The Mirror of the Indian

With an Address
The American Indian: Incorrigible Individualist

by Edmund S. Morgan
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and narratives of travel and other documentary sources in Spanish, French, and English, accompanied by drawings and engravings of North America from the 15th to 19th centuries.
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An Exhibition of books and other source materials by Spanish, French, and English historians and colonists of North America from the 16th throughout the 18th century

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The Address

ANYONE who reads very far in the voluminous literature of the American Indian is likely to be impressed by the variety of the peoples described and exemplified. When Columbus opened the New World to Europeans, it was inhabited by men who lived under the most widely differing conditions. The number of these men was not great; current estimates range as low as eight or nine million for the whole of North and South America, with perhaps less than a million for the territory currently occupied by the United States. But every part of the New World was inhabited. Men were living in the arctic wastes of Hudson's Bay and in the tropical jungles of Central America, on the plains and in the mountains, in coastal swamps and desert basins.

Though we have given them all a single name, Indians, it is obvious that people existing under such divergent conditions must have displayed many different ways of life. You cannot behave the same way in Alaska and in Panama. New Mexico demands a man something different from what New England does. It is no surprise, therefore, to find Indians in many different stages of what we commonly call civilization. Some tribes were farmers, others hunters. Some lived in stone houses, others in wigwams. Some wove cloth and made their clothes of it; others dressed in animal skins; and still others did not dress at all. Many of these differences were clearly the result of the natural environment: of the climate and the character of the land. It quickly becomes apparent, however, to anyone who looks closely at the Indians, that their variety is not simply a matter of adaptation to different habitats.

What are we to make, for example, of the bewildering number of Indian languages? Linguists today recognize some 160 of them, with 1200 or more distinct dialectic subdivisions. One would not suppose there were that many different habitats. It would appear that many Indians were unable to talk to their near neighbors. Actually, it seems that most of them did not want to. Even the Indians who spoke a single language were apt to be divided into a host of independent tribes, each one usually numbering no more than a few hundred individuals, who looked
on all the others as undesirable aliens. In many places the tribes were in a state of open and continuous warfare.

Much of the variety displayed by the Indians might therefore be described as political in origin, a result of centuries of living in small, isolated units. This multiplicity of tribes, added to differences of habitat, will go a long way toward explaining Indian variety, but there is still another kind of difference, the source of much debate among anthropologists, and that is the tremendous variation in physical appearance and conformation. The Indians not only behaved differently and lived differently: they actually were different in the physical characteristics by which anthropologists have sought to differentiate the races of mankind.

I am aware that some anthropologists deny altogether the existence of different races among men, but there are many who occupy themselves with classifying people by shape of head, color of skin, length of jaw, and so on. When these scientists approach the American Indian, they find a greater variety of types than exists within the entire range of persons called white. It seems to be agreed that Columbus was not very far off in calling them all Indians, because they probably all came from Asia originally, by way of the Bering Straits, but the variety of physical types suggests that they did not all come at the same time or from the same place. The progenitors of some may have lived for a long period in the Far East. Others may have originated elsewhere and simply passed through Asia. Some may have come 10,000 years ago, others 20,000 or more. Most of them show characteristics of Mongolian origin, but in vastly different degrees. The late Professor Hooton observed that many Indians bore a close resemblance in facial appearance to eastern Europeans. He also found, by examination of skulls which predate the discovery of America by Columbus, that some early Americans also had features resembling those of the Australian bushmen; and still others showed traces of African Negro ancestry. His conclusion was that America had been subject to at least two invasions by way of Bering Straits, the first one by a people whose ancestry included a blend of Mediterranean, Australoid, and Negro blood, and the second one by people who were predominantly Mongoloid in origin.

Other anthropologists have constructed other explanations of how and when the different racial types got here, but all agree that the American Indians were many different peoples. America was apparently discovered and settled more than once before Columbus arrived. The variety of languages and cultures, then, may be not merely the product of time and

local circumstance operating on a single people. Instead we may be dealing with people who from the beginning have differed widely.

In view of this overwhelming diversity, one may well ask whether it is at all profitable to speak, as I have proposed to do, of the American Indian. My first impression, after surveying the books before us, was that there was no such thing as the American Indian and that one would do well to stop talking as though there were. But upon closer reading and further reflection, it was borne in upon me that, during the period when most of the books were being written, the manifold peoples we call Indian did exhibit one remarkable characteristic in common: almost without exception they refused to be absorbed in the superior civilization offered them by the people who have appropriated the name "American", the people who settled the eastern seaboard of the United States and from there pressed westward to the Pacific. For our purposes it will avoid confusion if we call these invaders the English Americans. The Indian refused, during the period we are concerned with, to become an English American. The history of most other invasions during historic times shows invaders and invaders mingling together, the one absorbing the other, or the two joining to produce a composite civilization. The very Englishmen who became Americans were the product of many different mixtures that had resulted from the successive conquests of England by Anglo-Saxons, Romans, Danes, and Normans. The invasion of America had no such result; the Indian refused to mix. One might have supposed that among the many different tribes, some would have joined the invaders and others not, but this was not the case. The Indians were almost unanimous in preferring their own way of life to that of the new arrivals. And for the historian this is perhaps the most important single fact, the fact that justifies considering the Indian in the singular instead of the plural.

Of course, part of the Indian's refusal to mingle must be blamed on the English American: it was a failure to absorb as well as a failure to be absorbed. The French in Canada, though they never really assimilated the Indians, came closer to it than the English Americans. The Frenchman lived with the Indian, married his women, taught him to say prayers, and was able to bring a fair number of savages into a moderately French manner of living. The Spaniard was still more successful, though perhaps because he was dealing with a different, and for the most part more technologically advanced, set of Indians. The Spaniard was able to devise colonial institutions that incorporated these Indians. Often, to be
sure, he incorporated them as slaves, but slavery can be an effective, even though a crude and cruel, way of absorbing another people. Perhaps, then, the trouble lay with the American rather than the Indian. It will be worth examining briefly what kind of efforts the Americans made to absorb the people whose territories they invaded.

Absorption, if successful, would undoubtedly have meant, first of all, Christianization. The English Americans considered Christianity to be the most important single advantage of their civilization over the barbarism of the Indians. To convert an Indian to a Christian would be to convert him in the most important possible way, from a savage to a civilized man. To undertake this task was the announced purpose of many English settlers in coming to America, and there were a number who stood fast in their intentions after arriving here. The number was small, in comparison with those deployed by the Spaniards and the French, but the measure of success achieved was even smaller. The French and Spanish enrolled hundreds of Indians in the Catholic Church for every one claimed by English Protestants.

The reason, according to the English, was that the French and Spanish missionaries were content to set the savages to kneeling, kissing the cross, and reciting a few unintelligible prayers. English Protestantism, and especially the Puritan brand of it, demanded a higher standard of piety. The Indian must not only say the right words; he must know what they meant. This evidently proved an insuperable obstacle to the Puritan missionaries. It was either impossible to make the Indian understand Puritanism, or if you did get him to understand, to make him like it. A succession of notable men from John Eliot to Jonathan Edwards labored long and hard in the attempt but with pitifully small results.

By rights, the efforts of the Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel should have been more successful. This organization, founded in 1701, had powerful backing and did send numerous missionaries to New England during the eighteenth century. Unhappily they were diverted from the task of converting the Indians by an extraordinary occurrence at Yale College. In 1722 the rector of Yale (the title then given to the President) had been reading a lot of recent Anglican books that he had unwiseiy allowed to be deposited in the college library. The result was that he and a number of the neighboring ministers converted themselves to Anglicanism. They announced the fact at the Yale commencement, to the consternation of the trustees and the rest of the assembled dignitaries. When the rector of Yale, founded to preserve Congregational orthodoxy, could convert himself to Anglicanism, it looked as though all New England must be ripe for the harvest. The Yale trustees speedily fired the rector, but the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel saw their chance and turned from converting Indians to converting Puritans.

Even had the Society persevered, as it did in other parts of America, there would probably have been no appreciable increase in the number of Indian converts. It was not that the Indians were intolerant or bigoted. They were quite willing to listen to stories about the Englishman’s God, but they showed a surprising indifference to the rewards and punishments that He was said to dole out. Henry Timberlake, a lieutenant serving with British forces in the Carolinas during the French and Indian War, says of the Cherokees that in religious matters everyone of them felt “at liberty to think for himself,” with the result that a great diversity of religious opinion existed amongst them. Timberlake tells of the efforts of a Reverend Mr. Martin to convert this tribe. Martin, he says, having preached “till both his audience and he were heartily tired, was told at last, that they knew very well, that, if they were good, they should go up; if bad, down; that he could tell no more; that he had long plagued them with what they knew not, and that they desired him to depart the country.” It was this attitude that led Benjamin Gale of Connecticut, at about the same time, to say that he would as soon undertake to convert a wolf as an Indian, unless the Indian were first civilized.

Gale, of course, was begging the question. Christianity was the major part of the civilization that had to be imparted to the Indian. But many Americans took the same view, that Christianization should not be attempted until the Indian became familiar with other aspects of civilized life. How then was he to gain this familiarity?

The method most commonly suggested in the colonial period was to send him to college. By passing through the purifying rigors of Harvard, Yale, Brown, or Dartmouth, the uncouth Indian would begin to look and think like an Englishman. If even a few could be persuaded to undergo this experience, they might then go back home and set the fashion for their countrymen. One of the essential steps in this collegiate method was to get the Indian indoors. If you could put him inside a house and shut the windows, he might begin to act the way other people do who live inside and sleep on beds. This possibility seems to have captured the imagination of Englishmen in the mother country who wished to contribute to the ultimate salvation of lost Indian souls. At least we find that enterprising college presidents of the seventeenth and eighteenth
centuries were able to carry on successful money-raising campaigns in England in order to build dormitories for the prospective Indian students. Unfortunately college education proved even less palatable to the Indian than Christianity. When it was possible to get an Indian boy to go to college, it would not be long before he cut his classes and lit out for the hills. Those who stayed behind seldom survived, and when they fell victims to collegiate food and overheated rooms, their parents showed an unreasonable disposition to blame the president. As a result, the buildings were quickly turned over to deserving English American boys, who could stand the strain of college life. The Indian stayed in the woods.

Another possible method of bringing civilization to the Indian was marriage. This was a mode in which, of course, the French excelled. A study of the relations between French and Indians in eastern Canada shows that the Indian girls became so eager for French husbands that they jilted the Indian boys in a wholesale manner and upset all the traditional patterns of tribal behavior. The English frequently told themselves to go and do likewise, but either they lacked the skill of the French in these matters, or else their hearts were not in it. The English government in 1749 went so far as to offer £10 and 10 acres of land in Nova Scotia to any Englishman who married an Indian girl or any English girl who married an Indian man. But few couples appeared to claim the reward.

When Englishmen travelled among the Indians on trading, or surveying, or hunting expeditions, they frequently accepted the hospitality of the Indians. And since the Indian notions of hospitality were generous, the guest was frequently provided with one of the comelier maidens of the tribe. Sometimes these light-hearted unions proved of more than passing duration, but if so the children of the couple usually grew up as Indians. John Lawson, himself a surveyor in North Carolina, tells us in his account of that province, that the Indians there regarded children as belonging to their mother, and therefore, he says, "it ever seems impossible for the Christians to get their Children (which they have by these Indian Women) away from them." On the other hand, he says, "we often find, that English Men and other Europeans that have been accustomed to the Conversation of these Savage Women and their Way of Living, have been so allured with that careless sort of Life, as to be constant to their Indian Wife, and her Relations, so long as they lived, without ever desiring to return again amongst the English, . . . of which sort I have known several." It seems altogether probable that marriage was an avenue along which English Americans went native more often than Indians became civilized.

The Frenchman married the Indian; the Spaniard enslaved him. If the Englishman could not pursue the French method with enthusiasm, he was more assiduous in the Spanish one. Warfare has generally provided the justification for slavery. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the victorious party in a just war—and what war is not in the eyes of the victor?—thought himself entitled to enslave his captured enemies. On this basis the settlers of America enslaved any Indians who made unsuccessful war against them. But the Indian was as unwilling to accept this blessing as any other the white man offered him. It was a fact that Indians did not make good slaves: they were too unruly. That fact did not prevent the English Americans from enslaving them. The Puritans of New England were as ready to do so as the planters of South Carolina. But neither in New England nor in South Carolina did people want to keep Indian slaves. Instead they packed them aboard ships and sold them in the West Indies like so many wooden nutmegs. And lest this traffic should recur upon themselves, the people of Massachusetts passed a law prohibiting the importation of Indian slaves, on the grounds that Indians were all "of a malicious, surly, and revengeful spirit, rude and insolent in their behaviour, and very ungovernable." Thus the enslaved Indian found no home among his captors, and slavery did not prove a successful means of introducing Indians into American civilization.

Christianity, education, marriage, and slavery—all were pressed upon the Indian, with varying degrees of enthusiasm. All except marriage he rejected, and in marriage he generally won the upper hand. In the end the only part of the white man's civilization he would accept was its material goods. He knew at a glance that guns were better than spears or arrows, iron hatchets than stone tomahawks, cloth than fur. He also thought that rum was simply wonderful. Each of these things he cheerfully appropriated and fetched beaver skins for the Englishman in order to purchase them. In so doing he had to alter many of his traditional ways and devote himself more and more to trapping beaver, less and less to his customary handicrafts, but he managed to subordinate the new products to his own ends. Guns and hatchets were useful weapons to defend him against his enemies, perhaps including the men who sold them to him. Cloth was only a more manageable and uniform kind of fur. Even
rum he used in his own way, which was to keep drinking as long as the supply lasted and as long as he remained conscious. He refused absolutely to feel guilty about it. Instead he made it a matter of principle when sober to excuse any offense committed by a man who was so fortunate as to be drunk. The Indian thus appropriated the materials of the English and used them in his own way. He was not lured into the white man's civilization by them.

If, then, the English American did not exert himself as much as he might have to assimilate the Indian, the fact remains that the Indian showed an extraordinary resistance to whatever efforts were made, an extraordinary refusal to accept the manners and methods of a people who were obviously more powerful than he. And we find this ingratitude among Indians of every kind, among Westos and Creeks, Iroquois and Algonquians. Diverse as these different tribes may have been, they all possessed some quality that made white civilization unattractive to them.

One must, therefore, look beyond their apparent diversity and seek the common element or elements in their ways of life, the elements that led them to reject so firmly the opportunities of white civilization. If we read the early accounts with this purpose in mind, one fact immediately presents itself: the early observers were all struck by the unusual kind of government that the different tribes practised. Europeans were accustomed to governments that claimed an absolute authority. Among the Indians absolute governments did develop in South and Central America and in a few parts of North America, but most of the tribes encountered by the English Americans lived in a state that might be described as orderly anarchy. Each tribe had its own customs, which exercised a powerful influence on the members, doubtless much more powerful than European observers realized, but the heads of the tribes, the chiefs or sachems, seem in most cases to have had no coercive authority. The Indian's resistance to white civilization was not organized and directed from above by powerful rulers, for Indian rulers were not powerful, in fact were scarcely rulers at all.

James Adair, a trader who lived among the southern Indian tribes for many years in the eighteenth century, has left us an illuminating account of their government. There was no such thing among them, he says, as an emperor or a king. Their highest title signified simply a chief, and "the power of their chiefs," according to Adair, "is an empty sound. They can only persuade or dissuade the people, either by the force of

good-nature and clear reasoning, or colouring things, so as to suit their prevailing passions. It is reputed merit alone, that gives them any titles of distinction above the meanest of the people."

Henry Timberlake, whose memoirs I have already quoted, was familiar only with the Cherokee Indians. Of them he says, "Their government, if I may call it government, which has neither laws or power to support it, is a mixed aristocracy and democracy, the chiefs being chosen according to their merit in war, or policy at home." Timberlake gives an interesting example of the helplessness of tribal government to control any member, even in matters of great importance. It seems that a number of British soldiers in the garrison at Fort Loudon on the Tennessee River had taken up with some of the local Cherokee girls. Later, when the Cherokees besieged the fort (in the French and Indian War), the girls proceeded to bring food daily to their former lovers. The chief naturally forbade this breaking of the siege, but the girls, says Timberlake, "laughing at his threats, boldly told him, they would succour their husbands every day, and were sure, that, if he killed them [meaning the girls], their relations would make his death alone for theirs:"

Lewis Evans tells us of the Indians in Pennsylvania, "that there is no such thing as coercive power in any Nation: nor does the government ever interfere between party and party; but let every one he judge and Executor in his own Case."

Even among the Iroquois, who appeared to have the most powerful government of all the eastern Indians, the authority of the chiefs rested only on public opinion. Cadwallader Colden in his history of the Five Indian nations that made up the Iroquois, says, "Each Nation is an absolute Republik by its self, govern'd in all Publick Affairs of War and Peace by the Sachems or Old Men, whose Authority and Power is gain'd by and consists wholly in the Opinion the rest of the Nation have of their Wisdom and Integrity. They never execute their Resolutions by Compulsion or Force upon any of their People."

If we turn from the eighteenth century to the nineteenth and from the Indians of the East to those of the Great Plains, we find the same observations. George Catlin, a Pennsylvania portrait painter, was so enthralled by the sight of a group of Indians who visited his studio in Philadelphia that he packed up his paints and brushes and headed for the Far West. There on the banks of the Missouri and the Yellowstone and the Columbia he lived for eight years among the Indians. That was in the 1830's when the only other white men on hand were a few far
traders and soldiers, before the slaughter of the buffalo drove the Indians off the plains. Carin recorded his experience in hundreds of paintings and drawings and in a remarkable book.

He knew the Mandan and the Manatane and the Sioux and the Comanchee and the Flatheads and dozens of other tribes, knew them intimately and described the peculiar customs and characteristics and physical appearance of each. But he observed that the governments of all the tribes were much the same, under the leadership of a chief. This chief, he observed, "has no control over the life or limbs, or liberty of his subjects, nor other power whatever, excepting that of influence which he gains by his virtues, and his exploits in war, and which induces his warriors and braves to follow him, as he leads them to battle—or to listen to him when he speaks and advises in council."

In war as in peace, discipline imposed from above was at a minimum. Indian warfare was carried on mostly by small parties, among the eastern tribes seldom more than ten together. The leader of such a group had no more authority than the other members chose to allow him, and in the actual fighting it was every man for himself, each seeking to outdo the others in the fury of his attack. Indian warfare was not a pretty thing, no matter how one looks at it: no atrocity was too great for the Indian to commit against his opponent. Women and children were as fair game as men. But the object of war was as much to display the power and courage of the individual as it was to destroy the enemy.

The absence of coercive government, together with the horrendousness of Indian warfare, may suggest that Indian life was, as Hobbes would have maintained, nasty, brutish, and short. If we may believe the testimony of eye witnesses, the opposite was true: the Indians who move through the pages of the early accounts display an extraordinary dignity and decorum. They appear very much indeed like the noble savages of fiction.

Nowhere is this more evident than in a body of literature composed by the Indians themselves, the Indian treaties. The Indians, of course, did not actually write the treaties, for they did not know how to write. Like other illiterate peoples they relied heavily on their memories. And in order to establish so important an event as a treaty in the tribal consciousness, they did their peace-making in an impressive ceremonial manner. The records of these ceremonies, taken down by white observers, were so beautiful, so moving, and withal so aesthetically satisfying, that colonial printers brought them out in pamphlet form for sale.
It remained for Lawrence Wroth to write the first appreciation of this new art form and to gather for the John Carter Brown Library one of the great collections of Indian treaties. Some day I hope some of them will be reprinted with his superb essay as an introduction.

In the treaties we begin to get a glimpse of what contemporary writers meant when they said that the authority of the chiefs depended solely on merit and persuasive powers. The stature and eloquence of the Indian sachem at the council table speak strongly to us even at this distance in time and circumstance: a chief who relied solely on persuasion may not have been altogether helpless among men who valued dignity at a high rate. And if we look at the everyday life of the everyday Indian, we may see that it was not merely the chiefs who had dignity. For men to live together in the absence of coercive government, even in so small a unit as a tribe, it was necessary that every man maintain a barrier of dignity around himself and respect the same barrier in others. John Lawson says of the southern Indians, "They never fight with one another unless drunk, nor do you ever hear any scolding amongst them. They say the Europeans are always railing and uneasy, and wonder they do not go out of this world, since they are so uneasy and discontented in it." Robert Rogers, who knew only the northern Indians, says much the same of them: "if any quarrels happen, they never make use of oaths, or any indecent expressions, or call one another by hard names." Indians were not long on conversation, and white guests used to find their silence quite unnerving at times. When they did speak, courtesy required that it be in a low voice. They spoke so low, in fact, that Europeans found it difficult to hear what they were saying, while the Indian was often obliged to ask white visitors if they supposed him to be deaf. No matter how angry he might be, an Indian never raised his voice.

Obviously not all Indians were faultless, even by their own standards, but when any one of them violated the customs or mores of his tribe, the treatment he received either from the chief or from the offended party was calculated to shame, rather than force, him into reform. In some tribes the most deadly weapon of authority seems to have been sarcasm. If a man was thought guilty of theft, for example, he might be commended before a large audience for his honesty. If he ran away from the enemy in battle, he would be praised for his courageous actions, each one of which would be related so as to bring out his cowardice. Adair says "they introduce the minutest circumstances of the affair, with severe sarcasm which wound deeply. I have known them to strike their
delinquents with those sweetened darts, so good naturally and skilfully, that they would sooner die by torture, than renew their shame by repeating the actions."

The whole Indian mode of government was designed to emphasize the dignity of the individual. The same emphasis may be found elsewhere in Indian life. The Indian was so fond of his dignity and so proud of his ability to sustain it by strength of character alone, that he completely discounted the props by which the European supported his. The Indian lacked entirely the European's respect for worldly goods. In Europe, and indeed in most of the world, the acquisition and possession of riches constitutes the ultimate basis for social esteem. We may think it better to be born rich than to become rich, but in our society wealth has seldom been thought a handicap. Among the Indians, on the other hand, there existed a deliberate indifference to wealth, an indifference that could sometimes be infuriating to the white man.

Consider, for example, the Puritans of Massachusetts, who in 1643 were trying to take under their protection a group of Narragansett Indians. The immediate object was a land grab, to get the Indians' land away from Rhode Island, but Massachusetts felt obliged to conduct the transaction in such a way that the Indians would appear to be receiving a favor. Since Christianity was the greatest favor a white man could confer on a savage, the authorities of Massachusetts undertook to instruct the Indians in the Ten Commandments. There is no record of what was said about coveting neighbors' lands, but Governor Winthrop noted in his journal the Indians' response to the fourth Commandment: Will you agree, the men of Massachusetts inquired, not to "do any unnecessary work on the Lord's day?" To which the Indians replied, "it is a small thing for us to rest on that day, for we have not much to do any day, and therefore we will forbear on that day."

The Indian was not only lazy; he was proud of his laziness. The settlers observed this fact at the beginning and never forgave him for it. But those observers who saw the Indian in his tribal life and made some attempt to understand him, knew that his unwillingness to labor for riches was something more than mere laziness. Rather it was the result of a genuine scorn for the riches of this world, to which the Puritans themselves were constantly professing their own indifference. The Indian could afford to scorn riches and to shun the industry necessary to acquire them, because in his society it was the man that counted, not what he owned. The observers are surprisingly unanimous in their statements on this subject. Let me give you a few of them. Robert Rogers, speaking of the northern Indians: "Avarice, and a desire to accumulate... are unknown to them; they are neither prompted by ambition, nor actuated by the love of gold, and the distinctions of rich and poor, high and low, noble and ignoble, do not so far take place among them as to create the least uneasiness, or excite the resentment of any individual; the brave and deserving, let their families or circumstances be what they will, are sure to be esteemed and rewarded." John Lawson, of the Indians of Carolina: "... they are a People that set as great a Value upon themselves, as any sort of Men in the World, upon which Account they find something Valuable in themselves above Riches. Thus, he that is a good Warrior is the proudest Creature living; and he that is an expert Hunter, is esteemed by the People and himself; yet all these are natural Virtues and Gifts, and not Riches, which are as often in the Possession of a Fool as a Wise-man." James Adair: "Most of them blame us for using a provident care in domestic life, calling it a slavish temper: they say we are covetous, because we do not give our poor relations such a share of our possessions, as would keep them from want..."

Among the Indians, wealth was not merely a matter of indifference. It was, in fact, something to be avoided by anyone who prized himself on his merits. According to Cadwallader Colden, the chiefs of the Iroquois nations were generally poorer than the common people. For in order to attain their eminence they had to demonstrate their indifference to worldly goods by giving away all the presents and plunder they obtained from friends or enemies. "If," says Colden, "they should once be suspected of Selfishness, they would grow mean in the opinion of their Country-men and would consequently loose their authority."

It may be that some of the observers I have quoted were idealizing the Indian. Perhaps you will think that they rationalized laziness into a virtue. Yet it was a laziness that Henry Thoreau also practised: like the Indian, Thoreau was too busy being himself to spend his time in pursuit of wealth. And if my chroniclers idealized the Indian, they were idealizing something they had seen themselves. Most of them had lived among the Indians and knew what they were talking about. Indeed the man who knew the Indians most intimately was the one who has given us the noblest savages of all. George Catlin found in the Indians of the Far West all the attributes that our earlier observers discovered in the eastern tribes. "I have watched," says Catlin in the florid prose of his day, "the bold, intrepid step—the proud, yet dignified deportment of Nature's
man, in fearless freedom, with a soul unalloyed by mercenary lusts, too great to yield to laws or power except from God. As these independent fellows are all joint-tenants of the soil, they are all rich, and none of the steepings of comparative poverty can strangle their just claims to renown. Who (I would ask) can look without admiring, into a society where peace and harmony prevail—where virtue is cherished—where rights are protected, and wrongs are redressed—with no laws, but the laws of honour, which are the supreme laws of their land? Here, in the other remarks by other eye-witnesses about other Indians, we have a series of characteristics which most Indians of North America seem to have shared.

These common characteristics, I believe, indicate that Indian ways of life in North America, however diverse, all produced men who attached the highest possible value to the individual. Indeed the diversity of Indian life was fostered and encouraged by this very exaltation of the individual. Men who valued individual freedom so highly would not create any large or effective political organization of their own, nor would they be content to live under one created by white men. They preferred their own small and ineffective organizations, preferred them because they were small and because they were ineffective. They were individualists, insistent and incorrigible.

I do not mean that the Indian was possessed of some mysterious essence to which we can give the name “individualism”. I use the word merely to tie together the different aspects of Indian life that we have been examining. They all add up to a single quality which has been given various names. The Massachusetts General Court, for example, as we have seen, called it “a malicious, surly, and revengeful spirit.” But the more positive epithet of “individualism” will also apply.

By whatever name we call it, and however it was produced, this quality was pre-eminent among the Indians of North America, and it may help us to understand not only why the Indian refused to join us but also why we have admired and hated him for his refusal. The Indian in his individualism displayed virtues to which Americans, and indeed all Christians, have traditionally paid homage. An indifference to the things of this world, a genuine respect for human dignity, a passionate attachment to human freedom—these are virtues we all revere. We should be flattered, I think, if someone said of us that: “the great and fundamental principles of their policy are, that every man is naturally free and independent; that no one... on earth has any right to deprive him of his freedom and independency, and that nothing can be a compensation for the loss of it.” But these words were not written about us or our ancestors. They were written about the Indians (by Robert Rogers) and published eleven years before the Declaration of Independence.

They fit the Indian better than they fit us. The Indian therefore is both a challenge and an affront to us. We see in him what we might be if we carried some of our avowed principles to their logical conclusions. And what we see is disturbing. For we do not wish to be like the Indian. We do not wish to see our nation disintegrate into a thousand petty republics; we do not wish to be so free that no superior authority will make us behave. Nor do we intend to abandon whatever riches we have laid up in this world. It may be as difficult for a rich man to enter heaven as for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, but most of us would welcome a chance to make the attempt. And so we are irritated, annoyed, and even infuriated by men who exhibit our values better than we do but who at the same time are savages—barbarians.

I do not suggest a mode of accommodation. We do not in fact have room for such incorrigible individualists within our civilization. And yet that civilization will have been impoverished beyond repair if the time ever comes when we cannot admire the Indian in his diversity, his dignity, and his insubmissiveness, more than he ever had reason to admire us.
The Mirror of the Indian: An Exhibition

Fundamental in the study of the American Indian is the concept of racial and cultural difference existing between the aboriginal inhabitants of different sections of the Continent. The forest or plains Indian of America north of Mexico, on the one hand, and, on the other, the Maya, builder of the great palaces and temples of Yucatan, had almost nothing in common beyond a far-off Asiatic origin. Virtually forgotten for centuries, the Mayan civilization was effectively recollected to the minds of men only in the mid-nineteenth century when John Lloyd Stephens—American lawyer, traveller, writer, and transportation executive—made a laborious and painful, but none the less memorable, exploration of the decayed cities of Yucatan. Accompanying him was the English artist, Frederick Catherwood, who stirred the interest of an incredulous world with his pictures of scenes like the "General View of Palenque", taken from his book of 1844, *Views of ancient Monuments in Central America*.


A rich assemblage of works of Indian linguistics has been sedulously made by the Library in its long period of collecting. The most notable of its possessions in this field (important to the anthropologist, the historian, and the ethnologist as well as to the student of languages) is the Maya-Spanish and Spanish-Mayan Dictionary compiled by Antonio de Ciudad Real. This transcript of the lost original was made in the last quarter of the sixteenth century in the Franciscan convent at Motul, a city of Yucatan. The "Motul-Mayan Dictionary", as our unspectacular manuscript is designated, has been described by A. M. Tozzer in his study, *A Maya Grammar* (Cambridge, 1921), as "the most famous of all Maya extant dictionaries" and, further, as "indispensable for the student who is working on the translation of old Maya texts."

JUAN DE TOVAR. Historia de la Benida de los Yndios apolinar a Mexico de las partes remotas de Occidente... *Manuscript*, illustrated in colors. *Circa 1583-1587.*

Underlying the account of the Aztecs found in the *Acorra Historia* (see next entry) and an important source for the Torquemada *Monarquías Indias* (see below) is the Historia de la Benida de los Yndios, composed in the period 1583-1587 by Father Juan de Tovar, a Jesuit of Indian birth. Though drawn upon by
these and other historians, the Tovar Historia itself was not printed in full until 1578. The Kleeer-Phillips-John Carter Brown codex of the Historia, a manuscript of great distinction, contains 29 drawings in color, illustrations of the first interest in the history of the Aztecs and in the iconography of the American Indian. It has been suggested on good grounds that this is the copy of his manuscript which Tovar gave Acosta for use in composing his general history of the Indies. The volume contains, also in manuscript with 22 colored illustrations, a separate section in which the Christian and Aztec calendars are coordinated. This calendrical addition to the manuscript was reproduced in uncolored facsimile in 1951 by the Connecticut Academy of Arts & Sciences with comprehensive introduction and notes by George Kuhler and Charles Gibson under the title, The Tovar Calendar. In addition to the unique calendrical section, the codex contains also the only known contemporary version of Tovar’s letter to Acosta explaining the origin of the work and the nature of the Aztec sources upon which it was based, an informative essay in American historiography. All three manuscripts are, almost certainly, in the hand of Tovar himself. (See Plate 1.)

JOSE DE ACOSTA. Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias… Seville, 1599. [4]

The Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias of the Jesuit historian, José de Acosta, first published at Seville in 1590, was translated within a few years into Italian, French, Dutch, German, and English. Acosta’s account of the native races of America is basic because of his own knowledge and observation and his fortune in having access to sources of high reliability such as the Tovar Historia described in the preceding entry. Acosta was one of the earliest writers to look at the Indian with the eyes of historian as well as anthropologist.


The annual recurrence of the seasons suggested to the early Mexicans the analogy of the circle and led them frequently to the use of that geometrical form in the construction of calendars. In the language of later years, calendars of this sort became “wheel calendars”. The Library’s well-known wheel calendar, called the “Boban Wheel” because of its former ownership by the French antiquarian, Eugène Boban, was painted on Mexican fibre paper sometime in the second half of the sixteenth century. The contents of the work affirm the height in calendrical science to which the Aztecs had attained at the time of the Conquest. The production of native artists working in a mixed Aztec-European tradition, the “Boban Wheel” is an example of primitive American art of considerable consequence. Through the purchase of this historic document a few years ago the Library rescued it from a century of neglect and careless usage.


One of the Library’s unusual manuscripts, remarkable for the pimitivism of its painting and the sophistication of its handwriting, is called the “Coyoacán Codex” because of its close relationship to the Mexican town of Coyoacán or to a smaller town in the Coyoacán area. It was written in European script in the Nahualt language of the Aztecs and illustrated in color by Indians instructed in writing and drawing by Spanish missionaries. The material of the leaves is Mexican fibre paper made from the bark of the fig tree. The text deals with local rights and privileges in relation to administration. The date of the book may be as early as 1545. The drawings in color are among the earliest attempts at representational painting of persons and landscapes made in America and, in many details, they must be thought of as highly successful attempts.

BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS. [caption title:] Este libro compuso el Reverendissimo Don frai Bartholome de las casas obispo de Chiapa… Manuscript, in a sixteenth-century hand. [7]

Bartolomé de las Casas, the Dominican missionary who became Bishop of Chiapa in Mexico, was not only a most important historian of the periods of Discovery, Exploration, and Conquest but also the impassioned friend of the Indians. His protests against the treatment of the natives gave rise to what Spanish apologists have called the “black legend” in Latin-American history. One of the Library’s important codices, contemporary or nearly contemporary, contains two treatises of Las Casas on the subject of Indian rights, that is, “Tratado de Tesauris”, and “Las Doce Dudas.” These treatises were the culmination of the Bishop’s attack upon the actions of his countrymen in the New World. They were presented to Philip II in 1565, about a year before the death of their author.

LEYES Y ORDENANÇAS nuevamente hechas por su Magestad, para la governacion de las Indias y buen tratamiento y conservacion de los Indios… Alcalá de Henares, 1543. [8]

Many of the Las Casas protests against the treatment of the Indians by the conquisadors and their immediate successors were published in a series of tracts issued in 1552. Before these tracts had come into print, however, Las Casas had effected through Charles V legislation designed to relieve the Indians of the oppressive encomienda system. The Leyes y Ordenanzas, published at Alcalá in 1543, contained a set of laws later designated in English the “New Laws of the Indies.” Their humane provisions were not accepted in Mexico and Peru.
The attempt to impose them in Peru brought about the tragic rebellion in that country of the years 1544-1548. In 1545 the home government revoked those of the laws which were most severe upon the Spanish residents in Mexico and Peru. The “New Laws” thus failed to become effective in either country except as the representation of an ideal of justice never lost to the sight and knowledge of men of good will.

DIEGO VALADÉS. Rhetorica Christiana ad concionandi, et orandi usum... Perugia, 1579.

The Rhetorica Christiana, published at Perugia in 1579, was written by Diego Valadés, a Franciscan born in Mexico, who also drew and engraved its imaginative and beautifully executed illustrations. One of its most impressive illustrations is a double-page engraving entitled “Tipus Sacrificiorum”, showing many customs, places, and human types relating to Mexico and Aztec life. The central feature of the engraving is a representation of the great temple of Mexico City, portraying in full detail the revolting human sacrifice which characterized the Aztec worship.

JUAN DE TORQUEMADA... Monarchia Yndiana... 3 vols. Seville, 1615. Volume II.

Learning, carefully assembled knowledge, and understanding of the native Americans were brought together in Monarchia Yndiana by the Franciscan missionary in Mexico, Juan de Torquemada, published at Seville in three volumes in 1615. The whole of the second volume is concerned with the religion, rites and ceremonies, manners and customs of the Indian nations of Mexico. It is one of the indispensable guides to the historian. The title-page picture of the friar teaching the Indians by pointing to a succession of painted scenes in the life of Christ is based upon an earlier engraving in the Valadés book described in the preceding entry.

The Southwest

ALVAR NUÑEZ CABEZA DE VACA. La relacion que dio Alvar nuñez cabeza de vaca de lo acascido en las Indias en la armada donde yua por governador Piphilo de Narvaez desde el a[o] de veyunc y siete hasta el a[o] de treynta y seys que boluio a Seuilla con tres de su compan[ia]. Zamora, 1542.

Number One among books relating to the Southwest is the first, or 1542, edition of the relation of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, the record of an enforced journey of nine years’ duration from Florida, where the author had been shipwrecked, to the Spanish settlements on the Gulf of California—the first crossing of the North American continent by a white man. Cabeza de Vaca lived through these years, steadily progressing westward, as prisoner of war, slave, or, occasionally, honored guest of a succession of Indian nations. His narrative first brought to the attention of Europeans the Indian of the Southwest, that is, the Plains Indian as distinct from the Indian of coast or forest or from the city dweller of Mexico and Peru previously encountered by the Spaniard in America.

ANTONIO TELLO. Libro Segundo de la Chronica Miscelanea, en que se trata de la conquista Estpiritual, y Temporal de la Sancta Principia de Xalisco... Manuscript. Circa 1650.

One of the early contacts of Europeans with the Indian nations of the Southwest was made by Francisco Vásquez de Coronado in the course of the historic expedition of 1540-1542 which led him and his lieutenants northward from Xalisco in Mexico to Lower California, northern Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and Kansas. Fruitless in material results, the Coronado expedition nevertheless added largely to the world’s contemporary knowledge of the Southwest and its native inhabitants. One of the documents which records the history of the expedition is our extensiue manuscript, Chronica Miscelanea de la Sancta Proutencia de Xalisco, by the Franciscan, Antonio Tello, from which the first printed edition was made, Part II in 1891, and Part III in 1942. No version of Part I is known to exist. In 1945 Part IV was printed from a manuscript of that section preserved in Guadalajara, Mexico. It is believed that Father Tello, who wrote his Chronica about 1650, knew in boyhood some of the aged survivors of the Coronado expedition.

JUAN GONZÁLEZ DE MENDOZA. Historia de las Cosas mas Notables, Riños y costumbres del gran Reyno de la China... Madrid, Querino Gerardo Flamenco, 1586.

In 1583 an expedition under Antonio de Espejo set out to rescue two Franciscans who had gone northward from Mexico to establish a mission among the Indians encountered by Coronado forty years earlier. Though the Espejo expedition failed to save the priests, it explored New Mexico and made close acquaintance with some of the most interesting of all nations of American Indians. The story of that expedition is found in what is called the “Espejo Relation”, published in full for the first time by Querino Gerardo Flamenco (i.e., the Fleming) in Madrid in 1586 as part of a work by Friar Juan Gonzalez de Mendoza, entitled Historia de las Cosas mas Notables del gran Reyno de la China. The “Espejo Relation” in this interesting form is one of the prime sources for the history of the Southwest and its aboriginal peoples.
ALONSO DE BENAVIDES. Memorial que Fray Juan de Santander de la Orden de San Francisco... presenta a... Felipe Quarto... y hecho por el Padre Fray Alonso de Benavides... Custodio que ha sido de las Provincias, y conversiones del Nuevo-Mexico... Madrid, 1635. [14]

The tireless missionary labors of Fray Alonso de Benavides carried him in the years 1626–1630 to remote regions of New Mexico and led him to a knowledge of numerous nations of Indians of that area, among them Zuñi, Moqui, Navaho, and Apache. His Memorial, addressed in 1630 to Philip IV, was a report upon the country, especially upon its Indians, designed to convince the King that greater effort should be put behind the New Mexican mission. The informative book which resulted was translated within the next few years into French, Dutch, Latin, and German. It was reprinted in facsimile with an English translation in Chicago in 1916, and an English translation of an enlarged manuscript version was brought out in Albuquerque, New Mexico, in 1948. Both these learnedly and copiously annotated works bear witness to the esteem in which modern scholars hold the Benavides identification and discussion of the Indian nations of New Mexico and Arizona.

ALONSO DE BENAVIDES. Tanto que se Sacó de una Carta... Mexico, 1730. [15]

Embedded in the legendary history of the conversion of the Indians of New Mexico is the miraculous experience of the Mother María de Jesús de Agreda. This Spanish nun declared in a letter to Alonso de Benavides that in the seven or eight years before 1628 she had been translated five hundred times from her convent in Spain to the plains and mountains of New Mexico, where she had brought the entire native population to the Faith. It was not until 1730 that an abstract of her letter made by Father Benavides was printed in Mexico City. The charming frontispiece of that first edition of the Tanto que se Sacó de una Carta, entitled “La Vé Mt María de Jesus de Agreda, Predicando à los Chichimecos del Nuevo-mexico”, engraved by the Mexican artist Antonio de Castro, is an interesting item in the iconography of the Indian of the Southwest. (See Plate II.)

EUSEBIO FRANCISCO KINO. “Passage par Terre a la Californie...” Map, engraved by Charles Inselin, in Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, écrites des Missions Etrangères par quelques Missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jésus. V. Recueil, Paris, 1705. [16]

The map entitled “Passage par Terre a la Californie” of the Jesuit, Eusebio Kino, embodied data based upon the extensive travels and subsequent reflections of a devoted missionary and scientist. The special interest of Father Kino’s map lies in the circumstance that it was one of the earliest printed maps to show the locations of the Indian nations of a large part of the Southwest and of the missions which the Jesuits had established among them. The Kino expedition of 1698–1701, to which it gives graphic record, made clear once more that Lower California was a peninsula rather than an island as had been stubbornly maintained by many cartographers. The importance of the map is out of proportion to its small size, 8 1/4 x 9 1/8 inches.

PEDRO DE RIVERA. Diario. Y Derramente... de la visita general de Preciosos, situados en las Provincias Ynterras de Nueva España... Guatemala, 1736. [17]

In 1724 King Philip V of Spain ordered a survey of the existing administrative organization of the frontier provinces north of New Spain and a report upon their native inhabitants, geography, soil, and products. He appointed to the execution of this task the Brigadier Don Pedro de Rivera, who at once entered upon an arduous visitation of the missions and presidios. His memorable survey lasted three years and seven months and resulted in a complete reorganization of the frontier administration—civil, military, and ecclesiastical. Of the many remaining memorials of the expedition the most interesting, perhaps, is Rivera’s personal journal, published years later (1736) in Guatemala City. The Diario was descrited by the late Henry R. Wagner in his bibliography, The Spanish Southwest, as “the most important printed document extant of any... relating to the frontier provinces.”

FRANCISCO ALVAREZ BARREIRO. [caption title]: Descripciones de las Provincias Ynterras de esta Nueva España, que siruen para la mas clara inteligencia de los Planos, ó Mapas que las acompanian... Manuscript, Circa 1734. [18]

A comprehensive treatment of the Indians of the Southwest is found in the manuscript Descripciones de las Provincias Ynterras, a report by Francisco Alvarez Barreiro, the engineer and cartographer of the Rivera expedition (see preceding entry), who in the period 1714–1718 made a complete technical study of the frontier provinces. In his report Alvarez Barreiro recorded the number of the Indians in each area visited, identified them by nation, and appraised their disposition, character, and qualities. This study has never been published. The Library’s manuscript version of the report is an eighteenth-century transcrip of the original document found today, accompanied by maps, in the Archives of the Indies at Seville. Photostat copies of these very important maps are in the Library of Congress and the John Carter Brown Library.

LUIS ANTONIO MENCHACA. Mapa del Presidio de San Antonio de Bexar y sus Misiones de la Provincia de Texas fecho en 24. del Mes
de Marzo de 1764. Por el Capitán Don Luis Antonio Menchuca que lo es de dicho Presidio. Manuscript map. 1 3/4 x 1 3/4 inches.

The Spanish system of organization for the frontier provinces of the Southwest was the establishment of a mission and, nearby, a presidio, or combination of fort and town for the accommodation of colonists and the families of the garrison. The "Spanish Missions", whether in Florida, Texas, California, or Paraguay, have become in the judgment of historians the most notable of all European efforts towards the conversion of the American Indians from paganism to the Christian faith and from the hunting stage to the pastoral and agricultural way of life. Among the Library's most interesting maps is the very unusual production the title of which is given above. This contemporary manuscript plan of the presidio and four missions of San Antonio de Bexar represents the establishment from which grew today’s city of San Antonio, Texas. Upon it is to be seen the “Mission de S. Antonio”, celebrated in later Texas history as the “Alamo”. The plan was drawn, delicately and beautifully, in 1764 by Captain Luis Antonio Menchuca.

BARTOLOMÉ GARCÍA. Manual para administrar los Santos Sacramentos... a los Indios de las Naciones... que se hallan en las Misiones del Río de San Antonio, y Río Grande... México, 1760.

The systematic missionary programs carried on by the Jesuits, Franciscans, and other orders required that the native languages be studied and that grammars, vocabularies, and service books be compiled and, where possible, published. Because of the many nations and the many languages encountered in the Southwest the task proved difficult of accomplishment in that area. In the Manual para administrar los Santos Sacramentos, 1760, Fray Bartolomé García set forth the sacraments for the use of the missionaries of the San Antonio area in the language used by most of the Indians of that part of Texas and the neighboring Mexican state of Coahuila. This Manual is virtually the only remaining record of the language of the Coahuilteca tribes.

PEDRO FONT. [caption title] Diario que formó... Pedro Font... en el viaje que hizo a Monterey... con la conducción de algunas Familias para ocupar con ellas y poblar el Puerto de San Francisco... Manuscript, dated at Tehutama, May 11, 1777.

One of the most important of the manuscripts relating to the Southwest and California is the Diario of Father Pedro Font, chaplain of the Anza Expedition of 1775-1776, which led to the settlement in 1776 of what has become the great city of San Francisco. In its overland journey from Hecateas in Mexico to Monterey and San Francisco Bay in Upper California, a distance of some 1600
miles, the expedition came in contact with many tribes of Indians hardly known previously except to a few soldiers and priests. Father Font’s observation of the manners and way of life of the Indians encountered is no less interesting because it is unsympathetic. His Diario was published as a supplementary volume in The Anza Expedition, a series of diaries and documents edited in five volumes by Herbert Eugene Bolton, published in 1936.

PEDRO FONT, Mapa correspondiente al Diario que formó el P. F. Pedro Font del Viaje que hizo a Monterey y Puerto de San Francisco. P. F. Petrus Font fecit. Ures anno 1776. Manuscript map, 14 1/2 x 18 inches.

The map which Father Font, returning from California, constructed at the mission of Ures in northern Mexico depicts the route of the great overland expedition of 1776 recorded in his Diario (see preceding entry). It shows the situation of the Upper California missions in that year when the Spanish power was carried to the northward as far as San Francisco Bay. In 1911 the Library reproduced this and two related Font manuscript maps in San Francisco Bay and California in 1776, with an introduction by Irving Berdine Richman.

FRANCISCO PALOU. Relacion Historica de la Vida y Apostolicas Tareas del Venerable Padre Fray Junipero Serra, y de las Misiones que fundó en la California Septentrional... Mexico, 1787.

The expedition of Gaspar de Portolá, which established Monterey in Upper California in 1769, was accompanied by Father Junipero Serra. This devoted Franciscan founded first the mission of San Diego and thereafter the several missions from San Diego northward to San Francisco, a chain of cultural centers which established an advanced pastoral form of civilization in Upper California and enabled Spain to hold that country in peace and fruitfulness. Father Serra was a truly apostolic character, a patriotic Spaniard, and the friend and protector of the Indians. No list of books dealing with the American Indian would be complete without the work in which his disciple, Father Francisco Palou, tells the story of Junipero Serra’s arduous labors for the Indian and their notable success.

BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ. [caption tiilt:] Instrucción Formada en virtud de Real Orden de S. M., que se dirige al Señor Comandante General de Provincias Internas... Mexico, 1786.

In his Instrucción of August 26, 1786, Bernardo de Gálvez, viceroy of Mexico and hero of the Spanish war against the English in Louisiana and Florida in the American Revolution, directed the comandante general of the frontier provinces...
to make, in effect, a new appraisal of the Indian situation and to adopt a policy based upon it. The 316 specific paragraphs leave little doubt as to what lines the appraisal and the policy were to take. Though many nations of Indians are singled out for specific discussion, it seems to have been always the several Apache tribes with which Gálvez was most concerned.

The Southeast

GENTLEMAN OF ELVAS. Relação verdadeira dos trabalhos que havia feito o governador dô Fernão de soto y certos fidalgos portugueses passarem no descobrimento da província de Florida. . . Evora, 1557. [25]

The unhappy experience of the Narváez expedition of 1527 with the Indians of Florida and the Southeast is described in the relation of Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca (entered above under The Southeast) in its first edition of 1542. Fifteen years later in 1557 was published at Evora in Portugal the book in which is found the first extended relation of the encounter of Europeans with the numerous, partly civilized, but potentially fierce Indian nations of the interior of the Southeast, that is, the Relação of the Gentleman of Elvas. The Library's copy of this foundation book is one of three known. The Relação contains a first-hand narrative by a Portuguese adventurer of the tragic but epochal exploration of the area by Hernando de Soto in the years 1539-1543. The De Soto expedition marked the beginning of three centuries of discord between the Indians of the Southeast on the one hand and, on the other, the Spanish, French, English, and American invaders of their territory. (See Plate III.)


The second printed map to show in its Indian place names the results of the De Soto expedition of 1539-1543 is "Americae et proximarum Regionum Orae Descriptio", made by Franciscus Hogenberg and published in 1589 in the rare German edition of Drake's West Indian Voyage of 1585-1586, the Relation oder Beschreibung, issued in the same year. The celebrated sectional map from which these names of Indian towns and villages were taken by Hogenberg is "La Florida" of Hieronymus Chaves, found first in the Ortelius, Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, Additamentum III, of 1584.

JACQUES LE MOYNE. Brevis Narratio eorum quae in Florida Americae Provincia Gallis acciderunt, secunda in illam Navigatione, duci Renato de Laudonniere classic Praefecto Anno MDLXIII. . . Frankfurt, 1591. [27]

The great series of original and reprinted narratives of exploration and colonization published, beginning in 1590, by Theodore de Bry of Frankfurt, in beautifully planned and printed folio volumes illustrated by full-page engravings, began with Thomas Hariot's Briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia (see below under Virginia and Maryland). Part II of the celebrated series was Brevis Narratio eorum quae in Florida. . . Gallis acciderunt of Frankfurt, 1591. This narrative of the attempted settlement in Florida of the Huguenot French in 1564 was written by Jacques le Moyne, who was also responsible for its illustrations of Indian life and customs. The Le Moyne Brevis Narratio and the Pareja Confessionario (see the following entry) are valuable early sources relating to the Timucuan Indians of Florida, who in 1706 and thereafter were completely destroyed by the invasions of the English of Carolina and their native allies—Creek, Gitawba, and Yuchi—and by the independent raids made upon them by their Floridian neighbors, the Seminoles.

FRANCISCO PAREJA. Confessionario en lengua Castellana, y Timuquina. . . Mexico, 1613. [28]

The best remembered of the Franciscans who followed the Jesuits in the establishment of Indian missions in Florida was Father Francisco Pareja, who arrived in 1594 and remained as a successful teacher and priest for sixteen years. Upon his retirement to the City of Mexico he occupied himself writing a grammar, dictionary, and devotional works in the Timucuan language. His Confessionario of Mexico, 1613, is particularly valuable to the student of the vanished Timucuan Indians because from the forms prescribed by Pareja for their confessions may be obtained a good idea of their besetting sins and of the ancient beliefs and superstitions into which they were always in danger of backsliding. This book and the Le Moyne narrative (see preceding entry) are chief sources of knowledge of the lost Timucuan nation of Florida.


At the time Charles de Rochefort was bringing out in 1665 the second edition of his Histoire Naturelle des Iles Antilles, with its digression on the Apache Indians of Florida, that nation had already become eminent among the native peoples of the Southeast. Among them the Spanish missions had flourished, and their fertile country, fronting the Gulf from the neighborhood of Pensacola
eastward to the Ocella River, had become the granary of St. Augustine and Havani and the strategic base of the Spanish power in relation to invading French and English. Like the Timucuan, also Christianized and friends of the Spanish, the Apaches were virtually wiped out in 1703 and 1704 by the English of Carolina and their Creek allies.

JONATHAN DICKINSON. God's Protecting Providence... Evidenced in the Remarkable Deliverance of Robert Barrow, with divers other Persons, from... Shipwreck: and also, from the cruel Devouring Jaws of the Inhuman Cannibals of Florida... London, 1706. [30] God’s Protecting Providence of Jonathan Dickinson, published at Philadelphia in 1699, and in London in 1706, is one of the two or three most celebrated of the specie of American historical record known as the “Indian Captivity”. In passage to Philadelphia with his wife and infant son and some twenty other persons, Dickinson, a Quaker merchant of Jamaica, was shipwrecked on the Florida coast near Jupiter Island. After a harrowing experience with the Indians of that neighborhood and a cruel journey northward on foot and by canoe, the party made its way to Spanish protection at St. Augustine and thence to Charleston and Philadelphia. Dickinson’s personal contact with the Timucuan Indians who befriended him in the later stages of his journey makes his narrative one of the very few documents underlying knowledge of that nation, soon to be overwhelmed by its enemics. In 1945 an edition of the Dickinson book was brought out, learnedly edited, by the distinguished American historian Charles McLean Andrews and Mrs. Andrews.

JOHN LAWSON. A New Voyage to Carolina; containing... a Journal of a Thousand Miles, Travel’d thro’ several Nations of Indians... London, 1709. [31] A New Voyage to Carolina, by John Lawson, London, 1709, contains one of the most impressive and successful English-American studies of the Indian of the entire country and period. Its author was a land surveyor in North Carolina who wrote admiringly and at considerable length of the Indians among whom his work was carried on. In the ferocious outbreak of the Tuscarora in 1711, however, Lawson was captured, tortured, and burnt at the stake by the very Indians whose sympathetic historian he had been. As the result of the ultimate defeat of the Tuscarora in 1713 that nation removed northward and joined their Iroquois kinsfolk in New York, where they were taken into the Iroquois Confederacy, thus changing the designation of that powerful alliance from the Five Nations to the Six Nations, by which it has ever since been known.

ANDRÉS GONZÁLEZ DE BARCIA. Ensayo Cronologico, para la Historia General de la Florida... desde el Año de 1512... hasta el de 1772... Madrid, 1772. [32] The Ensayo Cronologico, para la Historia General de la Florida by Andrés Gonzáles de Barcia concerns not exclusively the history of the peninsula which today is called Florida but the great area east of the Mississippi and south of Canada, which was the Ancient Florida of the Spanish. Its emphasis, however, is upon the more restricted area south of Georgia and east of the Mississippi which we think of today as the Southeast of the United States. Upon the basis of the happenings of each year from 1512 to 1772 Barcia’s chronological history brings the reader into contact with the swarming Indians of the Southeast, naming scores of their chieftains, locating their provinces and towns, and designating a great number of separate nations and tribes. This valuable book thus adds to its many virtues the distinction of being a storehouse of the history and ethnology of the Indians of the Southeast.

TOMO CHACHI MICO or King of Yamacraw, and Tooaahowvi his Nephew, Son to the Mico of the Eschivas. [at lower left:] Wm. Verelst Pinxit [at lower right:] John Faber Sculpit [London, aera 1735]. Engraved portraits, mezzotint. [33] The realistic likenesses in the William Verelst portrait were engraved in mezzotint and published in London in 1734 or 1735. In the earlier year Tomo Chachi had been taken to London by his friend General Ogilthorpe, founder of Georgia. This chieftain of the Lower Creeks was the consistent friend and ally of the Georgia colonists until his death in 1730. Though he resisted conversion to their faith by John Wesley and others, he asked to be buried among them in Savannah, where a monument in his honor was erected by the Colonial Dames in 1899.

WILLIAM BULL. This chart was transmitted by Col. Bull (President & Comander in Chief of South Carolina) with his Representation to the Board of Trade, dated the 25th of May 1738. Reel July ye 17th 1738. Manuscript map, 293/4 x 375/4 inches. [34] The "Representation" mentioned in the title above, submitted to the Board of Trade in 1738 by Colonel William Bull, is an authoritative document based upon first-hand knowledge with respect to the Indians of the Southeast in their relationship to the English and Spanish. An abstract of it forms part of a manuscript report by Harman Verelst entitled Some Observations on the Right of the Crown of Great Britain in the North West Continent of America. (See John Carter Brown Library Annual Report for 1945-1946, pages 14-23.) This version of
the "Representation" is accompanied by a large manuscript map of the Southeast, which Bull caused to be prepared (by a hand not yet identified) for the information of the Board of Trade. Based upon the Barnwell Map of circa 1722, the Bull Map of 1738 and its informative legends provide a valuable and little-known source for the history of the Indian nations of the Southeast.


The work of Le Page du Pratz, Histoire de la Louisiana, of Paris, 1758, is an important source of information as to the Natchez Indians—a nation probably descended from the ancient Mound Builders of the Mississippi Valley—who occupied a considerable area near the present city of Natchez, Mississippi. This was a sedentary nation, living by agriculture, with dwellings and temples erected upon mounds. The Natchez possessed a more complex social, religious, and political organization than was known to most Indians north of Mexico. They worshipped the Sun with rinalistic observance. Their kings had absolute power and were surrounded by barbaric pomp and ceremony. This nation with its group of nine towns was in large part exterminated, though a remnant was dispersed among other tribes, as the result of its wars with the French of Louisiana in the years 1716-1726. Despite long-continued efforts of the Jesuits and other missionaries, the Natchez resisted Christianization to the end.

JAMES ADAIR. The History of the American Indians; particularly those Nations adjoining to the Mississippi, East and West Florida, Georgia, South and North Carolina, and Virginia... London, 1771. [36]

The scope of James Adair’s work on the Indians of the Southeast is amply set forth in its title. Adair’s History is the work of a trader who lived among the Cherokee, Creek, Chickasaw, Carawha, and Choctaw nations for forty years. The fact that Adair was primarily interested in proving that the Indians were descendants of the ancient Israelites does not detract from the value of the materials he brought together through intelligent personal observation and interpreted with considerable learning. His “Map of the American Indian Nations” is an informative guide so far as concerns the location of the chief Indian nations of the Southeast.

HENRY TIMBERLAKE. The Memoirs of Lieut. Henry Timberlake, (Who accompanied the Three Cherokee Indians to England in the Year 1762)... London, 1765. [37]

The actual time spent in 1762 by Lieutenant Henry Timberlake among the Cherokees in their Tennessee fastness and later in 1764 and 1765 with two delegations of their chieftains in London was short in terms of days but not of experience. This young Virginian, already a veteran backwoods soldier, looked at everything with such close attention and freshness of vision that his Memoirs are still read with respect by ethnologists. Timberlake’s map, “A Draught of the Cherokee Country”, with its location of villages and census of fighting men, was interesting at the time of its publication for its new and vital information. Today book and map are cherished by historians as rich sources of knowledge.

WILLIAM BARTRAM. Travels through North & South Carolina, Georgia, East & West Florida, the Cherokee Country, the extensive Territories of the Muscogulges, or Creek Confederacy, and the Country of the Chactaws... Philadelphia, 1791. [38]

Primarily a book of travels of a naturalist, William Bartram’s Travels through North & South Carolina, Georgia, East & West Florida, Philadelphia, 1791, is the record of nearly five years spent by the author in the period 1773-1778 in close contact with the Indians of those provinces. Part IV of the book is devoted to Bartram’s scientific, and very human, very personal observations upon the Cherokee, Creek, and Choctaw nations. The emphasis of the book is placed upon the actual state of these nations—the names and numbers of their villages, for example—at the time of Bartram’s acquaintance with them. Its frontispiece, drawn by Bartram himself and engraved by James Trenchard, of Philadelphia, is an interesting representation of “Mico Chibbo the Long Warrior or King of the Siminoles.” The book was republished in London and Dublin and translated into German, French, and Dutch.

JOHN POPE. A Tour through the Southern and Western Territories of the United States of North-America; the Spanish Dominions on the River Mississippi, and the Floridas; the Countries of the Creek Nations; and many uninhabited Parts... Richmond, 1792. [39]

John Pope’s Tour through the Southern and Western Territories of the United States, Richmond, 1792, introduces us to one of the most interesting characters in American Indian history. Alexander MacGillivray, a Creek chiefman of mixed Scottish, French, and Indian blood. Genuinely devoted to the interests of the Creeks, his mother’s people, MacGillivray’s abiding purpose was to push back the victorious and aggressive Americans to the frontiers which they had occupied before the Revolution. His adherence to the interests of Great Britain and Spain in opposition to the United States made the western frontiers of the Southeast an unhappy area from 1786 to 1792.
Virginia and Maryland

THOMAS HARIOT. A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia, of the commoditie and of the nature and manners of the naturall inhabitaunts... Frankfurt, 1590. [40]

The fundamental book in the literature of the Virginia-North Carolina area is A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia of Thomas Harriot, first published in London in quarto size without illustrations in 1588. Actually the area concerned is coastal North Carolina rather than Virginia of the Chesapeake area. Less rare but still eagerly sought by collectors is the abundantly illustrated reprint in folio brought out by Theodore de Bry of Frankfurt in 1599, the only volume in English in the great De Bry series. The De Bry edition is esteemed for its engraved reproductions of the drawings of Indians and Indian life and customs made on the spot by John White, governor of the unfortunate colony sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh in 1587. One of the most interesting of the illustrations, as far as the historian of the Indian is concerned, is "The Towne of Secota", the representation of an unclewed village showing the daily life and occupations of the inhabitants in field and forest, in the ceremony of the dance, and at their feasts. Because of this authentic, first-hand pictorial illustration of a notably informative text, the "De Bry Harriot" is of singular interest in the history of the North American Indian. John White's original colored drawings are preserved in the British Museum. (See Plate IV.)

JOHN SMITH. A Map of Virginia... Whereunto is annexed... the discourses, Orations, and relations of the Salvages... Oxford, 1612. [41]

In the text of A Map of Virginia of Oxford, 1612, is found the account of Captain John Smith's exploration in 1607 and 1608 of the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries. This record includes his observations upon the natives he encountered in the course of his expeditions, the first intelligent appraisal of the Indian inhabitants of the Chesapeake Basin, among them the lordly and warlike Susquehanna nation. Smith's map, entitled Virginia, published with the book, is a cornerstone of American cartography as well as one of his several contributions to knowledge of the Indian of the Chesapeake area.

[EDWARD WATERHOUSE.] A Declaration of the State of the Colony and Affaires in Virginia. With a Relation of the Barbarous Massacre... treasonously executed by the Native Infidels upon the English the 22 of March last... London, 1622. [42]

Tragedy accompanied the Indian relations with the white man in the Virginia area from the very beginning as it did in New England and almost everywhere else. The Roanoke Colony of 1587 disappeared without a trace, because, it is believed, of Indian enmity. In 1622 occurred the shocking massacre of the Virginia settlers described in Waterhouse's Declaration, published in London in that year primarily to aly the rumor that the colony had been completely wiped out by the concerted Indian attack upon its several settlements.

A RELATION of the succesfull beginnings of the Lord Baltimore's Plantation in Mary-land... [London], 1634. [43]

A concise account of the first contact of the colonizers of Maryland with the Conoy tribe of the Algonquin family, neighbors to their settlement at St. Mary's, together with three pages of descriptive comment is found in the earliest printed account of the founding of Lord Baltimore's colony. The Library's copy of A Relation of Mary-land, of London, 1634, is one of two known copies, the other being in the British Museum. It is generally agreed that its author was Father Andrew White, the Jesuit missionary who accompanied Lord Baltimore's first expedition and remained to preach the Gospel to the Indians. In the course of his mission, Father White compiled a grammar, a dictionary, and a catechism in the language of the Indians of Southern Maryland. These works were not published at the time of his death and have since disappeared.

AUGUSTINE HERRMAN Virginia & Maryland, William Faithorne, sculp. [Imprint pasted on] Sold by John Seller... London, 1673. Engraved map, 31 7/8 x 37 7/8 inches. [43]

The Herrman map, Virginia and Maryland, records the most elaborate and detailed survey of land and water of any comparable area of English America made in the seventeenth century. Not the least of its informative symbols and legends are those which locate and name various Indian towns, tribes, and nations of the Chesapeake basin and southern New Jersey. Many of these Indians were about to be involved in the war against the Virginia frontier which was an important cause of Bacon's Rebellion of 1676. (See the entries below under Numbers 44 and 45.) The Library's copy of the map, one of four known, has been reproduced in facsimile.

STRANGE NEWS from Virginia; Being a full and true Account of the Life and Death of Nathanael Bacon Esquire... London, 1677. [44]

ARTICLES OF PEACE between the Most Serene and Mighty Prince Charles II... And Several Indian Kings and Queens, &c. Concluded the 29th day of May, 1677... London, 1677. [45]
Indian depredations, unchecked by Sir William Berkeley’s government, were among the effective causes of Bacon’s Rebellion of 1676, as is made clear in Strange News from Virginia of London, 1677. After the suppression of the rebellion an understanding was reached with the Virginia Indians by the royal commissioners sent out to investigate the conditions which had led to Bacon’s attack upon Governor Berkeley and the constituted authorities. The subsequent treaty appeared in London in 1677 as Article of Peace, the first treaty between English and Indians to be given printed form. The years 1675 and 1676 were notable for the uneasiness which seemed to exist among the Indians of English America—King Philip’s War in New England, the war of the Indians directed against the Virginia frontier, and the ferocious war of the Iroquois against their relatives, the Susquehannas.

Pennsylvania

WILLIAM PENN. A Letter from William Penn Proprietary and Governor of Pennsylvania in America, to the Committee of the Free Society of Traders of that Province, residing in London...London, 1683. [46]

The name of William Penn has been remembered as standing for justice and decency in relations between English settlers and aboriginal inhabitants. Despite the good beginning in this relationship, his vigorous, aggressive, and constantly expanding colony came into conflict with the Indians in later years more seriously than most of the others. In A Letter from William Penn, of London, 1683, are found Penn’s reflections upon his first contacts with the neighboring Delawares and his extensive description of their way of life and their character, the account of an interested and observant man.

THOMAS CAMPANIUS. Kort Beskrifning om Provincien Nya Sverige...Stockholm, 1701. [47]

The Kort Beskrifning om Provincien Nya Sverige, of Stockholm, 1701, was written by Thomas Campanius upon the basis of manuscript and printed works of his grandfather, Johan Campanius, Lutheran minister resident in New Sweden on the Delaware River in the period 1642-1648. The book gives an extensive word list and (Book III) a full description—personal appearance, clothing, houses, and manners and customs—of the Delaware or Leni-lenape Indians who inhabited the Delaware River Basin of eastern Pennsylvania, southeastern New York, and most of New Jersey and Delaware. This nation was gradually forced westward through the combined pressure of white men and Iroquois.

The picture of the Indian family which illustrates his account of the Leni-LENÈPE was drawn. Campanius tells us, in the colony of New Sweden by P. Lindstroem in 1644. (See Plate V.)

A TREATY, Held at the Town of Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, by the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, and the Honourable the Commissioners for the Provinces of Virginia and Maryland, with the Indians of the Six Nations, in June, 1744. Philadelphia, 1744. [48]

It may be that the most celebrated of all the treaty conferences between Indians and colonial governors was that which was held at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1744 between the Six Nations and the colonies of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. A Treaty, Held at the Town of Lancaster, printed by Franklin in 1744, is one of the most notable documents of the colonial period from the standpoint of noble literary quality, human drama, and political consequence. The agreement then reached was important among the long-extended negotiations which kept the Iroquois on the side of the English and thus weighted the scales against the French in the war which soon was to break the French power in North America. This Treaty is one of thirteen from the press of Benjamin Franklin, which were reprinted in facsimile in Indian Treaties printed by Benjamin Franklin 1736-1762, learnedly edited by Julian Boyd and published in 1918 by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, with an introductory essay by Carl Van Doren. An essay by Lawrence C. Wroth, “The Indian Treaty as Literature”, appeared in The Yale Review for July, 1928. Of the fifty-four treaties entered in Henry F. DePuy’s admirable work, A Bibliography of the English Colonial Treaties with the American Indians, New York, 1917, the Library possesses twenty-six, together with three editions or variant issues not known to Mr. DePuy. In the present catalogue, entries Nos. 44, 48, 49, 71, and 78 represent the Library’s collection of this valuable and interesting species of English-American publication.

JOHN BARTRAM. Observations on the Inhabitants...and other matters made by Mr. John Bartram, in his Travels from Pensylvania to Omonzgo, Oswego and the Lake Onto, in Canada...London, 1751. [49]

One of the memorable journeys of colonial America was that of 1743 in which John Bartram, Lewis Evans, and Conrad Weiser travelled from Philadelphia to Omonzgo, the capital of the Six Nations in northern New York, the Great Council Fire of the Iroquois Confederacy. Here was an extraordinary group to be together on road and trail—Bartram, the naturalist, Evans, the geographer and map maker, and Weiser, the Indian interpreter and forest dip-
lemat, who at the ensuing conferences with the Iroquois at Onondaga laid the ground for the memorable treaty of Lancaster of 1744 (see preceding entry) between the Six Nations and the governments of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland. Bartram’s Observations of London, 1751, tells the story of a momentous expedition. His measured drawing of the typical Iroquois dwelling, the “Long House”, the communal dwelling which was one of the designations and the spiritual symbol of the great Confederacy, is of special interest to historians.


A climax to slowly worsening relations between the government of Pennsylvania and the Delawares was reached in the transaction known as the “Walking Purchase” of 1737, whereby a huge acreage was taken from the Delaware Indians by the Pennsylvania authorities supported by the Iroquois. A strong protest against the policy of the colony in its relations with the Delawares, especially with regard to the so-called Walking Purchase, is found in An Enquiry into the Causes of the Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians by the Quaker, Charles Thomson. This partisan attack upon the Indian policy of Pennsylvania was published in London through the agency of Benjamin Franklin as an element in his propaganda against the Proprietary government of the province. One of the Library’s copies of the Enquiry contains in longhand in the margins indentations of Thomson’s charges of perfidy written by the Proprietary, Thomas Penn, who, if not responsible for the government’s policy, had at least supported it. Franklin added to the Enquiry an appendix which he hoped would appeal to the general reader, that is, the “Journal” of Christian Frederick Per. (See that name below under The Old Northwest.)

[BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.] A Narrative of the late Massacres, in Lancaster County, of a Number of Indians, Friends of this Province, by Persons Unknown ... [Philadelphia], 1764.  [51]

An event of extraordinary moment in the history of Pennsylvania and of Indian relations in English America was the massacre of a settlement of peaceful Indians, last broken remnant of the mighty Susquehanna nation, by a group of frontiersmen from the town of Paxton. The indignation and sense of shame aroused by that action is evident in the controversy that ensued upon it. The most memorable of the protests against the Paxton Boys, as the impetuous aggressors were called, was Benjamin Franklin’s pamphlet, A Narrative of the late Massacre, in Lancaster County, Philadelphia, 1764. The action of the Paxton Boys was not wanton and unmotivated, but the result of hysteria generated along the whole frontier by the horrors of the Pontiac Conspiracy.

New York

JOHANNES MEGAPOLENSIS, Junior. “Vande Mahakuse Indianen, In Nieuw-Nederlant ... beschreven in’t Jaer 1644,” in Joost Hartgers, Beschrijvinghe van Virginia, Nieuw Nederlant, Nieuw Engelandt ... Amsterdam, 1651, pages 42-49.  [32]

“Vande Mahakuse Indianen, in Nieuw-Nederlant”, by Johannes Megapolensis, in Joost Hartgers, Beschrijvinghe van Virginia, Nieuw Nederlant, Amsterdam, 1651, is one of the earliest accounts of the Mohawk or of any other nation of the Iroquois Confederacy. This brief description was the work of a Dutch minister who spent so much time among the Mohawks that he was able to preach to them in their own language. The first edition of his little book about that nation was published at Amsterdam in 1644 and is today known by a single copy in a Dutch library. The engraving of the Mohawk which illustrates the edition of 1651 seems to be an idealized representation. The portraits of the palisaded towns of the Iroquois in the background of the print were frequently copied by later map makers, as in the map in Van der Donck’s Beschryvinghe van Nieuw-Nederlant, discussed in the next entry.

ADRIAEN VAN DER DONCK. Beschryvinghe van Nieuw-Nederlant ... Amsterdam, 1656.  [53]

The Beschryvinghe van Nieuw-Nederlant, of Adriaen van der Donck, published in editions of 1655 and 1656, contains, pages 52-89, a section entitled in translation “Of the manners and peculiar Customs of the Natives of the New-Netherlands.” This is the most comprehensive and the most detailed of the early Dutch accounts of the Indians who occupied the Manhattan area. The invaluable map which was added to the second edition of the book is of especial interest because of its locations of the several Indian nations and tribes concerned. It is a re-enshrining of a portion of the fundamentally important map Nova Belgii of N.J. Visscher, published probably as early as 1651 and reissued and copied many times thereafter.

TEE YEE NEEN HO GA RON Empereur of the Six Nations [at lower left]: I. Verlet pied: [at lower center]: I. Simon Fec: [at lower right]: Sold at the Rainbow and Dorc the corner of Ivey bridge in the Strand. [London, 1716]. Engraved portrait, mezzotint.  [54]

One of the incidents that set the town arog was the visit to London in 1709 and 1710 of the group of Iroquois sachems who have come down in history wrongly designated “The Four Kings of Canada.” These visitors from the colony of New York were presented to Queen Anne and made much of by the Court and
populace, the booksellers and printellers of London. Full length portraits of the four Indians were painted for the Queen by John Verelst and late in 1710 were engraved in mezzotint by John Simon. The print entered above is the first issue of the portrait of Tiyano, or “King Hendrick”, a Mohawk sachem and friend of the English. Forty years later he was killed fighting for the English against the French at the Battle of Lake George. The sentence in the report that Sir William Johnson sent back to the governors of the colonies, “Old Hendrick...we fear is killed”, was a lament rather than a mere item of news.

THE MORNING AND EVENING PRAYER... Translated into the Mahackee Indian Language, by Lawrence Claesee, Interpreter to William Andrews, Missionary to the Indians... New York, 1715. [55]

THE ORDER FOR MORNING AND EVENING PRAYER, and Administration of the Sacraments... translated into the Mohawk Language... [New York,] 1766. [56]

Only five years after the first printing in America of the Book of Common Prayer by William Bradford in New York in 1710, a portion of the great service book of the Church of England was translated into the Mohawk language by the interpreter, Lawrence Claesee, and printed in the same place by the same printer. In 1766 an edition of Claesee’s translation with the Communion and Baptismal Services added was brought out in New York by order of Sir William Johnson. The Library’s copy of this later edition contains what is believed to be the signature of Sir William himself.


The dominant Indian force in New York and Pennsylvania throughout the colonial period was the Iroquois Confederacy. At first the Five Nations (Mohawks, Senecas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Oneidas), the Confederacy later became known as the Six Nations when the Tuscarora, crushedly defeated in North Carolina in two wars of 1711 and 1713, moved northward and about 1722 became officially a member nation of the league formed centuries earlier by their kinmen of upper New York. The Confederacy as a political entity appealed to the imagination of many of the leading colonists—Franklin, Archibald Kennedy, and Cadwallader Colden among them. Colden’s History of the Five Indian Nations, first published in 1727, was an informative account of the Iroquois as a political and social unit holding the balance of power between the French and English colonists of North America.

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON. By the Honorable Sir William Johnson...Super-Intendant of Indian Affairs for the Northern Department of North America. Colonel of the Six United Nations... To [blank space for name of recipient]... I do therefore give you this public Testimonial as a Proof of his Majesty’s Esteem & Approbation... Given... at Johnson hall the [blank] day of [blank] 17[1]... [Philadelphia, 1770]

Engraved blank form, 9 3/4 x 9 3/4 inches. [60]

The engraved “Testimonial” entered here was made to accompany the presentation of Royal Medals to Indians whose special zeal and attachment to the British interest had been proved to Sir William Johnson and other officials. The engraving was the work of Henry Dawkins of Philadelphia and New York. At the top is a pictorial rendering of a medal presentation. The design is dominated

SAMUEL BLODGET. A Prospective-Plan of the Battle near Lake George, on the Eighth Day of September, 1755... Boston, 1755. [58]

There was distinct compensation for Braddock’s defeat in the victory won by Sir William Johnson and his Mohawk allies over the French at Lake George on September 8, 1755. The story of the battle is told by Samuel Blodget in A Prospective-Plan of the Battle near Lake George, Boston, 1755. The large plate of the forest action, engraved by Thomas Johnston of Boston, is keyed to the text of the “Explanation” which begins on the facing page. Sir William’s success in this action was not followed up, but nevertheless his victory on the field prevented the French from taking Lake George and the Hudson to their possession of Lake Champlain and thus interposing themselves between New England and the Middle and Southern Colonies.

AN ACCOUNT OF CONFERENCES held, and Treaties made, between Major-general Sir William Johnson, Barr. and the chief Sachens and Warr,iours of the [names of fourteen nations in two columns]... Indian Nations in North America... London, 1756. [59]

One name inseparable from any consideration of the Indian in the English colonies is that of Sir William Johnson, Indian trader, land speculator, founder of frontier settlements, soldier, friend of the Indian, Indian Agent for New York, and finally, by royal appointment, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Northern Department of North America. An Account of Conferences held, and Treaties made, London, 1756, contains the record of three of the innumerable conferences which Sir William held with the Iroquois and their allies in the period from 1745 to the time of his death in 1774. His long and successful service as negotiator with the Six Nations was largely instrumental in holding them to the British interest in the conflict with the French.
by two symbols old in Indian usage, the Tree of Peace and the Chain of Friendship, elements in the beautiful imagery through which the Iroquois expressed themselves in treaties and upon other ceremonial occasions. The Library’s copy of the “Testimonial” is one of fifty copies printed from the original plate owned by the New York Historical Society upon the occasion of the visit of the Walpole Society to that institution on May 25, 1946.


This entry records the earliest known state, “scratch letter” proof, of the popular and admirable John Russell Smith mezzotint of Romney’s portrait of Thayendanegea, or Joseph Brant, painted upon the occasion of the Mohawk chief’s visit to England in 1776. The most celebrated Indian leader of his time, Joseph Brant was the brother of Molly Brant, Sir William Johnson’s companion for many years. In the War of the Revolution, Brant, loyal to the English, was the scourge of the Americans of the New York and Pennsylvania frontiers, leader of many attacks upon the settlers of the Mohawk Valley and of the frightful massacre at Cherry Valley in New York which brought American retaliation upon the Iroquois in the form of the Sullivan’s Expedition of the summer of 1779.

New England

GIOVANNI DA VERRAZANO. “Al Christianissimo Re di Francia Francesco Primo. Relazione di Giovanni da Verrazano Fiorentino della terra per lui Scoperta in nome di sua Maesta, scritta in Dieppe, adi S. Luglio M.D. XXIII”, in Giovanni Battista Ramusio, Terzo Volume delle Navigationi et Viaggi, Venice, 1556, folios 420-422. [61a]

The coastal voyage from the Carolinas to Newfoundland made in 1524 by Giovanni da Verrazano was the earliest European exploration of that area to be recorded. In his report to Francis I, this Florentine sailor in French employment commented intelligently upon the Indians he had encountered at different anchorages along the coast, giving up at least a third of his memorable narrative to description of their actions and customs, observing differences in appearance and character between one nation and another. A particularly valuable instance of his procedure is found in the narrative of his stay of fifteen days at Port Refugio, recognized today as Newport harbor and the adjacent Narragansett waters. He acquired and recorded a favorable impression of the natives of the islands and surrounding shores of the Bay, characterizing them as “the most beautiful people and the most civilized in customs that we have found in this navigation...” These were certainly a people of the Algonquian family, probably the nations known to the English a century later as Wampanoags and Narragansetts. The fullest version of the report is found in the celebrated Cellere Codex, a manuscript owned by the Pierpont Morgan Library, which bears in its margins comments and additions in what is probably Verrazano’s own hand. In point of priority the Verrazano narrative is the basic document in the ethnography of the Indians of the United States.


[62]

The earliest contact of the Plymouth settlers with the surrounding Indians—Wampanoags and others of Algonquian race—was the friendly one mentioned in the dedication to Robert Cushman’s Sermon of London, 1622, in which is found the first printed account of the fortunes of the Pilgrim settlement made at Plymouth in 1620. In its pages is a brief reference to the friendliness of Massasoit, chief of the Wampanoags, which brought about an alliance destined to endure until 1675. In that year Massasoit’s son, Metacomet, better known as King Philip, made his tragic attempt to drive the English from the land.


“The Second Part”, pages 56-105 of the detailed description of New England found in William Wood’s work of first-hand observation, concerns itself with an extensive view of the Indians of New England and their neighbors. It is an explicit account in which the nations are discriminated by name and location and differences between them observed and commented upon. At the end is a word list of five pages anticipating the linguistic compilations of John Eliot and Roger Williams. Based upon a residence in New England of four years, the book takes high rank among American Indian studies both in priority and informative contents.

JOHN UNDERHILL. Newshe from America; or, a New and Experimentall Discoverie of New England; containing, a True Relation of their
War-like proceedings... with a Figure of the Indian Fort, or Palizado
... London, 1638.

The fierce Pequots of eastern Connecticut, constrained by Massachusetts on
one side and the Connecticut Valley settlers on the other, entered upon a war
with the colonists which resulted in the last of their own dispersal, enslavement,
and virtual extinction. The story of that brief and bitter conflict, which ended
in the capture by Captains Mason and Underhill of the Pequot stronghold at
Mystic, Connecticut, is found in Captain John Underhill's *Newes from America*,
of London, 1638, the classic account of the war.

ROGER WILLIAMS. A Key into the Language of America: or, an
help to the Language of the Natives in... New-England... London,
1643. [65]

Not all the New England relations with the Indians were unhappy. There, as in
Latin America, devoted Christian men strove for the conversion of the natives,
and as a prerequisite to that eventuation studied and organized the grammar and
vocabulary of the languages used in their neighborhoods. One of the earliest of
these efforts in English America found its publication in 1643 in the book, *A
Key into the Language of America*, a study of the language and, incidentally, of
the manners of the Indians of the Algonquian family with whom the author
first came into contact at the time of his residence at Plymouth in 1632, living
among them, he wrote, in their "fitful smoke holes", sharing their food or
going hungry with them when food was scarce. The 'Observations' and the
poems with which the vocabulary is interspersed give the book unusual interest
from the literary standpoint. The *Key* is in fact a notable small work, the pleas-
ancest and least controversial of Williams's writings.

JOHN WINTHROP, President. [caption title] A Declaration of for-
mer Passages and Proceedings bewixt the English and the Nar-
rangasetts... wherein the grounds and justice of the ensuing waere are
opened and cleared... [Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1645.]

The first historical document to be printed in what is now the United States
was *A Declaration of former Passages and Proceedings bewixt the English and the
Narrangasetts*, of Cambridge, 1645, more familiarly known as the "Narran-
-gasset Declaration." This statement by the Commissioners for the United Coloni-
ies of their previous relations with the Narrangasetts was designed to excuse
them from blame for the war they proposed to begin. Because of its Cam-
bridge Press origin and its rarity, but especially because of its extraordinary
importance to its contemporary readers and to historians of today, the "Narran-
gasset Declaration" takes a very high position in the essem of collectors.

THE NEW TESTAMENT of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.
Translated into the Indian Language [by John Eliot]... [second title]
Wusku Wurtstamentum nul-Lorúramun Jesus Christ Nuppooquishwus-
suaenuætum. Cambridge, 1661. [67]

A persistent New England effort towards the conversion of the Indians reached
a new height with the publication in 1663 of the Bible in the Indian tongue,
translated by John Eliot and printed in Cambridge at the first printing establis-
ment to operate in what is now the United States. The "Eliot Indian Bible" was
the earliest printing of the Holy Scriptures to be accomplished in the Western
Hemisphere in any language and one of the earliest translations of the whole
Bible to be made for missionary purposes in a non-European language. It was
the culmination of a series of studies in the Algonquian languages of New
England made and published by Eliot and others in preceding years. The New
Testament was printed first, separately, in 1661.

WILLIAM HUBBARD. A Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians
in New-England, from... 1607. to... 1677... Boston, 1677. [68]

THOMAS CHURCH. Entertaining Passages relating to Philip's War
which began in the Month of Jan., 1675... Boston, 1716. [69]

Two of the most notable of the works dealing with King Philip's war were *A
Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians in New-England*, by the Reverend
William Hubbard, and *Entertaining Passages relating to Philip's War*, Boston,
1716, by Thomas Church, son of the successful Indian fighter, Benjamin Church.
In Thomas Church's book is found the memorable passage in which is told in
stark recital, unrelieved by pity, the story of Philip's death and the dismem-
berment of his body, "a doloef, great, naked, dirty beast, he looke'd like", at the
Mount Hope spring near Brown University's Haffenreffer Museum of the
American Indian.

JOHN WILLIAMS. The Redeemed Captive, Returning to Zion. A
Faithful History of Remarkable Occurrences, in the Captivity... of
Mr. John Williams; Minister of the Gospel, in Deerfield... Boston,
1707. [70]

Representative of the many examples of the "Indian Captivity" in the Library
from all sections of the country is *The Redeemed Captive of Boston*, 1707, the
story told by the Reverend John Williams, captured at the Deerfield Massacre
of 1704. The Williams "Captivity" has been a favorite source for the colonial
historian and the writer of fiction. The "Captivities" were eagerly read by
contemporary Americans of town and country, of settled areas and the frontier,
to all of whom these narratives were of immediate concern. To American
readers of a later day they provide an untraded picture of Indian life and cus-
tom as well as a reminder of the dangers and the harsh circumstances of life
which confronted their pioneer forefathers.

**The Old Northwest**

The authorship of this large folio manuscript dictionary of the extinct Illinois
Indian Confederacy, occupying southern Wisconsin, northern Illinois, and
sections of Iowa and Missouri, has been attributed to Father Jacques Gavier,
to Father Le Boulanger, and to at least three different lesser-known mission-
aries at work in those areas in the early eighteenth century. In our entry above
it is attributed for convenience to Father Le Boulanger by whose name it has
been frequently designated in the past hundred years. Studies now in progress
leading to a publication of the work will doubtless determine this point and
make clear the fact that it is the Illinois and not the closely related Miami lan-
guage with which it deals. The work as a whole comprises one of the most
extensive linguistic documents relating to an Indian nation north of Mexico.
Its proposed publication is expected to elucidate many questions as to the his-
tory and ethnology of the Illinois and related Miami nation.

A TREATY between the President and Council of the Province of
1747. Philadelphia, 1748. [72]
*A Treaty between Pennsylvania and the Indians of Ohio*, which Franklin printed
in 1748, is one of the liveliest and most interesting records of conferences be-
 tween Indians and colonial governments. Contemporaries of the supposed half-
hearthedness of the English in prosecuting the war, the Indian representatives,
addressing the President and Council of Pennsylvania, said that the young
warriors had sent them to learn the reasons for this situation and to urge
"you would put more fire under your kettle." Conrad Weiser, the interpreter,
persuaded the Council that this was a very important visit, made voluntarily
by Indians of a frontier which was coming ever closer, and that their friendship
must be retained through gifts of weapons, blankets, and other presents of a
practical character.

**GEORGE WASHINGTON. The Journal of Major George Wash-
ington, sent by the Hon. Robert Dinwiddie... to the Commandant of the
French Forces on Ohio... Williamsburg, 1754.** [73]
No American book of the period has greater significance than *The Journal of
Major George Washington*, published at Williamsburg in 1754, the record of a
young soldier's grim and dangerous mid-winter journey through the wilderness
to carry to the French on the Ohio the protest of Virginia against their claim
upon the Northwest country. This was an abrupt challenge of the encirclement
policy of the French. Washington's negotiation with the Indians was one of the
most important aspects of his mission. It forms an exciting element in the
*Journal*, a book which is interesting as a narrative and important as an historical
record.

**CHRISTIAN FREDERICK POST. The Second Journal of Christian
Frederick Post, on a Message from the Governor of Pensilvania to the
Indians on the Ohio. London, 1759.** [74]
An important instance of contact between white men and Indians was that
which occurred in 1758 when Christian Frederick Post, Moravian lay mission-
ary among the Indians, became ambassador of the Pennsylvania Government
to the Delaware, Shawanese, and other Indians of the Ohio country. Con-
sequent upon Braddock's defeat in 1755 those nations had transferred their al-
legiance to the French. In two journeys to the West, rude and perilous, Post
succeeded in assuring the neutrality of the Ohio Indians and thereby in opening
the way to General Forbes' capture of Fort Duquesne and the consequent
English dominance of the Ohio country. In his negotiations Post displayed
political shrewdness allied with the boldness and simplicity of the primitive
Christian. Franklin so admired his work as ambassador to the western Indians
that he published "The Journal of Christian Fredrick Post, in his Journey from
Philadelphia to the Ohio" as an Appendix to Charles Thomson's *Enquiry of
1759* (see section, *Pennsylvania, above*) and the *Second Journal* (the present
text) separately in that same year.

**ROBERT ROGERS. A Concise Account of North America... To
which is subjoined. An Account of the several Nations and Tribes of
Indians residing in those Parts... London, 1765.** [75]
Whatever criticism may be made of the celebrated leader of "Rogers's Rangers"
of the French and Indian war, it cannot be said that he was lacking in the power
of observation or the gift of expression. In his *Concise Account of North America
of 1765*, Major Robert Rogers showed himself to be completely unlike those
of his contemporaries who thought that an Indian was an Indian, recognizing
no difference between a Choctaw and a Micmac, between the denizen of the lower Mississippi and the native of Nova Scotia. His personal experience of the country and its inhabitants was as broad as that of any American, extending as it did in war and peace from Canada to South Carolina, from New Hampshire to the Michilimackinac area on Lake Michigan. The section on Indian manners and customs in this book as well as the innumerable references to Indians in his discussion of the different parts of the country are of considerable interest to modern readers.

[WILLIAM SMITH] An Historical Account of the Expedition against the Ohio Indians, in the year 1764. Under the Command of Henry Bouquet... Philadelphia, 1765. [76]

A crucial event in the war engendered by Pontiac's Conspiracy of 1763-1766 was the expedition conducted by Colonel Bouquet for the relief of Fort Pitt, formerly Fort Duquesne, the site of today's city of Pittsburgh. Bouquet defeated the Delaware and Shawanese at the battle of "Busby Run", relieved the fort, and forced the Indians to make a treaty favorable to the colonies. The story of the successful campaign was told by the Reverend William Smith, Provost of the College of Philadelphia, in An Historical Account, of Philadelphia, 1765. The book contains an invaluable supplement on the tactics of forest warfare and the military dress and equipment appropriate to its conduct. Its fine map by Thomas Hutchins shows as a picture of an Indian encampment and what is of high interest, a contemporary portrayal of an Indian treaty conference in progress.

THOMAS HUTCHINS. A Topographical Description of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and North Carolina... London, 1778. [77]

One of several features of interest in the Topographical Description of Thomas Hutchins, London, 1778, is the tabulation which lists the Indian Nations and their populations on the American frontier. This census of the tribes was of particular importance in acquainting the people of the colonies with the western Indians whom they were later to fight in the campaigns of St. Clair, Harman, and Wayne, and upon whose lands the new frontier was to be established. Hutchins was a British Captain of Engineers who was imprisoned in London and charged with treason for his refusal to fight against the colonies. Afterwards as Geographer of the United States he had much to do with the survey of the Northwest Territory.

VIEW OF THE TITLE TO INDIANA, a Tract of Country on the River Ohio... Williamsburg, 1779. [78]

The cession by the Indians of a large territory in the Ohio country at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768 led to the formation of the Indiana Company and the Grand Ohio, or Walpole, Company for the settlement and development of the area. The history of these and other land companies formed by Americans and British under British official auspices came effectively to an end with the American Revolution, but they played a part in some political importance in the history of the Old West. The View of the Title to Indiana concerns not the present state of Indiana but a tract of that name chiefly in the present state of West Virginia. The book contains the text of the Treaties of Fort Johnson of 1761 and Fort Stanwix of 1768, upon which the Company's claims were based. The Williamsburg edition of 1779, with the post-like vigor of its title-page, is typographically impressive and extremely rare.

JOHN FILSON. The Discovery, Settlement and present State of Kentucky... Wilmington, 1784. [79]

The close of the Revolution found a people ready and anxious to go places and do things. Kentucky as an area for the ambitious settler and land developer was brought to their attention by John Filson, a young Pennsylvania school teacher turned pioneer, in his book The Discovery, Settlement and present State of Kentucky: Wilmington (Delaware), 1784, and in the important map which he made to be sold with the volume, though not as an essential component. Filson's book and map are based upon personal observation and upon the experiences of the pioneers Daniel Boone and James Harrod. It is the first full account in print of the "dark and bloody ground", though settlement of the area, interrupted by the wars, had tentatively begun as early as 1750. Filson himself was killed by the Indians in 1788.

"A Treaty of Peace between the United States of America and the tribes of Indians called the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanoes, Ottawas, Chippewas, Putawatimes, Miami, El river, Wecis, Kickapaos, Pankaskawas and Kaskaskias", in Acts passed at the First Session of the Fourth Congress of the United States... Philadelphia, 1796, Appendix, pages 1-11. [80]

The poor showing against the western Indians made in 1790 and 1791 respectively by Generals Harmar and St. Clair was a demoralizing element in the life of the new republic of the United States. Through the strict disciplining of his forces and the adoption of delaying policies against the impetuous Indians, General Anthony Wayne, hero of the Revolution, prepared for the ultimate victory of August, 1794, at the Battle of Fallen Timbers at Maumee near the present city of Toledo, Ohio. A year later the Treaty of Greenville and the complete
Submission of the Indian Nations of the Ohio country opened a new era in the history of the West.

**Canada**


Though the accounts of the natives in the narrative of the first voyage of Jacques Cartier are interesting, his contribution regarding them became important only with the narrative of his second voyage, undertaken a year later in 1535. In that narrative is described the explorer’s penetration of the continent by way of the St. Lawrence River as far as Hochelaga, a large town lived in by Hurons and other natives of Iroquoian stock, which occupied the present site of Montreal. Both these narratives were published in *Terzo Volume delle Navigazioni et Viaggi* of Giovanni Battista Ramusio, brought out at Venice in 1556, accompanied by a word list of the language of the Indians of Hochelaga and a large plan of their town. Modern scholars have criticized the plan of the town found in the book as departing in important particulars from the account in the accompanying text, but it had at least the virtue of priority, and it is the form in which graphically one important aspect of the way of living of the interior Canadian tribes was first presented to keenly interested European readers.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN. *Les Sauvages . . . ou Voyage de Samuel Champlain, de Bourgogne . . .* Paris, 1603. [82]

The first of the memorable Canadian explorations of Samuel de Champlain occurred in 1603 when he accompanied the Aymar de Caustes expedition upon an exploration which in a measure retraced the course of Jacques Cartier in his second voyage of 1535, nearly seventy years earlier. Champlain’s book, *Des Sauvages* of Paris, 1603, contains a description, necessarily cursory, of the Indian Nations of the St. Lawrence Valley as seen by one whose eye had already been trained in the observation of places and men in the course of his West Indian expedition of 1599-1601.

MARC LESCARBOT. *La Defaite des Sauvages Armechaquois par le Sagamos Membrettou . . .* 1607. [Paris, 1608.] [82a]

Lescarbot’s long poem in the epic style recounts a victory of the Miemacns of Nova Scotia over their relatives of Algonquin stock, the Armouchiquois of Maine. It is one of its author’s several contributions to knowledge of the Indian of the northeast coast and other parts of America, the most notable of which, of course, are the chapters on the Indians in his substantial and invaluable *Histoire de la Nouvelle France,* of Paris, 1609. In addition to the *Histoire* in all its editions and to the epic poem of the present entry, there are found in the Library two others of Lescarbot’s smaller works—*La conversion des Sauvages,* of 1619, and *Relation derrière de ce qui s’est passé au Voyage du Sieur de Poutrincourt,* of 1612. Both these pieces are important in the history of Indian missions in New France.


Champlain had a great deal to say about the Indians in his book, *Les Voyages* of 1615. In this work he also describes his discovery of Lake Champlain in 1609 in the course of a foray into the Iroquois country which he went upon as the ally of the Hurons and other Canadian Indians. Near the present Fort Ticonderoga the Canadian war party met and, aided by the musket fire of the French, defeated the Iroquois. This was an event of unpredictable portent to the French in America. The weight of the unforgiving Iroquois upon the side of the English in later years was the determining factor in the final destruction of French power in North America. That skirmish on the lake shore may be regarded as one of the decisive battles in world history. A crude portrayal of it forms one of the illustrations in *Les Voyages* of 1615.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN. *[La Nouvelle France] faict par le Sr de Champlain. 1616.* [Paris, cires 1619.] *Engraved map,* 13½ x 23½ inches. [84]

This map of New France, a supposedly unique proof impression, was drawn by Champlain to illustrate the new areas traversed and the new Indian nations encountered in his exploration of 1615-1616. It seems almost certainly to have been intended for publication with his *Les Voyages* of 1619 (see next entry), but for some reason the map was not completed and the book was published without it. Because of its geographical location of the Indian nations first described in *Les Voyages* of 1619, it is to be regarded as a document of importance in the history of the American Indians. It was reproduced in 1937 in collotype facsimile by the Champlain Society of Toronto in collaboration with the John Carter Brown Library. This unique print from the original plate of about 1619.
could have been made as late as 1650. See “An unknown Champlain Map of 1618", by Lawrence C. Wroth in *Imago Mundi*, No. 11.


In his exploration of 1615-1616, referred to above, Champlain added greatly to knowledge of the Indian nations of the Great Lakes area by his accounts of at least three nations not hitherto known—the “Gons de Peron”, “Les Cheveux Releviss”, and the “Assista Gueronoms”. In the course of this expedition he accompanied a war party of Hurons against the Onondagas of Northern New York, and in an attack against a fortified town he met with sharp retribution for his earlier defeat of other members of the Iroquois Confederacy at Lake Champlain. In this action he was so dangerously wounded that he was compelled to spend a long and painful winter in the Huron villages. It has been said that the ethnological observations in *Les Voyages*, of 1619, were “incomparable”.

CHARLES LALLEMANT. Lettre du Pere Charles L’Aleman Supérieur de la Mission de Canada de la Compagnie de Jesus... Où sont contenus les moeurs & façons de vivre des savages habitans de ce pays là... Paris, 1627.

PAUL LE JEUNE. Brieve Relation du Voyage de la Nouvelle France, Fait au mois d’Avril dernier... Paris, 1632.

The greatest of all contributions to the history of the Indians north of Mexico was that series of missionary reports from New France which is always referred to by historian and collector as the “Jesuit Relations.” Though these annual reports did not begin as a series until the *Brieve Relation* of 1631, there were earlier printed Jesuit reports in the form of the *Relation* from Acadia in 1614 by Father Pierre Biard and the *Lettre du Per Charles L’Aleman* of Paris, 1627. These two earlier works join the unbroken sequence of annual “Relations” of the period 1632-1674 to form a record of zealous missionary activity, and what is more important to the historian of the American Indian, a massive, well-ordered historical and ethnological source.


Before the Jesuits took over the charge of Christianizing the Indians of New France the Recollect Fathers had faithfully conducted a mission in that country since the year 1615. One of their members was Father Gabriel Sagard, who were thither in 1624. In 1632, after returning to France, he wrote *Le Grand Voyage du Pays des Hurons*, a work in which is found a long account of the Hurons and a relatively comprehensive dictionary of their language.


Probably the most extensive linguistic studies of the Huron language were those prepared by Father Chaumonot, a Jesuit who lived most of his ministry among the people of that nation at Quebec. Though widely known to scholars, the “Chaumonot Dictionary” has never been published and seems to exist only in the manuscript version of about the year 1683 recorded in the present entry.