THE POPULAR CONCEPT OF THE "RED INDIAN" AS REVEALED IN LITERATURE

by

DOUGLAS LEECHMAN

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INTRODUCTION

There is perhaps no type, no stock figure in literature, which is better known to us than is the American Indian. He is familiar to everybody. The adventure books of our childhood, or lessons in school and, in later life, our moving pictures, newspapers and magazines, all keep the romantic figure before our eyes. Were one to request a schoolboy and the boy's father each to write a short description of an Indian, the two essays would quite conceivably differ only in minor details of phrasing and emphasis; and were the experiment to be actually carried farther, a thousand children and another thousand fathers would subtract little from and add even less to the picture, so clear-cut and definite is this popular concept.

Comparatively few of us have ever seen an Indian, except perhaps in a carnival or at an exhibition, and even fewer of us have had any intimate personal acquaintance with these people. Our concepts, obviously enough, are derived almost entirely from our reading and hardly at all from personal observation or from verbal descriptions by other first-hand observers. It is in our literature then that we must search if we wish to find the roots of the popular concept of an Indian.

No very protracted exploration of the literary sources is required to convince us that we have not merely to do with an Indian; we are confronted with as many different Indians as

as there are schools of thought or groups of authors. Each school presents the Indian in the light most favorable to the end in view, whether it be to point out the delights of the simple life, to induce settlers to occupy the newly available land, to give a strictly accurate and scientific account of the aborigines, or merely to tell a good story. There are several groups of authors whose juxtaposition is based on a similarity of interests, of point of view, or of language even. It will not be possible to deal with all of them in great detail, nor indeed would it be desirable, for some of these "schools" have had but little influence on the formation of the popular concept of the Indian, which is our special interest in this discussion.

Among the more important groups of authors may be listed the following:

Early explorers: Columbus, Cabot, Cartier, Champlain, Lescarbot, Lafitau and many others. Their accounts are largely factual and what errors are to be found in them are to be attributed to faulty deductions from observations, rather than from any deliberate intention of misleading.

Early missionaries: such as the writers of the invaluable Jesuit Relations which not only give us important details concerning aboriginal culture at its first contact with our civilization, but also trace the changes this contact brought about, and record the progress of the interaction from one

decade to another, almost from year to year

Early settlers: whose works often take the form of journals and letters, some of which are of great value, while others are grossly prejudiced. In this group may be included the writings of people held captive by the Indians, and their observations, naturally enough, are generally inaccurate and strongly influenced by the horror of their predicament.

Official accounts: that is to say, accounts emanating from governmental and official sources, military records, settlers' handbooks, encyclopedias and so on, including today the works of professional anthropologists and the publications of national and other museums. These professedly strive for literal accuracy

School books: might almost be classified with the "official accounts", but it is considered that they have had a more direct effect upon the individual, for while government reports are comparatively seldom read by the man in the street, he still remembers the pictures of Indians in his school history book. Here again the intention is to attain a reasonable measure of accuracy, but how seldom has the goal been attained.

The 'noble savage' school of Montaigne, Rousseau, and other philosophers and of the romanticists, who are out and out eclectics, extracting from the available accounts those details which best served their purposes. They are largely theorists, glorifying the noble savage, the simple life, and

urging a return to nature. Their influence, once a powerful one, has long since waned.

The 'red Indian' school of Fenimore Cooper and his host to whom is due our thanks for fixing such terms as 'pale-face', 'red-skin' and 'happy hunting grounds' so firmly in the language. Perhaps the late Gray Owl may be considered as the latest important representative of this group.

The 'romantic' school of Hiawatha as immortalized by Longfellow and other poets, with Pauline Johnson among them. Their work is frankly dyed in the purple mists of romance, and accuracy is a consideration they seldom let irk them.

The 'Buffalo Bill' school of the dime novel of a generation ago and which still survives, rather weakly, in a few cheap 'Western' magazines and moving pictures. The scene is usually laid in the prairies or vaguely in 'the West', where the Indians held out longest against the white invaders, and the adventures recounted are similar in at least their setting to the incidents familiar to the grandparents of many living today.

This by no means exhausts the possible sources of our general concept of the American Indian. We have to take into account also the very strong influence of drawings, paintings, sculpture, plays, cartoons, even anecdotes, and the well-named 'comic' pages of the daily papers, but a detailed consideration of each of these factors is obviously too Herculean a

task to be undertaken.

Which, we may ask, of all the various pictures presented to us, is the most truthful? No single one of them is accurate in more than the roughest way, for the Indian has always been seen through the white man's eyes and described by the white man's pen. Consciously or unconsciously, we interpret him and his actions and his customs by relating them to our actions and our customs. "It is not easy," says Sigmund Freud, in his Totem and Taboo, "to adapt oneself to the ways of thinking of primitive races. For like children, we easily misunderstand them, and are always inclined to interpret their acts and feelings according to our own psychic constellations."

Nowhere is this difficulty more evident than in the first accounts of the natives, and it is in these works that some of the present day misconceptions find their origins. Even the artists who illustrated these early volumes added to the confusion for they were trained in European methods of drawing and, moreover, usually had to work from nothing better than verbal descriptions and the scantiest of notes and rough sketches, with a more or less gross distortion of the truth as an inevitable result.

A further source of error has been the vagueness of the word 'Indian'. To the early writers all the natives were 'Indians'. The inaccurate label slapped upon them by Columbus

stuck firmly and rare indeed was the author who made any distinction between the people living upon the shores of the St. Lawrence and those who dwelt upon the tide-waters of Florida, the islands of the West Indies, Mexico, or even the northern and eastern parts of South America. Later, of course, differences between tribes were recognized by settlers and travellers who came into actual contact with them, but for the average reader of those early days the geography of the New World was as vague as is that of China for most people today.

The Indian, from the time of his discovery, was of the greatest imaginable interest to the Western European. Everything written about him was read with avidity, Indians were taken captive and exhibited throughout town and country, and every author hastened to ensure his popularity and increase his sales by being up-to-date. Discussions of the people of the New World were what their readers wanted, what they expected and what they were willing to pay for. With the increase in learning and the rise of the middle-class in England after the Restoration, reference to Indians became so numerous (and so like each other in content) that some sort of artificial barrier must be set up to keep our subject within reasonable bounds for it would be impossible to discuss all books referring to the American Indian in detail. Our more immediate concern, then, shall be with the natives of the eastern part of Canada; but as it was only after the middle of the

eighteenth century, when Canada came under English sway, that these people were at all clearly distinguished from those of the Atlantic seaboard of North America in general, we have widened the scope of the enquiry to include many volumes which discuss simply 'Indians'. Furthermore it would be not only difficult, but undesirable, to distinguish too nicely between 'English' and 'American' literature. All works written in English (as well as a few in French) whether translations or original works that are germane to the subject are therefore considered eligible for discussion in tracing the development of the popular concept of the Indian.

CHAPTER 1

THE COMING OF COLUMBUS

That there were unknown islands across the Western Sea was the firm belief of nearly all European mariners of the late fourteen and fifteenth centuries. Maps, like that of Andreas Bianca of 1436, showed such names as 'Antilla', 'Brazil', and the 'Islands of the Savages'. There were also tales of the 'Isles of the Blessed', of the 'Avalon' of Welsh legend, and of 'St.Brendan's Isle'. The last of these mythical lands to disappear, 'Green Island', mentioned in many folk tales, actually "until 1853 was marked on English charts as a rock in 44° 48' north and 26° 10' west". (1)

The legends of lost Atlantis may have been the source of some of these stories; tales of Norse voyages from Greenland may have had their influence, though these were not available in written form in anything but the original Icelandic until after 1840(2); and the discovery of actual islands (the Canaries) by the Arabs in the twelfth century, of the Azores at least as early as 1351 and of the Cape Verde Islands in 1456, may have given colour to the belief that there remained other lands still to be discovered.

Even stronger than these reasons for assuming the existence of lands to the westward were the strange pieces of flot-

sam which were cast upon the Atlantic shores of Europe. There were"pieces of timber, curiously wrought" but not by iron tools: dug-out canoes; corpses even, washed up "with broad countenances and other signs that they were not of Europeans"(3).

Undoubtedly, there was land, and there were people, to the westward and many voyages were undertaken in search of them; voyages from Portugal, from Madeira, and also from England. On June 30, 1484, King John II of Portugal granted to Ferman Dominguez do Arco "resident in the island of Madeyra, if he finds it, an island which he is now going in seach of" (4). From Bristol, long a port of embarkation for expeditions to the westward, ships left in 1480 searching for the "island of Brasylle"(5).

Meanwhile, other travellers, venturing to the eastwards rather than westwards had returned to Europe with tales of the countries and peoples they had visited in the Far East. Marco Polo's account of his travels in Asia, of his long stay in China as an agent of the Great Cham, and of his return by sea as far as the Near East and thence overland had been recorded in French in 1299 and had attained widespread publicity. Copies of it must have been very numerous, judging by the fact that some eighty-five manuscripts of it are still in existence today. (6) Among these is Columbus' own with marginal annotations by the famous discoverer's hand.(7)

Between 1357 and 1371 appeared, again in French, the

famous Travels of Sir John Mandeville, where the belief is clearly expressed that ships might sail round the world, and there is too a story of how "a worthy man did travel ever eastward until he came to his own country again" (8). Many of the statements in these and other "travels" were, of course, palpably fiction, but they all contributed to the rapidly growing conviction that the people (and it is with the people that we are especially concerned) who lived in the undiscovered islands across the western sea were likewise, and none other than, the inhabitants of the islands off the east coast of China, for the two sets of islands were but one in reality, and they might be approached from the east or from the west. This was obviously the belief of Columbus, as he explicitly stated on several occasions in his Journal (9) as well as in his briefer Letter (10).

Not only were more or less normal people like ourselves to be found in the islands of these distant seas, but also, according to Mandeville and other "travels" such as the Myreur des Hystors, abnormal people too, such as Amazons, Cyclopes, Cynocephali, men with but one foot and that huge, and also lesser wonders such as the inhabitants of the islands of Masculia and Feminina. Columbus was confident that he might encounter some of these strange beings and he did indeed hear of them though he was never lucky enough actually to see

them (11). Cartier, too, was told of strange people who lived always just a little further away, but never just where he could visit them (12).

Not even Columbus, then, met the natives of America without any preconceived ideas. He knew, or at least thought he knew, just what to expect.

Utopian dreams of the Isles of the Blessed and the occasional finding of curious bits of flotsam, human or otherwise, did little towards forming anything approaching definite knowledge of the people living across the Western Sea. It is Columbus who provides us with the first detailed description of these people, based on first-hand knowledge, for on his first voyage he saw them almost daily for three months, from October 12, 1492, to January 15, 1493, and many times afterwards. and there are numerous references to them in the Journal (13).

Columbus seems to have spent at least part of his leisure time on his return voyage in writing a brief and readily digestible account of his discovery and of the 'Indios' to be handed to the authorities immediately on his arrival. One copy of this he sent to Luis de Santangel who, apparently, promptly had it printed, in April, 1493. A nearly duplicate letter, sent to Gabriel Sanchez, the Treasurer of Aragon, was translated into Latin and printed in Rome, about May, 1493, and this translation was soon reprinted in Basle, Antwerp and

Paris. Until 1571, when the Historie of Fernando Columbus appeared, nearly eighty years later, various forms and reprints of these letters (and an account in the Decades de Rebus Oceanicis of Peter Martyr) were the only available reports of the first voyage (14). This letter, brief as it was, introduced into the world of literature many of the facts (as well as some of the fallacies) concerning the American Indian.

Columbus' perplexity as to his precise whereabouts must have been extreme. He knew that he had not sailed nearly far enough to have reached China, yet on the 2nd of November he sent ashore two Spaniards, one of them a convert from Judaism who spoke Hebrew, Chaldee, and even a little Arabic, bearing letters to the 'king' who,he felt sure, would have interpreters at his court who could understand one or other of these languages and who might even prove to be the Great Cham in person.

On the 19th of October, a week after his first encounter with the natives, he is calling them 'Indians', being under the impression, as is so well known, that he was dealing with natives of Asia; and three days later, on the 22nd of October, he expresses the belief that one of the nearby islands must be Cipango (Japan).

In spite of all these uncertainties which were, after all, natural enough, he continued to call the natives 'Indians'

and so they have remained ever since in spite of several efforts to substitute some more suitable term, such as Amerind, none of which has met with more than a transitory success.

The beauties of nature displayed in the New World impressed Columbus deeply. He never tires of writing of the agreeable climate, the verdant foliage, the shady woods. "He said to the men who were with him that to give a true relation to the Sovereigns [Ferdinand and Isabella] of the things they had seen, a thousand tongues would not suffice, nor his hand to write it, for it was like a scene of enchantment" (15).

His report of the natives is no less glowing. "Never were seen such well-built men, such beautiful women; nowhere were known people of such kindly disposition. "They are a loving people, without covetousness, and fit for anything; and I assure your Highnesses that there is no better land nor people. They love their neighbours as themselves, and their speech is the sweetest and gentlest in the world, and always with a smile. .... They have very good customs among themselves. ... They have good memories, and ask the use of what they see "(16).

Had Columbus' conviction that he had reached the east coast of Asia not been so strong he must have been sure that he had discovered one of the fabled lands where men still lived in the Golden Age, the "Earthly Paradise" (17).

The numerous references to the Indians in the Letter and more in the Journal may be divided into three main categories, and arranged in a descending order of reliability: (a) his

actual personal observations, in the main accurate; (b) inferences from personal observations, which show the influence of Columbus' European associations of ideas; and (c) deductions from what was told him by the Indians, consisting largely of myths and complete misunderstandings, evidently due in large part to an effort to fit these deductions into his preconceived ideas derived from reading the accounts of voyages by Marco Polo and Sir John Mandeville. His own copy of Marco Polo bears, as we have already noted, marginalia in his handwriting, one of which (Book 1, Chapter 4) reads: "Magnus Kam misit legatos ad pontificem". (18).

(A) Observations.

Physique. There are numerous references to the physical perfection of the people and their freedom from deformities and disease "They are very well made, with very handsome bodies, and very good countenances" (19).

Colour. "They are of very good appearance, not very dark, less so than the Canarians" (20).

Coiffure. The fact that the Indians seldom wore much in the way of headgear brought their styles of hair-dressing into peculiar prominence. Columbus has several notes on this topic, and here we find the first hint of the inevitable 'feathers in his hair' which haunts every description of an Indian. "Their hair is short and coarse, almost like the hair of a

horse's tail. They wear the hair brought down to the eyebrows, except a few locks behind, which they wear long and never cut. .... Some had tufts of feathers on their heads" (21).

Paint. Paint and feathers go together in any valid 'Indian'. Nearly all the people Columbus met with used paint profusely, not only as a cosmetic, but also as a protection against the sun and the attacks of insects. "Some paint themselves white, others red, and others of what colour they find. Some paint their faces, others the whole body, some only round the eyes, others only on the nose" (22).

Clothing. The first adjective in the first reference to the Indians in the Journal is naked. Columbus seems to have been profoundly impressed by this departure from convention as he knew it. A glance through the Journal will reveal a dozen places in which he mentions the fact that both men and women, even the 'kings', were "naked as when their mothers bore them" admittedly the ultimate in nudity. "The king and all the others, go naked as their mothers bore them, as do the women without any covering, and these were the most beautiful men and women that had yet been met with" (23).

(B) Inferences.

Cannibals. Columbus soon learnt that some of the natives of the islands were accustomed to prey on the others and to

eat their captives, though he apparently never actually saw them devouring human flesh, at least on the first voyage. " ... in the other islands the natives were in great fear of the Caribs, called by some of them Caniba, but in Espanola Carib. He thought they must be an audacious race, for they go to all these islands and eat the people they can capture. ... This [the island of Carib, now Porto Rico] was where the people live of whom all the natives of the other islands are so frightened, because they roam over the seas in canoes without number, and eat the men they can capture"(24).

It would appear either that the pronunciation varied between Carib and Canib, and that Columbus was unable to distinguish between the two, or that both forms were actually in use. At any rate, Columbus was quite right as to their being anthropophagous, and the name of this tribe has been identified with the custom ever since.

Language. "I do not know the language," admits Columbus, a trifle unnecessarily perhaps,"and the people neither understand me nor any other in my company"(25). He did discover that the same language,and dialects thereof,were spoken in many of the islands. He found the language "the sweetest and gentlest in the world" as we have already seen, and has no hint of the harsh and unpronounceable sounds later travellers report encountering further north.

Character. Columbus has nothing but praise for the exemplary

character of the natives. " ... no one could believe that there could be such good-hearted people, so free to give, anxious to let the Christians have all they wanted, and when visitors arrived, running to bring everything to them" (26).

It was on Christmas Day, 1492, that Columbus had the misfortune to lose the Santa Maria. As soon as the 'king' heard of the disaster "he sent all his people with large canoes to unload the ship" (27). Not satisfied with this, the 'king' voluntarily placed a guard over the goods on the beach and "The Admiral assured the Sovereigns that there could not have been such a good watch kept in any part of Castille, for there was not even a needle missing"(28).

His only adverse comment is as to their courage, a quality in which he finds them sorely lacking; "I have seen only three sailors land, without wishing to do harm, and a multitude of Indians fled before them. They have no arms and are without warlike instincts; ... they are so timid that a thousand would not stand before three of our men" (29). Doubtless his observations on this point were more or less accurate, but in later years some of these people at least made efforts to defend themselves. Certainly the Indians of eastern Canada did not share this characteristic with them.

Royalty. Columbus, as we have seen, took it for granted that he was off the coast of Asia. In that country, as he knew from Marco Polo and others, the land was divided into

nations, ruled over by kings, and it never occurred to him that this might not be the situation among these islanders. On landing, he would pick out the man who seemed to exert a degree of authority and treat him as the 'king' of that 'nation', and so refer to him in his journal. The wife of this outstanding man was his 'queen' and whatever ornament he wore upon his head was his 'crown'. "The Admiral went on shore to dinner, and came at a time when five kings had arrived, all with their crown, who were subject to this king, named Guacanagari. ... Presently the king took off the crown from his head and put it on the Admiral's head" (30).

Those closest to the 'king' were presumed to be his courtiers and Columbus soon found duties, or at any rate, titles, which seemed to harmonize with their actions. "He [the 'king'] was a youth of about twenty-one years of age, and he had with him an aged tutor, and other councillors who advised and answered [for?] him, but he uttered very few words" (31). Apparently considerable respect was paid this youth, the 'king', for later we read: "Without doubt, his state, and the reverence with which he is treated by all his people, would appear good to your Highnesses, though they all go naked" (32).

Division of Labour. Apparently one of the most firmly settled convictions in the mind of the general public is that Indian men saw to it that all the hard work should fall to the lot of

the women. Columbus seems to have gained a similar impression, for he said in the Letter: "The women, it appears to me, do more work than the men" (33). The explanation that so outstanding an event as his arrival would naturally postpone all but the most imperative of tasks, such as preparing food, thus leaving the men free, seems never to have struck him.

(C) Deductions

War. Columbus gathered that the various Indian tribes were at war with each other. On one occasion he says: "I saw some with marks of wounds on their bodies and I made signs to ask what it was, and they gave me to understand that people from other adjacent islands came with the intention of seizing them, and that they defended themselves" (34). Later he adds, without explanation: "The natives make war on each other" (35), and later still: "I believe that all these islands are at war with the Gran Can, whom they call Cavila, and his province Bafan"(36).

Most of the 'wars' consisted, in all probability, of raids by the Caribs on islands inhabited by the Arawaks, who were not cannibals. At ant rate, the notion that Indians spent most of their time in war has taken firm root and now seems ineradicable.

Medicine. There were two products of the land that Columbus

was eager to amass in quantity, and even more eager to discover the source of, -- gold and spices. Together with spices went drugs, and any substances that might prove to be of medicinal value were carefully noted. Tobacco, of course, early attracted attention though not to the extent that might have been expected, in consideration of the fact that smoking was a practice totally unknown to the Europeans. On one or two occasions medicines are mentioned: "An Indian said by signs that the mastic [gum] was good for pains in the stomach"(37). "There was a grain which they put into a porringer of water and drank it. The Indians who were on board said that this was very wholesome" (38). Surely there is little basis here for the subsequent belief in an amazing knowledge of herbs and simples possessed by the Indian medicine man.

Myths. Today we brand as 'travellers' tales' only the most patent of fabrications. In the days of Columbus, however, travellers' tales were given a much wider credence and even the most palpably untrue of them were accorded the dignity of consideration in the deliberations, whether written or verbal, of the learned. Columbus had read of many strange people, and was quite prepared to accept their existence as a fact, as witness the following: "The Indians said that by that route they would fall in with the island of Matinino, peopled entirely by women without men, and the Admiral wanted very much to take five or six of them to the Sovereigns.

But he doubted whether the Indians understood the toure well, and he could not afford to delay, by reason of the leaky condition of the caravels. He, however, believed the story, and that, at certain seasons, men came to them from the island of Carib, distant ten or twelve leagues. If males were born, they were sent to the island of the men; and if female, they remained with their mothers" (39). This story is strangely similar to one in Marco Polo (Part 3, Chapter 33). But other marvels might also be anticipated: "He also understood that far away, there were men with one eye, and others with dogs' noses who were cannibals, and that when they captured an enemy, they beheaded him and drank his blood" (40). These tales were destined to die a somewhat lingering death, and they were still flourishing some forty years later when Jacques Cartier reported hearing of similar phenomena.

Thus Columbus concerning the people of his newly found islands: -- to him, outlying parts of Asia. His account is the basis on which were subsequently erected all our ideas of the "Red Indian".

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER ONE.

1 Encyclopedia Britannica s.v. Atlantis
2 Bourne, p.13
3 Williamson, p.127
4 Bourne, p.93
5 Bourne, p.18
6 Encyclopedia Britannica s.v.Polo
7 Bourne, p.89
8 Encyclopedia Britannica s.v. Mandeville
9 Bourne, pp.126,131,134,135,136,145,157,174
10 Bourne, p.269
11 Bourne, p.138
12 Biggar, H.P. Voyages of Jacques Cartier
13 Bourne, passim
14 Bourne, 261-262
15 Bourne, p.159
16 Bourne, p.201
17 Bourne, p.365
18 Bourne, p.89
19 Bourne, p.111
20 Bourne, p.142
21 Bourne, pp. 111, 165
22 Bourne, p.111
23 Bourne, p.181
24 Bourne, pp.223, 228
25 Bourne, p.159
26 Bourne, p.191
27 Bourne, p.201
28 Bourne, p.201
29 Bourne, p.182
30 Bourne, p.207
31 Bourne, pp.180-181
32 Bourne, p.185
33 Bourne, p.269
34 Bourne, p.111
35 Bourne, p.114
36 Bourne, p.136
37 Bourne, p.140
38 Bourne, p.195
39 Bourne, pp.228-229
40 Bourne, p.138

NOTE. The above references to Bourne indicate only a few of the important early references to the Indians in his version of the Letter and Journal of Columbus.

CHAPTER TWO

RASTELL'S "NEW INTERLUDE"

John Rastell, lawyer, author, printer, and Member of Parliament, brother-in-law of Sir Thomas More, was, as one will readily perceive, a man of wide and varied interests. Many were the subjects he dealt with in the books which he issued at the 'sygne of ye meremayd in Powlysgate' in London; history, law, poetry, religion, and dramas such as "The Mery Gestys of the Widow Edyth", and another play he wrote to which he gave the long and clumsy title of "A new Interlude and a Mery of the Nature of the iiij Elements". There is only one copy of this play known to exist and this one, which incidentally is incomplete, reposes in the British Museum. It is a slow and tedious affair, by no means 'mery', yet it is of great interest to us for the reason that it contains the earliest known description of the American Indian in English literature. Unfortunately, the exact date of publication is unknown; 1519 is generally accepted as the approximate year (1). Rastell did not, of course write as an eye-witness, though as we shall see in due course, he had once actually started out on a voyage to Newfoundland. The section of the New Interlude which is concerned with the Indians reads as follows:

And what a great and meritoryouse dede
It were to have the people instructed
To lyve more vertuously
And to lerne to knowe of men the maner
And also to knowe God theyr maker
Whiche as yet lyve all bestly
For they nother knowe God nor the devell
Nor never harde tell of hevyn nor hell
Wrytynge nor other scripture
But yet in the stede of God almyght
The honour the sone for his great lyggt
For that doth them great pleasure
Buyldynge nor house they have not at all
But wodes cotes and cavys small
No mervyle though it be so
For they use no maner of vron
Nother in tole nor other wepon
That shoulde helpe them therto
Copper they have whiche is founde
Indyvers places above the grounde
Yet they dug not therefore
For as I said they have non vryn
Wherby they shuld in the verth myne
To serche for any wore /ore?/

But in the south parte of that contrey
The people there go naked alway
The lande is of so great hete
And in the north part all the clothes
That they were is but bestes skynnes
They have no nother fete
But howe the people furst began
In what countrey and whens they cam
For clerkes it is a questyon.

Here we have thirty-three lines only, but in them the author has managed to touch upon no less than twelve subjects, namely: the desirability of converting the Indians to Christianity; their present ignorance of God; their worship of the sun; their lack of writing; the absence of large buildings; the use of cotes and caves for dwellings; the working of copper; the ignorance of the use of iron; the absence of clothing in the south; the warm climate there; the use of

skins for clothing in the north; and the much debated question of the origin of the Indians.

Rastell's description can claim distinction not only by reason of its priority but also on account of its surprising accuracy. True enough, scores of points which might have been touched upon and which were discussed in later years, are not mentioned, but with almost no exception his statements are true. When he says they have no buildings, he is evidently referring to large structures, for small cottages are mentioned in the very next line.

Where did Rastell get his information? The possible literary sources were few. The first thought is, of course, Columbus who had introduced into the world of literature some of the fundamental facts concerning the people of the West Indies and, as we have already noted, some of the fallacies too. That Rastell had access to a copy of the Letter seems a safe conjecture; but if he did, he does not seem to have made much use of it, for of the twelve points mentioned only five are to be found therein: the desirability of converting the Indians; a somewhat indefinite statement as to their religion; the fact that they did not use iron; their use of copper; and their lack of clothing.

Another interesting point to be observed is that there are several quite striking details mentioned by Columbus but to which Rastell pays no attention whatsoever, such as the

practice of cannibalism, the abundance of gold, the wars among the Indians, and their extensive use of paint upon their faces and bodies, any one of which, we might reasonably expect would have impressed a man in search of material for a play as was Rastell.

Naturally, there were other accounts of the discovery published and which, though extant in the time of Rastell, have now been lost. Some of these took the form of 'conversations' between members of the crews of the explorer's vessels and the author, much like our 'interviews' today. Others were first-hand accounts, such as that of Dr. Chaca, surgeon on Columbus' second voyage, who wrote a detailed narrative of the expedition and gave us the first description of the natives as seen through the eyes of a man with scientific training; but this account fits Rastell's even less nearly than does that of Columbus, the use of copper apparently not being mentioned. Both Columbus and Dr. Chaca comment on the warm and pleasant climate; but neither of them has anything to say on the origin of the Indians, as that problem had not yet arisen, the natives being inhabitants of islands assumed to lie off the eastern coast of Asia.

Another possible source that must not be overlooked is to be found in the voyages of John Cabot in 1497 and 1498. Both these expeditions left from and returned to Bristol and it is not at all impossible that Rastell met either Cabot himself or some of his crew. We have no written account of

these voyages and it may well be that they were never recorded in writing. On the first voyage, the explorers landed (presumably at Cape Breton); they saw snares which had been set by the natives, and picked up a netting needle, but met with no people. On the second voyage they are known to have done some trading with the natives, "but these could offer nothing in exchange but furs"(2). This was presumably on the Labrador coast, but there is no evidence on which to decide whether Eskimos or Nascapi Indians were met with.

That ships were sent out from Bristol to explore the western ocean and the land that lay beyond it almost every year from at least 1497 onwards is evident, and the officers and crews of these ships and also the Breton and Basque fishermen who sailed annually to the Grand Banks must have met the natives on many occasions and traded with them(3). It is quite possible that Rastell may have met and talked with some of these men and heard descriptions of the natives from their own lips. He may even have seen some Indians himself for we have many accounts of their having been enticed aboard ship and then carried away to Europe, all too often never to return. In 1501 Corte Real captured sixty or more Nascapé or perhaps Beothuk (4) Indians on the Labrador coast and carried them off to Lisbon (5). At about the same time an official document from Bristol tells us : "This vere (15 Sept.1501 to 14 Sept.1502) three men were brought out of an Iland founde by merchauntes of Bristow forre beyonde Irelond, the which were

clothed in Beestes skynnes and ete raw,fflessh, and rude in their demeanure as Beestes" (6)

Nevertheless these encounters with the natives were but casual. Their use of skin clothing in the north, as mentioned by Rastell would naturally come to his attention, as might the lack of large buildings (though the Iroquois further inland up the St. Lawrence did build quite sizeable structures of bark) and the construction of huts or 'cotes'. The lack of iron tools would also be noticed, and possibly also the use of copper which was mined fairly extensively on the shores of Lake Superior and traded to considerable distances (7). Two points remain obscure: the mention of sun worship, and the denial of any knowledge of writing, both of which seem to require a somewhat more intimate acquaintance with the natives than could be gained in casual trading encounters.

Rastell's interest in the American Indian was more than a casual one,for he had actually set out,in 1517, on an expedition to the New Found Land himself. In partnership with Richard Spycer and William Howting, both, like himself,citizens of London, he had obtained letters of recommendation from Henry VIII; several ships, including the Barbara and the Mary Barking, were engaged, and in due course the expedition, well supplied with colonists' effects, tools and trade goods, sailed from Gravesend. Delay after delay occurred, apparently due to deliberate sabotage is the explanation, and the voyage came to an end on the south coast of Ireland. It is

obvious that, before starting on such an expedition, Rastell would make every effort to learn what he could about the newly discovered lands and their inhabitants and we assume therefore that his account of the people was based on information gathered by the Bristol men of 1497-1509, and by the fishermen who were regularly sailing to the Newfoundland banks (8).

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER TWO

1 Encyclopedia Britannica s.v. Rastell
2 Encyclopedia Britannica s.v. Cabot
3 Biggar, Precursors, passim.
4 Jenness, Indian Background, p.1
5 Williamson, p.203
6 Williamson, p.208
7 Hodge, Handbook, s.v. Copper
8 Williamson, pp.244 et seq. for details of Rastell.

CHAPTER THREE

MONTAIGNE AND ROUSSEAU

It is largely to Montaigne, and perhaps even more to Rousseau, that we are indebted for the concept of the Noble Savage, that best of all possible men in the best of all possible lands, who "breathed only repose and liberty"(1). Montaigne was certainly by no means the first to describe an ideal civilization, nor the first to offer the suggestion that simplification of our lives would lead us, not only more quickly but also more surely, to contentment than would a still further increase in their already over-whelming complexity. Plato wrote of such things in his Timaeus and developed the theme more fully in the Republic, while Tacitus had not neglected to contrast the rugged virtues of the primitive German tribes with the effete and over-sophisticated Romans of about 100 A.D. in his Germany.

In many respects the parallel between the Germans of his day and the American aborigines of the eastern seaboard when first discovered by Europeans is surprisingly close. It would be difficult indeed to decide whether Germans or Indians are the subjects of the following comments:

> Whenever they are not fighting, they pass much of their time in the chase, and still more in idleness, giving themselves up to sleep and to feasting, the bravest and the most warlike doing nothing, and surrendering the management of the household, of the home, and of the land, to the women, the old

> men, and the weakest members of the family. They themselves lie buried in sloth, a strange combination in their nature that the same men should be so fond of idleness, so averse to peace. Naked, or lightly clad with a little cloak. They also wear the skins of wild beasts. In every household the children, naked and filthy, grow up with those stout frames and limbs which we so much admire. Their ancient songs, their only way of remembering or recording the past. Strangely enough they make games of hazard a serious occupation even when sober, and so venturesome are they about gaining or losing, that, when every other resource has failed, on the last and final throw they stake the freedom of their own persons. The loser goes into voluntary slavery. (2)

Thus Tacitus describing the ancient Germans, which is perhaps enough to suggest that the assumption that a simple man was a better man for his simplicity was not exactly a new one and that the Noble Savage living in a Golden Age was long considered a desirable, even if not an attainable, goal.

Sir Thomas More in his Utopia (1516) gave the idea a new impetus. Basing his work to a certain extent on an account of a voyage of Americo Vespucci, which was published in 1507, he laid his scene in an island in 'New Castile'. There are no actual descriptions of the country or of its real inhabitants, only of the Utopians. The book appeared first in Latin, a French translation was published in 1530, and an English version in 1551, after More's death. It had an immediate success and many people seem to have taken it for the literal truth for it was

> so lively counterfeited, that many, at the reading

> thereof, mistook it for a real truth; insomuch that many great learned men, such as Budeus, and Johannes Paludanus, upon a fervent zeal, wished that some excellent Divines might be sent thither to preach Christ's Gospel; yea, there were here amongst us at home sundry good men and learned Divines very desirous to undertake the voyage, to bring the people to the faith of Christ, whose manners they did so well like. (3)

Still another Englishman was to play with the idea of pristine simplicity and innocence as manifested by the Indians before Montaigne, namely Hobbes. On the whole, he is by no means convinced that savage life is the paradise it was said to be. In Leviathan he describes it, rather, as 'brutish'. "For the savage people of America", he says, "except for the government of small families, the concord whereof dependeth on naturall lust, have no government at all; and live at this day in that brutish manner; ... and which is worst of all, continuall feare, and danger of violent death; And the life of man, solitary, poore, nasty, brutish, and short"(4).

It is to America, we notice, that he turns for his 'primitive' man, just as More had done, and just as Montaigne was to do when he wrote his essay 'Of Cannibales' which appeared in English in Florio's translation in 1603. The original French version came out in 1580, the avis opening with the oft-quoted "C'est icy un livre be bon foy, lectuer". The first two books contain over ninety essays as well as a good deal of other material and there are several references to the American Indians, some of them of quite exceptional

interest. Essay 30, 'Of Cannibales', was the one on which Shakespeare drew so clearly in The Tempest and in another essay, 'Of Coaches', is a long description of the ideal conditions under which our aborigines lived in those good old days. He finds all things about them to be good and has excuses even for their cannibalism, the horror of which he attempts to diminish by a facetious light-heartedness in the telling of it: "After [despatching a prisoner] they roast him, eat him amongst them, and send some chops to their absent friends; which nevertheless they do not do, as some think for nourishment, as the Scythians anciently did, but as a representation of an extreme revenge" (5). "Their wars are throughout noble and generous, and carry as much excuse and fair pretence as this human malady is capable of; having with them no other foundation than the sole jealousy of valour"(6).

In the essay 'Of Coaches' is found a curious prophecy which seems closer to fulfilment today than perhaps it did when he penned the words, and then paused to contemplate the vision they called up before his eyes: It [America] was then quite naked, in the mother's lap, and only lived upon what she gave it. If we rightly conclude of our end ... that other world will only enter into the light when this of ours shall make its exit; the universe will be paralytic; one member will be useless, another in vigour"(7)

Montaigne's Essays were immensely popular in England.

Everybody was reading them, and they were considered the most widely known of all foreign productions, excepting only the Bible (8). Coming at the flowering of the Renaissance as they did, they fell on a soil fully ready to receive them. The call of America was daily ringing louder in the ears of England and every word he had to say about the Indians would be read and quoted on all sides: "Their language is soft and pleasing; [a clear echo of Columbus here] they are nothing behind us in clearness of natural understanding; boldness and courage, constancy against pain, hunger, and death; what we now see in those natives does not only surpass all the images with which the poets have adorned the golden age, and all their inventions in feigning a happy state of man, but moreover the fancy, and even the wish and desire, of philosophy itself "(9). There is one detail which sticks in his mind, just as it did in the mind of Columbus, and at last he has to acknowledge it: "Mais quoy! Ils ne portent point de hault de chausses." (Forsooth, they wear no breeches!)

As we have noticed in discussing Rastell, the bald facts concerning the Indians are reasonably accurately reported, but now we find the interpretation placed upon them growing more fallacious. The Indian is pictured as a paragon of simple virtues, almost a demi-god, free of all the dross and gilt of civilization, a Noble Savage, the forefather of all the noble savages who roam the realms of literature, to attain their numerical apogee during the time of the Romantics,

in this case roughly from 1730 to 1830 (10).

A full account of the sources drawn upon by Montaigne would lead us far,(11) but it is quite evident that his noble savage is a Carib Indian and that the details are those recorded as early as the first voyage of Columbus who, it will be remembered, represented them as "a virtuous and mild people, beautiful and with a certain natural intelligence, living together in nakedness and innocence, sharing their property in common"(12). It was easy enough to imagine America as a terrestrial paradise, until one made a close acquaintance of the foggy coast of Maine, the New Jersey mosquitoes, or the rigours of a Canadian winter.

From Montaigne and also from Cartier, Rabelais drew some of his material(13). It is probable that he actually talked with Cartier and took advantage of his first-hand knowledge of the strange northern part of the continent, which differed so greatly from the tropical islands and torrid shores of Florida, the West Indies or the Spanish Main. But his references to the Indians are so fleeting and so obscured by the litter of his diffusiveness that they can have had but little, if any, effect on the popular concept of the Indian. The works of Cartier were the first to describe the natives of what is now Canada, and these people were of especial interest to the French authors.

Strong as may have been the influence of Montaigne, that

of Rousseau was undoubtedly much greater. His works were as extensively read in England, no doubt, as were those of Montaigne but they reached a people who had travlled a hundred and fifty years further along the road of civilization, a people better educated, more generally literate and articulate, distrustful of the old teachings and authorities, and turning eagerly to rationalism as a cure-all for human ills and a solve-all for human doubts.

It may well be that Rousseau's direct inspiration was Cleveland by the Abbè Prèvost which had appeared in 1732; in this book the hero preaches to the Indians the natural religion of brotherhood and duty, a reversal of the usual situation.. "I was convinced," says this hero, "that the simple promptings of Nature, when not corrupted by vice, are never opposed to innocence; they need no repression, only to be moderated by reason "(14).

But Rousseau depended more on his unfettered imagination than he did on the literal accounts of travellers or on the fabrications of writers of fiction. He sits back and imagines savage man as he 'must have been', and assumes that this must have been, possibly still is, the condition of man in America, as described in the Discourse on Inequality. Taking the bits of description as we come across them, we are able to build up a picture of the American Indian (or primitive man, for they are one to Rousseau) about as follows: naked, without

arms, strangers to every disease, dressed in skins, idle, with a mortal aversion to work, dull and stupid, "he can hardly foresee his wants from morning till night"! (15) Hardly a 'noble' savage, this.

But Rousseau is not dismayed; it's the interpretation that counts, not the facts; he would always hold the conclusions of an arm-chair philosopher of more value than the observations of people who knew the Indians, who had lived among them and could speak, at least to some extent, their language, and by this time there were hundreds such. "So long", concludes Rousseau, "as men were content with their rustic hovels, so long as they confined themselves to stitching their garments of skin, to decking their bodies with feathers and shells and painting them in different colours ... then they truly lived, free, healthy, good, and happy, enjoying among themselves always the sweetness of independent intercourse"(16). Paint and feathers, again! We are obviously dealing with American natives, and Voltaire seems to have thought of them as Canadian, for, in a letter to Rousseau in which he mentions having received a copy of the Discourse on Inequality, he says: "One has a desire to crawl on all fours, reading your book. ... I must leave that natural posture to those more worthy of it than you or I. Nor can I embark to go and seek the Indians of Canada, first of all because my maladies make a European doctor neeessary

to me; second, because war is being waged in that country, and the example of our peoples has rendered the savages almost as wicked as we are" (17). Voltaire was not one easily led astray by pictures of idyllic bliss, while the journals of the time described the Hurons and the Iroquois as they were, rather than as Rouuseau thought they might be or wished that they should be.

In passing we may note two minor details which throw some light; first that Rousseau had access to the Jesuit Relations whereas Montaigne had not. These invaluable documents should have corrected any ideas Rousseau might have held about the innate delicacy of a Mohawk warrior. Secondly, the story of Robinson Crusoe was the only book Rousseau would allow in 'Emil's' library! (18). He was also a 'noble savage', another natural man removed from the deforming influences of civilization, a man on whose conduct in emergencies Emil was to pattern his.

Still another French author has to be included in this chapter because of his direct connection with the ideal man of Rousseau and also because of his description of the Indian, which was widely circulated in both England and America in translation, and which undoubtedly had a share in the formation of the popular concept of the Indian. This is Chateaubriand.

Chateaubriand's Atala came out in 1801, and had an immediate success. The florid style and the glowing descrip-

tions were greatly admired and their accuracy or want of it was apparently of no consequence. The author had long entertained the idea of writing a book dealing with the natives of North America and he decided that the fate of the Natchez Colony in Louisiana was the best topic for his purpose. With a view to securing local colour he paid a visit to the district in 1789 and visited not only the scene of his novel but also Niagara Falls. That he profited by his experiences will be seen on reading the two extracts which follow:

> A multitude of animals, placed in these retreats by the hand of the Creator, spread about life and enchantment. From the extremities of the avenues may be seen bears, intoxicated with the grape, staggering upon the branches of the elm-trees; cariboos bathe in the lake; ... and bird-catching serpents hiss while suspended to the domes of the woods, where they swing about like the creepers themselves. (19)

This was down in Louisiana, where caribou are scarce, or to be truthful, non-existent. Turning now to Niagara Falls, we read:

> The mass of the river, which rushes towards the north, assumes the form of a vast cylinder, unrolling itself into a field of snow, and shining with every colour in the sun; ... Pine-trees, walnut-trees and rocks, worn into fantastic forms, ornament the scene. Eagles, carried along by the current of air, are whirled down to the bottom of the gulf; and carcajous, hanging by their flexible tails to the ends of the fallen branches, wait to seize in the abyss the crushed bodies of bears and elks. (20)

It is evident that we have here a reminiscence of Carver's

Travels (1781) in which there is a reference to the eagles which nest on an island just below the Falls of St. Anthony and live on fish and animals bruised in the rushing waters; an illustration shows the island and many eagles (21).

As for detailed descriptions of the Indians, there is but little. Except in the introductory pages or prologue, where there are a few descriptive phrases and references to Indian customs, we are left to divine the character of the aborigines, or to deduce from their actions the motives by which they are animated. That this method is hardly satisfactory should be quite obvious. We are told definitely they are "full of gaiety, love and contentment. His walk is light, his mien calm and open. He speaks much and with volubility. His language is harmonious and flowing" (22). This is by no means the stoical, taciturn individual pictured by Fenimore Cooper less than a generation later.

In his preface to the first edition of Atala, Chateaubriand says that when he was still very young he conceived the idea of composing an epic on "The Man of Nature" to depict the manners of the savages (23); either he was not very anxious to depict the savages accurately, or he was so blinded by his preconceived ideas of what the Indians would be like, or had once been, that he was unable to observe them correctly. Perhaps we may grant him this, the more generous, interpretation.

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER THREE

1 Josephson, p. 184
2 Tacitus, pp.88,91,98,100,102,105
3 Fuller Worthies of England s.v. More
4 Hobbes Part 1, Chapter 13
5 Montaigne, 1:299
6 Montaigne, 1:299
7 Montaigne, Book 3, Chapter 6
8 Encyclopedia Britannica s.v. Montaigne. Legouis and Cazamian, p. 247
9 Montaigne, passim.
10 For a full account of 'The Noble Savage' see Fairchild
11 Chinard, G. L'Exotisme americain dans la litterature francaise au XVIe siecle. Paris 1911
12 Fairchild, p. 10
13 Barbeau, passim
14 Josephson, pp. 101-102
15 Rousseau, passim
16 Josephson, pp. 182-183
17 Josephson, p. 192
18 Fairchild, p. 121
19 Chateaubriand, p. 2
20 Chateaubriand, p. 45
21 Carver, p. 71
22 Chateaubriand, p. 7
23 Chateaubriand, p. vii.

CHAPTER FOUR

SHAKESPEARE AND "THE TEMPEST".

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the word "America" was on the tongue of every Englishman. The recent adventures of Hawkins, of Drake, Frobisher, Raleigh, and of many others had created a wave of excitement which carried their names and the stories of their heroic deeds into every household. A few years later, when Virginia was successfully colonised, interest in the New World increased and references to the 'plantations', to the country as a whole and to the natives occur frequently in the literature of the period.

Comparatively few of these references, however, are more than casual allusions, metaphors and similes, ornaments designed to lend a modern air, an up-to-date freshness, to the works in which they appear. The aborigines are seen a little less frequently than one might expect. The principal literary form of the day, Shakespeare's day, was the drama, prose fiction being in comparative eclipse; but even in the plays then being written and produced no more than passing allusions to the Indians are found. As Sir Sidney Lees put it, "Elizabethan drama faithfully reflected current aspiration and experience, but the American native left upon it a slighter impression than might have been expected"(1).

Shakespeare seems to have taken a somewhat more serious

view of the importance, present and future, of the American aborigine than did most of his contemporaries(2). It was not, however, till near the end of his career that he accorded him more than passing mention. The Tempest, it now seems to be agreed, was written late in 1610 or early in 1611 (3), and it would appear that Shakespeare, to say the least, had America in mind when he wrote it. Lee is prepared to go a little further: "When it is traced to its sources," he says, "The Tempest is seen to form a veritable document of early Anglo-American history" (4).

The actual location of the "un-inhabited island" in which the scene is laid is never precisely stated by the author, but there is ample evidence that the setting is thought of as being 'somewhere in America'. America, or the Indies, or the newe founde land, as the western hemisphere was indifferently named, was a pretty vague term for the average man in the year 1600. He knew it was a vast area, thickly populated (though here he tended to considerable exaggeration -(5)), and a potential source of enormous riches. But nobody bothered to distinguish Brazil from Guiana, or Virginia from Florida, unless they had actually visited one or more of these places. A similar situation is seen today in respect to our Arctic Islands. How many can say whether Baffin Island lies north or south of Ellesmere? As a result an American Indian was merely an American Indian, no matter what part of the continent he came from, or

whether he was a member of the great Algonkian stock which stretched from the St. Lawrence down the coast to Virginia, or of the Caribs, or of some other group.

So Shakespeare's Caliban is found to be a mixture of characteristics, a blend, as it were, of various Indians, moulded to suit the needs of the playwright, not to fit the definitions of the anthropologist. But before discussing Caliban himself, let us examine a little more closely his surroundings.

A surprising number of people have insisted, or merely assumed, that Bermuda is the island that Shakespeare had in mind when writing The Tempest(6), but this can hardly be, for Ariel is made to say (7) that he has hidden the King's ship

> in the deep Nook, where once
> Thou calldst me up at midnight to fetch dew
> From the still-vext Bermoothes

and obviously, if they were already in Bermuda, Prospero would not send Ariel there to get dew(8).

There is little or nothing in the play itself to suggest any particular locale. The scenery and surroundings are conventional, and the only features of the landscape mentioned are such as might well be encountered almost anywhere, on an island or on the mainland, in Europe or in America.

There was still prevalent in Shakespeare's time an idea

that America was, sociologically speaking, an actually existent Utopia, an idea derived from the school of philosophers including More, Montaigne,and Rousseau many years later, of which we have already spoken. In Montaigne's essay 'Of Cannibales' as we have already seen, he attributed to the American Indians many highly desirable (and purely imaginary) institutions. It is on this essay or, more accurately, on Florio's translation of it (1603), that Gonzano's speech is based:

> I'th'Commonwealth I would (by contraries)
> Execute all things; For no kinde of Trafficke
> Would I admit: No name of Magistrate:
> Letters should not be knowne: Riches, poverty,
> And use of service, none: Contract, Succession;
> Borne, bound of Land, Tilth, Vinevard none:
> No use of Mettall, Corne, or Vine, or Oyle:
> No occupation, all men idle, all:
> And Women too, but innocent and pure:
> No Soveraignty (9).

Florio's translation of this passage is as follows:

> It is a kind of nation, ... that hath no kinde of Trafficke, no knowledge of Letters, no intelligence of numbers, no name of magistrate, nor of politike superioritie; no use of service, or riches, or of povertie; no contracts, no successions, no partitions, no occupation but idle; no respect of kindred, but common, no apparell but naturall, no manuring of lands, no use of wine, corne, or mettle. The very words that import lying, falshood, treason, dissimulations, covetousness, envie, detraction, and pardon were never heard amongst them (10).

It is interesting to note that even the same order of ideas

is preserved, as far as the demands of the meter permit(11).

To John Lyly, too, the author of Euphues and a pionerr of Elizabethan comedy, America presented itself as Utopia, where men and women still gloried in "their first simplicity"(12), and it is worth remembering in connection with islands that in More's book Utopia itself is an island, the full title being "De Optimo reipublicae statu deque nova insula Utopia" [my italics]. One is tempted to speculate further as to whether Lyly was in any way influenced, in his invention of euphuism by the florid metaphors of American Indian eloquence. In his day this particular form of oratory was not so well known as it was destined to become after the settlement of the New England States, but it may be that the trick of using Nature as a source of material similes by which to secure abstract effects had come to his attention. The Indian does this, not from a deep and inherent love of poetical expression, but because of the poverty of his language in abstract terms; Lyly may have seen the possibilities and turned to the bestiaries and herbals for a suitable set of metaphors and similes to use in this way.

But to return to Gonzano's speech. We must not assume that Shakespeare had seriously embraced the Utopian theories advanced by Gonzano; rather is the speech a satire on such unsubstantial conceits.

The description of the storm which occupies the first

scene and determines the title of the play seems to be based upon an account of an actual storm which was described in great detail in a pamphlet which appeared in 1610, just at the time when Shakespeare was writing the play. It was entitled A Discovery of the Bermudas, otherwise called the Isle of Divels; by Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and Captain Newport, with divers others, 1610 and was written by Sil. Jourdan (13). There are many parallels between the two tempests, parallels which are too close to admit of anything but direct reference. There appears to have been a succession of wrecks on the Bermudas and, as Furness says: "The Bermudas became a commonplace ih Shakespeare's time whenever storms and tempests were the theme" (14), hence their appellation "the still-vext" (or ever troubled) Bermudas.

Turning now to the sole remaining aboriginal inhabitant of the island, Caliban, the first question is as to the origin of his name. The usual opinion, and the one which the New English Dictionary holds as probable, is that the name is a metathesis of cannibal. Shakespeare well knew that the principal and distinguishing trait of the American Indian was, in the minds of his audiences, cannibalism; but the sanctions of the plot were such that there was no opportunity for this charcateristic to be demonstarted, for Caliban and his mother, Sycorax, had been the only inhabitants of the island before the advent of Prospero. They could hardly

eat each other and, after Caliban was reduced to servitude, he was unable to turn on Prospero or Miranda because of the magic by which he was held slave. To suggest cannibalism by his name was perhaps Shakespeare's ready solution of a difficulty which probably troubled him far less than it has the numerous subsequent commentators.

In his physical appearance Caliban does not fit at all well with the many descriptions of Indians available to Shakespeare, but is definitely a 'monster'. Moreover it is almost a certainty that he had seen American Indians more than once, for Indians from Guiana were in London in 1595, from Virginia in 1584 and 1605, to mention only some of those who were there during Shakespeare's manhood and before he wrote The Tempest (15). In the case of the Indians from Virginia in London in 1605, and brought over by Captain Weymouth, there were five men who had brought with them their bows and arrows and two canoes. There was then, no lack of opportunity for a life-like portrait, but such was not the playwright's intention. Caliban was to be a 'monster', the type of being shown at country fairs which Trinculo has in mind when he says:

> A strange fish: were I in England now (as once I was) and had but this fish painted; not a holiday foole there but would give a peece of silver: there, would this Monster, make a man: any strange beast there, makes a man; when they will not give a doit to relieve a lame Beggar, they will lay out ten to see a dead Indian: Leg'd like a man; and his Finnes like Armes: warm o'my troth: I doe now loose my opinion; hold it no longer; this is

no fish; but an Islander (16).

The bodies of dead Indians had been shown for a fee on more than one occasion and Trinculo sees slipping, or rather quite irretrievably slipped, out of his fingers a chance to 'make' himself by exhibiting this 'strange fish'. 'Monsters' and 'strange fish' then, even as today, were paying side-show attractions (17).

But there is another element in Caliban which has not yet been mentioned here, namely his relation to the Patagonians of South America, described in such picturesque detail in accounts of the voyage of Magellan, and which Shakespeare may have read in Richard Eden's History of Travel (18). Caliban is made to 'cry upon his dam's god, Setebos', the 'great devil' of the Patagonian giants. Two of these unfortunate 'giants' were taken prisoner by Magellan and, finding themselves helpless in chains, "cryed upon their great devyll Setebos to helpe them". The habit of taking natives prisoner and bringing them back to Europe seems to have been very firmly implanted in the early Spanish, French and English explorers. Apparently they did so in much the same spirit and with just as little concern as they brought back parrots and monkeys, rationalizing their actions by saying that they would teach these natives to speak English so that they might act as interpreters.

There is, too, more than a touch of satire in Shakespeare's

picture of Caliban just as there is in Gonzano's speech in which his Utopian commonwealth is described. A.W.Ward (19) says "It seems difficult to escape from the conclusion, that Shakespeare intended his monster as a satire incarnate on Montaigne's 'noble savage'." Lee adds: "Shakespeare cherished none of Montaigne's amiable dreams of the primitive state of man in America"(20). Possibly,too, the playwright had in mind some sort of apology, some justification by analogy, for our taking land from native peoples and subjecting them to a foreign and, inevitably, objectionable rule. "If Prospero might dispossess Caliban, England might dispossess the aborigines of the colonies" (21).

Sir Sidney Lee in his Call of the West laid special stress on the line 'No more dams I'le make for fish', which (22) was chanted by Caliban in his drunken revolt against Prospero. He states that the method of fishing by means of dams that entrapped the fish was a peculiarly American method that attracted the immediate attention of the colonists, and was not known in Europe, from which he argues that we have here even more evidence (should we need it) that Caliban was intended as an Indian. Reference to the Encyclopedia Britannica shows, however, that weirs were in use for fishing in England as early as Anglo-Saxon times (23). It is also stated that a legal title to a dam for fishing must,to be valid, date back to Magna Charta (24). Rau, in his detailed account of fish-

ing methods in Europe and America offers no very conclusive evidence (25) but the specific statements in the Encyclopedia Britannica would seem to render Lee's claim untenable.

Another detail calls for notice: the fact that Stephano makes Caliban drunk. So, too, in Dryden's version of The Tempest (1667) both Caliban and Sycorax (now Caliban's sister rather than his mother) are both pictured as being intoxicated. This seems to suggest that the practice of making the Indians drunk in order to take advantage of them in some way was a very early one. It grew to serious proportions later on.

There are a few other references to Indians and to America scattered through Shakespeare's plays, none of them of special importance, though the insistence on sun-worship as a characteristic of the Indians is of interest. One other mention deserves notice as it is apparently a direct quotation, namely Autolicus' speech in The Winter's Tale (26):

> He has a son; who shall be flayed alive, then annointed over with honey, set on the head of a wasp's nest, there stand till he be three quarters and a dram dead: then recovered again with aqua-vita, or some other hot infusion: then, raw as he is (and in the hottest day prognostication proclaims) shall be set against a brick wall (the sun looking with a southward eye upon him); where he is to behold him with flies blown to death"

Now in Shakespeare's England (27) we read:

> An Indian was smeared with brimstone, fired, restored to health, anointed with honey, chained to a tree 'where mosquitoes flocked about him like

> moats in the sun' - these mosquitoes being like little wasps - 'than which death had been better as he said'."

Shakespeare's England is anonymous and references are by no means always given to the original authority. I have made an effort to trace the source of the above, especially in Hakluyt, but without avail.

The Indians pictured in Shakespeare's plays and in the works of contemporary dramatists is by no means the Indian as we picture him today. Our concepts are derived from later sources, more detailed, more accurate, and based upon a different Indian, for we may hardly suppose that these people can have been exposed to over four centuries of white conquest and oppression without having been changed. But there are still points of similarity, for in both periods the Indian was a strange and romantic figure, human of course, but somehow different from ourselves, a being who might with reason be sought for in a show at a fair, along with 'monsters' and 'strange fish'.

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER FOUR

1 Lee, 42:324
2 Lee, 42:325
3 Furness, pp.272-306
4 Lee, 42:326. Kelsey, R. 'Indian Dances'
5 Bourne, p.265. Hodge, s.v.Population
6 Furness, p.1
7 Act 1, Scene2, line 266 et seq.
8 Furness, p.55
9 Act 2, Scene 1, lines 153-162
10 Furness, p.104
11 See also Lee 42:327
12 Lee, 42:324
13 Furness, p.308
14 Furness, p.55
15 Lee, 42:313-330. Shakespeare's England, 1:194-195
16 Act 2, Scene 2, lines 30-38
17 Furness, pp.128-129
18 Furness, p.76
19 Hist of English Literature, 1:441
20 Lee, 42:327
21 See Phillpotts, quoted by Furness, p.383
22 Act 2, Scene 2, line 190
23 Encyclopedia Britannica s.v. Weir
24 Encyclopedia Britannica s.v.Water Rights
25 Rau, C. 'Prehistoric Fishing'
26 Act 4, Scene 4, lines 871-878
27 Shakespeare's England 1:185

CHAPTER FIVE

SHAKESPEARE'S CONTEMPORARIES

Shakespeare, the great star of the Elizabethan heavens, was accompanied by a host of lesser luminaries, satellites which in some cases glowed with their own light, and others whose light was but a reflection of the splendour of one of the most brilliant periods in the history of English letters. Many of these playwrights made mention, as Shakespeare had done, of the New World; few did more: apparently not one of them wrote a play the action of which was to take place in the Americas, or in which the principal characters were of the native races of the new continent. A list of all the mere references to our Indians would not only be tedious, but would contribute little to the discussion. Such lists can be found in consulting E.H. Sugden's valuable Topographical Dictionary to the Works of Shakespeare which contains far more material than the title would suggest. However, some examples taken from this and other sources will help to show the concept of the Indian held in this epoch.

Edmund Spenser would not be likely to overlook the fabulous riches of New Spain in his embroidering of the glowing canvas he entitled The Faerie Queene, but which he had at first determined to publish simply as Pageants, for never was there such a pageant as that painted by the fabulous exploits of the treasure-crazed Spaniards in Mexico and Peru.

The Indians, too, appeal to Spenser, who does not slight their inevitable feathers, when he speaks of

> pavnted plumes, in goodly order dight,
> Like as the sunburnt Indians do arrav
> Their tawny bodies, in their proudest plight (1).

It was a source of much astonishment to the early explorers to learn that Indian children are much lighter in colour than their parents; the subsequent darkening was attributed, not to a normal increase in pigmentation, but to deliberate treatments which consisted of frequent rubbing with oils and grease, exposure to the sun, (hence Spenser's 'sunburnt' Indians, quoted above,) and even, according to Josselyn in his New England Rarities (1672), dveing with hemlock bark! In another passage Spenser refers to the Indians as archers:

> And in his hand a bended bow was seene,
> And many arrowes under his right side,
> All deadly daungerous, all cruel keene,
> Headed with flint, and feathers bloody dide,
> Such as the Indians in their quivers hide (2).

The belief that the Indian warriors obeyed their chiefs or 'kings' implicitly was well fixed in the popular mind at this time, and is by no means extinct today. Traces of this are seen in the anonymous Trial by Chivalry (1597) in which Katherine says to Pembroke:

> You vanquish beauty with no lesser awe
> Than Indian vassals stoop unto their lords.

We must bear in mind in this case, as in many others, that the words 'India' and,more especially, 'Indies' and 'Indians' may refer to either the West Indies or the East Indies. Frequently it is quite impossible to tell which the author had in mind for they were both held to be populated by dark-hued people, both tropical in climate (in at least certain parts) and both lands of fabulous riches.

In another anonymous work of the end of the sixteenth century we meet again with the Indian's reputedly almost supernatural skill as a medicine-man. In Grim, the Collier of Croydon (1599) by J.T., Castiliana says:

> Now shall you see a Spaniard's skill
> Who from the plains of new America
> Can find out sacred simples of esteem. (3)

Evidently we have in this Spaniard the first of the 'doctors' who haunt the country fairs and exhibitions and sell secret remedies they have acquired from the Indians, such as Seneca root and rattlesnake oil. Again, in Marston's Malcontent which appeared during the next year (1600) one of the components of an aphrodisiac is 'pure candied Indian-eringoes'. Eringoes are a species, or genus rather, of perennial herbs, popularly known as sea-holly, previously candied as a sweetmeat, and believed to possess strong aphrodisiac qualities. Various other species of the same genus, we are told, are highly esteemed for their medicinal and flavouring virtues. (4)

It was at this time that Philemon Holland, 'the Translator-general of his age', made the first discovered use in English of the word 'scalp'. in his translation of Plinv's Natural History: "The former Anthropophagi ... whom we [Plinv, not Holland] have placed about the North pole ... use ... to weare the scalpes, haire and all, in stead of ... stomachers, before their breasts" (5). Various other common words of Indian origin or association also make their debut at the time of Shakespeare, a period of great growth and development in the language itself as well as in its literature. New words were of great interest, apparently, to contemporary writers and they not only coined and struck them to fit the need and occasions, but borrowed freely from foreign languages, European or American.

'Tomahawk' first appears on Captain John Smith's map of Virginia (1612) where it is spelled 'tomahack' and is said to mean axe. Actually a tomahawk is rather a club than an axe, the word being derived from the Algonquian otomahuk, to knock down. (6) The original stone war-clubs were more or less hatchet-shaped and the metal hatchets which took their place seem to have been among the first articles traded to the Indians by the early explorers.

'Totem' is another word to make an early advent, being found in Lescarbot's Histoire de la Nouvelle France in 1609. It apparently didn't get into English for another hundred and fifty years, in 1760! (7) 'Wigwam' is found as early as 1628.

mocassin in 1612, papoose and squaw both in 1634, and sachem in 1622. War-party and war-paint, surprisingly enough, not till 1826: both of them in The Last of the Mohicans!

Dramatists of Shakespeare's day were not above poking a little fun at the new plantations in Virginia either. In Jonson's Eastward Hoe (1605) Seagull says: "A whole colony of English is there, bred of those that were left there in '79. They have married with the she-Indians and make 'em bring forth as beautiful faces as any we have in England". Twenty years later, in 1625, Jonson again, in his Staple of News this time, speaks of "a colony of cooks to be set ashore on the coast of America for the conversion of the cahhibals and making them good eating Christians" (8). In the same play he refers to the unfortunate habit Pocahontas had developed while in England, of dropping into tavers, to the distress of the people with whom she was stopping. In Act 2, Scene 1:

> Picklock. A tavern's as unfit too for a princess.
> Pennyboy Canter. No, I have known a princess, and a great one
> Come forth of a tavern.
> Picklock. Not go in, sir, though
> P'Canter. She must go in if she came forth; the blessed Pokahontas, as the historian calls her,
> And great king's daughter of Virginia
> Hath been in womb of tavern.

IN Dekker's If It Be Not Good, the Devil Is In It there is a reference to the nakedness of the Indians: "The Indians are warm without clothes" (9) and Middleton refers to the same

thing in his Fair Quarrel (1616) when Meg says: "I and my Amazons strip you as naked as an Indian", (10) but Sugden suggests that the reference may be to "one of those unfortunate exhibits, who ,were shown in puris naturalibus" (11). The heat of the climate in Virginia and other parts of America seems to have been somewhat exaggerated, or possibly it is simply that it contrasted so strongly with the rain and mists of England. Not only was the weather warm enough to make clothes unnecessary, but Beaumont and Fletcher in Faithful Friends (1613) speak of the natives as being "parched Indians, short-breathed men" in contrast to the "longest-lived, cold Hyperboreans" (12).

An interesting sidelight on the advance of astronomy in Shakespeare's time is found in Middleton's No Wit, No Help Like a Woman's (1613) in which Weatherwise predicts an eclipse "not visible on our horizon, but about the Western inhabitants of Mexicana and California (13). California at this time was a name for the whole Pacific coast from what is now Mexico to Oregon(14).

Feathers are mentioned in almost every account of the Indians. Chapman wrote at least two 'masques' which were performed by the lawyers of the Middle Temple, The Masque of Flowers and The Inns of Court Masque, both in 1613. The words written by Chapman were, however,not the most important feature of these entertainments, but rather the costumes and

scenic devices which were very elaborate. Inigo Jones, the royal architect and artist, designed some of the costumes, and his sketches for them are still in existence (15). This is not an appropriate place to discuss them in detail, suffice it to say that they must have been beautiful. Many of the lawyers paraded themselves before the Court and a most fashionable audience "having on their heads high-sprigged feathers, compassed in coronets, like the Virginian princes they presented". They wore ornaments of gold plate encrusted with pearls on their foreheads and their robes were also thick with variously coloured feathers. It would seem that the bills for these festivities were paid, in part at least, by Bacon and under his guidance the Virginians and Floridans were presented in these masques in a farcical or at least slightly burlesqued fashion (16).

The physical appearance of the Indians seems to have been largely a matter of opinion. Columbus, we know, had spoken of them as the most beautiful people he had seen; we have read Jonson's comment in Eastward Hoe on the beauty of the half-bred children, but in The Knight of Malta by Beaumont and Fletcher (1618) Norandine says of a Moorish woman : "Do you snarl, you black Gill? She looks like the picture of America" (17). Sugden thinks the reference may be "to some picture of an American Indian, represented as a black malevolent savage" but admits he has not been able to trace

it (18). In those days, too, it seems the Indians were held to have flat noses, rather than a hooked nose, as many people believe today. In Shirley's Hyde Park (1632) Mrs. Carol, addressing Fairfield, says: "Your nose is Roman, which your next debauchment at taverns, with the help of a pot or candlestick, may turn to Indian, flat" (19).

As for character, the Indian does not appear to be the marauding, treacherous savage he was represented as being a few years after the Pilgrim Fathers had established themselves. In Middleton's Love and Antiquity (1619) Bullen speaks of: "that kind savage, the Virginian" (20) and it would appear from Beaumont and Fletcher's Love's Cure (1626) where Lucio speaks of: "the Indian maid the Governor sent my mother from Mexico" that the girls, at least, were sufficiently mild-mannered to be trusted in a civilized household (21).

American Indian languages were then, and still are, beyond the ken of most Europeans. In Randolph's Muse's Looking Glass (1634) Eiron professes to know all the languages of Europe, Asia and Africa "but in America and the newfound world I very much fear there be some languages that would go near to puzzle me". References to the language are, however, infrequent; in plays, when Indian characters speak they nearly always do so in the same English as do the other players. It was nearly two hundred years before the present absurd 'conventional' Indian dialect reached its full growth.

References to the products of the New World seem to be infrequent. The eringoes we have already mentioned; tobacco is a product which receives more than occasional mention, but it would be wearisome to mention more than a typical example such as this from the works of John Taylor, the 'water-poet': (1630)

> And by the meanes of what he swil'd and gul'd
> He look'd like one that was three-quarters Mul'd.
> His breath compounded of strong English beere,
> And th'Indian drug would suffer none come neere.

It is really somewhat astonishing that there are not more references to the life of the settlers in America, to tales of captivity, to life with the Indians, or to romantic attachments between white men and Indian maids, such as was formed in the case of Pocahontas which would seem to be almost the only one of its kind which has been recorded for this period. There was a good deal of such material in the letters which settlers in the New World sent to their relatives remaining in England, there were diaries and journals, accounts of travels in the interior, but this wealth of new matter seems to have had very little influence on literature.

Even at this early date land selling concerns and other commercial agencies, eager to attract people to various colonizing schemes, were publishing pamphlets in which they magnified the advantages and minimized the disadvantages of life in the colonies and the Indian, if he was mentioned at all,

was pictured only in his more benevolent aspects, but here again the effect on literature and on the popular concept was slight or nil.

Actually, people seem to have taken but little interest in the Indians at this period. To the colonist, the trader, and to the explorer he was of some practical concern either as a possible enemy, a potential customer or as a guide, but the interest of the literary world was rather on the more or less mythical Indians of Mexico and Peru, from whom their conquerors, the Spaniards had looted literally tons of gold, and whose bloody and elaborate religious ceremonies had made a strong and indelible impression on all those who heard or read of them.

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER FIVE

1 Faerie Queene, III:12,8

2 Faerie Queene, II:11,21

3 Act 2, Scene 1

4 Webster's Dictionary s.v. Eryngium

5 Holland, P., Pliny VII:2,154

6 Encyclopedia Britannica s.v. Tomahawk

7 Alex. Henry, sen. Travels, p.305

8 Act 2, Scene 1

9 Sugden s.v. India

10 Act 4, Scene 4

11 Sugden s.v. India

12 Act 4, Scene 1

13 Act 2, Scene 3

14 Sugden s.v. California

15 Shakespeare's England, plates

16 Lee, Call of the West Scribner's 1907

17 Act 5, Scene 2

18 Sugden s.v. America

19 Act 3, Scene 2

20 Sugden s.v. Virginia

21 Act 1, Scene 2

CHAPTER SIX

THE RESTORATION "INDIAN"

The return of the monarchy in 1660 marked the beginning of a new and vigorous movement forward in various forms of intellectual and aesthetic life, including the theatre. It is a little surprising to note that Cromwell's government had allowed two plays, or perhaps we should call them spectacles, to be presented, one in 1658 and the other in 1659. Cromwell died in 1658, but his son Richard was, at least nominally, in power until the 25th of May, 1659. and it is believed that it was in accordance with government policy to allow the showing of these spectacles which reflected on the Spaniards, against whom Cromwell had great designs (1).

The productions in question were both written by Sir William Davenant, who had been well-known as a playwright before the civil war; being anxious to continue in this pursuit, he secured, in May, 1656, permission to open a sort of theatre in London where he presented, not plays, since these were forbidden by Puritan law, but what he called by the name of operas, an inoffensive term which enabled him both the circumvent the law (2) and, at the same time, introduce a new word to the English stage.

In 1658, then, he opened with The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru, and enjoyed an immediate success, partly perhaps because there were no other plays showing and partly on

account of the very elaborate staging. The scene was laid in fabulous Peru, and the action was composed of speeches, songs, dances and feats of agility, scenes of warfare and torture. The stage directions give some idea of the scale of the performance: "Two Spaniards are discovered sitting in their cloaks ... the one turning a spit while the other is basting an Indian Prince which is roasted at an artificial fire". Sir William realized that a large proportion of his audience would rather 'see things happen' than listen to long declamatory speeches,no matter how poetical, so the end of each important discourse is distinguished thus: "The Speech being ended, the Priest waves his Verge, and His Attendant, with extraordinary Activity, performs the Somerset" or some other appropriate tour de force. The Indians were gorgeously arrayed, (in feathers of course), and Emperors, Kings, and Princes abound. A definite idea of the 'Indian' had evidently sprung up, but not the Indian the preceding generation had known in the time of Shakespeare and his contemporaries, and not at all the Indian of the Virginian plantations.

The following year, Davenant followed up his success with a similar spectacle laid in the same locale, The History of Sir Francis Drake, another sure-fire hit, but with even less of the natives in it.

Dryden had not been slow to observe the success of such

entertainments which, though they were but little more than one-act plays, or masques, had met with enviable receptions. Hoping to profit by the example, he assisted his brother-in-law, Sir Robert Howard, in writing The Indian Queen, which was much the same kind of thing as Davenant's operas, but a full-length play. It was produced with 'great splendour' (all Puritan restrictions now being out of the way) and was an immense success. The scenes were most elaborate, with "the Temple of the Sun, all of Gold", with "Priests, in Habits of white and red Feathers, attending by a bloody Altar, as ready for Sacrifice", and every spectacular magnificence that one can imagine. The role of the heroine, Queen Zempoalla, was played by Mrs. Marshall in a 'real Indian dress of feathers' presented for the occasion by no less a celebrity than Mrs. Aphra Behn, the famous writer, and 'literally everybody' was there(3).

In theory, as we have seen, the play was laid among the Aztecs, but they might as well have been ancient Egyptians, so little did Dryden try to give the characters any realism. The action takes place before the arrival of the Spaniards in the country, so the natives could be shown in all their pristine innocence and simplicity, but there is hardly a jot or a tittle of real verisimilitude in the whole thing.

The second play along the same lines, The Indian Emperor, which Dryden wrote himself and produced the next year (1665)

takes place 'twenty years later' and the Spaniards are now in open conflict with the Indians. Dryden, in an 'argument' circulated among the audience before the curtain rose on the opening night says that he 'neither wholly followed the story, nor varied from it; and, as near as I could, have traced the native simplicity and ignorance of the Indians, in relation to European customs'. If he was sincere in this endeavour, he made a singularly ineffective attempt upon it (4). There is, one may be sure, no effort to describe the Indian as he really was and his language in the play is precisely that of his fellow-players. Both productions were enormously profitable, in spite of the great initial cost, and after all, it is quite obvious that an audience does not attend the theatre with anthropological text-books tucked under their arms.

John Evelyn, a hardened play-goer, saw The Indian Queen on the 4th of February,1664, "a tragedy well written, so beautiful with scenes as the like had never been seen here, or haply (except rarely) elsewhere on a mercenary theatre". His references to the New World in his famous Diary are rare, but a few years before (19 October 1657) he mentioned going to see Dr Joyliffe's two Virginia rattle-snakes which, he notes were kept 'only in a barrel of bran'.

Apart from these two plays, Dryden does not include the Indian, at any rate as a principle, in any of his work. There is one reference, however, in his Conquest of Granada which is so frequently quoted as to deserve mention:

is so frequently quoted as to deserve repetition:

> I am as free as Nature first made man,
> Ere the base laws of servitude began,
> When wild in woods the noble savage ran (5).

Milton in Paradise Lost (1667) makes occasional mention of the Indian, but with no intention of using him as more than a decoration. In his case too, feathers seem to pre-occupy the mind:

> Those leaves
> They gathered, broad as Amazonian targe,
> And with what skill they had, together sowd
> To gird their waste, vain covering if to hide
> Their guilt and shame; O how unlike
> To that first naked glorie. Such of late
> Columbus found th'American so girt
> With feathered cincture, naked else and wilde
> Among the trees on iles and woodie shores (6).

Canada, too, was known to Milton, but under the old and seldom-used name of Norumbega which, in the seventeenth century, referred to the south part of Canada and the States of New York and Maine (7). In Paradise Lost the north wind is said to blow "from the north of Norumbega, and the Samoed shore" (8). The same name is used by Burton in The Anatomy of Melancholie when he informs us that "at Norumbega in 45 lat.,all the sea is frozen ice"(9). Latitude 45 cuts through Nova Scotia, so either Burton was misinformed or somebody's solar observation was sadly out of reckoning. Another name for Canada, or part of Canada, which has dropped out of use

is Estotiland. In the Cosmography of Peter Heylyn (1657) it is described as "the most northern region on the east side of America" (10) and on the map (page 1010) it is shown lying east of Hudson Bay, that is, in Ungava or Labrador. Milton uses the name in Paradise Lost referring to "the snow from cold Estotiland" (11).

But of the Indians living in these lands of ice and snow, there is no mention. The Indians of Canada, as we know them today, were not thought of as being different in any way from those of other parts of the continent. This view was, in large part, correct, for a single culture-group, the Coastal Algonquins, were in possession of almost the entire sea-board from the Gulf of St. Lawrence down to North Carolina. Furthermore, Canada was a French possession and the settling of English colonists a little farther south had shifted attention from the natives of Canada to their relatives of the New England States and the south-east.

These people were now becoming well-known, both in letters from colonists and accounts written by traders, explorers, and government officials, including military officers. So we now have established at least two well-defined types of Indians: the romantic, and largely mythical, Indian of Spanish America as pictured by Davenant and Dryden, to be revived later by Southey in his Madoc; and the more actual Algonkians (and later the Iroquois) familiar to the New England colonist,

who called them 'red-skins'.

This word 'red-skin' first appears in 1699 (12) when "Ye firste Meetinge House was solid mavde to withstande ve wicked assaults of ve Red Skins". Apparently the Indian was noted for his physique in those days, for the same author, a Mr. Smith, says also: "My honoured Father was as Active as ve Red-skin Men and sinewy". 'Tobogган' also came into use at about the same time, in 1691, and 'snowshoe' about twenty years earlier (1674).

As for fiction or other imaginative literature of that type Fairchild finds that "the Indian of North America ... first appears as a character in English imaginative literature in John Dennis' Liberty Asserted. The scene is laid in Canada, and the author's purpose is to contrast English liberty and French tyranny" (13). The play was produced in 1704 and the Indian charcaters are not at all realistic.

There were numerous serious accounts of the Indians published, but there seems to have been no serious work which, apart from such scientific or pseudo-scientific material, dealt with the Indian as a subject for belles letters. This was yet to come, and in ever-increasing volume, in the eighteenth century.

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2 Encyclopedia Britannica s.v. Davenant

3 Encyclopedia Britannica s.v. Dryden

4 Dryden, Works, ed. by Scott, 1882

5 Conquest of Granada, Part One.

6 Paradise Lost 9:1110

7 Sugden s.v. Norumbega

8 Paradise Lost 10:696

9 Anatomy of Melancholy 2:2:3:. page. 376

10 Heylyn, p.1020

11 Paradise Lost 10:686

12 New English Dictionary s.v. redskin

13 Fairchild, p.42

CHAPTER SEVEN

DEFOE'S "ROBINSON CRUSOE"

The form of literature in which the American Indian makes his most frequent appearance is the novel, and it is an interesting fact that the earliest books with pretensions to be in any real way thought of as novels include Indians in their plots. Neither Richardson nor Fielding had much to say about Indians, but there are two, if not three, predecessors of theirs who had.

Mrs. Aphra Behn we have met already. She is the lady who presented Mrs. Marshall with a real Indian feahher dress in which to play Queen Zempoalla. Mrs Behn is not only one of the first novelists, but she was also one of the first to have a 'noble savage' for her hero. True enough, in Oroonoko; or, The Royal Slave (1688) the hero is a negro, but he was a noble savage nevertheless and there are authentic Indians in the background, which, incidentally, is Surinam, now Dutch Guiana. Mrs. Behn subscribes fully to the belief that primitive man lives in a state of innocence and manly virtue. In speaking of the Indians of Surinam, where she professes to have lived, and whose acquaintance she had made, she says:

> These people represented to me an absolute idea of the first state of innocence, before man knew how to sin. And 't is most evident and plain, that simple nature is the most harmless, inoffensive, and virtuous mistress. 'T is she alone, if she were permitted, that better instructs the world, than all the inventions of man; Religion would here

> but destroy that tranquility they possess by ignorance; and laws would but teach 'em to know offences, of which now they have no notion. ... They have a native justice, which knows no fraud; and they understand no vice or cunning, but when they are taught by the white men" (1).

It is not necessary to discuss the plot of the story in detail; the importance of the book for this discussion lies in the fact that it is a foretaste of a style of literature destined to become very popular. In reality the work would have been better had it been cast as a drama; it was quite obviously patterned with a play in mind and was actually transposed into that form and played by Southerne at Drury Lane in 1696 (2).

Henry Neville's Isle of Pines (1668) is a book of a quite different type. There are no Indians in it, and the 'noble savages' in this case arethe Pines themselves, all descendants of one George Pine, who was ship-wrecked on an uninhabited island in 1589 while on his way to settle a factory in the East Indies. He is saved, together with four women, one of them, Philippa, being a negress. By each of these he has children, varying from seven to fifteen in number and, after the first generation, when four clans are formed, only exogamous marriages are allowed. There are 565 inhabitants of the island after the first forty years; after about sixty years, 1,789, and twenty years later still, when a Dutch ship, having lost her bearings and arriving by chance,

intrudes on a lively civil war, there are some ten or twelve thousand Pines flourishing.

It is an extraordinary book, but the Isle of Pines (which by the way was situated off the coast of 'Terra Australis Incognita' and not off the coast of Cuba where there is an actual island of that name and already was in Neville's day) is of importance again because it was, very probably, read and made use of, together with Mrs. Behn's Orooonoko, by Daniel Defoe.

Robinson Crusoe (1719) has been the subject of a great deal of intensive study, which it is not necessary to present here, even in synopsis. The essential fact germane to this discussion is that Man Friday is a Carib Indian; and, secondarily, that 'the island' was off the mouth of the Orinoco. There has been much discussion as to the site of the island, but how there can be any at all seems a little difficult to understand. The title-page of the first edition provides the answer without ambiguity: The Life and Strange Surprizing Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, of York Mariner: Who lived Eight and Twenty Years, all alone in an un-inhabited Island on the Coast of America, near the Mouth of the Great River Oroonoque; Having been cast on Shore by Shipwreck, wherein all the Men perished but himself. With an account how he was at last as strangely deliver'd by Pyrates. Written by Himself. London; Printed for W.Taylor at the Ship in Pater-

Noster-Row, MDCCXIX. So there is no doubt about the island's being off the mouth of the Orinoco. The island of Tobago which lies a few miles north-east of Trinidad is, indeed, off the mouth of that river and has laid, and still does lay, claim to being the island in question. But this claim can not be substantiated, since Crusoe says clearly that he could see Trinidad west and north-west of him, whereas Trinidad actually lies south-west of Tobago.

There is no doubt that Defoe had read Dampier's New Voyage round the World (1697) and was familiar with the map of the coast he was referring to (3). On Dampier's map there is shown a group of islands right off the mouth of the Orinoco and lying precisely south-east of Trinidad. Obviously Defoe had one of these islands in mind; he had no reason to doubt their actual existence; their size and location suited his plan and he selected an 'un-inhabited island' at random from this group, without need of further specification. Nobody really upholds the claim of Mas-a-Tiera, one of the Juan Fernandez group, to be Crusoe's island. Here Alexander Selkirk spent four years and four months (1704-1709) and on his return to England was interviewed by Defoe, always a newspaper man. They met in the house of Mrs. Damaris Daniel at Bristol and Selkirk handed his papers over to Defoe (4). There is no doubt that Defoe was endebted to Selkirk for a number of valuable details about his daily life and how he managed to main-

tain himself, but he did not borrow his island.

As to Man Friday, he is obviously a Carib Indian and a cannibal to boot. Here is Crusoe's description of him:

> He was a comely, handsome fellow, perfectly well made, with straight strong limbs, not too large, tall, and well-shaped, and, as I reckon, about twenty-six years of age. He had a very good countenance, not a fierce and surly aspect; but seemed to have something very manly in his face; and yet he had all the sweetness and softness of an European in his countenance, too, especially when he smiled. His hair was long and black, not curled like wool; his forehead was very high and large; and a great vivacity and sparkling sharpness in his eyes. The colour of his skin was not quite black, but very tawny, as the Brazilians and Virginians, and other natives of America are, but of a bright kind of a dun colour, that had in it something very agreeable, though not easy to describe. His face was round and plump; his nose small, not flat like the negroes; a very good mouth, thin lips, and his teeth well set, and white as ivory.

The parallel with the natives as described by Columbus and later explorers is precise and this delineation is accurate enough for a Carib. Furthermore, these people at "the arrival of the Spanish, occupied parts of Guiana and the lower Orinoco and the Windward and other islands in what is still known as the Caribbean Sea"(5).

Defoe is known to have been an omnivorous reader as well as a most prolific writer (over two hundred works are attributed to him) and his library contained a large number of books of travel. These he turned to good account, not only in writing Robinson Crusoe, but in other books also. In Moll Flanders, for instance, he takes his heroine to Virginia

and back, and in the somewhat dull parts of the conclusion of Robinson Crusoe he drags his unhappy hero right across northern Asia. For his descriptions of Crusoe's island, he seems to have taken hints not only from Dampier's Voyage as we have already seen, but also from Hakluyt's Voyages, from Knox's Historical Relation of Ceylon and "From other contemporary travel books" (6).

The subject of cannibals could be depended upon to attract eager readers in those days, and Man Friday was most undoubtedly a cannibal for it will be remembered that Crusoe had somedifficulty in preventing him from eating the dead bodies of his enemies. Indeed Crusoe fears at first that Friday may eat him and takes precautions against a surprise attack. But he soon discovers his mistake. "I needed none of all this precaution; for never man had a more faithful, loving, sincere servant than Friday was to me; ... I dare say he would have sacrificed his life for the saving of mine, upon any occasion whatsoever".

The finding of the footprint on the beach is one of the most dramatic incidents in the book and has been much discussed. It has been suggested that the germ of this idea reached Defoe from Dampier's Voyage. If appears that Dampier and some of his men landed on the Isle of Pines (not the scene of Neville's sociological experiment, but the real one off the coast of Cuba) with the intention of procuring fresh

meat. In the sand of the little bay where they beached their boats they saw "much footing of men and boys; the impressions seemed to be about 8 or 10 days old". Dampier admits "this troubled us a little" and well it might, but it is easy to imagine that Robinson Crusoe was even more 'troubled' for he was alone and poorly armed. That cannibals might visit his island at any moment well he knew, for had not his creator read, in Purchas His Pilgrimes (7) the account of the voyage of Francis Sparrey and his description of Trinidad, near which, off the mouth of the Orinoco, lies an island called Athul which pleased him greatly? Of it Sparrey says: "If I had company to my liking, I could have found it in my heart to have stayed there and spent my life, ... there is no want, neither of fish, tortoyses, ... fowles. ... It hath wood in great store, fruits all the veere in abundance. ... The island is small? and for feare of the Caribes, there is nobody". He mentions another island, hear by, as a "Bayting place for the Caribes, when they had stollen people, which they meant to eate" (8).

Personally I feel that the origin of the footprint idea is to be sought elsewhere, and in even more dramatic circumstances. In Hakluyt's Voyages, which we know Defoe had seen, is an account (9) of the fifth voyage of John White (1590), to the then new plantation in Virginia, which had been attempted from 1583 to 1588. On this occasion they had come

with stores and supplies to replenish those of the colonists left at Roanoke. But they found no colonists. All was quiet. No smoke from cabin fires. No welcoming shouts. No distant musket shot to let them know their ship had been sighted. Just silence. They landed and looked apprehensively about them on the deserted beach and then "we saw in the sand the print of the Salvages feet of 2 or 3 sorts troaden ye night".

Nobody who knows Defoe can imagine for a moment that he would let such a prize as that slip through his fingers. In the case of the footprints seen by Dampier, there was merely an indication that the natives were in the neighbourhood and that something <u>might</u> happen. But in this case, the implication was much more ominous for not only had the natives been there, but something <u>had</u> happened.

Crusoe, of course, tries to argue himself out of any need to admit the importance of this momentous discovery. He tells himself that the footprint was made by the devil to frighten him, but soon finds several arguments which defeat any such hypothesis. "I presently concluded then, that it must be some more dangerous creature, viz. that it must be some of the savages of the mainland over against me, who had wandered out to sea in their canoes and, either driven by the currents or by contrary winds, had made the island, and had been on shore, but were gone away again to sea, being as loth, perhaps, to have staved in this desolate island as I would have

been to have had them. ... Then terrible thoughts racked my imagination about their having found my boat, and that there were people here; and that if so, I should certainly have them come again in greater numbers, and devour me".

So much space has been devoted to this book, because of its importance to our discussion. In the forming of the popular concept of the American Indian, much stress can be laid on Robinson Crusoe because of the breadth of its influence. Even today it sells regularly and continuously in a myriad editions, with all, or nearly all, of Defoe's endless moralizing omitted. It was popular from the very first. Appearing in April, 1719, there was a new edition published every month for the next four months and even today that would be 'good going'. In 1721 it was translated into German and immediately a host of imitations sprang up, giving rise to a distinct genre of German literature the 'Robinsonaden', the most popular of which is Der schweizerische Robinson by J.R. Wyss which has come back to the land of its origin with the inexplicable title The Swiss Family Robinson.

Robinson Crusoe has been translated into almost every language in which books are printed, the name of its hero is a household word and Man Friday is known as widely and as well. But he is not thought of as an American Indian, as Defoe did think of him. He is not the proud and taciturn wearer of a red blanket and a feather, who says no more than 'Ugh!', the Indian of Hiawatha, of Fenimore Cooper, nor the Indian of

today. Rather he marks the turning point, the change in the Englishman's concept from the Indians of Columbus, of the Spaniards, of Drake and Hawkins, of Dampier and Raleigh, to the natives of Virginia, and , a little later, to the Indians of the New England Colonies.

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER SEVEN

1 Behn, p.4

2 Bissell, p. 84

3 See Aitken, "Defoe's Library" Athenaeum, 1June 1895; p.706

4 Encyclopedia Britannica s.v. Selkirk

5 Encyclopedia Britannica s.v. Carib

6 Sutherland, p.

7 Purchas, 16:301 et seq

8 Secord, p. 58n

9 Hakluyt, 8:416

See also Walter de la Mare, "Desert Islands and Robinson Crusoe"

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The eighteenth century and especially the second half of it, saw such a flood of literature dealing, either in part or in whole, with the North American Indian, that it is difficult to know what to include in such a study as this. To include only material relating strictly to the Canadian Indian would be to omit much that is significant in the development of the popular concept of that Indian; to include only such material as relates to the development of the popular concept would be to omit some works that are of much interest because of their Canadian affiliations. The middle path, as ever, seems the safer way.

Dr. Benjamin Bissell has made an exhaustive study of this period of the subject's history, which he has published under the title The American Indian in English Literature of the Eighteenth Century and it is to him that I am endebted for a number of the references in this chapter. His field includes all the Americas, but I feel obliged to ignore most of the South and Central American material.

In the early part of the century there was surprisingly little grist for our mill. The only thing of note is a group of three plays which seem to have been written in an effort to reopen the gold mine discovered by Davenant and Dryden.

The Indian Emperor by the latter author was still played occasionally even up to 1734, "and later in the century, when Peruvian plays were again becoming popular, The Indian Emperor was closely imitated by Henry Brooke, in a play called Montezuma" (1).

In 1728 a tragedy by Francis Hawling appeared on the stage but was not published. This, to add to the growing confusion, he called The Indian Emperor (apparently then, as now, copyright did not inhere in titles). In the same year, Gay, who had made such a success of The Beggar's Opera, wrote a sequel which he called Polly but the Lord Chamberlain would not permit its production, so it languished till 1777. The scene was laid in the West Indies and showed the Indian advantageoubly contrasted with white pirates. There is, however, no attempt to depict the Indian as he really was, and the whole tone of the work is, says Bissell, 'light' and 'playful' (2).

In 1738 another play, Art and Nature, appeared with an Indian as an important character. It is the type of work in which an Indian is taken to England and finds our civilization very strange and undesirable in contrast with his own. Such literary contrivances had their vogue, but were never very successful; for our purpose this kind of work is, obviously, useless.

One of the outsanding instances of the 'Indian in Eng-

land' motif is in The Spectator (3). Addison tells of the finding of some papers left behind by one of the Indian 'kings' who visited London in 1710. These were four Iroquois chiefs, a fifth having died on the way over, who were brought to London by Colonel Peter Schuyler, of Albany. On the 19th of April, 1710, they were presented to Queen Anne and lived for some months in London, being entertained at the home of an upholsterer (4). These entirely fictitious papers, when translated, are said to tell what the 'king' thought of London and its inhabitants and as we go on reading we suddenly realize that we are in the bonds of another of the urbane satires by means of which Addison and Steele were gently, but none the less effectively, reforming the citizens of the great metropolis.

Pope, in 1733, accords the Indian a passing glance in his Essay on Man (5):

> Lo, the poor Indian! whose untutor'd mind
> Sees God in clouds, or hears him in the wind;
> His soul proud Science never taught to stray
> Far as the solar walk or milky way;
> Yet simple nature to his hope has given,
> Behind the cloud-topp'd hill, an humbler heaven:
> ---
> To be, contents his natural desire,
> He asks no angel's wings, no seraph's fire,
> But thinks, admitted to that equal sky,
> His faithful dog shall bear him company."

Little did Pope realize that the first phrase quoted above would probably be the best known of all his work; but

so it was, for 'Lo, the poor Indian' was seized upon by a host of humourists and other authors of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries with avidity and again and again the poor Indian is referred to as 'Mister Lo'. The reference to the Indian's wishing to take his dog into Heaven with him may be one of the many anecdotes about the natives' misunderstanding of theological niceties which were, and in some places still are, so popular. Pope uses the same idea in his translation of Homer when, at the funeral of Patroclus (23:212):

> Of nine large dogs, domestic at his board
> Fall two, selected to attend their lord.

After the middle of the eighteenth century, novels with an American background began to appear. One of these entitled The History of The Life and Adventures of Mr. Anderson was published in London in 1754. The hero is captured by the Indians, who in dividing up his clothes among them, find his flute and want to know what it is. With admirable courtesy considering the circumstances he demonstrates its use and so fascinates his captors that they release him. This trick is familiar in many forms, as when the savages (or whoever they may be) find the hero's phlebotomy knives, or as in another case his false teeth; in a North American Indian story of my childhood it was a pair of skates the purpose of which the hero displays to his delighted enemies, speeding in ever larger swoops and swirls till he disappears round a curve in

the river to safety, surely one of the neatest 'exits' ever hit upon.

John Shebbeare published Lydia; or Filial Piety in London in 1755 and, as Dr. Bissell points out : "The tone of the book is quite clearly suggested by the first chapter heading: 'Strage folks in strange lands, Patriotism, heroism, fainting, dying, loving, sentiment and generosity, all amongst Indians in America'." (6). Cannassatego, the hero, after many adventures goes to England to perfect his knowledge of the white man's hated civilization so that he may the better combat it. There is but little new or noteworthy in the book, its chief interest being the extent to which Indian characters figure in it.

There was one type of literature which flourished throughout the century, that is, accounts of Indian captivities. It was quite the thing for one who had been captured by the Indians, enslaved, possibly tortured and mutilated, to write a book describing his or, preferably, her adventures, if fortunate enough to survive them. In some cases the author could make a comfortable living from such a book, as did John Jewitt who was a captive among the Indians of Vancouver Island for three years at about the end of the century, and later maintained himself by lecturing on his experiences in the New England towns and villages, selling copies of his book (presumably autographed!) after the lecture.

Of considerably more interest is Ponteach or the Savages of America A Tragedy which was published in London in 1766. It is one of the first dramatic compositions which may be considered American. Its only predecessors seem to have been Thomas Godfrey's The Prince of Parthia which appeared only a few months previously and Marc Lescarbot's Theatre of Neptune actually, and easily, the first Canadian theatrical work written and produced in Canada, being played at Port Royal in Acadia on the 14th of November 1606. However, to come back to Ponteach; as a play it has little to recommend it and it was never produced; but it is of very considerable value as a contemporary record, for Major Rogers knew the country and the people of his drama intimately and the reasons he adduces for the dissatisfaction of the Indians, their resentment of the cheating, cruel and sometimes murdering, white men show matters in what is apparently their true light, a light which sheds little credit on the European traders, hunters, and officials. Two of the characters, Osbourn and Honnyman, are trappers and attribute their lack of success to the fact that the Indians catch all the best furs. Honnyman admits that he has often waylaid an Indian, murdered him, taken his furs and sold them as his own catch, and he plots with Osbourn to do so with the next Indian they meet. With the usual dramatic promptness, two Indians, laden with bundles of furs appear, and are shot by the trappers, and their bodies hidden. Re-

membering that, as a war is toward, scalps may soon bring a bounty, they return and scalp their victims. Osbourn feels some faint qualms and asks:

> But, Honnyman, d've think this is not murder?
> I vow I'm shocked a little to see them scalp'd,
> And fear their ghosts will haunt us in the dark.
>
> Honnyman. It's no more murder than to crack a louse,
> That it, if you've the wit to keep it private.
> And as to haunting, Indians have no ghosts,
> But as they live like beasts, like beasts they die.
> I've killed a dozen in this self-same way,
> And never yet was troubled with their spirits. (9)

Doubtless such a scene was in no way exaggerated and it is evident that Rogers was using the play as a vehicle for the expression of his own opinions. Once having delivered his message, he finds his material exhausted and the play falls off considerably.

Within the next few years a new charcater appears on the scene: - the American lady, both as heroine and as author. Mrs. Anne Grant (nee MacVicar) was the daughter of an English officer who was engaged in the wars against the French and, during her childhood little Anne lived for some years in Albany with Colonel Philip Schuyler, the same who had taken the Iroquois 'kings' to England to see the Queen. Mrs. Grant left Canada in 1768 and forty years later she published her Memoirs of an American Lady. This was in 1808 and the modest author gave no indication of her identity other than to say that the two volumes of Memoirs were by the author of "Letters

from the Mountains" &c.&c. Just what those cryptic '&cs' conceal we may never know, but as there were at least two editions of the Memoirs, 'old Mrs. Grant' as she must now have been called, was evidently doing well.

Then, in 1769, appeared the first work of fiction with a Canadian origin, The History of Emily Montague by the author of 'Lady Julia Mandeville', and this author turns out to be Mrs. Frances Brooke. Emily Montague's history occupies four volumes and is written in the epistolary style which Richardson had made popular with Pamela, with Clarissa, and with Sir Charles Grandison, some twenty or thirty years before. There are a number of references to the Indians in the various letters, and discussions of native customs and beliefs, but they smell of the lamp a little and it is fairly evident that Mrs. Brooke consulted authorities other than her own experience. She refers to Rousseau and also to Lafitau, showing that she was not unfamiliar with contemporary sources of information. The book seems to have been popular; at any rate Madame T.G.M. undertook its translation into French and it was published in Paris in 1809.

Still on the subject of feminine authors and heroines, we find The Adventures of Emmera; or, The Fair American (Dublin, 1767) and The Female American; or The Adventures of Unca Eliza Winkfield (London 1767). Indians abound in both these books but they add nothing to the popular concept of the day and

depart but little from it. There are accounts of tortures, scalpings, acts of kindness and rescue by 'good' Indians, and occasional facts of genuine anthropological interest are scattered through them.

A new influence now enters into the development of the concept of the American Indian, namely the revival of exploring expeditions. Collections of contemporary travels were published, such as the Harleian collection (1747), Pinkerton's (1749), Cook, La Perouse, Mearns, Bruce, the Hawkesworth collection (1773) and the twenty volumes edited by Samuel Johnson from 1774-1778. "In every clime the mysterious secret of the world was being penetrated, and yet there remained ample room for fresh discovery, so that the spirit of adventure and the intrepidity of the explorer lost nothing of their former glamour" (8). At the same time the interior of the continent was being explored more and more thoroughly. New tribes of Indians were being discovered and described, scientific work was being pushed forward, European scientists such as Peter Kalm were visiting the continent and the Americans were rapidly becoming self-conscious and articulate in a literary way.

During the last twenty years of the century a flood of words threatened to engulf the poor Indian entirely. Dozens of poems about the dying Indian, the death song, the Indian maid, Indian speeches, Indian treaties, Indian anecdotes are found in contemporary magazines, many of them of doubtful

authorship as well as doubtful value. Dramatic works and novels continued to introduce Indian characters, but no work of importance in which the Indian is the main subject appeared. The paper by Dr. Bissell already referred to covers this period thoroughly and to it interested readers may be directed for a more detailed consideration of the literature. From our standpoint, that of the development of the popular concept of the Indian, it is somewhat barren ground.

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER EIGHT

1 Bissell, p. 127

2 Bissell, p. 130

3 Spectator, No.50, 27 April 1711

4 Staton and Tremaine, Bibliography. No.145, p. 37

5 Pope, Essay on Man, Epistle 1:99 et seq.

6 Bissell, p. 89

7 Rogers, Ponteach, Act 1, Scene 2

8 Legouis and Cazamina, p. 922

CHAPTER NINE

THE ROMANTICISTS

It is with a mild sense of surprise that one discovers that Wordsworth, who placed so high a value upon the sturdy qualities of the peasant, the dalesman of the Lake district, and other simple people, has but little to say of the American Indian. With the exception of The Complaint of a Forsaken Indian Woman there appears to be no work devoted to the noble savage. The incident which inspired this poem he had read of in Samuel Hearne's Journey from Prince of Wales Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean which was published three years after Hearne's death (1795). Apart from this we have nothing but scattered mention of the Indians, often merely as conventional phrases, 'the roving Indian', 'the naked Indian of the wild', and so forth. (1)

Coleridge, another of the first generation of Lake poets, has even less to say of our aborigines. There is a note to the effect that he was contemplating a poem about a Seminole (2) and Mr. Fairchild has also pointed out that The Circassian's Love Chaunt was originally entitled The Wild Indian's Love Chaunt which would seem to indicate that the characteristics attributed to the singer of the love chaunt were of a somewhat conventional nature, to say the least(3).

In the case of Southey, the situation is very different. It had been his expressed intention to devote a heroic poem

to each of the great schools of mythology; that originating among the Indians of America could hardly fail to attract him. But, remembering perhaps the splendours of Dryden he chosse the southern part of the continent as his locale and laid the scene of Madoc in 'Florida'. In writing to his brother, Thomas Southey, on the 12th of July, 1799, he says;"I shall land him in Florida; here, instead of the Peruvians, who have no striking manners for my poem, we get among the wild North American Indians. On their customs and superstitions facts must be grounded" (4).

Southey could be depended upon to have his facts well grounded. He had a large library of books of travel, voyages and explorations and drew upon them freely, if somewhat indiscretely. Though he placed Madoc officially in Florida, he introduced a tangle of supposed customs and manners which seem to show the people as Aztecs if anything; true enough, he will often give his authority in a foot-note, but that does not by any means ,guarantee the wisdom of his selection, even though he does say: "It can scarcely be necessary to add that I have attributed to the Hoamen such manners and superstitions as, really existing among the savage tribes of America, were best suited to the plan of the poem" (5).

A number of the old familiar fallacies make their appearance, such as the leechcraft of the medicine man:

and I perceived
The wisest leech that ever in our world
Cull'd herbs of hidden virtue was to thee
A child in knowledge (6).

The 'bury the hatchet' metaphor, too, is taken literally in a number of places and we read: "Together here will we in happy hour bury the sword" (7) and again:

The grave was dug; Coanocotzin laid
His weapon in the earth; Erillyab's son,
Young Amalahta, for the Hoamen laid
His hatchet there; and there I lay the sword (8).

Such an extract as this really deserves a more careful scrutiny, for it manages to compress into its four lines a number of faults of a type that occur again and again. To begin with, the author depicts the ceremony of 'burying the hatchet' as an actual event, which it was not, rather than using it merely as a rhetorical expression, which it was. Secondly the scene is laid in Florida but, as we see by the rest of the poem, the Indians are certainly not the simple people of that district, but Aztecs; then we have the very common fault of 'mixing cultures' that is to say, an element of one culture (here that of the Iroquois and their neighbours) is attributed to the people of a district fifteen hundred miles away, which is much the same kind of error as it would be to dress a Basque in kilts.

Southey wrote also a group of Songs of the American Indians (1799) containing five poems, only one of which --

The Huron's Address to the Dead -- is of any interest to us, the others all relating to tribes further south or in Peru. It is unfortunate that Southey did not make better use of his knowledge of the Indians, which was considerable. He was held to be one of the leading authorities on native peoples in his day and used to examine all such books for the Annual Review and later the Quarterly(9).

The second generation of Romantic poets, including Byron, Shelley, Keats, Rogers and Moore, were aware of the North American Indian as a 'noble savage', but they, too, made surprisingly little use of him in their work. There is not a poem of any importance devoted to the subject, with the exception of one by a minor poet of the group, Thomas Campbell, who wrote Gertrude of Wyoming (1809). It has been received with very mixed opinions, one of the less complimentary being from the pen of Saintsbury who calls it "the clumsiest caricature of the Spenserian stanza ever achieved by a man of real poetic power" (10). Wyoming is far from our field, and Campbell's choice of it as a locale is an interesting indication of the gradual recession of the poetical along with the political frontier. There is a good analysis of the poem in Fairchild, who sums it up by saying "a schoolboy might turn from The Last of the Mohicans to Gertrude of Wyoming with no great shock of surprise ... in Outalissi he would recognize an old friend. To anyone not familiar with the history of the type

he would appear simply as a rather over-drawn Fenimore Cooper Indian" (11).

Contemporary with the poets we have been discussing but apparently little affected by them was a novelist, one of a group of three American novelists who attained fame almost simultaneously -- James Fenimore Cooper, Edgar Allan Poe and Nathaniel Hawthorne. Cooper wrote numerous books besides the Leatherstocking Tales, but it is these that have made him immortal and have carried with him to immortality his hero, the North American Indian. The Encyclopedia Britannica refers to him as 'one of the most popular authors that have ever written' (12). An even more lyrical note is sounded by the late Theodore Roosevelt: "There is nothing like them. I could pass an examination in the whole of them today. Deerslayer with his long rifle, Jasper and Hurry Harry, Ishmail Bush with his seven stalwart sons -- do I not know them? I have bunked with them and eaten with them"(13).

Despite the unpopularity of Cooper as a man, and he seems to have had the knack of making himself very unpopular indeed, (Lowell describes him as the 'Cooper who's written six volumes to prove he's as good as a Lord'), he succeeded in creating one of the truly immortal characters of fiction, the Indian; no matter whether he be pictured as Uncas, or as Chingachcook "throughout the whole civilized world the conception of the Indian character, as Cooper drew it in The Last of the Mohi-

cans, has taken permanent hold on the imaginations of men. Individuals may cast it off; but in the case of the great mass it stands undisturbed by doubt or unshaken by denial" (14). And to this day when we see a group of small boys playing Indians we may be sure that they are in the main Fenimore Cooper Indians.

It is to Cooper that we owe the popularization, if not the introduction, of many of the words which we connect with Indians, such as 'pale-face' which makes its first appearance in 1822. Cooper uses it many times, as in The Last of The Mohicans: "'The pale-faces make themselves dogs to their women' muttered the Indian in his native language." 'Totem', 'mocassin', war-party, war-paint, are all illustrated in the New English Dictionary by quotations from the same volume, and there are many others.

From the standpoint of authenticity, Cooper leaves less to be desired than do most of his predecessors. It is true that his Indian is idealized, but not to the ridiculous extent encountered in the past, and the vices as well as the virtues of the 'red-skin' are noted. To describe the Indian character as Cooper did, in any detail, would require almost as much space as he himself gave to the task; it has been summed up as "the ideal Indian -- grave, silent, acute, self-contained, sufficiently lofty-minded to take in the greatness of the Indian's past and sufficiently far-sighted to see the

hopelessness of his future, -- with nobility of soul enough to grasp the white man's virtues, and with inherited wildness enough to keep him true to the instincts of his own race" (15).

But to the Indian of Cooper has been added a new set of traditional characteristics, those of the prairie Indians made familiar to all juvenile readers of the previous generation in the 'Buffalo Bill' stories, based originally on the life and adventures of William Frederick Cody, Pony Express rider, scout, Indian fighter, guide and showman. More and more fantastic adventures were attributed to him till he became an almost legendary figure of whom we shall have more to say in a later chapter.

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER NINE

1 Hearne, pp.326-327

2 Fairchild, p. 224

3 Fairchild, p. 217

4 Life and Correspondence of Southey

5 Madoc; Note to Part 2, Section 6, Line 192

6 Madoc; Part 1, Section 6

7 Madoc; Part 1, Section 8

8 Madoc; Part 1, Section 8

9 Fairchild, p. 208

10 Cambridge History of English Literature, 12:109

11 Fairchild, p.258 et seq

12 Encyclopedia Britannica s.v. Cooper

13 Quoted in Dennis, p. 35

14 Lounsbury, pp. 54-55

15 Morse, Century Magazine, June, 1883, pp.290-291

CHAPTER TEN

LONGFELLOW'S "HIAWATHA"

The entry in Longfellow's journal for the 25th of June, 1854, says that he is "making a beginning of 'Manabozho' or whatever the poem is to be called." Three weeks before, on the 5th of June, he had written: "I am reading with great delight the Finnish epic, Kalevala. It is charming." And on June the 22nd, the great idea takes concrete form: "I have at length hit upon a plan for a poem on the American Indians, which seems to be the right one, and the only. It is to weave together their beautiful traditions into a whole. I have hit upon a measure, too, which I think the right and only one for such a theme." Needless to say, he had the Kalevala in mind (1).

His sources are not difficult to trace. On the very day that he started work on the poem, 25th June 1854, he wrote to Senator Charles Sumner, prominent in the anti-slavery movement, and asked him: "Can you help me in any way to get a copy of Schoolcraft's great work on the Indians published by Government? Was it among the works distributed by Members of Congress? There are some three or four large volumes. Pray bear it in mind and help me if you can." Apparently he did not wait to hear from Sumner, but went 'across the street' to Harvard University Library and found the books he wanted. He refers to them as "Three huge quartos, ill-digested and without any index." And without index they have remained until quite recent-

lv, but now Mrs. F.S.Nichols in the editor's office of the Bureau of American Ethnology in Washington has prepared a card index of some 22,000 entries which may be consulted by interested persons.

But there were other books of Schoolcraft's available, smaller, less forbidding works that the Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States su which Longfellow had reference, such as Notes on the Iroquois, Algic Researches and Western Scenes and Reminiscences . Much of the information in these works is duplicated and over-lapped, some of the sentences being copied almost verbatim from one work to another, so that it is difficult to say precisely which of them played the largest part as source-book for Hiawatha.

At all events, the source was in some respects ill-chosen for it has led Longfellow into a wilderness of mis-information and misinterpretation. "If a Chinese traveller, during the Middle Ages, inquiring into the history and religion of the western nations, had confounded King Alfred with King Arthur, and both with Odin, he would not have made a more preposterous confusion of names and characters than that which has hitherto disguised the genuine personality of the great Onondaga reformer" (2).

Hiawatha was an actual character, and appears to have lived about 1450 A.D. roughly one generation before the land-

ing of Columbus. He was an Onondaga, living between the south shore of Lake Ontario and the Susquehanna River. The arrival of Columbus in no way affected his tribe for many years. He appears to have been active in social reform and worked so effectively and unselfishlev for the good of his people that he became a legendary figure, and at last almost a demi-god. His and other legends came to the notice of J.V.H.Clark who, in 1849, published Onondaga. This volume was brought to the attention of Schoolcraft, apparently by Clark himself , who was then engaged on his Notes on the Iroquois. (3). "Mr. Schoolcraft, pleased with the poetical cast of the story and the euphonious name, made confusion worse confounded by transferring the hero to a distant region /north and west of Lake Superior/ and identifying him with Manabozho, a fantastic divinity of the Ojibways. Schoolcraft's volume, which he chose to entitle The Hiawatha Legends, has not in it a single fact or fiction relating either to Hiawatha himself or to the Iroquois deity" (4). And Schoolcraft was the source Longfellow selected to work on a Hiawatha epic!

But, no matter how confused in origin, or how far from the truth Longfellow's hero may be, there is no doubt that he is the Indian of poetry, just as Fenimore Cooper's Indian is the Indian of fiction. Interestingly enough, the latter author seems to have had no influence of Longfellow, though The Last of the Mohicans came out about thirty years before Hiawatha.

Presumably the poet felt he had all he needed: the metre in the Kalevala, the material facts in Schoolcraft and the patterning in his own genius, -- why go further?

Possibly one of the more serious inconsistencies in the poem from the point of view of ethnological accuracy arises from the fact, apparently overlooked by Longfellow, that Schoolcraft was speaking of the Indians as they were in his day unless he specifically indicated the contrary, whereas Hiawatha was intended to represent them as they were during the hero's lifetime and long before the period of white contact and influence. This is particularly noticeable in the account of the gambling, in Section 16 of the poem. The parallel between the source and the verse is so close as to deserve a full quotation. Schoolcraft in his Western Scenes and Reminiscences (1853) is describing the Game of the Bowl, for which he gives the Indian name of Pugasaing. The various pieces used are illustrated in a crude line-drawing and in describing them he says:

> The pieces marked No. 1, in this cut, of which there are two, are called Ininewug, or men. They are made tapering or wedge-shaped ... Number 2, is called Gitshee Kenabik, or the Great Serpent ... Number 3, is called Pugamágun, or the war club ... Number 4 is called Keego, which is the generic name for a fish. The four circular pieces of brass, slightly concave, with a flat surface on the apex, are called Ozawábiks. The three bird-shaped pieces, Sheshebwug, or ducks. All but the circular pieces are made out of a fine kind of bone. One side of the piece is white, of the natural colour of the bones, and polished, the other red. The brass pieces have the convex side

bright, the concave black" (5).

Now let us see how Longfellow treats the same subject:

> Then from out his pouch of wolf-skin,
> Forth he drew with solemn manner,
> All the game of Bowl and Counters,
> Pugasaing with thirteen pieces.
> White on one side they were painted,
> And vermilion on the other;
> Two Annenabeeks or Great Serpents,
> Two Ininewug or wedge-men,
> One great war-club, Pugamaugun,
> And one slender fish, the Keego,
> Four round pieces, Ozawabeeks,
> And three Sheshebwug or ducklings.
> All were made of bone and painted,
> All except the Ozawabeeks;
> These were brass, on one side burnished,
> And were black upon the other" (6).

The parallel is obvious -- and deadly; there is, naturally, no objection to an author's seeking his material in an appropriate source and making use of what he finds there. The objection is to an uncritical use of such material. In this case Schoolcraft is evidently describing one particular set of counters in which the four circular 'ozawabiks' were of brass. Longfellow falls squarely into the trap and makes his of brass too, quite forgetting that the Indians at the time of which he is speaking had no brass, not had Europeans for that matter, our first evidence of the manufacture of this alloy in England dating from the end of the 16th century. Previous alloys called brass were actually bronze. (7)

However much Longfellow idealized his Indians, in how-

ever hazy a romantic twilight he paints them, they are still quite recognizably the Indians of the popular concept of today. Their less-appealing qualities are soft-pedalled, as one might expect, but some of the traditional fallacies are repeated. A few of the more conspicuous examples are interesting enough to examine in detail.

The monosyllabic grunts with which Indians are supposed to convey their ideas are duly exhibited:

> " 'Ugh!' the old men all responded
> From their seats beneath the pine trees." (8)

> " 'Ugh!' he answered very fiercely
> 'Ugh!' they answered all and each one." (9)

Though direct evidence is hard to find, there is every reason to suppose that the expression 'bury the hatchet' was, as we have already seen, never more than a rhetorical expression and that actual weapons were not literally buried when peace was made. Longfellow however prefers the actual deed:

> "Buried was the bloody hatchet,
> Buried was the dreadful war-club,
> Buried were all warlike weapons
> And the war-cry was forgotten." (10)

> "From the river came the warriors,
> Clean and washed from all their war-paint;
> On the banks their clubs they buried;
> Buried all their warlike weapons." (11)

Neither is the traditional skill of the Indian medicine-man forgotten:

"Bearing each a pouch of healing,
Skin of beaver, lynx or otter
Filled with magic roots and simples,
Filled with very potent medicines." (12)

The term 'happy hunting grounds' does not appear to be mentioned, possibly because it would be difficult to fit the phrase to the Kalevala meter. Instead Longfellow used the expression 'Islands of the Blessed':

"And at night a fire was lighted,
On her grave four times was kindled,
For her soul upon its journey
To the Islands of the Blessed." (13)

"Soon your footsteps I shall follow
To the Islands of the Blessed." (14)

The idealization of native customs and culture is well seen in the description of the costume of Pau-puk-keewis, the gambler:

"He was dressed in shirt of doe-skin,
White and soft, and fringed with ermine,
All inwrought with beads of wampum;
He was dressed in deer-skin leggings,
Fringed with hedgehog quills and ermine,
And in moccasins of buckskin,
Thick with quills and beads embroidered.
On his head were plumes of swan's down,
On his heels were tails of foxes,
In one hand a fan of feathers
And a pipe was in the other." (15)

One is almost tempted to doubt that such an exquisite would smoke a pipe! It is safe to say that no such Indian costume was ever seen except on the stage or in Hollywood.

Another minor slip in the matter of metals is seen in a reference to the use of silver for arrow-heads:

"Quivers wrought with beads of wampum,
Filled with arrows silver-headed." (16)

Not only was silver unknown to the Indians, but there would be no particular advantage in making an arrow-head of that metal. Copper was used to some extent, being obtainable in a practically pure state from the neighbourhood of Lake Superior and actually was used occasionally for arrow-heads, sometimes in the form of a small sheet rolled into a cornucopia and fitted over the end of the shaft; more often in the conventional arrow-head form (17). Longfellow introduced the silver, presumably, to add to the richness and romance of the scene.

Fortunately such criticisms can do nothing to rob the poem of its beauty. Longfellow made no pretence of being an ethnologist; he never knew the real Indian, never heard any of the old tales at first hand; it was all taken from the books, and moulded by the hand of an artist into a poem unique in the literature of the American Indian; a poem from which almost every English-speaking child has read, may has learned, extracts; a poem whose hero, in the centuries to come, may take his place with Beowulf and King Arthur and those other great ones who "Fought and sailed and ruled and loved and made our world".

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1 Dennis, p.42

2 Hale, p. 36

3 Hale, p. 36

4 Hale, p. 36

5 Schoolcraft, Western Scenes, pp.188-189

6 Hiawatha, Section 16

7 Encyclopedia Britannica s.v. Brass

8 Hiawatha, Section 13

9 Hiawatha, Section 16

10 Hiawatha, Section 13

11 Hiawatha, Section 1

12 Hiawatha, Section 15

13 Hiawatha, Section 21

14 Hiawatha, Section 21

15 Hiawatha, Section 11

16 Hiawatha, Section 9

17 Hodge, Bulletin 30 s.v. Copper

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE MODERNS

It is a little difficult, perhaps, to realize that it is nearly ninety years since Hiawatha was written. It is the last of the great works in which Indians are the central characters, and if it were to prove a terminus it would be a most worthy one.

But Longfellow, though outstanding, was by no means alone. Almost a generation before him, John Richardson, the author of numerous historical novels, had written Wacousta (1832) which has recently been republished in Toronto (1923) "It is a curious book," says Dr. Pelham Edgar, "To a certain point midway in the narrative, it holds the reader's attention, and then breaks down into a series of wildly impossible situations without one redeeming human touch to save them from utter absurdity" (1). It is a tale of the Pontiac Conspiracy, that dramatic incident which inspired a number of pens, and seems to have been a profitable venture, as a revised edition by the same author was published in New York in 1851, just a year before his death.

We have already noticed, in referring to Gertrude of Wyoming, the gradual shift westwards of the literary frontier, a movement which became much more rapid at the middle of the nineteenth century. It would seem that the American Civil War (1861-1865) was in this respect, as in so many others, a

turning point. The Indian of the Atlantic Coast States, the Indian of Fenimore Cooper and of Longfellow, was no more and a new Indian had arisen to take his place, the 'horse-Indian' of the great central plains, the hunter of the buffalo, the dweller in the tipi. Now the birch-bark canoe disappears and the mustang takes its place, the modern rifle ousts the old muzzle-loader and even the Indians have long discarded their bows and arrows. The six-shooter replaces the tomahawk and the white hero is a pioneer farmer advancing westwards with his covered wagon, or a cavalry-man, or a white scout, like the immortal Buffalo Bill. Of course, he is a match for the Indian in all things except treachery and every time he fires his trusty rifle another red-skin bites the dust.

The change was gradual as all such changes must be. From the middle to the end of the nineteenth century the popular magazines carried many articles, usually somewhat didactic in tone, in which aboriginal customs were discussed with some air of authority. Many of these were the work of hack writers and their sources of inspiration could usually be discovered with ease were the result likely to repay the effort. With the advance into the twentieth century, these articles become less numerous and those which are published tend to be on less generalized aspects of anthropology, often being concerned with a single tribe, or a single topic, instead of being of the somewhat diffusive 'all about Indians' type of contribution.

Contemporaneous with these informative articles were short stories with Indian characters, which were at one time immensely popular. So popular, indeed, that it was found profitable to publish stories of this kind in separate form, the once-familiar 'dime-novel'. Over two hundred of these stories, with a now almost legendary Buffalo Bill as the hero, were written by 'Ned Buntline' (E.Z.C.Judson) who made a comfortable living by combining his own skill with the pen and his hero's skill with a rifle. Apparently these novelettes were almost too popular, for we all remember tales of small boys who got into trouble for reading far into the night when they should have been sleeping. (2)

Another and more surprising result of their popularity was the banishment of the Indian from the pages of the cheap thriller or 'pulp' magazines as they are called by those who write the stories in them. Today the editors of these publications are not at all well disposed towards proffered contributions in which Indians take the lead. (3)

The dime and half-dime novels, too, have disappeared and are now collectors' items! A typical advertisement in 'Hobbies - The Magazine for Collectors' reads: "Wanted - 5-cent novels, such as Secret Service, Pluck and Luck, Liberty Boys, Wild West, Fame and Fortune, Diamond Dick, Buffalo Bill, and others" (4)

There have been, as well, more serious efforts at the portrayal of the Indian. Among the more interesting of these

is a story by Rudyard Kipling, "Brother Square-Toes" in Rewards and Fairies. The hero, Pharaoh Lee, a young man, has just landed in Philadelphia early in 1793. He has deserted his ship and is wandering about the town:

> Then I followed some black niggers, which I'd never seen close before; but I left them to run after a great, proud, copper-faced man with feathers in his hair and a red blanket trailing behind him. A man told me he was a real Red Indian called Red Jacket. ... I fell against an old spinet and the pills rolled about the floor. The Indian never moved an eyelid. ... Indians don't ask questions much and I wanted to be like 'em. ... Down at heart all Indians reckon digging is a squaw's business. ... Cornplanter and Red Jacket came out in full war-dress, making the very leaves look silly: feathered war-bonnets, yellow doe-skin leggings, fringed and tasselled, red horse-blankets, and their bridles feathered and shelled and beaded no bounds. I thought it was war against the British till I saw their faces weren't painted". (5)

The extracts given above sum up pretty well the average concept of the Indian: paint and feathers, copper colour, red blanket, stolid and taciturn, averse to labour. In the skilful hands of Kipling, Red Jacket and Cornplanter are very much alive and quite authentic, largely because he sketches in his clean-cut concise phrases just the kind of Indian his readers expect and are therefore ready to accept with a sight of happy recognition.

William Kirby in The Golden Dog (1877) paints his Indian of about 1750 as a less noble figure:

> Half-civilized and wholly demoralized red men were always to be found on the beach at Stadacona as they still called the Batture of the St. Charles, lounging about in blankets, smoking, playing dice, or drinking pints or quarts as fortune favored them, or a passenger wanted conveyance in their bark canoes, which they managed with a dexterity unsurpassed by any boatmen that ever put oar or paddle in water, salt or fresh. (6)

The fact that Kirby does not make the Indians speak in broken language is of interest; he gets the 'Indian' atmosphere by introducing a fairly large proportion of words of Indian origin such as squaw, papoose, pale-face, medicine-woman, stone wigwam, red men, firewater, tomahawk and so on(7) Kirby also takes advantage of the visit of Peter Kalm to Quebec to work in a few scientific observations regarding the natives. He makes the Finnish botanist say: "The lahguages of these native tribes are, I believe, so nice in structure and exhibit shch polish and smoothness of expression as can only have been acquired by ages of civilization. ... An instrument of thought so perfect could not have been elaborated by wild hunters like those who now possess it" (8), a fine example of a wrong conclusion from correct premises, for while it is true that the native languages are singularly complex and subtle, it is also true that they were indeed 'elaborated' by the 'wild hunters' who spoke them.

Kirby fathers a notorious fallacy upon the helpless Kalm a few pages further on when he puts these words in his mouth: "The Americans, like the Chinese, have many languages and

but one system of Hieroglyphics understood by all. Those painted strips of bark upon your council table, Governor, could be read with ease by every Indian from the Northern Seas to the Gulf of Mexico" (9) a statement in which there is no glimmer of truth at all. In justice to Peter Kalm it should be added that I have not been able to find either of these statements in his most interesting and enjoyable Travels.

The number of authors making casual references to the Indians grows rapidly from now on; a complete analysis of them would so delay us in following the growth of the present day concept of the Indian as to make our progress imperceptible. Moreover, few of these writers are specially concerned with the Indians of Eastern Canada, but roam further afield, even to the land of the Eskimo. Such authors as Charles Mair, Lionel Haweis, and Oliver La Farge come to mind, who have written of Tecumseh, of west coast mythology and of the south-west respectively, and there are many others. All of these, doubtless, have had their effect, but there are many other and probably more powerful influences at work.

Not least among these, though one of the latest, is the moving picture. We do not see much of the 'Western' film which had such a vogue in the early days of the 'unspeakable' films, some thirty years ago, but they are still being made and many an unsung Hollywood company makes a steady income from the production of these 'horse-operas' for which there is a steady demand in the distant corners of the world, and

of all extraordinary places, in the islands of the South Seas, where the natives are unanimous in demanding more 'combov' pictures as thev insist on calling them.

Among the more recent films having some pretensions to more serious consiceration are Drums Along the Mohawk, Geronimo, Juarez, and The Silent Enemv. Each of these offers a number of interesting points for discussion, and thev all commit the same crime, -- the mixture of cultures. The Indian, no matter where he comes from or which his tribe, is alwavs and for ever the self same Indian. He is alwavs half-naked, or more, wearing either a breech-cloth or leggings; he wears a necklace with a circular shell pendant; he has either a single feather in his hair or a huge war-bonnet of eagle plumes, depending on whether he is a chief or merelv a 'brave'; and his face is painted in grotesque designs. Such a costume would be more or less acceptable for a Sioux or a Crow Indian of the central plains, except for the fact that the elaborate present-dav war-bonnets are a recent addition (10), but in point of fact none of the four pictures mentioned deals with that area; Drums Along the Mohawk has its scene laid in New York State, Geronimo is in the south-west, Juarez in Mexico and The Silent Enemv among the Ojibwav, north of the Great Lakes. Many of the Indians appearing in anv one of these pictures could have been transferred to any of the others and nobodv would have noticed the difference; to a cinema producer, it would seem,

and to a good many other people, an Indian is an Indian et point de façons.

Nor is the legitimate stage free from this fault. A fine example is in the still-remembered Rose-Marie where the scene is laid in the Kootenay Valley in south central British Columbia. Prominent among the stage settings and referred to in the book of words, and represented in a very clever dance by the chorus, are totem-poles. Now there are no totem-poles in the Kootenay Valley. The Kootenays are a prairie tribe who migrated westwards across the Rocky Mountains, in quite recent times, and totem-poles are as foreign to their cultures as are bagpipes to the Hottentots.

Paintings, too, are notorious offenders in this respect, and paintings have done much to implant a firm picture of the Indian in our minds. We can all remember paintings showing the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers, Mackenzie discovering the Pacific, or the Mounted Policeman riding the Plains, in which the same Indians appear, all arraved in their ceremonial war-bonnets, their fringed and beaded leggings and their painted faces. The artists is not trying to make us look stupid, he is merely trving to say 'Indian' in a conventional form, a sort of picture writing.

In a modest collection of pictures of Indians, I have one intended for the amusement of children which was included in a package of a breakfast food. It shows a little Indian boy,

dressed in buckskin clothing, fringed and beaded. He has two feathers in his hair, a bow in one hand and an arrow in the other. In the background is a plains Indian tipi, mountains are seen and evergreen trees. So far, so good; the boy is perhaps a Western Cree, or a Sarcee, or an Assiniboine. But there is also a little girl with him and she upsets this hypothesis completely for though she is wearing a buckskin dress (wrongly cut), she is also carrying a large painted pottery jar, evidently from the sedentary south-western people! Would the same artist depict a Swedish girl carrying a Chianti bottle?

Perhaps we should not blame the painters for these slips. They are common to every field of endeavour, and a specialist can point out errors in his own field that the layman would never detect. But these errors, unfortunately, are of the self-perpetuating variety, hardy perennials, and the Indian of the cartoonist has done much towards creating and fixing a visual image in the popular concept, a visual image which, incidentally, owes a good deal more than we might suspect to the wooden cigar-store Indian of the late nineteenth century, another collectors' item now much sought after.

In recent years a number of people have taken advantage of the glamour and romance which enshrouds the Indian and have skilfully turned a real or pretended Indian ancestry to account. Pauline Johnson, a moderately successful poet and

lecturer, made much of her Indian blood and her work still is found in Canadian school readers, though it has but little merit.

A more glaring instance is seen in the case of Grey Owl, or Archie Bellany, an Englishman (with blue eyes!) who let it be noised about that he was partly or perhaps even wholly Indian, and dressed and acted the part to the best of his ability, even going to the length of learning enough Cree to convince the doubting. His genuine interest in the preservation of the beaver and other wild animals enabled him to do much valuable work in this field, work which was greatly facilitated by his 'being an Indian'.

The accumulation of instances in which the Indian is referred to could be continued almost indefinitely, but enough has been presented to show that he is not the popular figure in the realms of fiction that he was even a generation ago. Then he was at the top of his career. When Buffalo Bill took his Wild West show to England, Queen Victoria invited a throng of fashionable guests to a command performance; but gradually the vogue lessened, the 'real Red Indians' were no longer such a drawing card and the "show developed from a purely Western background into an exhibition of horsemanship by the 'Rough Riders of the World'. Since Indian hostilities were over, campaigns in Cuba, South Africa and China were drawn upon. Perhaps no more pathetic instance of the fall in redskin stock

could be given than the period when Indians were disguised as Chinese warriors" (11).

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2 Times Literary Supplement, 17 October 1929 and Dictionary of American Biography s.v. Judson, E.Z.C.

3 See such magazines as the "Writer" and the "Author and Journalist" almost any issue.

4 Hobbies Magazine 41:91, August 1936

5 Kipling, R. Brother Square-Toes passim

6 Kirby, p. 368

7 Kirby, pp. 369-370

8 Kirby, p. 413

9 Kirby, p. 416

10 Natural History Magazine, 45:246, April, 1940

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CONCLUSION

In the course of our study it has become increasingly evident that the popular concept of the American Indian has been a changing one, seldom constant from one generation to the next; influenced by many factors; sometimes grossly inaccurate, at other times gaining in truth; now sympathetic with the native, idealizing him as the Noble Savage, now violently antagonistic, painting him as a Cruel Fiend, a 'beast without brains'.

It has also become clear that it in not practicable to draw a hard and fast line between the American Indian and the Canadian Indian. The present political boundary is a recent one in the history of this development of a concept and, while in the course of years the Indians of Mexico and Central America were at last distinguished from those of what is not the United States, the further separation into Canadian and American has never yet been made.

We have been able to recognize no less than eight main stages in the development of the concept, and they may be summarized as follows:

1. The Indian of the early explorers based on the accounts of Columbus, the Elizabethan sea-captains, Jacques Cartier, and reinforced by the visits, voluntary and other-

wise, of actual Indians to England and Europe. This is the Indian of Shakespeare and his comtemporaries and, while it is limited, it is at least reasonably accurate.

2. The Indians of Mexico and Peru, with their elaborate religious ceremonies, their bloody human sacrifices, their magnificent temples. As a race, these people were quickly exterminated by the Spaniards. They had their day on the stage in Davenant's operas, in Dryden's Indian Queen and Indian Emperor and, many years later, they appear again in Southey's Madoc, but they were never thought of as the typical American Indian in the sense in which we are using the term.

3. The Noble Savage, the ideal man, of the philosophers Montaigne and Rousseau, of the French Encyclopedists and, later, in part at least the inspiration of the wierd, short-lived 'pantisocracy' of Coleridge and Southey. Based but unsteadily on the actual Indians, the Noble Savage was a product of the arm-chair philosopher, and was shifted from the Americas to the South Seas and to other distant Edens with the march of discovery and exploration.

4. The Cruel Fiends, who "on midnight errands walk and bathe in brains the murderous tomahawk" as Campbell puts it

in The Pleasures of Hope. This concept existed side by side with that of the Noble Savage, and the two were hardly felt to be incongruous. As white settlement advanced in the Atlantic States, the pressure against the Indians increased and outrages on both sides grew more frequent and more violent. The early missionaries, too, had encountered this aspect of the Iroquois and the Hurons in Canada. It is in this concept that we include the scenes of torture and captivity of which so many of the eighteenth century writers have given us their accounts.

5. The Fenimore Cooper Indian, derived largely from the Cruel Fiend, but with the benefit of a more sympathetic consideration, possible only now that the direct menace of the Indian was removed from the area where Cooper and his American readers both lived. Our popular concept of today is partly the Fenimore Cooper Indian.

6. The Hiawatha Indian, created out of a series of misunderstandings by Longfellow, has had a good deal to do with the formation of today's composite picture. Though much idealized, the poem is taught to children in every school in the land with a sort of unexpressed implication that it gives a picture of the Indians as 'they really were'. Actually, of course, it does nothing of the sort.

7. The Buffalo Bill Indian, who is really a Fenimore Cooper Indian mounted on a horse after exchanging his bow and arrows for a rifle. So close is this concept to that of today that they may in many respects be considered as one. The parents and grandparents of numbers of people living in the West, both in Canada and in the United States, lived through experiences not unlike some of those related in the Buffalo Bill stories, so that we feel this type of Indian to be almost our contemporary.

8. The Indian of our day is a blend of the Fenimore Cooper, the Buffalo Bill and the Hiawatha strains, the last being the least. The lack of direct personal experience of Indians and their frequent representation in cartoons, in paintings and on the stage, whether cinematic or legitimate, have resulted in the creation of a definite mental picture, accepted alike by the artists and the public, which says 'Indian', just as a slant-eyed face and a pigtail say 'Chinaman' and sabots and a windmill say 'Dutch'.

In the issue of Natural History, a magazine published by the American Museum of Natural History, for April, 1940, is a sketch of an Indian wearing an eagle-plume war-bonnet, and the following comment accompanies the sketch:

"We have seen the particular Indian shown above so

> often in our literary and theatrical melodrama that we believe every redskin wore a feathered headdress and a phlegmatic expression.
> As to the headdress it was originally the exclusive cultural property of the Sioux and Crow tribes who used it in ceremonies and warfare. But we have so strongly imposed our notion on the Indians of today that representatives of all tribes are adopting the Sioux costume and will probably incorporate it in their respective folklores as the universal ancestral garb.
> In regard to the phlegmatic expression we are nearer the truth. But we seldom realize that the red man's stoical qualities, far from being inherent, came of a deliberate striving after a cultural ideal. Thus the "typical Indian" is not much different from the "typical Englishman" who is traditionally apposed to the "volatile Latin", lacks a sense of humor, and cannot express emotion in the presence of third parties.

The comment in the above quotation to the effect that the white man's concept of an Indian is being imposed on the Indians themselves is of particular interest in connection with a recent event. A short time ago it was decided in a large Indian reservation in western Quebec to build a community hall. The Indians in charge of the project were talking it over with a lady from Montreal and told her they had decided to put up a totem-pole outside the new building. The visitor expressed polite surprise and was met with the question, "But why not? It's Indian, isn't it?"

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