we begged them to give us all The Information that they had about the Sea, and the Nations through Whom we must pass to reach it.

When I had finished my speech, the Captain arose, and, resting His hand upon the head of a little Slave whom he wished to give us, he spoke thus: "I thank thee. Black Gown, and thee, O frenchman," addressing himself to Monsieur Jolliet, "for having taken so much trouble to come to visit Us. Never has the earth been so beautiful, or the sun so Bright, as today; Never has our river been so Calm, or so clear of Rocks, which your canoes have Removed in passing; never has our tobacco tasted so good, and our corn appeared so fine, as We now see Them. Here is my son whom I give thee to Show thee my Heart. I beg thee to have pity on me, and on all my Nation. It is thou who Knowest the great Spirit who has made us all. It is thou who speakest to Him, and who hearest his word. Beg Him to give me life and health, and to come and dwell with us, in order to make us Know him." Having said this, he placed the little Slave near us, and gave us a second present, consisting of an altogether mysterious Calumer, upon which he placed more value than upon a Slave.²⁸⁷

Joliet took the chief's son with him on the expedition, and the child remained with Joliet until it drowned on an expedition. Though this was an unusual exchange for Marquette and Joliet, it was not the only such encounter on their trip. The Ottawa presented Marquette with a young man, and a Kiskakon chief gave him "a little slave he had bought from the Illinois a few months before."²⁸⁸

As Marquette and Joliet were exploring the Mississippi river, another enterprising explorer/missionary set forth from Northern New France to expand the frontiers of the French colonial enterprise. Rene Robert Cavalier, Sieur de La Salle sought to push forward French territory from Quebec to the mouth of the Mississippi, and from the headwaters of the Ohio to the Rocky Mountain springs of the Missouri.²⁸⁹ La Salle, born in Rouen in 1643, was said to be a teacher at a Jesuit college in France prior to coming to New France.²⁹⁰ In 1681, he set out with 23 Frenchmen and 31 Native Americans from St. Joseph's, Michigan and by April 6, 1682, they had reached the mouth of the Mississippi near what is now New Orleans. There, in a religious ceremony, he took possession of "this country of Louisiana...in the name of the most high, mighty, invincible, and victorious Louis the Great, by the Grace of God King of France and of Navarre."²⁹¹ With the opening up of this vast region of the United States by first Marquette and later La Salle, France was able to control the major portion of the Western colonial United States.

La Salle's exploration was assisted by several Recollect priests who not only sought to convert the Indigenous inhabitants of the region to Christianity, but were also part of a larger government effort to supplant the Western Jesuits with Recollects.²⁹² Frontenac, who distrusted the Jesuits because of the Ultramontaine sympathies, sent with the eager La Salle three Recollects who were to become among the orders most memorable heroes: Father Louis Hennepin, Gabriel Ribourde, and Zenobe Membre.²⁹³ In 1681, Membre, accompanied La Salle to the mouth of the Mississippi instructing natives in the Catholic faith as he went. Membre, who came to be known as "the Franciscan Father Marquette, " went on to become a martyr when the

²⁸⁷Kenton, p. 348

²⁸⁸Lauber, p. 80

²⁸⁹Ahlstrom, p. 57

²⁹⁰Thomas O'Gorman. *A History of the Catholic Church in the United States*. (New York: Charles Scribner and Sons, 1895) p. 178

²⁹¹Morison, p. 118

²⁹²Kenton, p. xlvi

²⁹³Ahlstrom, p. 65

remnants of La Salle's party were slaughtered by Indians in Texas in 1689. Through the efforts of La Salle's and the Recollects, a vast area of the United States was opened up for the French missionary effort.²⁹⁴

Though La Salle had missionaries with him and was committed to the displacement of the Jesuits, he also saw himself as having a mission to bring the Native Americans to Christianity. It is evident that one of the mechanisms which he deemed acceptable in bringing the Native Americans into God's fold was enslavement. La Salle advocated putting the Indians into a mild condition of servitude in order to place them in a condition where they would be Christianized. In a letter to Frontenac, he stated, "The young bisons are easily tamed, and may be of great help, as well as the slaves in which the Indians are accustomed to trade."²⁹⁵ He also reports the acquisition of nearly thirty slaves by members of his expedition, which we can assume some of which went into the service of the Recollects within his party.²⁹⁶ La Salle, himself, accepted as a gift Indians slaves on several occasions.²⁹⁷ La Salle was not even beyond advocating intertribal warfare in order to secure slaves for the French as he did by encouraging the Illinois to attack and enslave the Iroquois.²⁹⁸ As a most ironic twist of fate, following the decimation of La Salle's followers in Texas, the children of those who were spared were taken captive by the Spanish Indians to be sold into slavery in Mexico.²⁹⁹

Marquette, Joliet, and La Salle opened up a new frontier and the French crown moved quickly to assure that no opportunities would not be lost. France had established mission/forts in Kaskasia, Cahokia, and Vincennes in the Illinois country, but the most promising area seemed the area around the mouth of the Mississippi in what is now the states of Mississippi and Louisiana. The nation that controlled this vital land mass would be able to control the vast resources which lie up and down the Mississippi River. Two brothers, members of the prominent Le Moyne family of Canada, received a patent from King Louis XIV for the settlement of the Mississippi delta. Pierre, Sieur d'Iberville and Jean Baptiste, Sieur de Bienville, set forth from France early in 1699 with four ships and two hundred soldiers and settlers for Louisiana. Within the first twenty years of the eighteenth century, the French had established settlements at Fort Biloxi, Mobile, and New Orleans. These were in addition to French settlements along the great lakes and closer to French control and sovereignty. With the establishment of the strategically located city of New Orleans by Bienville in 1718, France now controlled both the fount and the mouth of the Mississippi.

The new French settlements in Illinois and in the Mississippi delta provided a different set of economic opportunities for the French settlers. Gone were the vast trading opportunities that relied on the trapping and fishing expertise of the nomadic peoples of the Northeast. Even though the French preferred the novelty and excitement of the trading life, the area along the Mississippi, especially the southern portion, offered remarkable opportunities for agricultural pursuits. Agriculture demanded a different kind of heavy labor; this was something that the French were unaccustomed to in their colonial experience. The consequences of this dilemma were unusually high labor costs for those who chose to work the land.³⁰⁰

²⁹⁴Ahlstrom, p. 66

²⁹⁵Lauber, p. 76

²⁹⁶Lauber, p. 77

²⁹⁷Lauber, p. 81

²⁹⁸Lauber, p. 70

²⁹⁹Lauber, p. 47

³⁰⁰Lauber, p. 84

The dilemma was solved through the use of Indian slave labor. In both Illinois and the Mississippi delta, farmers acquired Indian slaves through trade and warfare and put them to use in the fields and farms. Throughout the French territory in what is now the United States, both soldiers and frontiersmen captured Indian men and used them in building forts, farms, and cities. They did the largest part of the agricultural work in the French settlements. They were also used as guides in the exploration of new French territory. The French used women slaves as cooks and for other domestic duties around the fort or farm.³⁰¹ In addition to use as domestics, the French acquired indigenous women to be used as concubines and prostitutes. The problem was so great in Louisiana that in 1709 the French crown was urged to send over girls suitable for wives in order "to prevent these disorders and debaucheries."³⁰²

Indian slaves were usually acquired through warfare, trade, or as gifts. The institution of enslavement was not usually carried from one generation to another; the children of Indian slaves were not generally considered to be the property of the master. However, in Southern New France the institution of transgenerational enslavement became a dominant facet of the Indian slave's existence. A report on the condition of Louisiana in 1716 declared that the inhabitants were accustomed to selling the children of their Indian female slaves. In 1724, the *Code Noir* provided that children born of marriages between slaves should be slaves, and should belong to the masters of their mothers, and not to the masters of their fathers, if father and mother should belong to different masters.³⁰³ Chattel slavery had been codified by "Louis the Great, by the Grace of God King of France."

When the Native Americans of the Mississippi delta began to resist the encroachment of the whites, the French took advantage of the insurrections to engage in massive slave raids against the indigenous inhabitants. As was familiar practice in Northern New France, they also pitted traditional enemies against each other in competition for the commercial trade. As the King had not allowed the importation of African slaves in the southern colonies until early in eighteenth century, there was a great need for slaves to do the tremendous work of bringing the delta into commercial use by clearing land and working crops. The lack of available labor created a great market for Indian slaves and the slave trade grew to be one of the early colonies major commercial enterprise.³⁰⁴ At one point, there was such a great need for slaves to work the farms of Louisiana that Bienville, the governor, requested to be able to trade slaves in the West Indies at a rate of three Indian slaves for every two Africans.³⁰⁵

When the Alabama and Chickasaw nations began to resist the French incursion into their native land, the forces of D'Iberville and Bienville met their resistance with a fierce resolve. Bienville sent a military party of forty men into the heart of Alabama country where they encountered the Alabamans unaware:

He quickly led his men up to them without making any noise. At once he had us fire a volley. All of the savages were killed, only their women and children being spared; they were taken away as slaves to Mobile along with their boats loaded with their game.³⁰⁶

Following the death of French missionaries at the hands of Native Americans, we have another account of the French military exercise:

³⁰¹ibid.

³⁰²Lauber, p. 83

³⁰³Lauber, p. 82

³⁰⁴Lauber, p. 92

³⁰⁵Olexer, p. 205

³⁰⁶Olexer, p. 200

We set out at once without making a sound and in the dark got close to their huts and lay on our bellies until daybreak. Then our savages gave the *cri de mort*, and so did we, which terrorized the Chitimachas, and as they tried to flee, we fired into them, killing fifteen and taking forty prisoners, as many men as women and children.³⁰⁷

Following this military exercise, Bienville declared that "he would give them [friendly nations] ten crowns for the scalp of each enemy slain or for each enemy brought back alive."³⁰⁸ The French raiding efforts were quite successful; according to a report from the Commissary General of Louisiana, the number of Indian slaves held by French settlers increased nearly tenfold in the first ten years of the eighteenth century.³⁰⁹ A Chitimacha survivor described the consequences of French aggression:

The sun was red, the roads filled with brambles and thorns, the clouds were black, the water was troubled and stained with blood, our women wept unceasingly, our children cried with fright, the game fled far from us, our houses were abandoned, and our fields uncultivated, we all have empty bellies and our bones are visible.³¹⁰

From the beginning to the middle of the eighteenth century, the wars between the French and certain Indian nations provided fertile grounds for the acquisition of Native American slaves. A French settler, De la Vente, commented on the role that God played in the grand design of the destruction of the native inhabitants of the Mississippi delta, "I cannot omit to remark to you, it is that it certainly appears to be visible that God wishes that they yield their place to the new peoples."³¹¹ The Grand Sun of the Natchez, the last remnant of the great Temple Mound Building culture, spoke of the influence of the French wars upon his people:

Before the French came among us, we were men, content with what we had, and walked with boldness every path. Now we go groping about, afraid of meeting briars. We walk like slaves, which we shall soon be, since the French already treat us as if we were such. When they are sufficiently strong, they will no longer dissemble. For the least fault of our young people, they will tie them to a post and whip them. Have they not already done so to one of our young men, and is not death preferable to slavery? Shall we suffer the French to multiply till we are no longer in a condition to oppose them? What will the other nations say of the Natchez, who are admitted to be the greatest of all red men? Let us set ourselves at liberty.³¹²

³⁰⁷Olexer, p. 201

³⁰⁸ibid.

³⁰⁹Olexer, p. 206

³¹⁰Peter Wood. "Like Snow before the Sun" in *Southern Exposure* (Vol. XX, No. 1) p. 30

³¹¹Olexer, p. 204

³¹²Olexer, p. 220

The Natchez set about to rid themselves of the French and struck the city of New Orleans inflicting great catastrophe upon its citizens. The French responded by declaring war against the Natchez and launched two invasionary forces out of New Orleans. With artillery and other superior weaponry, the French routed the Natchez and forced the surviving members to surrender. As many as four hundred fifty of the Natchez were captured.³¹³ Some of the captured Natchez, including a captured woman, were burned alive at the stake before an assembled multitude in the town square of New Orleans. Most of the captured women and children were sold into slavery in New Orleans; the Natchez warriors were sold into slavery in Santo Domingo.³¹⁴ The attack and enslavement decimated the tribe and it no longer exists as a political entity.

The expeditionary forces of enslavement were not the exclusive province of Southern New France. In Illinois in what was known as the "Fox Resistance," a number of Fox Indians were made slaves and placed in surrounding farms and sent to neighboring cities. In 1729, a French military effort supported by Indian allies attacked the Fox in their native Wisconsin,

Four or five hundred more were captured and scattered among the victors...The war with the Foxes seemed to have come to a victorious end; the prisoners were parceled out as slaves among the French allies, some of them even finding their way into servitude in the St. Laurence valley itself.³¹⁵

A later attack upon the remnants of the Fox by French allies resulted in the death of more than three hundred of the Fox people. With only forty warriors left, the chiefs of the Fox tribe went to the French to plead for a peace agreement. The French officials seized these tribal leaders and shipped them off to Montreal where the authorities sold them into slavery and transported them to the West Indies. The French officials declared that all of the Fox warriors were to be killed and the women and children enslaved. The brutality of the French officials so offended the neighboring tribes of the Fox that they rallied to the Fox's aid. When faced with a coalition of Indian forces, the French settled for a peace agreement.³¹⁶

From the beginning of the French enterprise in the Southeastern United States, the missionary was an important part of the expeditionary force. Accompanying D'Iberville in 1699 was the Recollect priest Father Anastasius Doauy who had been with La Salle on one of his earlier explorations of the region. Within the first twenty years of the colony in Louisiana, the Recollects sent out six priests to work among the various natives of the Mississippi delta. In 1700, D'Iberville returned from France with the Jesuit Father Du Rhu who ministered to the Indians around Biloxi and Mobile. Immediately upon their arrival in the field, the Jesuits requested that the exclusive direction of the French posts in Louisiana be committed to the Society, but this request was politely refused. Finally, the area of New France was divided equally among the Jesuits in the North, the Capuchins in the West, and the Carmelites in the East.³¹⁷ However, by the middle of the eighteenth century, these divisions had largely broken down and the Jesuits had surged zealously into unprotected areas.³¹⁸

From the very beginning of the Southern settlements, Christianity was seen as a method of pacifying the Indians and the missionary system was seen as a system which would bind the Indians to the French and mediate the effects of the incursion of other colonial enterprises. In 1721, the Council of Louisiana declared:

³¹³Lauber, p. 68

³¹⁴Waldman, p. 106

³¹⁵Olexer, p. 231

³¹⁶ibid.

³¹⁷O' Gorman, p. 210

³¹⁸O' Gorman, p. 211

the Council must exhort the missionaries to labor for the conversion of the Savages, because, independently of it being their duty, nothing is more advantageous than to attach these nation to France by means of religion.³¹⁹

D'iberville sought to collect the various nations of the Mississippi delta into a large communal *reserve* in order to better to monitor their activities and to provide a buffer between himself and the English.³²⁰ Soldiers were a costly and counterproductive method of bringing the Indians into tow, but missionaries assisted occasionally by soldiers was a perfect method of pacification. In time, a reciprocal relationship developed between the missionaries and the soldiers. The missionaries began to assist the soldiers in their efforts against the Indians in the guise of military chaplains. The missionaries, because of their extensive experience in the Indian villages, served as excellent sources of information for the military in the expeditions against the Indians. One such Chaplain, the Jesuit Father Senat, was captured and killed in an attack upon the Chickasaws in 1736.³²¹

The missionaries were placed among and near the native people in the belief that a missionary placed in the midst of the Indians was often as useful as placing a fort in their midst. In addition to the placement, the missionaries were quite often given large plots of lands in order to support their mission. One such Jesuit plantation near New Orleans contained a cotton mill, an indigo venture, and a massive canal project.³²² The granting of plantations to the missionaries was a very deliberate effort of Bienville and the French leadership in tying the missionaries fate more closely with the colonial commercial enterprise of the Company of the Indies. What profitted the colony profitted the mission, and vice versa.³²³

Just as the shift from the fishing and fur industries toward more agricultural pursuits had increased the use of Indian slaves among the colonists, the same was true for the missionaries. The missionaries, in order to pursue their spiritual (and political) interests, utilized large numbers of slaves to work the plantations granted to them by the Company of the Indies. A report of the closing of the Jesuit plantation near New Orleans in the mid 1760's describes their estate:

Their establishment was quite near the town, and proportioned to the needs of twelve missionaries; there was quite a large gang of slaves for cultivating the land, and for plying other trades, as is the custom in the colony...³²⁴

and their disposition:

The auction was finished; the house, the furniture, the cattle, the lands had been sold; the slaves were taken to New Orleans, to be sold there for the benefit of the King...thier former masters always preserved the same care in regard to them, and shared quite willingly with these wretches the provisions which they had saved.³²⁵

³¹⁹Rev. Jean Delanguez. *The French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana*. (Washington: Catholic University of America, 1935) p. 412

³²⁰Delanguez. p. 410

³²¹Delanguez, p. 306

³²²Delanguez, p. 297

³²³Delanguez. p. 416

³²⁴Kenton, p. 478

³²⁵Kenton, p. 482

In all probability, the slaves referred to above were African. By the time of the dissolution of the Jesuit missions in the mid 18th century, the number of African slaves exceeded the number of Indian slaves by as much as ten to one. Nevertheless, the largest portion of these slaves arrived in Louisiana followed immediately upon the granting of the charter of the Western Company in 1717. The first large scale importation of African slaves was made by the Company in June, 1719, when five hundred African slaves were brought to Louisiana from Guinea. This importation of African slaves probably equalled the number of Indian slaves in the Mississippi delta at that time.³²⁶

The very first slaves on the missionary plantations were probably Indians. The importation of African slaves into the colony was forbidden until about the time of the granting of the charter to the Western Company, so the building, farm labor, and domestic work at the missions was done largely by Indian slaves.³²⁷ The practice of Indian slavery came with missionaries in their trek down from Northern New France. Records of the French mission at Fort Louis de Louisiane in 1708 detail fourteen officers, seventy-six soldiers, thirteen sailors, three priests, six mechanics, one interpreter, one hundred ninety free persons, and eighty Indian slaves.³²⁸

In addition to La Salle and Marquette, many of the early missionary fathers of Southern New France were predisposed to owning Indian slaves. In the transition from the wilds of the flying missions of Canada to agricultural based settlements of Southern New France, a radically pragmatic adjustment had to be made with the institution of Indian slavery. The Recollect priest Father Anastasius Doauy accepted the gift of an Indian slave upon his arrival in Louisiana in 1699. In 1703, the Recollect M. de Saint Cosme, a missionary priest sent to work among the Tamaroa Indians, possessed a young Indian slave boy.³²⁹ When de St. Cosme was killed by a war party of the Chitimachas, the "little Indian slave boy escaped and fled to St. Denis with the news."³³⁰ One can conjecture that Indians were given as slaves to the fathers with their plantations and for reward for their service as chaplains in the military wars against the Indians of the Southeast and Midwest.

The missionary's attitude towards slavery during the eighteenth century must be understood as part of the total Catholic understanding of the nature of slavery and its relationship to the larger society. The Church of the apostolic age did not adopt a position opposed to slavery, however much it may have been out of sympathy with it as an institution; it looked rather to an emancipation of the slaves as a process extending over a wide range of time. In a like manner in the early days of the United States, slavery never came under a ban of the Catholic Church. Apart from the fact that slavery was not held generally to be at variance *in se* with the laws of nature, slavery appeared to most to be so interwoven with the economic system of the country that any attempt to remove it must have seemed impractical. A bishop from Maryland, when asked about the institution of slavery in the early nineteenth century, replied, "I have been asked by many a question I may as well answer at once, viz.: Whether I am friendly to the existence or continuation of slavery? I am not, but I also see the impossibility of now abolishing it here. When it can and ought to be abolished is a question for the legislature and not for me." ³³¹

³²⁶Lauber, p. 101

³²⁷Lauber, p. 84

³²⁸Lauber, p. 90

³²⁹Lauber, p. 81

³³⁰Olexer, p. 200

³³¹Gilbert Garraghan. *The Jesuits in the Middle United States Vol. I.* (New York: America Press,1938) p. 610

In particular reference to the French exercise in Louisiana, the possession of slaves was seen as being part and partial of the requirements of the colonial experience and demanded by the shortage of labor in the immediate area. "The Catholic Church," states historian Laurence Trexler, "considered slavery as part of the patriarchal life of the old French settlements...it was a special guardian of the bondman."³³² It is important to note that generally the life of the Indian slave owned by clergy appears to have been more comfortable than the position of a slave owned by a layperson. The term "priest's slave" connoted a contented and well cared for if not particularly efficient type of slave; the Catholic clergy who held slaves "did not govern them very strictly."³³³ While the acquisition of Indian slaves was looked upon as a social custom and economic necessity, the sale of slaves was forbidden by the Jesuit superiors except under circumstances of peculiar gravity.³³⁴

As was stated earlier, one of the main justifications for the acquisition of Indian slaves was the recognition that acquisition implied a certain responsibility for the spiritual welfare of the Indian slave. That the Indian had a soul to save was a fundamental element that determined the relationship between the missionary master and his Indian slave. In 1749, the Jesuit Father George Hunter declared:

As [slaves] are members of Jesus Christ, redeemed by his precious blood, they are to be dealt with in a charitable, Christian, paternal, manner; which is at the same time a great means to bring them to their duty to God and therefore gain their souls.³³⁵

The conversion of the Indian was both a spiritual asset and a commercial one. Each Christianized Indian slave marked a gain in the advancement of the faith, and made possible a readier access to trade with the convert's tribe and those of his friends. However, the religious training and teaching of slaves were not entirely a matter of policy. It was rather a part of the generally kinder treatment accorded to the "priest's slave."³³⁶

The Louisiana church records accounts of the birth, baptism, marriage, and burial of Indian slaves. Throughout the latter half of the eighteenth century, registers show that Indian slaves were brought to Quebec from Louisiana, baptized, and their records kept as in the records of whites. The church records in Kaskasia and Vincennes make frequent reference to the birth, baptism, and death of Panis (Indian slaves) down to the time of British occupation. The baptismal register of Mobile, Alabama, dating from 1704 to 1740, contains records of whites, blacks, and Indians. The earliest baptism of an Indian slave is that of a fifteen year old slave of D'Iberville. Baptisms of Indian slaves are as frequent as the baptisms of African slaves. The latest date of an Indian baptism in the register is February 8, 1734.³³⁷

The laws of France did not permit the holding of any Christian in slavery; therefore the conversion of an Indian or other slaves would confer freedom on them. This law was never enforced in the Mississippi delta. The French clergy went on continuously with their work of conversion, baptism, and teaching whether the person was a slave or a free person. The implication that baptism conferred freedom upon the slave, whether Indian or African, was a matter that was not broached in conversation at this point. In 1724, the *Code Noir* of Louis XV commanded that all slaves in the French colonies, "be educated in the Apostolic Roman Catholic religion, and be baptized," and urged their owners to have these matters dealt with in a reasonable amount of time. Though the *Code Noir* dealt directly with African slaves, it necessarily included Indian slaves in its jurisdiction.³³⁸

³³²Laurence Trexler in Garraghan, p. 610

³³³Garraghan, p. 610

³³⁴Garraghan, p. 612

³³⁵Garraghan, p. 611

³³⁶Lauber, p. 88

³³⁷Lauber, pp. 88-89

³³⁸Lauber, p. 90

By the middle of the eighteenth century, the traffic in Indian slaves in Southern New France had dwindled almost to a standstill. The massive importation of African slaves following its legalization in the 1720's provided a huge labor force more easily fitted to the life and work required of them by their masters; their labor was more productive and they were more easily controlled.³³⁹ Africans and indentured servants from Europe were more suited to French tastes than the disagreeable and intemperate Indians. Indians were prone to flee to the woods and try to return to their native habitat which was quite often in relatively close proximity. .. Moreover, they convinced their African counterparts to flee with them. Indians were perceived to be a volatile property, "They are also full of pride and resentment, and will not hesitate to kill their master in order to gratify their revenge for a supposed injury."³⁴⁰

As was the custom in Northern New France, the Native Americans of the Mississippi delta were profoundly and negatively influenced through contact with French culture. One of the most powerful of the influences was that of brandy, and the weakness of the native inhabitants in this respect was quickly recognized and encouraged by traders from all nations.³⁴¹ Missionaries saw brandy and its byproducts as "the general perdition of all the Indian missions" and "almost the sole obstacle" to their evangelical endeavors.³⁴² The early French missionaries believed that enslavement of Indians was a method of spreading the gospel, but they came to find out that the method of obtaining Indian slaves by trade only increased the distribution of spirituous liquors among the nations.³⁴³ The incompatibility of evangelism and enslavement in this instance ultimately brought the missionaries into opposition of enslavement as a vehicle of the gospel. The missionaries began to petition the King to prohibit the Indian slave. In 1736, the king decided formally to prohibit the enslavement of Indians and issued a decree to that effect.³⁴⁴

There were also other factors that contributed to the demise of Indian slavery and the transition to African slavery in the middle of the eighteenth century. European diseases decimated Native American nations and the encroachment of Europeans into native lands drove the nations deeper into the harshest of wildernesses. The decrease in game and other food supplies as the Indians retreated from the seas and the destruction of environment caused by the rapid growth of commerce led to massive famine among the Southeastern nations. Life expectancy and birth rates plummeted³⁴⁵. A standard of living based upon thousands of years in a harmonious relationship with nature was quickly absorbed by a growing mercantile capitalism. Quite simply, the supply of Native Americans did not meet the demands of the French in the Mississippi delta. The sources from which came white servants and African slaves were well nigh inexhaustible.³⁴⁶ In the end, the market ruled.

In Northern New France African slavery never supplanted Native American slavery. However, just as in Southern New France in the mid eighteenth century, there was a gradual transition to the acquisition of African slaves. The largest portion of the African slaves were to be found in the Illinois territory south of what is now the Canadian border. In 1793, slavery was abolished in Upper Canada by act of the Provincial Parliament. In lower Canada, slavery had practically ceased by 1800, the few remaining slaves being freed by an imperial act in 1834. The last public sale of a slave in Canada took place in Montreal in 1797. The rising tide of sentiment in opposition to slavery in England and France, rather than the actual state of the law, reached the Canadian slave owner's

³³⁹Lauber, p. 298

³⁴⁰Lauber, p. 98

³⁴¹Lauber, p. 96

³⁴²Axtell, p. 65

³⁴³Lauber, p. 97

³⁴⁴Lauber, p. 98

³⁴⁵Lauber, p. 98

³⁴⁶Lauber, p. 298

claims and finally broke them.³⁴⁷ In the Mississippi delta, there was no such tide. That, however, is a different story!

³⁴⁷Lauber, p. 97

The English

"In the pangs of the Reformation a new people was begotten, with new ideas, invested with loftier prerogatives and aims, and intended by Providence to found in the New World a great Christian Republic, one of the mightiest agencies in human progress." Daniel Dorchester ³⁴⁸

Long before the Protestant Reformation seized power from the hands of the clergy and shifted it in the hands of the secular officials, the English sovereigns had secured a large degree of authority in ecclesiastical affairs. The War of the Roses (1455-1485) resulted in the destruction of the power of the high nobility and the consolidation of power in the hands of a strong central government, that of King Henry VII. Henry VII's power was greater than that of any English sovereign in a hundred years and was exercised through a vast network of political and religious patronage. ³⁴⁹ The wealth and status assured English bishoprics by the close relationship with the royal patronage system served to assure a relative independence for Henry VII in his relationship with the papal fathers in Rome.

In 1493 Pope Alexander VI with the Treaty of Tordesillas divided the New World up between the Spanish and the Portuguese. King Henry VII, the sovereign ruler of England, was reticent to let such a strong claim to his ecclesiastical sovereignty go unchallenged. In 1496, Henry refused to recognize Spanish and Portuguese claims under the papal bull of 1493. He granted a patent to John Cabot (Giovanni Caboto) to search for new lands and to rule any he may find. Cabot sailed from the port of Bristol in 1497 on the ship *Matthew* for "all parts, contreys, and seas to the East, and the West, and of the North...upon their proper costs and charges...[to] seek out, discover and find whatever isles, countreys, regions, or provinces of the heathen and infidel...unknownen to all Christians." Cabot was to raise the English "banners and ensinges" and to secure a monopoly on trade with the infidels for the English crown. ³⁵⁰

Cabot, his son Sebastian, and the crew of the *Matthew* arrived on the coast of North America, probably near the Northeast coast of Newfoundland towards the end of the June in 1497. One of the passengers on this voyage, Raimondo Di Soncino, recorded Cabot's arrival on the shores of the new world:

...and having wandered thus far for a long time, at length he hit on land, where he hoisted the royal standard, and took possession for this Highness, and, having obtained various proofs of his discovery, he returned. ³⁵¹

³⁴⁸ Daniel Dorchester, *Christianity in the United States from the first Settlement Down to the Present Time*. (New York: Phillips and Hunt, 1888) p. 25

³⁴⁹ Walker et al., p. 400

³⁵⁰ Morison, p. 29

³⁵¹ Second Despatch of Raimundo Di Soncini to the Duke of Milan in Hart, A.B. *Americana History Told by Contemporaries*. (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1908) p. 70

Among the proofs Cabot obtained were three MicMac Indians which he took back to England as evidence that he had indeed discovered "provinces of the heathen and infidel."³⁵² The Indians that Cabot brought back to England "were seen two years afterward, dressed like Englishmen, and not to be distinguished from them."³⁵³ Cabot and his men had set forth for Cathay to bring home huge cargoes of spices and precious gems but returned home finding none of their sought after booty.³⁵⁴

At the very beginning of the English exploration of the new world, there was no pretense of a moral high ground nor any rhetoric concerning conversion of the Native American to English Catholicism. Henry's motive was simply to acquire the "domination, title, and jurisdiction" of the New World.³⁵⁵ However, on Cabot's second voyage there was evidence of a religious motivation seeping into the cant of conquest. In spite of Henry's tenuous relationship with the papacy, there were friars on Cabot's second voyage:

I also believe that some poor Italian friars are going on this voyage, who have all had bishopricks promised to them. And if I had made friends with the Admiral when he was about to sail, I should have got an archbishoprick at least; but I have thought that the benefits reserved for me by your Excellency will be more secure.³⁵⁶

Soncino made a wise decision. Cabot's never returned from his second voyage. He, his ship, and his crew were presumed to be lost at sea.

Before the next English venture to the new world, nearly one hundred years passed. In addition to the passage of time, several meaningful events occurred in English history that were to have a profound impact on the English colonial experience in the New World. The most important of these events was the English Reformation. In a series of sweeping parliamentary acts from 1532 to 1540, Henry VIII virtually abolished Papal control of the Roman Catholic church in England and declared himself and his successors to be the head of the *Anglicana Ecclesia*. Following Henry's death in 1547, the Protestant Reformation that was sweeping through the continent began to have a profound impact upon Henry's son Edward VI. In 1549 and 1552 new prayer books were prepared and enforced by Acts of Uniformity. In 1552 the Forty-two Articles of Religion were issued and religion in England became notably reflective of the Reform tradition emerging out of Geneva. These early stages of the Calvinist tradition laid the foundation for English Puritanism which was to so profoundly affect relationships between the settlers of New England and the indigenous people.

When Edward died, his half-sister Mary Tudor took over the throne and used her position as the head of the Church in England to repeal the Protestant Reformation in England. Mary's desire for a complete purge of Protestants from England and a return to Papal Roman Catholicism led her to execute many of her enemies. The reign of "Bloody Mary" helped further the cause of Protestantism and brought about an intense hatred of Catholicism and especially Catholic Spain. In 1558, Elizabeth I succeeded Mary and sought to establish the Church of England as a middle way between Catholicism and Protestantism, i.e. Protestant in theology and Catholic in liturgy. Though Elizabeth's middle way was well-intended in both a religious and political sense, it laid the foundation for the Separatist and Puritan movements which were to be inspiration for the emigration of the English colonists to the New World.³⁵⁷

³⁵²Olexer, p. 15

³⁵³Lauber, p. 154

³⁵⁴ibid.

³⁵⁵Jennings, p. 5

³⁵⁶Soncino, p. 72

³⁵⁷Ahlstrom, pp. 85-89

The Protestant Reformation did little to change Christian attitudes toward non-Christians. One might think that those who had suffered at the hands of persecution for heresy would be more inclined towards people of a different religious inclination. The opposite proved true in England. In 1578 Elizabeth I authorized Sir Humphrey Gilbert to seize "remote heathen and barbarous lands" and a later patent to Sir Walter Ralieggh was phrased in the same terminology of conquest. Once again, there was no higher motive nor no discussion of intent or obligation to convert the destined prey to Christianity.³⁵⁸ Turkish conquests in Eastern Europe whipped Protestant Germans onto a fanfare of copious literature with a litany of abuses against God committed by the Infidels and heathens of this distant and evil empire and this literature spread into England. The witch craze that swept through Europe following the publication of the *Maleus Maleficarum* in the late fifteenth century had a profound effect on Protestant and Catholic alike and served to catalyze popular dread of the religious other.

Another influence upon colonialist ideology developing in Britain at the time was the writings of Scottish theologian John Major. Major was an influential nominalist theologian of terminist logic and professor of classics at the University of Paris. Among the reformers that Major influenced were his students John Calvin and John Knox. Major focussed upon the teachings of Aristotle and out of his interpretation of Aristotle came the idea of "natural slavery" that played such a strong role in the arguments of Sepulveda against Las Casas in Valladolid in 1550. Major concluded that the Native American met Aristotle's definition of a natural slave by their "natural rudeness and inferiority" and was convinced that only coercion could protect the savage from his natural idleness and gluttony. Major's ideas not only provided the crux of Sepulveda's argument against Las Casas, but also had a profound influence upon soldiers and administrators of the early exploratory and colonial endeavors.³⁵⁹

Finally, the subjugation of Ireland laid critical groundwork for the English experience in America. In 1542, Henry VIII made Ireland a kingdom and summoned a Irish parliament which declared Henry VIII the king of Ireland. However, things were not as simple as they might seem. The Irish were a rebellious people whom the English considered to be lacking the refinement that is so much a part of the English psyche. It is not so much that the Irish were radically different from the English; it is just that the English believed them to be. They went to Ireland with preconceived ideas about the barbarity of the Irish and simply "tailored the Irishmen to fit this ideological straitjacket." The English considered the Irish to be barbarous, only nominally Christian, and generally intractable.³⁶⁰ The English had convinced themselves that Irish religion was not just a variation from English orthodoxy, it was an aberration opposed to Christianity. "Once it was established that the Irish were pagans, the first logical step had been established toward declaring them barbarians."³⁶¹ The Irish became a "savage nation" that lived "like beasts" - a lower order of humanity.³⁶²

³⁵⁸Jennings, p. 45

³⁵⁹David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture*. (New York. Oxford Press, 1966) p. 168

³⁶⁰Edmund S. Morgan. *American Slavery-American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia*.(New York: Norton and Co., 1975) p. 20

³⁶¹Nicholas Canny quoted in Jennings, p. 46

³⁶²ibid.

When the English arrived in Ireland, they made no attempt to try to reach a settlement with the Irish. The Irish could become good, that is civil and christian, only by submission. Those who choose not to submit could be exterminated and replaced with more deserving settlers from England.³⁶³ The half-brothers Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Ralieggh served time in the military occupation of Ireland in the "reducing of that savage nation to better government and civility."³⁶⁴ The colonies in Ireland proved to be the birthplace and proving ground for later English settlements in the New World. Colonization experiments had begun in Ireland only shortly before the idea of colonizing America came to the fore. It was in Ireland that the English evolved a pattern of aggression which they were later to apply to the Indians; that of slaughtering a weaker people under the self-justifying delusion that they were dealing with a savage challenge to their civil and religious hegemony.³⁶⁵ The English and their successors carried this ideology to America to fit it on the Native Americans, "using the same pretexts for the extermination of the Indians as their counterparts had used in the 1560's and 1570's for the slaughter of numbers of the Irish."³⁶⁶

The next English contact with the New World was that of the explorer Martin Frobisher who set sail in 1576 in search of Northwest passage to Cathay. Frobisher and his men sailed through the icy waters of Northern Canada in search of the Northwest passage. Enduring the ice and cold, "the brunt of so great and extreme dangers, praying God, and altogether on their knees, giving Him due, humble and hearty thanks."³⁶⁷ Frobisher and his men celebrated the Lord's Supper "the first signe, seale, and confirmation of Christ's name, death, and passion ever knowen in these quarters."³⁶⁸ Captain George Best later described Frobisher's voyage, "[By this voyage there has been] Christ's name spread; the gospel preached; infidels like to be converted to Christianitie, in places swhere before the name of God had not once been hearde of."³⁶⁹

Frobisher seemed to be interested in the spread of the gospel among those he encountered, but he was also very much interested in an increase in his own personal welfare. Frobisher sought to set up a colony on the shores of Baffin Land where he landed for the explicit purpose of bringing gold back to Europe. Frobisher and his men had discovered large quantities of pyrite (fool's gold) which the assayer's office in Bristol declared to be gold. The discovery of "gold" in the English New World to be a prominent boom both for exploration and settlement.

Frobisher returned with a fleet of 11 ships to mine the *meta incognita* (Unknown Promontory). Frobisher also sought to capture some of the natives of this northern distant land and return them to England to show as curiosities or to offer in trade for some of his lost countrymen. He sent out several parties which returned without success in securing the elusive Indians. George Best, the captain of one of these slaving expeditions, describes the consequences of one these "encounters:"

Their sullen and desperate nature doth herein manifestly appear, that a company of them being environed by our men on the top of a high cliff, so that they could by no means escape our hands, finding themselves in this case distressed, chose rather to cast themselves headlong down the rocks into the sea, and so be bruised and drowned, rather than to yield themselves to our men's mercies.³⁷⁰

³⁶³Morgan, p. 20

³⁶⁴Edmund Spencer quoted in Sanders, p. 227

³⁶⁵Sanders, p. 228

³⁶⁶Canny quoted in Jennings, p. 46

³⁶⁷Hakluyt quoted in Dorchester, p. 25

³⁶⁸ibid.

³⁶⁹R. Pierce Beaver, *Church, State, and the American Indian*. (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1966)

³⁷⁰Sanders, p. 221

Nevertheless, Frobisher and his men were able to secure several eskimos when the natives came to close to his ship in their kayaks. They took them back to England where they "provoked much curiosity and comment."³⁷¹ Within one month of their arriving in England, all of them died in captivity.³⁷²

The discovery of "gold" and the curious demeanor of the native inhabitants brought to England peaked interest in the colonization of the new world. Just as with the Spanish and the French, a set of mixed motives propelled their colonial efforts in the New World. In 1582 Sir George Peckham, a partner in the colonization schemes of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, engaged in a profound assertion of Elizabethan claims in the New World in an effort to refute the Papal disposition in the Treaty of Tordesillas. Peckham sought to:

³⁷¹Lauber, p. 155

³⁷²Olexer, p. 29

amply enlarge her majesties Territories and Dominions, or restore her to her Highnesses ancient right and interest in those Countries, into the which a noble and worthy personage, lineally descended from the blood royall, born in Wales, named Maddock ap Owen Gwyneth, departing from the coast of England, about the yeere of our Lord God 1170, arrived there and planted himself and his colonies, and afterward returned himself into England, leaving certain of his people there.³⁷³

Noting that the Spanish and the Portuguese had "greatly enriched themselves and their subjects," Peckham urged his countrymen to sail for the new world so that "all odious idleness from this our realm [be] utterly banished, diverse decayed towns repaired, and many poor and needy persons relieved, and estates of such as now lie in want shall be bettered."³⁷⁴ In exchange for all the wealth of the New World, Peckham offered:

the most happy and gladsome tidings of the most glorious Gospel of our Savior Jesus Christ, whereby the may be brought from falsehood to truth, from darkness to light, from the high way of death to the path of life, from superstitious idolatry to sincere christianity, from the devil to Christ, from hell to heaven. And in respect of all the commodities they can yield us (were they many more) that they should receive this only benefit of Christianity, they were more than fully recompenced.³⁷⁵

Though it was hardly the language of the *requierimento*, its meaning was clear enough. If the meaning was missed by the native inhabitants of the Americas and they chose not to accept "the most happy and gladsome tidings" in exchange for their person and livelihood, there would be severe contingencies:

But if after these fair and good means used, the savages nevertheless will not be herewithall satisfied, but barbarously will go about to practice violence either in repelling the Christians from their ports and safeguards, or in withstanding them afterwards to enjoy the rights for which both painfully and lawfully they have adventured themselves thither: Then in such a case I hold it no breach of equity for the Christians to defend themselves, to pursue revenge with force, and to do whatsoever is necessary for the attaining of their safety: For it is allowable by all lawes in such distresses, to resist violence with violence.³⁷⁶

Even more influential than Peckham's urgings were those of Richard Hakluyt, a graduate of Christ Church, Oxford, canon of Westminster Abbey and a rector of a local parish in Suffolk. Hakluyt's writings, such as *A Discourse on Western Plantings*, influenced England's upper class and clergymen to support colonization as a method of spreading the gospel among the heathen aborigines of America, thwarting Spanish power and Roman Catholic religion in the New World, and relieving England of the pressures caused by overpopulation and the spread of poverty.³⁷⁷ Hakluyt urged that settlements be placed in the new world that the conversion of the Indian could go forward with all due haste. Missionaries could learn the language and the customs of the natives, then they could proceed to "distill into their purged minds the lively liquor of the gospel." England was called to do this task just as surely as "the blessed Apostle Paul" had been called to be an apostle to the Gentiles. The heathens of the New World will remain heathens until that time when the royal family of England recognized their responsibility as the "Defenders of the Faith." With this title, the King and Queen of England were charged to

³⁷³Hart, p. 154

³⁷⁴Hart, p. 157

³⁷⁵Hart, p. 156

³⁷⁶Hart, p. 153

³⁷⁷Beaver, p 11

"maintain and patronize the faith of Christ, but also to enlarge and advance the same." With Catholic Spain and France already making headway among in the new world, the time was ripe for English colonization.³⁷⁸

Though Hakluyt was interested in "the lively liquor of the gospel," there were other interests in colonizing the New World. Hakluyt sought "to reduce this savage nation to some civilitie." Though he never visited the New World, he described the natives as "simple and rude in manners, and destitue in the knowledge of God or any good laws, yet of gentle nature and tractable, and most apt to receive the Christian religion, and to subject themselves to some good government."³⁷⁹ Hakluyt's father was also interested in colonization of the New World. In 1585, he encouraged a voyage to Virginia, " 1, To plant the Christian religion 2, To traffic (commercial enterprise) 3, To conquer; Or, to doe all three."³⁸⁰

It is quite clear from the Hakluyt's writings that one of the major goals of the colonial enterprise was to reduce the savages to civility in order to bring to England the riches that could not only be found in the New World but elsewhere in the wide world. The Hakluyts gave encouragement to England's colonization of the New World not only on religious grounds, but to support the economic and political aspects of England's commercial expansion and empire building.³⁸¹ Though the English might have looked with repulsion on Spain's "Black Legend" in the New World, they could hardly help but notice the tremendous wealth flowing into Spain from its colonies in the New World.

Not long after Hakluyt's *Discourse on Western Plantings*, a ship set sail from England for Roanoake Island under the auspices of a charter granted to Sir Walter Raleigh by the Virgin Queen Elizabeth. Though the effort was short lived, it continued to fuel the imagination of the English and encouraged another group to set sail for the Carolina coast in 1587. This group consisted of 117 men, women, and children in three ships with John White, an artist from the previous expedition, as governor. Difficulty with the Spanish Armada led to the lack of support for the fledgling colony until a supply ship arrived in 1590. The supply ship found few traces of the settlement. It became known in history as "the lost colony."

In spite of the lack of success of their earlier colonial enterprise, Sir Walter Raleigh and his backers in the Virginia Company were intent on establishing a commercial/religious enterprise in the New World. In their charter for colonization which they received from James I, they established as one of their primary motives, "[the]propagating of Christian religion to such People, as yet live in Darkness and Miserable ignorance of the True Knowledge and Worship of God, and may in time bring the Infidels and Savages, living in those Parts, to Human civility, and to a settled and quiet government."³⁸² No sooner had the Virginia Company provided in their charter for the reduction of the natives to civility than they acceded "all the Lands, Woods, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever" for fifty miles from the coast. They also provided that no one should inhabit "on the Backside of them, towards the main land" without their permission. In addition, the charter provided the colonists to "take Order, to dig, mine, and search for all Manners of Mines of Gold, Silver, and Copper" in the colony and "on the Backside of them, towards the main land."³⁸³

On May 24, 1607, the *Susan Constant*, the *Goodspeed*, and the *Discovery* arrived at Cape Henry, the Southernmost headland at the opening of Chesapeake Bay in Virginia. The ships, commanded by Captain Christopher Newport, contained slightly more than one hundred hearty settlers from the English middle class of

³⁷⁸Gaustad, p. 29

³⁷⁹Hakluyt, quoted in Jennings, p. 75

³⁸⁰Hakluyt the elder, quoted in Jennings, p. 76

³⁸¹Morgan, p. 14, & Smith, H. Shelton, Robert Handy, and Lefferts Loetscher. *American Christianity: An Historical Interpretation with Representative Documents, Vol I.* (New York, Charles Scribners Sons, 1960) p. 7

³⁸²William MacDonald. *Selected Charters and other Documents Illustrative of American History (1606-1775)*. (London: MacMillan and Co., 1914) p. 2

³⁸³MacDonald, pp. 4- 6

merchants and craftspersons. The colonists founded their enterprise at Jamestown, began to build a fort and to plant the necessary crops to allow them to survive in this hostile climate. Captain Newport immediately set about on exploratory missions in the surrounding area, pausing at neighboring Native American villages and assuring them of the friendship of the English and their willingness to assist them against their enemies.

The importance of religion in the colony of Jamestown was established even before their arrival on the shores of the New World. Supervision of the colony's church affairs was given to Reverend Robert Hunt, the vicar of Reculver in Kent, a person "not anywaie to be touched with the rebellious humours of a popish spirit, nor blemished with the least suspition of a factius scismatick." Hunt was described by Captain John Smith as "an honest, religious, and courageous Divine."³⁸⁴ Shortly after arriving, Hunt celebrated the colony's first Holy Communion in a ramshackle hut of a chapel which had been constructed at the site of Jamestown. Though there is little evidence of Hunt attempting to reach out to the indigenous inhabitants of Virginia, it became an important theme in the colonial rhetoric. In 1609 the Governors and Counsellors of the Virginia Plantation printed the tract *A True and Sincere Declaration* which stated:

The Principal and Maine Endes (out of which are easily derived to any meane understanding infinitless, and yet great ones) were first to preach and baptize into the Christian Religion, and by the propagation of the Gospell, to recover out of the arms of the Devill, a number of poor and miserable soules, wrapt up unto death, in almost invincible ignorance; to endeavor the fulfilling, and accomplishment of the number of the elect, which shall be gathered out from all corners of the earth; and to add our myte to the Treasury of Heaven, that as we pray for the coming of the Kingdom of Glory, so to express in our actions, the same desire, if God have pleased to use so weak instruments, to the ripening and consummation thereof.³⁸⁵

Arriving on the *Susan Constant* was Captain John Smith. Smith, the son of a simple west country tenant farmer, was an experienced soldier having been a mercenary in the wars against the Turks in Western Hungary. Of all the settlers in the new colony of Jamestown, he knew best how to fight, to live off the land, and to deal with people whose language he did not know. Smith was such a challenge to the powers that be in Jamestown that he had been placed in irons over what is called a "religious matter"³⁸⁶ during the voyage of the *Susan Constant*. In Virginia, however, his skills as a mercenary, political leader, cartographer, and conquistador became a very valuable commodity. It was his skills that enabled the colony to become the first permanent English settlement in the New World.³⁸⁷

Smith was from the very beginning of the expedition one of the leaders of the colony. A deeply religious man, Smith began his daily marches with a prayer and a psalm. Under his tutelage as Governor of Jamestown, the colony "had daily common prayer morning and evening, every Sunday two sermons, and every three months the holy communion, until the preacher died; but our prayers daily, with a Homily on Sundaies, we continued two or three years after, till more preachers came."³⁸⁸ Though there is little evidence to confirm it, one must believe that many of the Sunday homilies were led by Captain John Smith. There is evidence that Captain Smith took his responsibilities as an ambassador of Christ quite seriously. Captain Smith, political emissary to the neighboring Indian tribes, also served as a missionary to the Powhatans. Captain Smith and John Strachey prepared a

³⁸⁴Ahlstrom, p. 185

³⁸⁵Beaver, p. 11

³⁸⁶Sanders, p. 269

³⁸⁷Morgan, p. 76

³⁸⁸Captain John Smith quoted in Leonard Woolsey Bacon, *A History of American Christianity*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1897) p. 41

Powhatan word list so that the local Algonquins might be more readily brought into the Anglican Church. Smith and Strachey even attempted to translate the Lord's Prayer into the Powhatan language.³⁸⁹

Smith was moved to reduce the natives to civilitie and bring them to Christianity. His experiences in Western Hungary led him to look upon the natives with eye of a holy warrior. He found the native inhabitants "in this lamentable ignorance doe these poore soules sacrifice themselves to the Divell not knowing their Creator."³⁹⁰ Smith looked upon initiation rites for adolescents as a "solemn sacrifice of children." He looked upon Native American religious practices with contempt. Echoing the practice in Ireland, Smith referred to it as "barbaric" and accused the natives of obscene behavior.³⁹¹

Because of his leadership and keen interest in the reduction of the Native Americans of Virginia to Christianity, Captain Smith became known as "the English Champlain." However, Captain Smith's own model for "encounter" with the Indians was Hernando Cortes. Smith reached out to the Indians because he believed that they could be incorporated into the English settlement, but he scorned the idea that the gentlemanly manner was the way to go about it. Most of the investors and participants in the Virginia Company were hoping to duplicate the Spanish experience in Mexico and Peru. They hoped to use the native labor force to mine the wealth of gold and minerals which they believed lie just beneath the soil of Virginia. Captain John Smith was sure that kindness was wasted on the indigenous inhabitants of the Americas.

The Spanish had shown the way to deal with the Indians. Smith was later to recount that the English should have learned from the Spanish and used the Indians as a resource just as one would do with the other natural resources of the New World. Smith believed that the proper role for the original Southerners in English Virginia was that of slaves. He was later to note that upon encountering the Indians the English should have "forced the treacherous and rebellious Infidels to doe all manner of drudgery work and slavery for them, themselves living like Souldiers upon the fruits of their labors."³⁹² He believed that the English superiority in military technology, something in which he was quite adept, would allow the Virginians to capture and enslave vast numbers of the native inhabitants just as Cortes had done in Mexico. Once conquered, the natives could be put to work as slaves on the English plantations.³⁹³

In theory, Smith's idea seemed an appropriate response to his new setting; in practice it was much more difficult. The Indians in the Chesapeake region were much less densely populated than in the regions of Mesoamerica and could not so easily be reduced to slavery. The Spainards were also able to benefit from the "spoil and pillage" of well-developed regions they colonized because they brought with them a military force that frightened and overpowered the native society. In Virginia, there was no wealthy empire to conquer. The English were neither able to subjugate the 20,000 Indians in their midst because of the Indians sheer numerical and military superiority. Smith had no legends of Quetzalcoatl to use as an implement of intrigue as had Cortes done in Mexico. There was no army of conquistadors experienced at fighting with infidels. There was no army of Franciscan priests to convert and subdue the indigenous population. Smith found himself with few soldiers and only one religious figure.

³⁸⁹Wright, p. 63

³⁹⁰ John Smith, "Smiths Description of Early Virginia" in L.G Tyler, ed. *Narratives of Early Virginia (1606-1625)* (New York ; Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907) p. 118

³⁹¹Jennings, p. 46

³⁹²Smith quoted in Morgan, p. 77

³⁹³Morgan, p. 77

Smith, being a practical man who realized that the odds were definitely not in his favor, changed his tactics. In spite of the fact that he wished to subdue the natives, he began to engage them in trading ventures. He bullied Powhatan and browbeat him into submitting himself to deals that were not in his best interest. Smith obtained hundreds of bushels of corn through his incessant dealing and haranguing with Powhatan. Because of the importance of the Indian's food supplies to the colonists very survival, he was in almost constant contact with Powhatan and his commanders from the surrounding tribes. He bullied, threatened and bludgeoned the Indians, but there is no record that he ever committed any atrocities against them.³⁹⁴

Though Smith believed the Spanish had the most practical method of dealing with the Indians, he seldom engaged in it himself. In fact, when Smith found out that one of his men was engaged in the slave trade, he moved quickly against him. Smith left Virginia in 1609 after being severely wounded and for several years was in the employ of the Plymouth Company as an explorer along the northeast coast. Smith and one of his men were on an expedition to locate gold fields and to catch whales. Finding neither, Smith sailed back to Europe. His assistant found something of greater value:

But one Thomas Hunt, the Master of this ship, (When I was gone), thinking to prevent that intent I had to make there a plantation, to keep this abounding country still in obscurity, that only he and some merchants might wholly enjoy the benefit of the trade and prfoit of this country, betrayed four and twenty of those poor salvages aboard his ship, and most dishonestly and inhumanly, for their own kind usage of me and all my men, carried them with him to Malaga; and there for a little private gain, sold these silly salvages for rials of eight, but this vile act kept him ever after from ny more employment to those parts.³⁹⁵

Whether Smith was more concerned that the slaving would affect his relations with the Indians, that Hunt was engaging in unapproved personal profiteering, or that Smith disapproved of the slave trade altogether is a question up for discussion. It is clear that Smith disapproved of this particular act of enslavement.³⁹⁶

After Smith left the colony, the earthly riches that the promoters promised seemed even further away, but the "Kingdom of Glory" grew very close. Unaccustomed as they were to the new environment and unsuited to the tremendous toil of working the lands, the people of Jamestown quickly fell on very hard times. The colonists spent much of their time in the leisure activity that they were accustomed to as gentlemen/adventurers. These were men of high standing thought to be needed in the new community. They knew little of the work it took to build a dream. They were unwilling to work and unable to inspire those around them.

They divided into factions and spent a great deal of time and energy plotting against one another. They spent their time digging in the surrounding areas looking for the gold that they believed to be abundant in the New World. As John Smith reported in England, "There was no talke, no hope, nor worke, but dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, load gold [in order to load] a drunken ship with so much gilded [mica filled] durt."³⁹⁷ Their supplies dwindled and the colonists were unable or unwilling to use the tremendous resources that lie about them for sustenance. Dysentary swept through the colony and malaria began to take its toll.

The "starving time" sets in on the colonists during the winter of 1609 -1610. The settlers of Jamestown began to scour the woods listlessly for nuts, roots, and berries. One man chops up his wife, salts down her meat, and and keeps death at bay by consuming her flesh. Others dig up graves to eat the corpses.³⁹⁸ A survivor describes the carnage:

³⁹⁴Morgan, p. 87

³⁹⁵Smith quoted in Olexer, p. 35

³⁹⁶It is interesting to note that one of the Indians captured and taken to Spain to be sold was named Tisquantum, called Squanto by the English. Squanto was released from slavery after the intervention of some Spanish monks. He moved to England and later returned with Smith to New England. Squanto proved to be one of the Massachusetts settlement's best friends.

³⁹⁷Nash, p. 47

³⁹⁸Morgan, p. 73

...things which seemed incredible, as to dig up corpses out of graves and to eat them- and some have licked up the blood which has fallen from their weak fellows. And among the rest, this was most lamentable, that one of our colony murdered his wife, ripped the child out of her womb and threw it into the rivrer ,and after chopped the mother into pieces and saltedd her for his food, the same not being discovered before he had eaten part thereof.³⁹⁹

Although there were more than 900 settlers sent to Virginia within the first three years of the colony, at the end of the winter of 1610, only 60 survivors remained in the colony.⁴⁰⁰ By the time the next supply ship arrived, the people of Jamestown had built a ship and were preparing to sail for their homeland.

It was Mark Twain who wrote of the early settlers, "first fell on their knees, and then on the aborigines."⁴⁰¹ With the arrival of new settlers and military provisions, the revitalized colony declared a military occupation of the region between the James and the York rivers and the governor began to demand the neighboring Indians pay tribute to their English overlord instead of Powhatan. They sought to extract corn fur, dyes, and labor from each tribe and attemped to put into practice what Smith had only vocalized in theory. They attempted to mold the natives into an agricultural labor force to do the work that they were unaccustomed or unwilling to do. As the colony grew in force and military strength, Smith's successors continued the policy of raiding the neighboring villages for supplies and food and intimidating the Indians into submission to English rule. For the years 1610-1612, English attacks upon neighboring villages decimated three small tribes and destroyed three Indian villages in the immediate vicinity of Jamestown.⁴⁰²

In 1610, as part of the revitalization of the colony of Jamestown, Sir Thomas Gates, Sir Thomas Dale, and William Strachey (co-author of the Indian primer) drew up an outline for a Holy Commonwealth of Virginia entitled *The Lawes Divine, Morall, and Martiall*. Army officers were commanded to see "that the Almighty God bee duly and daily served"⁴⁰³ and that those who did not engage in the prescribed religious activities be punished severely. It required "everie man and woman duly twice a day, upon the first towling of the Bell, shall upon the working daies repair themselves to the Church to hear divine service."⁴⁰⁴ Ministers were obligated to discipline their flocks as well as to perform a wide variety of church duties. In addition to religious duties, the members of the colony were divided into work gangs which had a set of prescribed duties in a particular workplace and hour. The *Lawes* also prescribed the death penalty for a variety of crimes including adultery, theft, lying, sacrilege, blasphemy, or doing or saying anything that might "tend to the derision" of the Bible. For stealing from the community food, a person would have a needle thrust through their tongue and then chained to a tree until they starved.⁴⁰⁵

The *Lawes* also believed that the Indians needed to be dealt with more firmly than in the swashbuckling way which Captain Smith had dealt with them. The *Lawes* made provision that when any Indians came to Jamestown to trade or visit, they were to be seized and kept under armed guard until the governor decided what

³⁹⁹George Percy, quoted in Nash, p. 57

⁴⁰⁰Nash, p. 47

⁴⁰¹Mark Twain quoted in Aptheker, Herbert. *A History of the American People: The Colonial Era*. (New York:International Publishers, 1959) P.11

⁴⁰²Nash, p. 58

⁴⁰³Ahlstrom, p. 186

⁴⁰⁴ibid.

⁴⁰⁵Morgan, p. 80

was to be done with them. On several occasions, Deputy Governor Gates had these captives killed, "for a Terrour to the Reste to cawse them to desiste from their subtell practyses."⁴⁰⁶

Just as Cortes' men had done in New Spain, Gates was not above subtle barbarity. He encouraged some Native Americans to come to Kecoughtan to watch a musical presentation and dance by some of his men. When the indigenous inhabitants were sufficiently entertained,

"Espyeinge A Fittinge Opportunety Fell In Upon Them Putt
Fyve To The Sword Wownded Many Others some of them afterward
being fownde in the woods with suche extreordinary lardge and mortall wownds that itt seemed strange
they cold flye so far."⁴⁰⁷

The raids carried out by Smith's successors became a critical element in Jamestown's relationship with the neighboring Indians. Though Smith had been unable or unwilling to implement his plan of enslavement on the Spanish model, his successors had no inhibitions about such practices. In spite of Indian resistance, Gates and his men plundered nearby villages taking both Indian and corn as a "tribute" to English military and cultural superiority. As Edmund Morgan put it in *American Slavery- American Freedom*, "The policy of his successors, though perhaps not with company approval, made Virginia look far more like the Hispanola of Las Casas than it did when John Smith."⁴⁰⁸

One of the Virginia Company's main objectives was the conversion of the indigenous inhabitant to civility and christianity. To help accomplish this goal the Virginia Assembly was formed, the first legislative assembly that ever convened on the American continent. It met July 30, 1619 in the choir loft at the Anglican Church in Jamestown. A key provision in the Proceedings of the Virginia Assembly was for the "instruction of drawing some of the better disposed of the Indians to converse with our people and to live and labour among them."⁴⁰⁹ If the Indians were to come "voluntarily" into the village, they would be able to:

doe service in killing of deere, fishing, beating of Corne and other works, that then five or six may be admitted into every such place, and no more, and that withe the consent of the Governour. Provided that good garde in the night be kepte upon them generally (though some amongst them may proove good) they are a most treacherous people and quicky gone when they have done a villainy. And it were fitt a house were builte for them to lodge apart by themselves, and lone inhabitants by no meanes to entertain them.⁴¹⁰

With this provision, the colonists of Jamestown established the first collection of "praying Indians," a phenomena which was to be a prominent facet of Indian life in Puritan America. Though it could hardly be called a *reserve* as the French were establishing in the Northeast, its similarity warrants attention.

The assembly also sought to obtain some Indian children to bring them up in the English manner and religion, free from the cultural heritage which their own people sought to instill in them. Once again, we are reminded of Las Casas' injunction, "The preachers should ask for their children under the pretext of teaching them and keep them as hostages; they should also persuade them to build churches where they can teach so that

⁴⁰⁶ Morgan, p. 81

⁴⁰⁷ *ibid.*

⁴⁰⁸ *ibid.*

⁴⁰⁹ Tyler, *Narratives of Early Virginia*, p. 264

⁴¹⁰ *ibid.*

they may be safer. By these and other means are the Indians to be pacified and indoctrinated."⁴¹¹ In order to lay a surer foundation of the conversion of the Indians to Christian religion, the Virginia Assembly ordered,

each town, citty, Borrough, and particular *plantation* (italics mine) do obtaine unto themselves by just means a certine number of the natives' children to be educated by them in true religion and civile course of life- of which children the most towardly boys in witt and graces of nature to be brought up by them in the first elements of literature, so to be fitted for the Colledge intended for them that from thence they may be sente to that worke of conversion.⁴¹²

Interestingly enough, the colony was able to secure a large grant from one of its patrons for the expressed purpose of bringing up Native American children in English homes and teaching them English skills. However, the indigenous people of Virginia, just as those in New France, were less than responsive to this generous offer of the English.⁴¹³

The college referred to by the Virginia Assembly was a fledgling idea put forward by Edwin Sandys, Treasure of the Colony of Jamestown in 1615. Sandys, the son of a Puritan-minded archbishop of York and former student of Richard Hooker, sought to establish a missionary "university" at Henrico for the pacification and indoctrination of Native American children. The crown ordered a general contribution in all the parishes of the Church of England with the proceeds to found and fund a college for the Indians. A large sum of money was established in the company's general fund for this expressed purpose, ten thousand acres of land were set aside for the Indian college at Henrico, and a committee of "choice gentlemen" was chosen as the college's board of directors.

Taking charge of the missionary "university" was George Thorpe, a former member of Parliament and now a member of the colony's governing council. Thorpe was given the title of "Deputy of the Colledge Lands," but his personal commitment exceeded his professional identity. Thorpe, whose vision of Virginia was that of a multiracial colony, worked hard evangelizing the Indians and hoped to win them over to the projected university. Thorpe remarked after visiting Chief Opechancanough, Powhatan's successor, that he "had more motiones of religione in him than Coulede be ymmagined." Thorpe's success among the Native Americans was not readily accepted by the other colonists. One minister of the colony remarked that evangelization was useless "till their Priests and Ancients have their throats cut, there is no hope of bringing them to conversion."⁴¹⁴

Sandys must have shared this colonist's appraisal, for in 1618 he began to siphon off the tremendous endowment that had been set up for the establishment of the missionary university in order to pay off debts and finance the company's other business. In 1619, Sandys proposed that the actual building of the university be put off and that its funds be invested and that the college be built out of the annual income instead of the capital. Sandys' investment consisted of bringing over indentured servants over from England to work the college's land in Henrico with the proceeds of their work being placed in the colony's endowment. Instead of being placed on the colony's land, the tenants were seized by preestablished planters and set to work among on private plantations.⁴¹⁵ Among those "tenants" brought over to Virginia by Sandys were twenty "negars," the first blacks to be brought into the Virginia colonies.⁴¹⁶

Governor George Yeardley of Virginia supported Sandy's plan for a school and devised a plan to find students to fill the school. As Opechancanough and his people were reluctant to give up their children to be

⁴¹¹Las Casas quoted in Todorov, pp. 173-174

⁴¹² Tyler, Narratives of Early Virginia

⁴¹³Morgan, p. 96

⁴¹⁴Morgan, p. 98, Jennings p. 55

⁴¹⁵Jennings, p. 54

⁴¹⁶Olexer, p. 89

educated, Yearly proposed that a group of English and Indian soldiers could engage in a raid upon a Siouan group beyond the falls of the James River. The raiding party would split the captured corn, land and "booty of male and female children." Yearley believed that the male children taken might serve to "furnish the intended college at Henrico."⁴¹⁷ Although the plan was never realized, the intent was to fill the proposed college with enslaved children.

Though there is little historical evidence that Indians were among those enslaved at Henrico, there is demographic evidence that might lead one to that conclusion. If Sandys took the tenants that were to work the college lands and put them to work in the private colonial plantations, it would seem logical that the Indians who were to be "educated" at the college would also be put in English homes to be taught English ways and values such as the importance of labor and diligence. In 1684, a census was conducted in order to levy a tax on Indian slaves. The census revealed that Indian slaves in Henrico County exceeded the number of Indian slaves in other counties by as much as ten to one.⁴¹⁸ Though Henrico County was centrally located at the mouth of the James River, it was also the center of the evangelical effort of ministers such as Alexander Whitaker, George Thorpe, and Patrick Copeland.

In spite of Sandys' treachery, the Indian Christianization and civilization project continued on unabated. Sir Patrick Copeland was appointed rector of the reorganized effort aimed at creating an Indian school entitled the "East India School." However, all efforts at building the college and evangelizing the Indians came to a quick halt with the onset of the Indian Wars of Virginia which began in on March 22, 1622. Opechancanough, spurred on by English arrogance, their vast increase in numbers, and their seeming insatiable lust for land, responding by attacking the English villages killing nearly 350 men, women, and children. Opechancanough murdered George Thorp after gaining his confidence in a private confession of the superiority of the English god to the Indigenous one.⁴¹⁹ One third of the colonists of Virginia were killed in Opechancanough's uprising in 1622. Some of the colonists of Virginia quietly confessed that the cause of the uprising was "our own perfidious dealing with them."⁴²⁰

Immediately the colonists rhetoric changed from an obligation to civilize and christianize the indigenous inhabitants to that of total annihilation of the Indian and the wholesale seizure of Indian property and land. Indicative of this change was that of John Smith. Before he had referred to the native inhabitants in the same manner and form he had used for the Turk or the Spaniard; now he spoke of the Indians as "cruel beasts" with a "more unnaturall brutishness than beasts." In his writings following the uprising of 1622, the word "savage" rises to the forefront.⁴²¹ Whereas before he had bartered with the Indians for corn and land, he now noted that the attack "will be good for the Plantation, because now we will have just cause to destroy them by all meanes possible."⁴²² Smith's compatriot Samuel Purchas capitalized on Smith's description of the massacre of 1622 by justifying the Virginian's retaliatory massacres of the Indians. He argued that the Christian Englishmen must rightfully seize Indian lands because God had intended that the lands be cultivated and not left barren as the Indians would do.⁴²³

One Virginian articulated the vision:

⁴¹⁷Axtell, p. 190

⁴¹⁸Morgan, p. 331

⁴¹⁹Tyler, p. 360

⁴²⁰Nash, p. 61

⁴²¹Jennings, p. 79

⁴²²Nash, p. 61

⁴²³Jennings, p. 80

Our hands which before were tied with gentleness and faire usage, are now set at liberty by the treacherous violence of the Sauvages... So that we, who hitherto have had possession of no more ground than their waste and our purchase at a valuable consideration to the own contentment gained; may now by right of Warre, and law of Nations, invade the country, and destroy them who sought to destroy us, whereby we shall enjoy their cultivated places, turning the laborious mattacke into the victorious sword... and possessing the fruits of others labours.⁴²⁴

The aftermath of the Indian uprising was that all restraints upon English actions were lifted; the Indians could be annihilated or enslaved and it would be in accordance with the "right of Warre and law of Nations." Though many favored annihilation, others continued to see the Indian as a valuable commodity that could be put to excellent use in the colony's service. Captain John Martin, leader of a notorious debtor's plantation, argued against extermination not only because it seemed unchristian, but because the Indians were good managers of the land. The Native Americans were "apte for worke than yet our English are" and were able "to work in the heate of the day." The Indians were "fit to rowe in Gallies and frigetts and many other pregnant uses to tedious to set downe."⁴²⁵

The secretary of the colony, echoing the concerns of John Smith, argued that the English should now do with Indians as the Spanish had done in Hispanola and Mexico. The massacre provided the opportunity that the Indians might "now most justly be compelled to servitude and drudgery, and supply the roome of men that labour, whereby even the meanest of the Plantation may imploy themselves more entirely in the Arts and Occupations, which are more generous whilest savages perform their inferior workes of digging in the mynes, and the like."⁴²⁶

In the same year as the attack, a tract entitled *The Relation of the Barbarous Massacre in Time of Peace and League, treacherously executed by the native infidels upon the English, the Twenty-second of March, 1622, published by Authority* was published in London. The main purpose of the tract was to show the good that could come from such a vile deed as the massacre of the English. One of the possible results read, "Because the Indians, who before were used as friends, may now be most justly compelled to servitude in mines, and the like, of whom some may be sent to the Summer Isles."⁴²⁷ The policy of enslavement of the Native Americans of Virginia had moved from theory to practice.

A primary goal of the Virginia Company was "[the]propagating of Christian religion to such People, as yet live in Darkness and Miserable ignorance of the True Knowledge and Worship of God, and may in time bring the Infidels and Savages, living in those Parts, to Human civility, and to a settled and quiet government."⁴²⁸ The building of the missionary "university" was supposedly a major vehicle through which this goal was to be accomplished. The "university" for Indians was never built. No indication exists in the records of the colony that a single Indian was ever converted through its ministry, with or without buildings. Even though a stated aim of the colony was the propagation of Christianity to the Indians, a formal post as missionary to the Indians was never established. George Thorpe proselytised to the Indians, but this was a personal interest and not a professional vocation.⁴²⁹ From all appearances, the main goal of any discussion regarding the conversion of the native people of Virginia to Christianity was an exercise in fundraising comparable to the modern idea of "development." It was also a theological justification for the displacement of the native people of Virginia. With the onset of the Indian wars, all such exercises in justificatory rhetoric passed into history.

⁴²⁴Edward Waterhouse quoted in Nash, p. 61

⁴²⁵Morgan, p. 99

⁴²⁶Morgan, p. 100

⁴²⁷Lauber, p. 119

⁴²⁸William MacDonald. *Selected Charters and other Documents Illustrative of American History (1606-1775)*. (London: MacMillan and Co., 1914) p. 2

⁴²⁹Jennings, pp. 54-55

What did not pass into history was the enslavement of the indigenous people of the South that had begun in the Virginia colonies. For practical reasons, it became much easier to exterminate the Indians of Virginia than to enslave them. However, enslavement remained a viable commercial option. Even though the slave trade was never as practical or lucrative as it had been in the Spanish colonies, it became an important part of the colonial Virginia enterprise.

Indian wars again flared up in 1644 and in 1664; this time a stronger government took firmer measures and established the practice of enslavement of Indians under legal guidelines. Governor William Berkeley, the head of the established Anglican Church of Virginia, was a virulent supporter of the established church who had little patience with the Catholics, Puritans, and Quakers who attempted to settle in his colony. He had even less concern for the native inhabitants of his new commonwealth. In 1660, the Virginia assembly passed a law providing relief for those who suffered any property loss as a result of damages committed by Indians. The plaintiff in the case would be given the right, provided satisfaction were not made, to sell as many Indians out of the country as the court might prescribe.⁴³⁰

During the Indian wars in Virginia Governor Berkeley proposed that, with the approval of a war council, a war of extinction be waged against the Indians of Virginia. He stated "I thinke it necessary to Destroy all these Northen Indians...[to do so would serve as] "a great Terror and Example and Instruction to all other Indians."⁴³¹ He also suggested that the costs of such a war be defrayed by undertaking the disposal of the women and children by selling them into slavery. The ecclesiastical officials approved of such a plan advocating, "with the assistance of Almighty God, by the strength of our northern part, utterly to eradicate [them], without further encroachment than the spoils of our enemies."⁴³² It is understandable that Governor Berkeley would be supportive of such practices because he engaged in the sale of Indian slaves himself. The account book of the executor of Thomas Smallcomb of York County in 1646 reads, "By two Indians sold by Sir William Berkeley, 600 lbs." ⁴³³ The "lbs" referred to in the records refers to tobacco, the medium of exchange in early Virginia.

In 1675, conflict flared up over an unpaid debt between Nanticoke Indians and settlers in the region. To compensate for a debt owed to them, the Indians stole some pigs from their white neighbors. The settlers caught and killed the interlopers and events escalated into a full-scale war between the Native Americans and the Virginians. Nathaniel Bacon, the cousin of sir William Berkeley, assumed the leadership of a vigilante group and began a massive massacre of all Indian inhabitants of the region including peaceful residents whose protection had been provided for through treaties with the Government. Berkeley had Bacon seized but the sheer number of Bacon's followers put him into a position of negotiation with the Virginia House of Burgesses.⁴³⁴

Bacon and his followers were able to secure support from the House of Burgesses for their war against the native inhabitants of the area surrounding Jamestown. Bacon, from Henrico county, sought not only to kill the Indians in the region; he sought to enslave as many as he could. He made distinction between peaceful Indians and those whom he was warring against. Peaceful Indians were easier to capture. The assembly gave Bacon the right to kill any Indians they encountered and compensated them in tobacco for their effort. They also accorded that troops were to have the benefit of all plunder either Indians or otherwise." It further provided "that all Indians taken in warr be held and accounted slaves dureing life."⁴³⁵ Following the rebellion, the assembly granted that soldiers who had captured Indians should "reteyne and keep all such Indian slaves or other Indian goods as they have taken or hereafter shall take." The act was reaffirmed in April, 1679. Thus Virginians decided in 1679

⁴³⁰Lauber, p. 202

⁴³¹Morgan, p. 233

⁴³²Lauber, p. 131

⁴³³Lauber, p. 301

⁴³⁴Waldman, p. 89

⁴³⁵Morgan, p. 263

that not only was enslavement of Indians a part of the colonial order, but perpetual enslavement was to be affirmed.⁴³⁶

As the indigenous people of Virginia had been brought to "human civility, and to a settled and quiet government," it was necessary to couple this civility with an inculcation of the Christian faith. As early as 1655, the Virginia Assembly had voted that Indian servants should be educated and brought up in the Christian faith. However, there was the particularly tricky question as to whether baptism conferred freedom upon the slave. One of the reasons for the refusal of the sale of an Indian boy by the "King of Wainoeko" to settler Elizabeth Short in 1659 was that the boy wished to be baptised and to become a Christian.⁴³⁷ In 1660, the Assembly resolved this particular dilemma by providing that an Indian who spoke English and who desired baptism should be freed. However, this provision was seldom enforced. In 1667, the Assembly of the Anglican state of Virginia decreed that the baptism of a slave did not confer freedom nor in any substantial way alter their condition in life. This act declared the reason for this legislative action was that it freed slavemasters from this lingering doubt and would speed the conversion of slaves to Christianity.⁴³⁸

In 1670, an act of the Assembly declared that slaves sold in Virginia who were not Christians and who were brought into Virginia by land should serve their masters for a period of twelve years or (if children) until the age of thirty. This same act declared that servants brought into Virginia by shipping (Africans) were to be slaves for life.⁴³⁹ However, this act, when slaves were for the first time legally designated as such in Virginia, decreed that freedom resulting from baptism was limited to those imported by shipping. Indian servants or slaves, as they were generated locally, were not eligible to become freedmen upon baptism.⁴⁴⁰

The act of 1670 was repealed in 1682 and a new act removed the possibility of conversion to Christianity conferring freedom upon any slaves, black, mulatto, or Indian, by decreeing that whether converted to Christianity before or after being brought to the colony, they should remain slaves. This act declared specifically that Indians were slaves if obtained by purchase, in case they or their parents were not Christians at the time of their first being purchased by a Christian, although afterwards and before their importation into Virginia, they might have become Christians; and all Indians thereafter sold by the neighboring Indians or any other person trafficking in slaves.⁴⁴¹

This act by the Virginia legislature lumped together Africans and Indians by making slaves of all imported non-Christian servants. White Virginians treated black, red, and intermediate shades of brown as interchangeable.

It had been the original intention of the settlers in Virginia to exploit indigenous labor to build their civilization in America. As the Virginians began to expand their plantations across the open expanse, they seem to have Indians in mind as well as Africans. If there were insufficient numbers of Indians to do their bidding, then other peoples of color would be brought in to Virginia from other parts of the country or other parts of the world to fill their need. We recall Francis Jennings injunction:

No slaughter was impermissible, no lie dishonorable, no breach of trust shameful, if it advantaged the champions of true religion. In the gradual transitions from religious conceptions to racial conceptions, the gulf between persons calling themselves Christian and the other persons, whom they called heathens, translated smoothly into the chasm between whites and coloreds. The law of moral obligation sanctioned behavior on only one side of that chasm... the Christian Caucasians of Europe are not only holy and white but also *civilized*, while the pigmented

⁴³⁶Morgan, p. 329

⁴³⁷Lauber, p. 270

⁴³⁸ibid

⁴³⁹Morgan, p. 329

⁴⁴⁰Lauber, p. 270

⁴⁴¹Lauber, p. 186

heathens of distant lands are not only idolatrous and dark but *savage*. Thus the absolutes of predator and prey have been preserved, and the grandeur of invasion and massacre has kept its sanguinary radiance.⁴⁴²

In spite of a later tendency in the Southern United States to differentiate the African slave from the Indian, African slavery was in actuality imposed on top of a preexisting system of Indian slavery. In North America, the two never diverged as distinct institutions.⁴⁴³

In 1691, Indian slavery was ruled illegal in Virginia by an act authorizing free and open trade, for all persons, for all times and all places, with all Indians whatsoever. The act provided a measure of freedom by implication, but in no way prevented subsequent enslavement of individuals sold by the nation itself or of hostile captives. The enslavement continued and a series of court battles waged back and forth as to the status of Native Americans as enslaved persons. In 1806, the Supreme Court of Virginia ruled that Indians had always been considered free persons in fact and in right, and the the presumption was that all Indians introduced into that state at any time, were *prima facie*, presumed to be free. In 1814, the Supreme Court of Virginia ruled that descendents of an Indian slave brought into the United States from Jamaica in 1747 could not be kept as slaves and must be treated as free individuals.⁴⁴⁴ The decree of the Supreme Court made certain that its provisions related to the natural rights of white persons and Native Americans, "but entirely disapproving thereof, so far as the same relates to native Africans and thier descendants."⁴⁴⁵ The line of demarcation had been clearly drawn.

By the time that these rulings were passed, they were of little consequence. For many of the same reasons that Indian slavery declined in the French territories, it also declined in Virginia. The accumulative result of wars, epidemics, and a changing way of life led to the decimation of the Powhatan Indians by the end of the seventeenth century. From an estimated 25,000 Native Americans in Virginia in 1607, of which 12,000 were Powhatan, there was a ddecline to about 2,000 by 1700, of which less than 1,000 were Powhatan. By 1700, the Indians of Virginia were reported to be so wasted by disease and destruction that they could hardly raise 500 fighting men among them. By this time the non-Indian population had grown to more than 100,000.⁴⁴⁶

In 1691, the Reverend James Blair revived the idea of an Indian School at Henrico and went to London to procure funds for a royal charter for the school which was to be known as the College of William and Mary. When philosopher Robert Boyle died, his executor considered the Indian school at Henrico a pious charity of the highest order and allotted a certain portion of estate to that noble cause. The agreement stated that the College of William and Mary was to keep Indian children "in Sicknesse and health, in meat, drink, Washing, Lodgeing, Cloathes, Medicines, bookes and Education from the first beginning of Letters till they are ready to receive Orders and be thought Sufficient to be sent abroad to preach and Convent the Indians."⁴⁴⁷ Included in the money allotted for the upkeep of each was the cost of "buying or procureing Such Children."⁴⁴⁸

What had begun in Virginia rapidly spread throughout the South and the principals and policies established in Virginia provided the guidelines for similar activities and legislation in other Southern Colonies. The slave trade in the Carolinas took the Virginia Indian Wars as a model, but the Carolinians took it one step further and instigated a slave trade based on predatory raids. The Indian slave trade in the Carolinas, with

⁴⁴²Jennings, p. 6

⁴⁴³Davis, p. 176

⁴⁴⁴Lauber, p. 314

⁴⁴⁵Davis, p. 181

⁴⁴⁶Russell Thornton. *American Indian Holocaust and Survival: A Population History Since 1492*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987) p. 70

⁴⁴⁷Axtell, p. 190

⁴⁴⁸*ibid.*

Charleston as its center, rapidly took on all of the characteristics of the African slave trade. The Carolinians formed alliances with coastal native groups, armed them and encouraged them to make war on weaker tribes deeper in the Carolina interior. By the early 1670's caravans of Indian slaves were making their way from the Carolina backcountry to forts on the coast just as they were doing on the African continent. Once in Charleston, the captives were loaded on ships for the "middle passage" to the West Indies or other colonies such as New Amsterdam or New England. By 1708, the number of Indian slaves in the Carolinas was nearly half that of African slaves.⁴⁴⁹

The slave traders of the Carolinas engaged in successful slaving operations on Nations such as the Westos, the Tuscarora, the Yamasee, and the Cherokee. Though history may record these "encounters" as Indian wars, they were largely Indian responses to slaving operations of the English and their Shawnee allies. In three years of slaving operations against the Westo Indians, all but fifty of the nation were reduced to slavery or killed.⁴⁵⁰ In an "orgy of slavedealing", the English and the Shawnee reached far out into the Spanish empire in the South. Some 10,000 to 12,000 Timucas, Guales, and Apalachees were taken to Charleston to be sold into slavery and shipped throughout the vast English empire. When the Shawnees grew sick of their mercenary occupation and dissolved their trading partnership with the English, Governor John Archdale established a policy of "thining the barbarous Indian natives." By 1710, the Shawnees had gone the way of the Westos.⁴⁵¹

When the Tuscarora Indians of North Carolina rebelled against being driven from their land, they were met by a force of thirty English settlers and five hundred Yamasee warriors led by Colonel John Barnwell. After King Hancock of the Tuscaroras signed a treaty, Barnwell and his men seized a number of them as slaves. The Tuscaroras considered this a breach of the treaty and continued the war. In 1713, another group of settlers and one thousand Indian allies led by Colonel James Moore, veteran of the Shawnee slaving raids in Florida, routed the Tuscaroras. The four hundred Tuscaroras who survived the battle were sold into slavery at ten pounds sterling each to finance the campaign.⁴⁵²

The Tuscarora uprising provided the Virginians with the opportunity to secure students for the College of William and Mary. Following the defeat of the Tuscarora, the terms of the peace treaty declared that each tribe in the area send two sons of head men as "hostages" to be "brought up at the College" and to serve as a security deposit. The security deposit assured the tribes would remain peaceful and prepared the way for the conversion of the "Whole nation to the Christian faith." In return for the Indian's good faith, the English would not make the Indians suffer military retribution for their uprising and would forego their annual tithe of twenty beaver pelts. The burgesses of the college preferred "buying Indians of remote nations taken in war to be educated." The Tuscaroras were reluctant to participate in the arrangement because of the Virginians "breach of a former compact made long ago by this government, when instead of their children receiving the promised education they were transported to other Countrys and sold as slaves."⁴⁵³ However, the Virginias were persistent and well armed and the Tuscaroras surrendered their children.

In order to secure the agreement, the colonial officials built a fort to promote the education and conversion of the Indian children. As the Indian children would often run away, the fort and its garrison would provide suitable incentive to prevent such action. The authorities secured a Anglican minister from North Carolina and gave him the responsibilities for educating the Indian children of William and Mary. Griffin soon boasted,

the greatest number of my scholars can say the belief, the Lord's prayer, & ten Commandments perfectly well, they know that there is but one God & they are able to tell me how many persons there are in the Godhead & what each of those blessed persons have done for them. They know

⁴⁴⁹Nash, p. 130

⁴⁵⁰ibid.

⁴⁵¹Nash, p. 132

⁴⁵²Waldman, p. 104

⁴⁵³Axtell, p. 191

how many sacraments Christ has ordained in his Church, and for what ends he instituted them, they behave themselves reverently at our daily prayers & can make their responses.⁴⁵⁴

These were children, hostages from a brutal war and held bound with the confines of a military operation, but the could tell "what each of those blessed persons have done for them."

In 1715, the Yamasees rebelled against British degradation, maltreatment, and exploitation. The English had begun to seize Yamasee women and children for the slave market in payment of debts that the Indians had assumed in their relationship with the English. William Anews, missionary to the Mohawks for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, reported that the English were "abusing the Indians with drink and then cheate them in Trading with them and Stealing Even their Children away and carry them off to other places and sell them for slaves."⁴⁵⁵ There is also evidence that the Yamasee had gotten a bit too friendly with Spanish missionaries in Florida. Charles Craven, governor of South Carolina, organized the militia and set out against the Yamasee. Four hundred Yamasee were either killed or taken to Charleston to be sold into slavery. The nation was almost exterminated. What survivors there were fled to Florida to live among the Spanish missionaries.⁴⁵⁶

At each stage in the conflict, captured Indian children were sent to William and Mary to be educated and converted to Christianity. In the early 1760's, the Cherokee nation allied with the French against the British in what came to be known as the French and Indian War in exchange for protection from their traditional enemies and their new found ones. North Carolina, in its provision for raising troops against the Indians offered to anyone who took captive "an enemy Indian" the right to hold them as a slave.⁴⁵⁷ Many of the captured children of the Cherokee were sent to the Indian college at Henrico. The conflict lasted two years until an army of Carolina Rangers, British light infantry, and Royals Scots set out on a scorched earth policy in Cherokee territory, burning crops and towns. The Cherokee finally agreed to a peace pact which ceded the largest portion of their hereditary land to the English and established a line of seperation between whites and Cherokee.⁴⁵⁸

What had begun in Virginia spread throughout the South in an "orgy of slavedealing" that reduced the once populous Indian nations of the Southeast to virtual tenants on their own land. Ricahrd Hakluyt had encouraged a voyage to Virginia, " 1, To plant the Christian religion 2, To traffic (commercial enterprise) 3, To conquer; Or, to doe all three." The English succeeded in planting the Christian religion on American soil, but made little effort in planting the Christian religion within the native inhabitants. The English had turned a dreadful commercial enterprise into a remarkably successful system of agricultural plantations built largely upon the slave labor of the very people whom they sought to "instill the lively liquor of the gossell." Indeed, the English were most successful at the latter of Hakluyt's intentions, that of conquering the native inhabitants. The population of native inhabitants had been reduced by nearly ninety percent within the first hundred years since colonial contact. If the Virginia enterprise were to be judged on Hakluyt's terms, it was most certainly a success.

Somewhere farther North, a similar enterprise had been launched. On a cold November evening in 1620, the Pilgrim ship *Mayflower* arrived at Cape Cod Bay in Massachusetts. Governor William Bradford in his *History of Plimouth Plantation* describes the Pilgrims first act upon finding safe harbor in the new world:

Being thus arrived in a good harbor and brought safe to land, they fell upon their knees and blessed the God of Heaven, who had brought them over the vast and furious ocean, and delivered them from all the periles and miseries thereof, againe to set their feete on the firme and stable earth, their proper element.⁴⁵⁹

⁴⁵⁴Axtell, p. 193

⁴⁵⁵William Anews quoted in Olexer, p. 172

⁴⁵⁶Waldman, p. 105

⁴⁵⁷Lauber, p. 136

⁴⁵⁸Waldman, p. 105

⁴⁵⁹William Bradford. *History of Plimouth Plantation* in Davis, William, ed. *Original Narratives of Early*

In the next paragraph, he articulated his concerns about what they were to encounter,

It is recorded in scripture as amercie to the apostle and his shipwrecked company, that the barbarians shewed them no small kindness in refreshing them, but these savage barbarians, when they mette with them (as after will appear) were ready to fill their sides full of arrows then otherwise...What could [we] see but a hideous and desolate wilderness, full of wild beasts and wild men?⁴⁶⁰

The Pilgrims had come to America in flight from persecution in Europe, to charter a new religious community in America, and to bring Christianity to the "savages." They were a separatist group, in the tradition of Robert Browne's *Reformation without Tarrying for Any*, who sought to eradicate any vestiges of Catholicism in the Anglican church. They wanted, in the words of historian Mark Noll, to "finish the Reformation and finish it now."⁴⁶¹ The congregationalists who made up the separatist Pilgrim enclave had largely abandoned their effort to reform the Church and had set up their community as a separate society beyond the jurisdiction of the national church. When the situation in England grew untenable for their fledgling community, they sought to migrate to Holland where they might enjoy religious freedom. When Holland proved unsatisfactory, they determined to set out for the new world.

The Patent for the Council of New England gave the Plymouth colony its royal foundation for settlement in the New World. Noting that God's visitation had, "rained a wonderful Plague, together with many horrible Slaughters, and Murthers, committed amongst the Savages and brutish People there, hereto fore inhabiting, in a manner to the utter Destruction, Devastacion, and Depopulation of that whole Territorie," the Pilgrims thanked God for his "great Goodness and Bountie towards Us and our people." In response to God's "laying open" the country for their mission, the Pilgrims were to:

with Boldness goe on to the settling of soe hopefull a Work, which tendeth to the reducing and Conversion of such Savages as remaine wandering in Desolacion and Distress, to Civil Societe and Christian Religion, to the Inducements of our own Dominions, and the Advancement of the Fortunes of such of our good Subjects as shall willingly intresse themselves in the said Employment,⁴⁶²

Though the conversion of the Indians to Christianity was among the main objectives, there is little evidence that conversion of the Indians was a high priority for the Pilgrims of the *Mayflower*.

Though there were a few skirmishes with the Indians as they attempted to land, there was little contact with the native inhabitants of Massachusetts until March of 1621. Among the first Native Americans that the English encountered was Tisquantum, the Wampanoag who had been kidnapped by Thomas Hunt in his early slaving expedition under the auspices of Captain John Smith. Tisquantum, whom Bradford noted had been "carried away with diverce others by one Hunt...who thought to sell them for slaves in Spaine"⁴⁶³, assisted the Plymouth colony in its adjustment to the New World by negotiating a peace treaty with the neighboring sachem Massasoit. Tisquantum, a "spetiall instrument sent by God for their good," also "directed them how to set their corn, wher to take fish, and to procur other commodities, and was also their pilott to bring them to unknowne places for their profit."⁴⁶⁴

American History New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908) p. 95

⁴⁶⁰Bradford, p. 96

⁴⁶¹Noll, p. 32

⁴⁶²Patent for the Council of New England in MacDonald, p. 25

⁴⁶³Bradford, p. 111

⁴⁶⁴ibid.

In 1662, a new set of non-separatist Anglicans led by Thomas Weston arrived and settled in nearby Wessagusset, on the South side of Massachusetts Bay. These new colonists took to stealing corn from the nearby Massachusetts Indians and set about to coerce, by military might, the nearby Indians into paying tribute to them. Captain Miles Standish, of the Plymouth colony, concocted a story that the Indians were conspiring against both colonies and proceeded to Wessagusset to rescue Weston from the supposedly assaulting Indians. Pretending to the Indians that he had come to Wessagusset to trade, Standish and his soldiers lured a small group of the friendly Massachusets Indians into his midst and massacred them. Standish killed eight Massachusets and impaled the head of the sachem Wituwamet on top of the fort at Plymouth as a symbol of white power. The Massachusets responded by attacking Weston and his colony, finally driving them from Massachusetts. Thus Standish had gotten ridden of the Anglican "infection" which had sprung up in Massachusetts.⁴⁶⁵

John Robinson, formerly the Pilgrims minister in Holland, upon hearing of the deterioration of relations between the Indians and the Pilgrims wrote to William Bradford asking why the English had engaged in senseless violence against the Indians. Had the English become "savages" in this wildderness. He especially singled out Captain Miles Standish, whom he believed to have adopted John Smith's model of conquest, for his violation of brotherly love. Robinson, in a letter to Bradford, wrote, "It is... a thing more glorious, in men's eyes, than pleasing in God's, or convenient for Christians, to be a terror to barbarous people. And indeed I am afraid lest, by these occasions, others should be drawn to to affect a kind of ruffling course in the world."⁴⁶⁶ In the same letter, he stated, "Concerning the killing of those poor Indians...Oh, how happy a thing had it been, if you had converted some before you had killed any!"⁴⁶⁷ Following the Wessagusset massacre, the indigenous people of Massachusetts began to refer to the English as "Wotowquenange" which in their language signified stabbers or cutthroats.⁴⁶⁸

In 1630, another group of settlers arrived on the shores of Massachusetts. The Puritans, who had fled religious persecution in England, were committed to the conversion of the native inhabitants of America to Christian religion. The "principall ende of this plantacion" was to "wyn and incite the natives of the country, to the knowledg and obedience of the only true God and Savior of Mankinde, and to the Christian fayth."⁴⁶⁹ The Company seal of the colony presented an Indian with a label in his mouth which was inscribed with the cry, "Come over and help us."⁴⁷⁰ The Puritans sought to convert Indians to Christianity not be direct evangelism, but by the example of their model civilization which was to be an realized ideal of the power of God's covenant with the Christian community. By establishing a tightly controlled Christian community, the Puritans sought to drive out troublemakers from within and reform troublemakers outside of the fold.⁴⁷¹

It was this attitude toward the reform of the church that the Puritans brought with them from England. The Puritans sought to "purify" the church of England from all traces of corruption and laxity which survived from its connection to the Roman Catholic Church. The Puritans were the party who fought for reform within the church as opposed to the separatists who had abandoned all hope for reform. The Puritians had come to America to establish "a city on the hill" which would be a beacon for the reform of the Church of England by the example of its sterling morality and its covenantal relationship with divinity and divine law as expressed in the holy

⁴⁶⁵Jennings, p. 186, Nash, pp. 77-78

⁴⁶⁶Nash, p. 78

⁴⁶⁷Wilcomb Washburn, *The Indians and the White Man*. (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1964), p. 177

⁴⁶⁸Nash, p. 78

⁴⁶⁹Nash, p. 78

⁴⁷⁰Dorchester, p. 173

⁴⁷¹Charles M. Segal and David Stineback, *Puritans, Indians, and Manifest Destiny*. (New York, G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1977) p. 34

scripture. According to John Winthrop, they sought to prove that it was possible to lead the New Testament life and still make a living.⁴⁷² The Puritans took Calvin's Geneva as a starting point and attempted to replicate this "Holy Commonwealth" in which social relationships were determined in the context of a covenantal theology rooted in the Old Testament. Just as Joshua had led God's people into the holy land by eradicating the Canaanites, so the Pilgrims moved into New England as if it were the promised land. From this perspective, the native inhabitants of the "wilderness" were both the enemies of God's people and pawns in God's plan to remind Her people of their superiority to the natives.⁴⁷³

Thus the Indians had a "double consciousness" for the early Puritan, both children of satan and instruments of God. Only within this framework can we understand the Puritans desire to convert the native to Christianity and the corresponding readiness to kill them as components of a single view of reality. The early Puritan leaders believed the Indians to be the godless dregs of humanity living without the benefits of a civil society and a unified culture. They firmly believed that the example of their fine community would make the Indians conscious of their own immorality and superstitious nature. By example, the Indians would be brought to Christianity.⁴⁷⁴

If, however, the Indians were reluctant to respond to the goodwill of the Puritans, other contingency plans were drawn up. According to the orders of John Winthrop, all men were to be trained in the use of firearms; Indians were prohibited from entering the Puritan towns; any colonist who sold firearms to the Indians or instructed them in their use would be returned to England where they would be severely punished. This instilled a siege mentality in the colonists which was to prove a pervasive factor in Indian-white relationships for the early history of the colony. When smallpox decimated the Indian tribes near the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1633, the Puritans considered it to be a "remarkable and terrible stroke of God upon the natives."⁴⁷⁵

Even though the Massachusetts Bay Colony's Charter provided for the conversion of the native people to Christianity, little effort was made towards that end. The Puritans did try to bring the Indians to civil government by making them strictly accountable to the ordinances which governed white behavior in Massachusetts. The smaller bands of natives close to the settlements were ill prepared to resist the political hegemony of the white settlers and did what was necessary to satisfy them. This allowed the white settlers to keep a close eye on neighboring tribes and allowed them to bring the Indians to court for transgressions of white law and to settle property disputes. This basically fitted in with the garrison mentality of the colony and allowed to assert its strength as a military/political force in the region.⁴⁷⁶

In 1636, the policy of martial law came into serious conflict with the political sovereignty of a native nation. The Pequots were a strong and aggressive people who had migrated to Southern New England in the century before English arrival. The Pequots and the English signed a peace treaty in 1634, but the murder of a slave trader named John Stone by two of his Pequot captives had provoked the English into demanding that Stone's killers be turned over to them for punishment. When another Englishman was killed by Narragansett Indians in 1636, the Puritan fathers decided it was time for war against the Indians of the Northeast. A combined force of Massachusetts and Connecticut soldiers marched into Pequot country and demanded the murderers, several thousand fathoms of wampum, and several Pequot children.⁴⁷⁷

The Pequots, still remembering how twenty-seven of their number had been carried off and sold into slavery by Thomas Hunt, refused to meet the English demands and responded with a show of force. After several months of skirmishing, the English and their Narragansett allies were able to surround a Pequot encampment of

⁴⁷²Morison, p. 65

⁴⁷³Segal, p. 35

⁴⁷⁴ibid.

⁴⁷⁵Nash, pp. 78-79

⁴⁷⁶Nash, p. 83

⁴⁷⁷Jennings, p. 214

noncombatants on the Mistick River in May 1937. On the evening before the English assault, a Christian minister by the name of Edwar Johnson urged the troops on to battle:

...now the Lord hath prepared this honor for you, oh you courageous soldiers of His, to execute vengeance upon the heathen, and correction among the people, to bind their kings in chains, and nobles in fetters of iron, that they may execute upon them the judgements that are written: this honor shall be to all His saints...Then march on with a cheerful Christian courage in the strength of the Lord and the power of His might, who will forthwith enclose your enemies in your hands, make their multitudes fall under your warlike weapons, and your feet shall soon be set upon their proud necks.⁴⁷⁸

The following day, the English and their allies surrounded the village with two lines of troops, and set fire to the Pequot village consisting largely of women, children, and the elderly. Captain Underhill, one of the leaders of the expedition described the results, "Many were burnt in the fort, men, women, and children. Others forced out, and came in troops to the Indians, twenty or thirty at a time, which our soldiers received and entertained with the point of the sword."⁴⁷⁹

The Puritan divines were pleased with the action and were assured that God had executed divine justice through the soldiers actions. Governor William Bradford of the Holy Commonwealth of Massachusetts wrote:

it was a fearful sight to see them thus frying in the fire and streams of blood quenching the same, and horrible was the stink and scent thereof; but the victory seemed a sweet sacrifice, and they gave praise thereof to God, who had wrough so wonderfully for them, thus to enclose their enemies in their hands and given them so speedy a victory over so proud and insulting an enemy.⁴⁸⁰

Two generations later, the Puritan divine Cotton Mather also waxed majestically over so glorious a victory, "in a little more than one hour, five or six hundred of these barbarians were dismissed from a world that was burdened with them."⁴⁸¹

When the Pequot warriors returned to their village from an expedition, their found only ashes and smouldering corpses of what had been their families. The Pequods attacked the English and Narragansett troops, but were hopelessly outnumbered. The demoralized and despairing Pequot were routed. They fled into the wilderness but were chased and executed by reinforcements from Massachusetts and Connecticut. Two hundred non-combatants surrendered to the Narragansett without a fight.⁴⁸²

The prisoners were brought back to the English settlement. Thirty of the men (largely elderly) were taken by "Charon's Ferry-boat" to the center of the harbor where they were tossed bound into the water. They were not kept because of an admonition in Leviticus that the heathen of the Land in which the Israelitish people dwelt were not to be enslaved, but only those "that were round about them;" they were to be exterminated.⁴⁸³ Of those women and children that biblical codes allowed to be enslaved, the Massachusetts soldiers were allotted forty-eight, the Connecticut soldiers were allowed to keep fifty. Captain Israel Stoughton of Massachusetts asked of the governor to be able to keep the "fairest and largest that I saw amongst them, to whom I have given my coate to cloathe her." Eighty of the Pequot were given to the Narragansett, who appeared to adopt, rather than enslave,

⁴⁷⁸Edward Johnson, "Every Faithful Soldier of Christ Jesus" in Segal, p.133

⁴⁷⁹John Underhill, quoted in Jennings, p. 223

⁴⁸⁰William Bradford, quoted in Nash, p. 85

⁴⁸¹Cotton Mather, quoted in Nash, p. 85

⁴⁸²Jennings, p. 225

⁴⁸³Lauber, p. 123

them.⁴⁸⁴ When the soldiers returned to the respective colonies, the Indian slaves were dispersed among the colonists. One of the those desiring an Indian slave was the Reverend Hugh Peter who was very particular about his wishes. He wrote to Governor Winthrop in 1637,

Mr. Endecot and myselfe salute you in the Lord Jesus, etc. Wee haue heard of a diuidence of women and children in the bay and would be glad to share viz: a younge woman or girle and a boy if you thinke good: I wrote to you for some boyes for Bermudas, which I thinke is considerable.⁴⁸⁵

As Reverend Peter requested, the male children among the Massachusetts captives were ordered by the Massachusetts general court in 1637 to be carried to the Bermudas by William Pierce to be sold as slaves. Captain Pierce, seeking perhaps a better price, carried the fifteen boys and two women to the West Indies, and disposed of on the island of Providence. It is possible that there were larger cargoes of Indians sent from the Company to Providence because of a letter from Providence in 1739 suggesting a extended exchange of "cannibal negroes brought from New England" for the Africans whose great numbers were posing a threat on the Island.⁴⁸⁶

One of the participants in the difficulties with the Pequots was an irascible young New Englander by the name of Roger Williams. Williams had gained some notoreity by denouncing the charter of Massachusetts as an encroachment upon the legal rights of the original inhabitants and owners of the land, the Native Americans of the Northeast. Williams argued that the land of New England could only be acquired through legal purchase from the Indians. These, and other ideas of some note regarding the separation of church and state, led Williams to be banished from the community because he had "broached and dyvulged dyvers newe and dangerous opinions, against the authorities of the magistrates."⁴⁸⁷

When the trouble with the Pequots arose, the authorities in Boston sent for Roger Williams who had taken refuge with the Narragansetts following his banishment from Massachusetts. The authorities urged Williams to intercede on their behalf and prevent the Narragansetts from forming an alliance with the Pequots. Williams was successful in his negotiations and, as evidenced above, the Narragansetts assisted the English in their war against the Pequots. In addition to sealing the alliance with the Narragansetts, Williams also provided valuable intelligence information regarding the numbers and movement of the Pequot to the English forces.⁴⁸⁸

At the conclusion of the Mystick massacre, Williams was with the Narragansetts when they accepted the surrender of the Pequots who had been driven into their midst by the Massachusetts and Connecticut soldiers. It was Williams who confirmed that the Narragansetts were not to enslave the Pequots:

I understand that it would be very gratefull to our neighbors [the Narragansetts] that such Pequots as fall to them be not enslaved, like those which are taken in warr; but (as they say is their generall Custome) be used kindly, have howses and goods and fileds given to them; because they voluntarily choose to come in to them and if not receaved will to the Enemie or turne Wild Irish themselves.⁴⁸⁹

⁴⁸⁴Olexer, p. 44

⁴⁸⁵Lauber, p. 310

⁴⁸⁶Lauber, pp. 124-125

⁴⁸⁷Jennings, p. 141

⁴⁸⁸Jennings, p. 213

⁴⁸⁹Roger Williams, quoted in Jennings, p. 226

Though Williams seemed to prefer the Narragansett method of adoption, he was not above accepting an Indian slave when it was apparent in 1637 that there were many to go around. He wrote to Governor Winthrop in 1637 requesting an Indian slave:

It having againe pleased the Most High to put into your hands another miserable droue of Adams degenerant seed & our brethren by nature, I am bold (if I may not offend in it) to request the keeping & bringing vp one of these children. I haue fixed mine eye on this litl one with the red about his neck, but I will not be peremptory in my choice, but will rest in your loving pleasure for him or any, &c. ⁴⁹⁰

It is not clear whether Williams request was acted favorably upon. Interestingly enough, not long after this letter Williams seemed to have a mild change of heart regarding Indian slavery. In a letter written two months later, Williams proposed the policy that Native Americans captured in war should be retained in involuntary servitude for short periods of time and then released.⁴⁹¹

The conflict with the Pequots led the Puritans to conclude that a more serious effort needed to be made to evangelize and civilize the Native Americans in their immediate vicinity, both for the Puritan's own safety and for the Indian's welfare. The increased contact that came about as a result of native slaves becoming part of the community placed the issue of the Indian's salvation in the forefront of the Puritan's attention. Even though the colony had been founded to spread the gospel among the Native Americans of the Northeast, very little effort had been made toward that "principall Ende of this Plantacion." In 1642, Thomas Lechford articulated this point, "there hath not been sent forth by any Church to learn the Natives language, or to instruct them in the Religion."⁴⁹²

In 1644, the General Court of Massachusetts ordered:

That the County courts should take care that the Indians residing in their several shires should be civilized, and that they should have the power to take order, from time to time, to have them instructed in the knowledge and the worship of God.⁴⁹³

In 1644, one of the most remarkable missions in American religious history was founded in Martha's Vineyard by Thomas Mayhew and his son. From the onset of the mission on the island, Indian property rights were respected and titles could only be attained through purchase from the indigenous people. Thomas Mayhew, Jr. was approached by Hiacoomes, a native of the island, who expressed an interest in Christian instruction. The younger Mayhew invited Hiacoomes to come to his home for conversation and study every Sunday night. Several years later, the public mission started with Hiacoomes, now baptised, as Mayhew's assistant.

The remarkable aspect of Mayhew's mission was that it was entirely voluntary on both sides. Indians came to the missionary and he went to them without either coercion nor material reward. In 1652, the converts drew up a covenant for a Christian community and after the Mayhews became confident of the quality of their converts, a church was organized in 1670. When the younger Mayhew was lost at sea in 1657, his father took over the missionary work. The elder Mayhew did not try to impose Christian civilization upon the Native Americans of the island, he allowed it to flourish within the social and political structures of the indigenous civilization and culture. Mayhew informed the Indians that he was in charge of the English population, but that he "would in no measure invade their Jurisdictions; but on the contrary Assist them as need required; that

⁴⁹⁰Lauber, p. 310

⁴⁹¹Lauber., p. 304

⁴⁹²Jennings, p. 230

⁴⁹³Dorchester, p. 174

Religion and Government were distinct things." ⁴⁹⁴ The results of Mayhew's approach were dramatic and converts and churches multiplied. Mayhew's religious outreach spread to Nantucket and even to the mainland.

⁴⁹⁵As Mayhew put it himself, "Thus in no long time, they conceived no ill Opinion of the Christian Religion."⁴⁹⁶

In Massachusetts, the excuse of evangelization of the Indians was used to justify an appeal for English donations to establish Harvard College so that "some of our godly active young schollars [would] make it there work to studie [the Indians] language, converse with them, and carry light amongst them." ⁴⁹⁷ Just as in Virginia, the money was used for other purposes than had originally been allotted. Though Harvard College was founded, there was little effort made in outreach to the Indians. Most of the money that was raised to educate missionaries to the Indians vanished or was put to use for other purposes.

When the vanquished of the Pequot were distributed among the colonists, one of those Massachusetts colonists receiving an Indian slave was a young man by the name of John Eliot. A young Indian from Long Island by the name of Cockenoe had the misfortune to be visiting Massachusetts at the time that the Pequots were rounded up and given out into slavery. He was captured and enslaved by Richard Callicot of Dorchester, a sergeant in the New England army. John Eliot acquired Cockenoe in 1643 from Callicot as a "servant," an ambiguous term which usually implied an Indian slave, to instruct him in the language of the captives. John Eliot initially saw his work as being an evangelist to the enslaved Indians of Massachusetts. ⁴⁹⁸

John Eliot preached his first sermon in the Massachusetts Indian language at Dorchester Mill on September 15, 1646. This first missionary outreach to the Indians in Massachusetts was largely a non-event; the Indians largely ignored Eliot's pleas for their salvation, "They gave no heed unto it, but were weary, and rather despised what I had said."⁴⁹⁹ The town magistrates, eager to prevent such an occurrence from happening again, passed a series of measures to encourage a positive Indian response to missionary outreach. They ordered an immediate acquisition of townships to encourage the Indians to live in an "orderly way" among the English; they enacted a General Court for the suppression of native religions making it a stiff fine to "pawwaw" and for the death penalty for those who blasphemed God, and they established a policy of selecting two missionaries from the community each year to work among the Indians. ⁵⁰⁰

The next time Eliot preached before a crowd of Indians, it was a much more responsive group. The local magistrates had selected a compliant minor figure by the name of Waban and had appointed him a *sachem* of great power and influence. Instead of reaching out to the Native American leaders who governed through traditional methods, the magistrates created a receptive audience for Eliot through their own devices. The selection of such "tribal" leaders as opposed to "traditional" leaders was to be an instrument that the government would use throughout the history of Indian-White relations. Waban, in return for power and status, mustered a congregation for Eliot and disciplined them to listen respectfully.

Eliot moved quickly to cash in upon his success. He and a commission of elders set about to establish "praying towns" similar to the *reserves* of New France where the Indians could be segregated from the unwanted influences of pagan adversaries, brought to a stable community, and reduced to civility. The "praying towns" attempted to make the Native Americans white men in red skin, following English methods of agriculture, praying

⁴⁹⁴Jennings, p 231

⁴⁹⁵Beaver, p. 33

⁴⁹⁶Jennings, p. 231

⁴⁹⁷Jennings, p. 233

⁴⁹⁸Jennings, p. 234

⁴⁹⁹John Eliot, quoted in Jennings, p. 239

⁵⁰⁰Axtell, p. 220

to the English God, and adopting English hairstyles, dress, and customs. The repudiation of indigenous culture was the price of admission to "civilization."⁵⁰¹

The first "praying town" was established in Natick in 1651 under Eliot's close supervision. Believing that the Indians could not be trusted without a "fixed condition of life," Eliot organized the building of large English style homes, a meeting house, planted orchards, and plowed fields. Eliot felt that the stability of a settled village provided the Indians with a measure of commitment which they could not easily abandon by fleeing to the woods. He also recognized the advantage of a centralized location for it gave the colonists "more in our power to Distress them...as we can revenge ourselves on their fixed habitations, & growing corn."⁵⁰²

Eliot's "praying towns," of which there were fourteen by 1670, became the model for the spiritual regeneration of the west which he envisioned in his work, *The Christian Commonwealth*. The "praying towns" were modeled upon an expression of theocracy so extreme that upon its publication in Boston, *The Christian Commonwealth* was burned in public. In the spiritual vision of John Eliot, there was to be no compromise with individual expression, political tradition, or cororate imperfection. Native leaders were chosen by the English and they enforced a code of conduct rooted in biblical law. All authority was surrendered to Eliot's missionaries who were the final word in interpreting the gospel for the Indian community.

Codes of conduct were established which quite often reflected not Biblical injunctions but English sensibilities. Strict punishments were enforced for idleness, long hair, nakedness, body greasing (a health practice), louse biting, fornication, polygamy, gambling, powwowing, and pride.⁵⁰³ Not only were the Native Americans molded in the English image, they were expected to pay a significant tithe to support their "praying town." In Massachusetts, the tithe amounted to a tenth of the Indians annual income in grain or labor. In Connecticut, the tithe for five shillings for every native American male above the age of sixteen.

One of the key elements of John Eliot's *The Christian Commonwealth* was an emphasis upon the value of labor. The main difference between Eliot's Indians and the pagan Indians was that they were christians; the most expeditious mechanism of displaying one's worth as a christian was a committed struggle against the vice of idleness. The Indians of the Americas were viewed as lazy because they did not work the land. Eliot sought to force his "praying Indians" to overcome this perception through arduous, afflictive, and obligatory drudgery. One of the main goals of the English "praying town" was to provide "incouragement for the industrious" and "meanes of instructing them in Letters, Trades, and Labours, [such] as building, fishing, Flax and Hemp dressing, planting Orchards, &c." ⁵⁰⁴

The English of New England, just like those of Virginia, sought to harness the power of the indigenous people to build a market economy in the New World just as the Spanish had done in New Spain. The New Englanders felt that the Indians would welcome their "gentle government" and emulate their "industrious" example. The problem with the Virginians, said the New Englanders, was that the Virginia Company had "sent the idle to teach the idle."⁵⁰⁵

John Eliot sought to reduce the Native American to civilization. His praying towns were the vehicle by which this goal would be accomplished. In his essay "From Indian to European," noted ethnohistorian James Axtell describes John Eliot's goals:

⁵⁰¹Nash, p. 117

⁵⁰²John Eliot quoted in Axtell, p. 141

⁵⁰³Axtell, p. 142

⁵⁰⁴Axtell, p. 158

⁵⁰⁵Axtell, p. 151

Setting the pace for those who followed, Eliot's goals were "to convince, bridle, restrain, and civilize" the Indians "and also to humble them." In describing their religious goals, the missionaries most commonly used the metaphor of placing such "heady Creatures" in the "yoke of Christ" and teaching them to "bridle" their savage instincts. In other words, becoming a Christian was comparable to assuming the posture and character of tame cattle-docile, obedient, submissive. Or, in another popular metaphor, their goal was to "reduce" the Indians' proud independence and godless self-reliance to the total dependence of a "weaned child." Since it was total, this dependence was at once political, social, and religious. In short, the Indians would become "civilized." The "savage" would give way to the "civil man" by repressing his native instincts, habits, and desires and quietly taking the political bit in his teeth and the religious yoke upon his neck. Thus, the meaning of the puzzling phrase. "to reduce them to civility," becomes clear.⁵⁰⁶

Once again, the line between evangelism and enslavement becomes clouded in a whirlwind of mixed motives and unmixed emotions. For the Indians of the "praying towns," the price of salvation was quite high. In the immediate future, it was to become even higher.

In 1670, Eliot began to use methods which fell even further in line with the Spanish colonialists and the mission system of the Southwest. Finding that "God put into the heart of the church to send some of their brethren to sundry parts of the country, to call in the countrymen to pray unto God,"⁵⁰⁷ Eliot sent forth Indian messengers as emissaries to the unbaptised nations. In a request to the New England Company, Eliot requested that "some charges in powder and shot" be provided "for their necessary defences in these times of danger." Eliot's armed "messengers and instruments" were sent into different parts of the Bay Colony to reach out to other nations and "to teach them the fear of the Lord." Eliot regarded the mission reservations as bases from which the praying Indians could be sent out to subvert the independent tribes. As Eliot's representative and fundraiser Daniel Gookin put it, "Religion will not consist with a mere receiving of the word... Practical religion will throw down their heathenish idols and the sachem's tyrannical monarchy."⁵⁰⁸

As Eliot and Gookin's "messengers and instruments" spread out among the independent tribes, the tribal leaders began to resent the missionaries work and came to see it as a threat to their survival. The rapid spread of the English throughout the colony pushed the Native Americans of the Northeast further and further southward and westward. The Narragansetts, who had assisted the English in their war against the Pequot, were disenfranchised following the assassination of their tribal leader and a brief war in which the soldiers were advised that the "booty you take or prisoners, whether men, women, or children...be kept and improved for the advantage of the colonies."⁵⁰⁹ More and more, the Indians found themselves forced with the choice of resistance or surrender to the predatory tide of English colonists and their accomplices, the "praying Indians." Knowing what surrender meant, the Native Americans of the Massachusetts and Connecticut began to choose resistance.

In 1675, the conflict began. It was triggered by the Puritan's hanging of three Wampanoag warriors for the murder of a Christianized Harvard-educated Indian who had warned the colonists that discontent was breeding among the Indians of Massachusetts. Metacom, the leader of the Wampanoags, tried to restrain his young warriors but they refused to face a lifetime of submission to an alien culture. They were also angered that so much had been sacrificed in order to accommodate the white invader, yet his thirst for land and people seemed unquenched. On the Puritan side, the New England Confederation had been formed in 1643 for "offence and defence, mutual advice and succour, upon all just occasions, both for preserving and propagating the truth, and the liberties of the Gospel, and for their own mutual safety, and welfare."⁵¹⁰ In addition, the Confederation provided "the whole

⁵⁰⁶"From Indian to European" in James Axtell, *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial America*. (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1981) p. 61

⁵⁰⁷Segal and Stineback, p. 147

⁵⁰⁸Daniel Gookin, quoted in Jennings, p. 248

⁵⁰⁹Lauber, p. 138

⁵¹⁰The New England Confederation in MacDonald, p. 95

advantage of the War whether it be lands, goods, or persons, shall be proportionally divided among the said Confederates."⁵¹¹ The English were looking for the opportunity to subjugate the last remaining powerful tribes in southern New England and to seize their land.

Metacom began a series of hit and run attacks on the colonists. Among the first Indians to side with Metacom were the Nipmucs who were the object of John Eliot's armed missionary endeavor. Every other "praying town" in the colony soon provided warriors for Metacom's army.⁵¹² Even James the Printer, the Native American who had helped print Eliot's translation of the Bible, joined with Metacom's forces. Old Jethro, a preacher trained by Eliot put on war paint and joined Metacom. He placed a sign at the bridge across the Charles stating, "Know ye by this paper that the Indians whom thou hast provoked to wrath and anger will warr these 21 years."⁵¹³ The Narragansetts, whom the colonists believed to be their allies, fell in with Metacom and the "hostile" forces.

Even though many, if not most, of the missionary Indians took up arms against the colonists, 60 of Eliot's supporters and more faithful converts became valuable allies with the colonists. Most of the "praying Indians" remained peacefully in their towns, even though this pacifism exposed them to attacks from hostile Indians and left them helpless before the wiles of the suspicious English.⁵¹⁴ Not all of the Eliot's Indians were gentle and Christian in nature. Refugees from the Second Puritan Conquest seeking refuge among the Iroquois carried with them the memory of the faithful among Eliot's converts hunting them down for the Puritans to slaughter. The memories of Puritan hostilities led many of the refugees to seek solace in the Catholic missions of Canada.⁵¹⁵ Captain Gookin believed that the praying Indians "turned ye balance to ye English side."⁵¹⁶

When the Second Puritan Conquest was over, the losses on both sides were immense. Samuel Morison referred to the battle of Great Swamp, which took on all the characteristics of the Mystick battle of the Pequot War, as "the toughest battle, not excepting Bunker Hill, ever fought on New England soil."⁵¹⁷ 2,000 Narragansett were either killed or burned to death in the swampy battlefield in Rhode Island. As Cotton Mather put it, they were "terribly Barbikew'd."⁵¹⁸ English losses were 80 men including 8 out of 14 company commanders, which Morison referred to as "severe" but "worth the cost." English losses throughout the war were estimated at 600-800 men. Half of the colony's 90 towns within the vicinity of the hostilities suffered from the torch, and more than a dozen were totally destroyed. The colonists spent 100,000 pounds on their defense.⁵¹⁹ The result of the war for the Indians was the virtual extermination of the Nipmuck, Wampanoag, and Narragansett people. The era of Indian strength in New England had been broken. A pattern established itself that would be replicated repeatedly throughout the history of Indian-white relations in the United States.

⁵¹¹ibid.

⁵¹²Segal and Stineback, p.147

⁵¹³Debo, p. 48

⁵¹⁴Bowden, p. 131

⁵¹⁵Jennings, p. 253

⁵¹⁶Debo, p. 48

⁵¹⁷Morison, p. 110

⁵¹⁸Olexer, p. 62

⁵¹⁹A.B. Hart. *Commonwealth History of Massachusetts Vol. 1* . (New York: States History Co., 1927) p.

As the New England Confederation provided for "the whole advantage of the War whether it be lands, goods, or persons, shall be proportionally divided among the said Confederates," the colonists set about disposing of their booty. By this time, the colonists were well accustomed to keeping Indians captives in service in their homes or selling them out of the country as slaves.⁵²⁰ The colonists executed older males, selling only the younger Indians of both sexes into slavery.⁵²¹ Early in the war, 178 Indians were put on a vessel from Plymouth and sent to Spain to be sold into slavery. In 1675, fifteen Indian slaves were sent to Boston (the major slave market for the northern Indians as Charleston was in the South) "tied neck to neck, like galley slaves."⁵²² During the years of the Second Puritan Conquest of 1675-76, the records of Plymouth show the sale of nearly 500 Indians into slavery.

The records of Massachusetts Bay Colony show similar activity. Slaves from the Boston market were shipped off to the Spanish West Indies, Spain, Portugal, Bermuda, and Virginia. In Massachusetts, blocks of as many as 200 Indians at a time were sent up for auction. According to a newly passed provision in Massachusetts law, the proceeds from the sale of Indian slaves would go to the commonwealth. Massachusetts law in 1675 allowed owners to brand Indian slaves to prevent their escape. The owners usually branded a symbol on the cheek or the forehead of the Indian with gunpowder and India ink to leave a combination of a brand and a tattoo.⁵²³

One of the more interesting records is a paper written by Daniel Gookin, John Eliot's emissary, in 1676. One item records "a list of the Indian children that came in with John of Packachooge." The list shows 21 boys and 11 girls who were distributed throughout the colony. One can only hope that these children were placed in Christian homes.⁵²⁴

The leaders of the Indian nations were given public executions in Boston and Plymouth. Their children and wives were sold into slavery. In 1677, this practice was codified into law; all children of those Indians who had been engaged in hostilities against the colony were to be at the disposal of their masters or their assignees. Chief Popanooie was sold into slavery in the West Indies, but his wife and child were kept as slaves in the colony. The law even went so far as to provide different punishments for the children of those who were captured and the children of those who surrendered. The children of those who surrendered were sentenced to slavery until they were 24 years old. Children of those captured could be held in bondage indefinitely.⁵²⁵

One of the more interesting discussions occurred around what should be done with Metacom's wife and children. Metacom was dismembered and his head placed atop Fort Saybrook, but a biblically based discussion grew up as to whether the son should be punished for the sins of his father. In a series of letters among the Puritan divines, the discussion ensued:

The question being propounded to us by our honored rulers, whether Philip's son be a child of death-our answer hereunto is, Thou we do acknowledge that the rule in Deut. 24. 16. ["The fathers shall not be put to death for the children, neither shall the children be put to death for the fathers; every man shall be put to death for his own sin"] is moral, & therefore perpetually binding, viz., that in a particular act of wickedness, though capital, the crime of the parent doth not render the child subject to the punishment, by the civil magistrate; yet, upon serious consideration, we humbly conceive that the children of notorious traitors, rebels & murderers, especially of such as have been principal leaders & actors in such horrid villainies, & that against a whole country, yea, the whole interest of God therein, may be involved in the guilt of their parents, & may, *salva republica*, be adjudged to death, as to us seems evident by the Scripture

⁵²⁰Lauber, p. 125

⁵²¹Weatherford, p. 140

⁵²²Lauber, p. 126

⁵²³Lauber, p. 261

⁵²⁴Lauber, p. 126

⁵²⁵Lauber, p. 128

instances of Saul, Achan, Haman, the children of whom were cut off by the sword of justice for the transgressions of their parents, although concerning some of those children it be manifest that they were not capable of being co-actors therein.

SAMUEL ARNOLD.
JOHN COTTON

Plymouth, September 7, 1676

I hope you have seen my letter to the Governor, if it had not been out of mind when I was writing I should have said something about Philip's son. It is necessary that some effectual course be taken with him. This makes me think of Hadad, who was a little child when his father, chief sachem of the Edomites, was killed by Joab & had not others fled away with him, I am apt to think that David would have taken a course that Hadad should never have proved to be a scourge to the next generation. [Kings II 17]
Your affectionate Brother,

INCREASE MATHER.

Boston October 20. 1676.⁵²⁶

As a biblically based solution to the problem was found and liberal consciences assuaged, the officials seized Metacom's wife and son and sold them for thirty shillings apiece in the West Indies.⁵²⁷

Rhode Island and Connecticut did not send slaves out of the country, but retained them for use in the colony. Connecticut suffered little of the battle to be fought on its own shore and thus its quantity of Indian slaves was limited. What Indians there were, including a seven year old child, were distributed without costs to the colonists. However, a provision was made in Connecticut whereby troublesome Indian slaves could be transported out of the colony. Rhode Island selected a commission, of which Roger Williams was a member, to decide what to do with the Indians received as part of the Second Puritan Conquest. They decided that the Indians could be sold into indentured servitude for a period ranging from 7 to 30 years. The proceeds from the sales of the "servants" would be for the colony.⁵²⁸

The colonists cleared out large new areas of land for themselves as a result of the Second Puritan Conquest and financed the operation by selling the indigenous people into slavery. By selling both the land and the Indians which occupied it, the colonists were able to finance another larger phase in the colonization of New England. The Indians could literally finance their own destruction as the colonists sold the victims of one campaign to finance the next one, each one pushing deeper into the heart of the Indian nation.⁵²⁹

John Eliot's Praying Indians fared no better than the population at large, even those who refused to take part in the uprising. The authorities ordered the Praying Indians of 14 towns to be concentrated in 5 towns "for their own security." The authorities confiscated the Indian's guns and forbid them to hunt. Hunger spread among the community. No Indian was to venture more than one mile from their wigwam without the company of an English person. If caught outside the village, "The Council declares that we are wholly innocent, their blood be upon their own heads."⁵³⁰ On October 13, 1675, the cruelest blow of all was struck:

⁵²⁶Segal & Stineback, p. 206

⁵²⁷Weatherford, p. 140

⁵²⁸Lauber, p., 129

⁵²⁹Weatherford, p. 141

⁵³⁰Ora Winslow, *John Eliot: Apostle to the Indians*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1968) p. 172

It is ordered, that all the Naticke Indians be forthright sent for, & disposed of to Deere Island, as the place appointed to their present abode...None of the Indians shall presume to goe off the saide island voluntarily, upon paine of death, and it shall be lawful for the English to destroy those that they shall finde stragglng off from the said places of their confinement, unless taken off by order of authority, or under English guard.⁵³¹

Deer Island was, in effect, a concentration camp. The Natick Indians, who have given up their very identity to become like the English, realized the unfathomable chasm that seperated them from what they were and what they wanted to be. They were rounded up, like the enemy, and placed under the charge of Captain Mosely, a known Indian hater. They were taken to Boston, hands tied behind their backs. From Boston, they were taken to Deer Island. It was winter. There were no shelters for them to live in. Provisions ordered by the court were slow to come. Nearly five hundred Indians endured the winter without adequate food, clothing, or shelter. By late Spring, the Natick residents were relocated to Cambridge. Less than 180 of the Natick residents were to survive to rebuild the Indian mssions following the war.⁵³² There were more than 4,000 Praying Indians before the onset of the Second Puritan Conquest.⁵³³

Eliot and Gookin prayed with their charges as they were taken away to their hamlet. They visited the miserable residents of Deer Island. Whenever, the Indians attacked a colonial settlement, the residents of Boston cried out "Let us go to Deer Island and kill every Praying Indian." One Indian leader was hanged simply on the basis of colonists saying they had seen him at an Indian assault.⁵³⁴ The slave markets of Boston had repelled Eliot as much as what he was now witnessing in the plight of his Praying Indians. He began to see the connection between those who would punish the Praying Indians and those who would sell their fellow humanity as chattel to support the the expansion of the commercial plantation's interests. He began to see the connection between what he himself had done, and what was being perpetrated in God's name by the colonists.

John Eliot was moved to speak out against the enslavement of the Indians. In a letter to the Governor and Council, he pleaded with them:

When we came, we declared to the world, & it is recorded, yea we are engaged by our letters patent to the King's Majesty, that the endeavor of the Indian's conversion, not their extripation, was one great end of our enterprise, in coming to theses ends of the earth. The Lord hath succeeded in that work...The light of the gospel is risen among those that sat in darkness, & in the region of the shadow of death...To send them away from the light of the Gospel, which Christ has graciously given them, unto a place, a state, a way of perpetual darkness, to the eternal ruin of their souls, is (as I apprehend it) to act contrary to the mind of Christ...To seel soules for money seems a dangerous merchadise.⁵³⁵

⁵³¹Winslow, p. 173

⁵³²Bowden, p. 132

⁵³³Winslow, p. 167

⁵³⁴Winslow, p. 176

⁵³⁵John Eliot, quoted in Segal & Stineback, pp. 204-205

Eliot was opposed to the sale of enslaved Indians for four main reasons; it would prolong the war by provoking the Indians to further hostilities, it was opposed to Christ's design, it removed them from the possibility of salvation, it was opposed to the letters patent that the King had given them. Eliot began to work against the enslavement of the Indians. He was able to redeem a family of Praying Indians who had been enslaved after the father had taken sides with the hostile Indians. In 1683, he was able to redeem a large number of Indian slaves who had been left in Algiers. The Indians were abandoned after the slavemaster had been unable to sell them because "former experience had proved their race to be unsatisfactory as slaves."⁵³⁶ In 1685, the second edition of John Eliot's Indian Bible was published. In 1690, John Eliot died.

Opposition to slavery did not begin with Eliot, nor did it end there. In the Northeast, Roger Williams had taken a provisional stance against slavery when Rhode Island sought limits on the time an Indian could be enslaved. In Rhode Island, the movement against the enslavement of Native Americans spread. In March of 1675, a town meeting in Portsmouth declared that holding Indian slaves might prove "prejudicial" and order that all persons holding slaves in the city sell them or face a fine. The "Liberal Party" was opposed to the enslavement of Indians during the Pequot War, and the Quakers fought against enslavement in the 1675-1676 war. On March 13, 1676, an order of the Rhode Island general assembly was given that "no Indian in this colony shall be a slave, as if they had been countrymen not at war."⁵³⁷ On another occasion, the general assembly of this progressive colony voted to send back a number of Indian slaves that Roger Williams had sent there.

As early as 1705, Samuel Sewall expressed a limited opposition to Indian Slavery. A Massachusetts law forbidding intermarriage between people of different races prescribed that the colored offender be sold out of the colony into slavery. Sewall interceded and Indians were dropped from the bill. The law that passed only applied to blacks and mulattoes.⁵³⁸

In 1729, Ralph Sandiford published an antislavery tract entitled "The Mystery of Iniquity in a Brief Examination of the Practice of Our Times." In his examination, Sandiford spoke out against:

this rottenness and hypocrisy that would introduce itself among the saints, whereby, as way marks, they lead many into the same corrupt practice which is contrary to the Principal of Truth, which is over the Heads of the Transgressors, that the Righteous in all Churches are undefiled with it, for their bodies are Temples of the Holy Ghost to dwell in, which they cannot defile with Babylon, who is Harlot from the Truth to feed upon the Flesh or receive nourishment from the blood of the poor Negro or Indian captive.⁵³⁹

Quaker Anthony Benezet spoke out against Indian slavery in a 1784 publication entitled "Some Observations on the Situation, Disposition and Character of the Indian Natives of the Continent." In his work, he referred to the kindness, hospitality, and generosity of the Indians toward the English in the early days of their encounter. Sadly, however, he noted, "The adventurers from a thirst of gain overreached the natives [so that the latter] saw some of their friends and relatives treacherously entrapped and carried away to be sold as slaves." Benezet was referring specifically to the actions of Captain Hunt, but they were an accurate reflection of the anti-slavery sentiment he expressed in this and other tracts.

⁵³⁶ Lauber, p. 127

⁵³⁷ Lauber, p. 151

⁵³⁸ Lauber, p. 205

⁵³⁹ Lauber, p. 306

Although there were anti-slavery statements from many of the prominent members of the Society of Friends, the enslavement of Native Americans was never specifically dealt with in any of its external proclamations. Although the position of the Quakers from the minutes of their yearly meeting was "that Friends do not buy or sell Indian slaves," the position was an issue of "caution not censure."⁵⁴⁰ Many of the members of the Society of friends held slaves, some Indian slaves. This, however, was a common practice among the elite of colonial society. The following leading colonists were known to own Indian slaves: Cotton Mather, Increase Mather, Reverend Brown of Haverhill, Rev. Thatcher of Milton, Rev. Callicot of Dorchester, Rev. John Eliot, John Winthrop, Daniel Gookin, Governor Berkeley of Virginia, Acting Governor Pollock of North Carolina, Governors Moore and West of South Carolina.⁵⁴¹

So many prominent English families owning slaves was an example of the widespread nature of Indian Slavery in the early colonies. With so many Africans and Indians in immediate contact with the wealthy and powerful, there came a recognition of the need for evangelism among the enslaved members of the prominent plantation. There needed to be a mechanism for the selection and cultivation of ministers who could work as missionaries among as the enslaved as well as those who lived as yet in "bondage to the Devil."

In 1649, that mechanism came into being under the auspices of the Long Parliament of the United Kingdom with the authorization of a missionary society. The Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England was enacted on July 27, 1649. Its purpose was to engage in that which "shall best and principally conduce to the preaching of the Gospel of Jesus Christ amongst the natives, and also for maintaining schools and nurseries of learning, for the better educating of the children of the natives."⁵⁴² Because of difficulties in England, the society was not chartered until April 1, 1661 under the name of The Company for Propagation of the Gospel in New England and the Parts Adjacent in America.

The New England Company, as it was called, set about raising funds for the missionary efforts of Eliot and the few others engaged in his trade. Small grants for salaries and allowances were made to missionaries, schoolteachers, and Indians evangelists. The guns and weapons for Eliot's Indian missionaries were financed by the Company. The largest single project was the production of the Eliot Indian Bible.

As there were no local administrators, the commissioners of the New England Confederation agreed to serve as a local board of references and action. Officers of the state government became the actual field directors of the mission. In 1658, the Governor of Massachusetts was chosen chairman of the commissioners.⁵⁴³ Therefore, many of the Commissioners of the Company which supported the missionary effort were also agents of the state who had a vested interest in the pacification of the natives. Many of them also owned Indian slaves. The Board remained active through the Second Puritan Conquest, therefore, many of the directors of the mission were also actively engaged in a war against the Indians. The war had a significant negative impact on the progress of the missions.

In 1723, a Northampton minister named Solomon Stoddard, the so-called "Pope of Connecticut Valley," raised the question as to "whether God is not angry with the company for doing so little towards the conversion of the Indians."⁵⁴⁴ In Scotland, the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge was formed to fund and educate missionaries to the Indians of the Northeast. The Society tried a number of missionary ventures, but they proved to be unsuccessful because the Indians were said to be too much under French influence.

In 1736, the combined efforts of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge secured a young graduate from Yale College by the name of John Sergeant as an instructor in a new missionary school. The General Court of Massachusetts purchased a tract of land along the Housatonic River and granted a township of six square miles to the Christian Indians. They named the township

⁵⁴⁰ Lauber, p. 308

⁵⁴¹ Lauber, p. 310

⁵⁴² Beaver, p. 37

⁵⁴³ Beaver, p. 39

⁵⁴⁴ *ibid.*

Stockbridge and the residents became known as the Stockbridge Nation. Sergeant secured four carefully selected English families and placed them in Stockbridge to serve as examples for the developing Indians.

Sergeant immediately moved to place some of the Indian children in Christian homes, but he found that they would not "stay long enough where I sent them, to obtain any good by it."⁵⁴⁵ So in January of 1738, he took twelve of the Housatonics and placed them in a bachelor's quarters, overseen by an Indian housekeeper. By 1741, Sergeant realized the need for an isolated setting where the children could be instructed apart from both the English and their traditional influences. He proposed a "Cahrity-House for the instruction of our Indian children, both boys and girls, in business and industry, as well as in reading and writing and matters of religion."⁵⁴⁶

Sergeant had very specific goals for his "Charity-House." His missionary goal was to change the Native Americans "whole habit of thinking," to "raise them as far as possible into the condition of a civil, industrious and polish'd people," to introduce into them the "principles of virtue and piety," and withal "to introduce the English language among them instead of their own imperfect and barbarous dialect,"⁵⁴⁷ He sought to build a boarding school along the lines of an "Irish Charity School" to remove boys between the ages of ten and twenty from the corrupting influences of their own indigenous culture. Under the tutelage of a study master and a work master, the Indian children would be broken of their congenital "idleness," "vicious habits," and "foolish, barbarous, and wicked customs." The whole enterprise would be supported by benefactors until it could become self sufficient, even profitable, by the fruits of Indian labor at stock-raising and farming.⁵⁴⁸ Stockton saw his vision of a "Charity-House" become a reality in the Summer of 1749. A few days later, he died of a nervous fever.

Sergeant had chosen a barely literate sixty year old army captain, farmer, and interpreter by the name of Martin Kellogg to take charge of his "Charity-School." Kellogg had come to Sergeant from Connecticut where he had received a special dispensation from philanthropist Isaac Hollis to educate twelve children of "heathenish" parents into Christianity. As we can assume that "heathenish" parents would seldom want their children to be educated as Christians, it might be safe to assume that these twelve boys of "heathenish" proclivities were Indian slaves. As soon as Sergeant came into contact with Kellogg, he realized that he had made a serious mistake. However, he died before he could solicit a different teacher.

In addition, Sergeant's widow Abigail Williams came from an auspicious and acquisitive family. Her father had parlayed a 150 acre placement at Stockbridge into a 1500 acre plantation by the time he left Stockbridge in 1553. Abigail sought to increase her wealth and status by going into the Indian education business, though under less moralistic commitments than her husband. Her father helped her to secure a significant grant from the general court to educate twelve Native American females "according to the plan of the late Reverend M. Sergeant."⁵⁴⁹ Ms. Williams was able to secure nearly two hundred pounds to begin her girl's school.

In 1750, Sergeant's position was filled by an aging Congregational minister by the name of Jonathan Edwards, a person of some stature recently driven from his post as minister in Northampton by some of Ms. William's kin. Though Mr. Edwards tenure at Stockbridge was a short one, it was to be a fruitful one for both himself and the "Stockbridge Nation." Rev. Edwards quickly discovered that Ms. William's plan for a school was a ruse to rob the public trust for her own personal profit. With the funds from the General Court of Massachusetts, Abigail and her husband, Joseph Dwight, had made improvements on the land. They hoped eventually to sell the parcel at a "high rate" of profit. In the meantime, Williams and Dwight had filled all of the positions at the supposed school with relatives.

⁵⁴⁵ Sergeant, quoted in Axtell, p. 198

⁵⁴⁶ Sergeant, quoted in Axtell, p. 199

⁵⁴⁷ Axtell, p. 199

⁵⁴⁸ *ibid.*

⁵⁴⁹ Axtell, p. 200

Edwards also found Kellogg to less than adequate for the needs of the foundling school. The was inadequate clothing, food, and shelter for the number of "students" that had been placed in the school. His educational methods were atrocious. Edwards found that the children could mouth phrases "but know not the meaning of the words and so have neither profit nor pleasure in reading, and will therefore be apt soon to lose even what they have learned."⁵⁵⁰ Edwards moved to have Kellogg dismissed in February 1752 and replaced him with an able master and Yale graduate by the name of Gideon Hawley. Ephraim Williams, jealous that Hawley had gotten the teaching job instead of his son, began to disrupt the educational process under Hawley. They placed their confederates in his school and fomented difficulties for Hawley. Williams and Kellogg set up a rival school. Finally, Hawley's school mysteriously burned to the ground with Hawley's possessions inside. On April 9, 1754, the General Court closed the school.⁵⁵¹ In 1757, Jonathan Edwards left Stockbridge to become the President of Princeton College.

Not long after the Stockbridge school closed its doors, the Reverend Eleazer Wheelock opened a free school for Indians at Lebanon, Connecticut. Wheelock, stunned by being deprived of his ministerial salary by the Connecticut legislature for "disorders in ecclesiastical affairs" stemming for the Great Awakening, sought to find another way of supplementing his income. He took several English boys his home to prepare them for college and to provide a means for himself to support his ministry. One of these young men was a young Mohegan from New London by the name of Samson Occom. Occom stayed with Wheelock for five years and became a model for the successful Christianization/civilization program that was the goal of the English evangelical effort. For Occom, his conversion paced him in the unfortunate position of accomodating himself to English society but realizing that there was no such place in the society for a person of his skin color. He returned to his native people and lived among them as a marginalized person.⁵⁵²

Wheelock was undeterred by Occom's lack of success and set himself full for a vocation in the "Indian Business." In 1754, receiving a grant of a small piece of land and several buildings, Wheelock established "Moor's Indian School" dedicated to the proposition that Indian preachers could spread the gospel more effectively among other Indians than white ministers. There were also practical considerations for Wheelock:

[we can see] God's displeasure against us...in permitting the savages tb be such a sore scourge to our land, and make such deperadations on our frontiers, inhumanly butchering and capturing our People, not only in time of War, but when we had good Reason to think (if we ever had) that we dwelt safely among them. And there is good reason to think, that if one half which has been for so many Years past expended in building Forts, manning and supporting them, had been prudently laid out in supporting faithful Missionaries, and Schoolmasters among them, the instructed and civilized Party would have been a far better Defence than all our expensive Fortresses, and prevented the laying waste to many towns and villages.⁵⁵³

Wheelock sought to convert the "savages" to Christianity by changing their way of life.

to commend to the savages a more rational and decent Manner of Living, than that which they are currently in, and thereby in time, remedy and remove that great, and hitherto insuperable Difficulty, so constantly complained of by all our missionaries among them, as the great impediment in the Way of Success of their Mission, viz. their continual rambling about, which they can avoid so long as they depend so much upon Fishing, Fowling, and Hunting for their support.⁵⁵⁴

⁵⁵⁰ Jonathan Edwards quoted in Axtell, p. 203

⁵⁵¹ Axtell, p. 204

⁵⁵² *ibid.*

⁵⁵³ Eliazer Wheelock, *A Narrative of the Original Design, Rise, Progress, and Present State of the Indian Charity School in Lebanon*. (Boston:Richard and Samuel Draper, 1768) p. 11

⁵⁵⁴ Wheelock, p. 15

Along with a Christian education, the male Indians at Wheelock's "Charity School" would be given training in "agriculture" "the use of tools," and "husbandry"; the women would be trained as "housewives, schoolmistresses, and tayloresses." He also sought to remove the Indians of their "deep rooted prejudices" against the English.

By 1761, Wheelock had accepted ten Indians from the tribes which had been decimated by the series of colonial wars of the Northeast. Wheelock's *Narrative* speaks of the acquisition of Indian students by using terms such as "obtained" , "were sent here," or "secured"; there is never a clear explanation of the exact process which would lead a Native American to go to Wheelock's school other than the desire to become like the English. Of the three Mohawk boys sent to Wheelock by Sir William Johnson, British Superintendent of Indian Affairs, one was sent home after becoming ill and the other returned home to be married. This was indicative of the progress Wheelock was to make in his Charity School. At the end of 1761, Wheelock lamented, " Few conceive aright of the Difficulty of Educating an Indian and turning him into an Indian but Those who undertake the Trial of it."⁵⁵⁵ Within a year, six of his young scholars were dead.

It is not difficult to understand why the Indians died as they did. Upon coming to Wheelock's school, they were obliged to eat English food, wash frequently with soap and water, wear English clothes, and to be educated in the Westminster Assembly's *Shorter Catechism*, the English alphabet and grammar, arithmetic, and the pastoral classics of ancient Greek and Rome in the original language. Wheelock saw his purposes as dual; he was to protect the English from the savages and to protect the savages from themselves. The easiest way to accomplish these goals was to turn the Native Americans into Englishmen. Faced with this prospect, many of the indigenous people died.

Wheelock also sought to teach the Native Americans in his school a "trade." In order to do so, much of their skills at "agriculture" and "husbandry" were learned at Wheelock's own farm. Quite often he lent out his charges in their spare time as "apprentices" to neighboring farmers and tradespeople. The indigenous women were sent to work with local women in order to learn "the female part." The Native Americans were displeased at their spare time being spent in farm chores. One of the student's parents became suspicious of Wheelock's motives:

I always tho't your school was free to the natives, not to learn them how to farm it, but to advance in Christian knowledge, which wear the chief motive that caus'd me to send him to you, when business lies heavy on you: but to work two years to learn to farm it, is what I don't consent to, when I can as well learn him that myself and have the prophet of his labor. ⁵⁵⁶

When Hezekiah Calvin, a Narragansett, decided to leave the employ of Eleazar Wheelock, he exposed the character of Moor's School:

...When I came frist to this school I understood that this school was for to bring up such Indians, as were not able to bring up themselves, but the doctor is to learn them to work, but I have been to work ever since I was able; and therefore if the doctor will let me follow my studys, I shall be thankful, as I understood with the doctor when I talked with him, that we must pay our own way, and if we should, what good will the charity money do the Indians, which was given to them, if we poor Indians shall work as much to pay for our learning, we can go some other pace as good as here for learning, if we are able to work and pay for our learning, and I say now wo unto that poor Indian or white man that should ever come to this school, without he is rich. ⁵⁵⁷

⁵⁵⁵Eliazer Wheelock, quoted in Axtell, p. 207

⁵⁵⁶ James McCallum, *Eleazar Wheelock: Founder of Dartmouth College*. (Hanover: Dartmouth College Publications, 1939) p. 86

⁵⁵⁷ibid.

Though Wheelock claimed that his "Grand Design" was a vocational program, it seemed that it was simply a ruse to get the master's chores done at no expense.⁵⁵⁸

Wheelock stated that his work program would "effectually remove the deep prejudices, so universally in the minds of the Indians, against their men's cultivating lands."⁵⁵⁹ He believed that if the Indians would take the gospel, then they would learn agriculture. Ultimately, their learning of agriculture would affect the Indians so that they "will need but a very small part, comparatively, of the lands which they now claim."⁵⁶⁰ For the women who were to learn house chores, they were given one day a week in instruction. The rest of the time was spent in labor learning the skills of a domestic worker. As James McCallum put it in his 1939 biography of Wheelock, the Indians "were not much better than servants."⁵⁶¹

If Wheelock's servants were not up to their tasks in "husbandry" or becoming a "housewife," then Wheelock was not above the application of corporal punishment. One of Wheelock's chief complaints was that the Indians had an aversion to his farm labors, and that such aversion called for the sting of the rod. In fact, one of the purposes that Wheelock located his school among the English was that he knew that the Indians "fondness of their children" was incompatible with his instructional methodology. In order to "humble them, and reform their manners," Wheelock felt the need to "correct, and punish them as I please." In 1772, the Onandaga council rejected Wheelock's request to educate their children. They let Wheelock know that they had seen the effect of Wheelock's "education" on the Iroquois who had been with him for ten years:

Brother, do you think we are altogether ignorant of your ways of instruction?...We understand not only your speech but your *manner* of teaching Indians...Brother, take care. You were too hasty, & strong in your manner of speaking, before the children and boys have any knowledge of your language. Brother, you must learn of the French ministers if you would understand, & know how to treat Indians. They don't speak roughly, nor do they for every little mistake take up the club & flog them."⁵⁶²

The intent of Eleazar Wheelock's "Grand Design" was neither lost among those to whom he apprenticed his students. The neighbors seemed to call the question on Wheelock's school and saw no need to pretend to higher motives. This caused great duress to Wheelock and he became reluctant to apprentice his Native American students. He resisted apprenticing his Indian boys because "their fellow Prentices viz. English boys will despise them and treat them as Slaves."⁵⁶³ Though Wheelock could construct an ideological apparatus to conceal the intent of his design, others could easily see through to its inner core.

Deep in Wheelock's theology was a dim view of human nature, which had been corrupted by Adam's fall, and a belief that the original sin, pride, must constantly be crushed in humanity to allow God's power to overcome human frailty. All of the Europeans saw the Indians as being particularly full of pride and in need of "reduction to civility," but the English were especially contemptuous of the native's pride. Wheelock sought to break the Indians of their "Insufferable pride" which he felt was to be the foundation of their resistance to English authority. When one of his charges got drunk and threw a temper tantrum, Wheelock found him guilty of "Pride of Heart" and subjected him to several lashes in order to "humble and tame him." In 1767, he dismissed two Mahawk

⁵⁵⁸ Axtell, p. 209

⁵⁵⁹ Eleazer Wheelock, quoted in Axtell, p. 209

⁵⁶⁰ Eleazer Wheelock, quoted in Axtell, p. 208

⁵⁶¹ McCallum, p. 89

⁵⁶² Axtell, p. 209

⁵⁶³ Eleazer Wheelock, quoted in Axtell, p. 210

Indians from his school because he found them "too proud, & litigious to consist with the Health and well-being of the school."⁵⁶⁴

In his heart, Eleazar Wheelock chose to see little difference between the Indians which were his charge and the African slaves which were among his property for most of his life. Wheelock possessed a racial attitude that placed native Americans on a level with the Africans that were being imported into the colonies as slaves. Wheelock even referred to his Indians as his "black" children, and especially doted on his "black son" Samson Occom. He saw his mission as pertaining to the "Black Tribes" which existed on the frontier.⁵⁶⁵ His message and his *manner* was not lost upon those whom he was instructing. Joseph Johnson, one of his students, referred to himself as "a Dispicable Lump of Polluted Clay, as is inclosed in this tawny skin of mine." On another occasion, he corresponded with Wheelock as "your ignorant pupil, and good for nothing Black Indian."⁵⁶⁶ Hezekiah Calvin, the Narragansett who had spread "slanders" against Wheelock's school, was last seen in prison for "forging a pass as a Negro."⁵⁶⁷

In the end, Wheelock abandoned his "Grand Design." In a letter to the Boston Board of the Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, he admitted, "If the Design is to educate only a few that shall be qualified, to be Missionaries, Schoolmasters &c.... We Apprehend Indians will not be so proper for these Purposes, as persons selected from Among the English."⁵⁶⁸ He sent his Indian students home and prepared to move to Hanover, New Hampshire to found a college for English missionaries which was to become Dartmouth College. God, he told his English benefactors, had convinced him that "Indians may not have the lead in the Affair, till they are made new [spiritual] reatures." Their "Sloth," "want of stability," and "doleful apostacy" made them incapable of God's gifts.⁵⁶⁹ They were suited for purposes other than evangelism.

Jonathan Edwards Jr. was born in Northampton, MA. a few years before his father was to assume responsibilities for John Sergeant's Stockbridge Nation of Indians. Edwards grew up among the Mohegan Indians of Stockbridge and spent as much time with them as with the English, perhaps more. He described his youth among the Indians of Stockbridge:

The Indians being the nearest neighbors, I constantly associated with them; their boys were daily my school mates and playfellows. Out of my father's house, I seldom heard any language spoken, besides the Indian. I knew the names of some things in Indian which I did not know in English; even all my thoughts ran in Indian.⁵⁷⁰

The elder Edwards encouraged his son's associations with the Mohegans of Stockbridge because he wanted to support his son's preparation for future missionary work. Edwards, himself, was not only a missionary in Stockbridge, but was one of the first in the English colonies to work against the commercial exploitation of Native Americans that lie at the root of the "Indian business." In 1755, Edwards sent his ten year old son to live in an

⁵⁶⁴Axtell, p. 211

⁵⁶⁵Axtell, p. 212

⁵⁶⁶Joseph Johnson, quoted in Axtell, p. 212

⁵⁶⁷Axtell, p. 212

⁵⁶⁸ibid.

⁵⁶⁹ibid.

⁵⁷⁰Jonathan Edwards, Jr. quoted in Robert Ferm, *Jonathan Edwards the Younger, 1745-1801*. (Grand Rapids, Erdman's Publishing Co., 1976) p. 15

Iroquois settlement, Onohoquaga, with the young missionary Gideon Hawley. Obviously, the elder Edwards viewed his son's experiences among the Native Americans of the Northeast as a positive one.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Reverend Jonathan Edwards, Jr. had secured a comfortable and esteemed position as pastor of The First Congregational Church in New Haven Connecticut. He was also one of the leading figures in the missionary movement of New England. Edwards and his coworkers were recruiting Protestant ministers to work among the indigenous people of the expanding Western Frontier. When the Massachusetts Missionary Society was formed by New Divinity men in 1799, Edwards was given primary responsibility for the communities on the "frontier."

With their missionary work among the Indians, the pastors undoubtedly came into contact with Indians who were working as "servants" or slaves in English homes. In 1774, the Governor of Connecticut reported that there were nearly 1500 Indians in the colony, and that most of them dwelt with English families. Indian slavery had been outlawed by this time in New York, South Carolina, Rhode Island, and Virginia, but in Massachusetts and Connecticut slavery was not forbidden until the mid-nineteenth century.⁵⁷¹ Missionaries who worked among the Indians also came into contact with African slaves who shared their plight and began to recognize the importance of working with the entire slave population.

In addition, some pastors such as Jonathan Edwards Jr. came to realize that slavery was an abomination to society and inconsistent with the Christian ideal. If, indeed, Edwards still thought as an Indian, then he must have experienced slavery as one who was both English and native. He recognized the inescapable network of mutuality that tied him to the slave, the African as well as the Indian. He must have also realized the tremendous cost of enslavement, not just upon the poor souls trapped in an unjust and inhuman system of degradation, but the impact of slavery upon a society that called itself Christian.

In 1791, Jonathan Edwards, Jr. preached a sermon before the "Connecticut Society for the Promotion of Freedom, and for the Relief of Persons unlawfully holden in Bondage" entitled, *The Injustice and Impolicy of the Slave trade and Slavery* in which he lashed out against the institution of slavery. He analyzed all possible justifications for slavery; after demolishing them he insisted, on theological and political grounds, that freedom for all persons in bondage was required by humanity.⁵⁷² He stated, "To steal a man or rob him of his liberty is a greater sin, than to steal his property, or to take it by violence."⁵⁷³ Slavery itself was an abomination, not only because of the cruelty of its application, but because it was contrary to "the law of nature...and the law of God." It was devastating to the people because it negated all arguments for the morality of the colonial enterprise, discouraged industry, promoted indolence, and encouraged pride and racial superiority. Nothing in the Bible could be seen as justification for this evil and pernicious affliction. In conclusion, Edwards challenged his listeners and his community, "Every man who cannot show, that his negro hath by his voluntary conduct forfeited his liberty, is obligated immediately to manumit him."

Jonathan Edwards, Jr. spoke for the abolition of Negro slavery, but he spoke before an audience dedicated to the freedom of all persons. By the end of the 18th century, there were probably very few Indian slaves left, but Edwards had lived and thought as one who had been enslaved. Eleazar Wheelock lumped Indian and Black together a species doomed by "sloth," "want of stability," and "doleful apostacy," and condemned them to a life of subhuman bondage. Jonathan Edwards, Jr. lived as one, came to appreciate the plight of another, and worked to obliterate the oppression of all. In a vision that transcended human differences, he came to see that evangelism was not a mechanism of enslavement, it was an instrument of liberation. For three hundred years, missionaries envisioned enslavement as a useful instrument for the conversion of heathens, who even as Christian slaves were better off than their pagan brothers and sisters. Only through the voice of one whose mind had lived as an "other" could we understand that "other" who had so long ago spoken to us:

⁵⁷¹Lauber, p. 295

⁵⁷²Ferm, p. 94

⁵⁷³Jonathan Edwards, Jr. quoted in Ferm, p. 94

The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has annointed me to preach good news to the poor.
He has sent me to proclaim release to the captives and recovering sight to the blind, to set at liberty those who are oppressed, to proclaim the acceptbale year of the Lord.

Luke 4:18-19

Conclusion: Into the Nineteenth Century

David Brion Davis in his Pulitzer Prize winning work *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* offers us three defining characteristics of the slave: their person in the property of another person, their will is subject to their owner's authority, and their labor is obtained through coercion. A slave's status does not depend on a particular owner, and is not limited by time or space. Finally, the condition is hereditary and ownership of the person is alienable.⁵⁷⁴ Later in the same discussion, he argues for the difficulty in establishing a precise definition of slavery:

The word "slave," even when confined to Negroes, hardly had the same meaning when applied to fieldworkers, drivers, and trusted household servants; a similar variation on the condition of individual slaves can be found in most societies. The terms "servant," "bondsmen," and "slave" have often been accepted as synonyms; without overstatement, Catherine the great referred to the seigniorial peasantry of Russia as slaves, not serfs. No single definition has succeeded in comprehending the historical varieties of slavery or in clearly distinguishing the institution from other types of involuntary servitude.⁵⁷⁵

As we have looked at the colonial missionary expeditions of the European invaders of North America, we are also plagued by the problem of definition. We must face the range of activities from the pure and simple enslavement of the Spanish conquistadors to the subtle "vocational" education that became a dominant aspect of the English colonial enterprise. We are also left with the problem of the French Jesuit "flying mission" and its process of inculturation which doesn't seem to fit into the paradigm at all. How do we draw the line between that which is evangelism and that which is enslavement?

There is the problem of definition. Yet, at the root of the European missionary enterprise there are some universal themes and common mechanisms which provide a strong enough affinity to the slave trade to warrant examination. Davis's definition of slavery is very important to this analysis: the slave is the property of another person, the slave's will is subject to their owner's authority, and slave's labor is obtained through coercion. Finally, there is the conditionality of the slave's existence.

⁵⁷⁴Davis, p. 31

⁵⁷⁵Davis, pp. 34-35

The fundamental element in the relationship between the European and the indigenous person of the Americas is the European's belief in their innate divinely endowed superiority to the "savages" that they encountered. Renaissance explorers were sure of the existence of an eternal and immutable principle that guaranteed the intelligibility of their relations to each other and to their world and thus made possible their life in society. There is the natural superiority as was articulated by Sepulveda in his debate with Las Casas, "Those, therefore, who are as much inferior to others as are the body to the soul and beasts to men, are by nature slaves...He is by nature slave...who shares in reason to the extent of apprehending it without possessing it." ⁵⁷⁶ Father Hennepin, the French Recollect considered the Native Americans as "miserable, dark Creatures" whose "extremely stupid" faculties placed them "a prodigious Distance from God."⁵⁷⁷ Governor William Bradford described the New World as "a hideous and desolate wilderness, full of wild beasts and wild men."⁵⁷⁸

In Bradford's analysis, we see the European attitude toward the native people in a succinct and clearly defined ideology. The people of the New World were to be considered part and parcel of the land on which they roamed. They were no different than the wild beasts and were to be broken and domesticated as such. Though they had a human soul which showed the possibility of redemption, they were by definition a lower form of life. They could be captured; they could be bought and sold; they could be owned. They could also be slaughtered. It was Columbus who spoke of "seven head of women, girls and adults," as if the people he encountered were no more than cattle. The indigenous peoples of the Americas became a commodity upon which the colonial enterprise was built.

That the Europeans considered the native people to be little more than the ground on which they stood allowed the Popes and the Kings to pass edicts and laws which gave the Europeans the right to own and control lands and peoples which under other circumstances might be considered as sovereign nations. The fact that to this day we refer to these peoples as tribes, a definition of biological origin, as opposed to nations is an indicator of how deep this pathology runs. In colonial times, property rights to the New World were given to the English, the French, the Spanish, the Portuguese, the Dutch, et. al., by such proclamations as the Bull of Pope Nicholas V which gave Spain:

free and ample faculty...to invade, search out, capture, vanquish, and subdue all Saracens and pagans whatsoever, and other enemies of Christ wheresoever placed, and the kingdoms, dukedoms, principalities, dominions, possessions, and all movable and immovable goods whatsoever held and possessed by them and to reduce their persons to perpetual slavery, and to apply and appropriate to himself and his successors the kingdoms, dukedoms, counties, principalities, dominions, possessions, and goods, and to convert them to his and their use and profit.⁵⁷⁹

If the Pope showed a preference toward certain nations, then Kings such as Henry VIII would simply assert their own power over and against the Papal claims and would engage in military exercises to secure their property rights in the New World. If this were not sufficient, then the colonists themselves would develop their own compact, charter, or confederation to assert their rights to the "property" of the New World.

In a unilateral declaration of universal intent, the colonists declared the peoples of the Americas to be property to be owned, controlled, or disposed of, at the European invader's convenience. If the first aspect of Davis's definition of slavery is that the slave is the property of another person, then the proclamations of Popes, Kings, and colonists declared the native people to be their property. Whether the native people were owned by God, the Holy Catholic Church, the Holy King or Queen, the priests or missionaries, or simply God-fearing

⁵⁷⁶Aristotle quoted in Todorov, p. 152

⁵⁷⁷Louis Hennepin, quoted in Axtell, p. 53

⁵⁷⁸Bradford, p. 96

⁵⁷⁹Bull Romanus Pontifex, p. 23

Christians, they were considered to be property. To the extent that the missionary endeavor sought to subjugate the natives and build a commercial or religious enterprise upon their back, then the missionary effort was also an exercise in enslavement. If the missionary effort gave support to the enslavement of Native Americans either by creed or example, then it was an instrument of oppression in the worst sense. Every practice which was to be the bulwark of the American institution of slavery was developed in the missionary enterprise to the Native Americans. Long before the plantations of the South became infamous for their dealings in the property of human flesh, the church had given slavery in the Americas its imprimatur and established plantations of their own. The delineation between a secular plantation and a holy one was become one largely of semantics.

If having one's will subject to their owner's authority is Davis's second defining characteristic of slavery, then there is ample evidence to support that the Native American missionary subject's will was subservient to the master's orders. Behind the Spanish Catholic priest's order stood the force and might of the military establishment; the *requerimiento's* mandate spelled out clearly that if the Native American's did not submit themselves to the Spaniard's will, they would (and did) face disastrous consequences. As Las Casas described it in his *Devastation of the Indies*:

Their aim, they said, was to subject the people to the King of Spain, who had commanded them to kill and to enslave. And the Indians who did not obey stupid messages and would not put themselves in the hands of the iniquitous and ruthless Christians would be considered rebels unwilling to serve His Majesty. And their argument was set down in letters addressed to our lord the King. And the blindness of those who ruled the Indies prevented them from understanding that in the King's laws is expressed the following: that no one is or can be called a rebel if, to begin with, he is not a subject of the King. The Christians (who know something of God and of reason and of human laws) should realize how astounding all this is to simple people, living peacefully on their lands and who have their own chiefs, to be told by the Spaniards of a new Spanish ruler never seen or heard of before, and that if they do not subject themselves to that King they will be cut to pieces. *It makes their hearts stand still, for they have seen from experience that this will be done.* And the most horrifying thing is that the Indians who do obey are placed in servitude where with incredible hard labor and torments even harder to endure and longer lasting than the torments of those who are put to the sword they are finally, with their wives and children and their entire generation exterminated.⁵⁸⁰

Even into the mission system of California in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, the same general principles applied. Those who refused to follow the Father's orders were ruthlessly whipped, placed in stockades, or put into prison. Those who were less than diligent in their sacred or secular duties faced the same consequences. Janitin, the old Kamia Indian captured and placed in a California mission, described the results of resistance to the Spanish missionaries will:

One day they threw water on my head and gave me salt to eat, and with this the interpreter told me that now I was Christian and and that I was called Jesus: I knew nothing of this, and I tolerated it all because in the end I was a poor Indian and did not have recourse but to conform myself and tolerate the things they did with me.

⁵⁸⁰Las Casas, *Devastation of the Indies*, pp. 64-65

The following day after my baptism, they took me to work with the other Indians, and they put me to cleaning a milpa [cornfield] of maize; since I did not know how to manage the hoe that they gave me, after hoeing a little, I cut my foot and could not continue working with it, but I was put to work pulling out the weeds by hand, and in this manner I did not finish the task that they gave me. In the afternoon they lashed me for not finishing the job, and the following day the same thing happened as in the previous day. Every day they lashed me unjustly because I did not finish what I did not know how to do, and thus I existed for many days until I found a way to escape; but I was tracked and they caught me like a fox; there they seized me by lasso on the first occasion, and they carried me off to the mission torturing me on the road. After we arrived the father passed along the corridor of the house, and he ordered that they fasten me to the stake and castigate me; they lashed me until I lost consciousness, and I did not regain consciousness for many hours afterwards. For several days, I could not raise myself from the floor where they had laid me, and I still have on my shoulders the marks of the lashes which they gave me then.⁵⁸¹

In hearing this account, we must remind ourselves that this is not a Mississippi plantation, but a California mission. The price of admission to the beloved community was not solely the total rejection of one's cultural inheritance, it was total submission to a "higher" authority.

This total submission was not just an outstanding characteristic of the Spanish Catholic missionary effort, it was a critical element in all European missions. The Jesuit *reserve* at Sillery maintained strict codes of accountability enforced by a severe set of sanctions for transgressions of the Jesuit established codes of conduct. The Recollect Father Louis Hennepin put it quite succinctly, "Until Christians are the absolute masters of the Indians, missionaries will have scant success without a very special grace of God."⁵⁸² The English captain John Smith sought to emulate the Spanish effort by forcing "the treacherous and rebellious infidels to doe all manner of drudgery work and slavery for them."⁵⁸³ The Pilgrim mission in the New World was to:

with Boldness goe on to the settling of soe hopefull a Work, which tendeth to the reducing and Conversion of such Savages as remaine wandering in Desolacion and Distress, to Civil Societe and Christian Religion, to the Inducements of our own Dominions, and the Advancement of the Fortunes of such of our good Subjects as shall willingly intresse themselves in the said Employment,⁵⁸⁴

One of the chief mechanisms by which the Indian's will would be subjugated to that of the Europeans would be the inculcation of European and Christian values as would be expressed in institutions for the control and instruction of the native people. The towns of "praying Indians." and the schools for native children such as the Virginia experiment and Wheelock's "Charity School" provided fixtures which sought to transfer external control to internal motivation. These institutions used a system of forced conversion, catechism, and labor to break the Indian's will and render them useful tools in the emergent capitalist enterprise. They were not taught to be free thinking, creative, and self sufficient individuals as our modern ideology would have us believe to be the goals of the missionary educational enterprise; they were taught to be docile servants, domestic workers, and models of the European archetype of "civilized" behavior.

⁵⁸¹Peter Nabokov, ed. *Native American Testimony: A Chronicle of Indian-White Relations from Prophecy to the Present, 1492-1992*. (New York: Viking Press, 1992) pp. 59-60

⁵⁸²Louis Hennepin, quoted in Axtell, p. 53

⁵⁸³John Smith, quoted in Morgan, p. 77

⁵⁸⁴Patent for the Council of New England in MacDonald, p. 25

